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BLACK SUBURBANITES:
ADAPTATION TO WESTERN CULTURE IN
SALISBURY, RHODESIA

by

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Chapter 1

THEORIES OF URBANIZATION AND CULTURE CHANGE IN AFRICA

1.1 Introduction

The present study is based on field work in two African townships¹ in Salisbury, the capital of Rhodesia.² The purpose of the study is to describe and analyze the adjustment the families in these areas are making to urban life. Investigation into the lives and backgrounds of these people reveals a complex of factors which has adapted them to city life. The study also focuses on the social networks and culture of these people.

In contrast to the earlier studies which focused on unskilled labor migrants, this study concerns black urbanites³ who are relatively affluent by the standards of

¹A township is a unit within a municipality.

²Additional information on traditional Shona culture, urban migration, and political and social conditions was taken from library sources.

³Lloyd points out that in Africa, "The migrant, adapting the norms and values of his village to those dictated by the urban environment, has attracted more attention than the secondary school and university educated youth increasingly divorced from his traditional culture." P.C. Lloyd, The New Elites of Tropical Africa, p. 1.
black Rhodesia. A study of the life styles and social backgrounds of these people who are committed to town life\(^4\) will broaden the picture of the urbanization process and increase understanding of individual adjustment to the city.

The present study reveals that the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood have made a positive adjustment to town life. Their pre-urban experience and their cultural backgrounds helped them to succeed in the city, and their broad, urban friendship networks contributed to their social adjustment.

Unlike other countries in sub-Saharan Africa (except South Africa), Rhodesia has a white settler population. In 1922 the Europeans in Rhodesia voted to become a self-governing colony under Britain.\(^5\) When other British colonies in Africa were granted independence in the early 1960's, Britain also promised Rhodesia her independence on condition that the colony's blacks (who outnumber whites 20 to 1) be given a representative share in the government. The white minority did not accept these terms and declared their independence in 1965.

\(^4\)Commitment to town life, for present purposes, is evidenced by having invested large amounts of money in property and a house in town.

\(^5\)Rhodesia was ruled by the British South Africa Company from 1890 until 1922.
Britain and the rest of the world have never recognized Rhodesia's independence and the "illegal regime" in power.

While the European standard of living in Rhodesia is one of the highest in the world, the African's is one of the lowest. Most of the manual work is done by Africans and the European population is an elite to the extent that it "...selects the higher level jobs for itself."  

Unlike parts of West Africa, the Sudan and Ethiopia, there were no indigenous urban centers in Rhodesia. Salisbury was founded in 1890 by Europeans and today has a population of 91,000 Europeans and 223,000 Africans.

---

6 European refers to any Caucasian person, regardless of nationality, and African refers to Negro peoples, regardless of ethnic identity. Also in standard use in Rhodesia is the term Coloured which refers to a person of mixed ancestry, either European and African, or Asian and African.

7 Colin Leys, European Politics in Southern Rhodesia, p. 27.

8 Ibid., p. 80.

9 Ibid., p. 84. Political and economic conditions in Rhodesia are discussed more fully in Chapter 5. For further information on these subjects see Richard Gray, The Two Nations.

10 William Bascom, "Urbanization Among the Yoruba," p. 446.

Like many other cities and towns in central Africa, Salisbury stands as a commercial and industrial center in the midst of a vast area of European-owned farmland and Tribal Trust Lands.\textsuperscript{12} In town, residential areas are strictly segregated, with European suburbs extending to the north and east of the city center and African townships concentrated on the western and southern periphery. The African population in Salisbury is ethnically heterogeneous; indigenous Shona and Ndebele live side by side with people from Portuguese East Africa, Zambia, South Africa and Malawi.\textsuperscript{13} In the early 1960's, in response to demands made by Africans, the government set aside

\textsuperscript{12}Tribal Trust Lands are areas set aside for Africans. Land in these areas is allocated by the chief to his tribesmen and cannot be sold. Tribal Trust Lands were established by the Land Apportionment Act which was passed in 1930 and has been amended many times. In 1967 there were 44 million acres reserved for Africans, 36 million acres for Europeans, 6 million acres for purchase by anyone, and 11 million acres for national land including parks and game reserves. Kenneth Young, \textit{Rhodesia and Independence}, p. 13.

\textsuperscript{13}In Rhodesia, for official purposes, there are two major indigenous tribes, Shona and Ndebele, and several smaller tribes which are considered to be related to them. The term Shona refers to a number of groups whose customs and languages are similar. Like other Bantu languages, those of Rhodesia have class prefixes. Thus the people are called VaShona and AmaNdebele, and their languages ChiShona and CiNdebele. For simplicity I shall use only the root form and speak of the Shona and Ndebele peoples and the Shona and Ndebele languages. Shona is divided into several major dialect groups which include Zezuru, KoreKorc, Manica, Karanga and Ndua.
two small areas west of the city to be sold to those Africans who could afford larger tracts of land and more expensive homes than had previously been available to them.

Africans in Salisbury and all of central, eastern, and southern Africa have shared, at one time or another, the colonial experience characterized by the establishment of towns in areas which had never before known their existence. The coming of the white man saw the beginning of wage labor. Africans who had previously lived a tribal existence flocked into these new towns and colonial administrators felt the need to control the movement of Africans into and within the towns. Laws were enacted to deal with influx control and segregation of residential facilities.¹⁴

1.2 Theories of Urbanization

Wirth's theory of urbanization is fundamental to any consideration of the phenomenon. He noted that

¹⁴"The pass laws consisted of a body of legislation designed to control the influx of Africans into the cities. An African in the city had to prove that he was there for a 'legitimate' reason by showing upon demand, a work or a visitors pass. Pass laws existed in the Congo, Kenya, Northern and Southern Rhodesia and South Africa, but not in Uganda or Tanganyika." R. Davenport, "African Townsmen?" p. 76. Pass laws are no longer in effect in Rhodesia. Laws affecting urban Africans in Rhodesia are examined in more detail in Chapter 2 and in Appendix A.
three variables—density of settlement, number of people, and degree of heterogeneity—explain the social characteristics of urban life. Having entered the urban environment, the immigrant’s relationships with others tend to be "...impersonal, superficial, transitory, and segmental."\(^{15}\)

Subsequent research in Africa and India has shown Wirth’s theory to be inadequate because rural people do not necessarily change into urbanites simply by virtue of urban residence. Mayer noted that the "red Xhosa" in East London, South Africa kept their traditional way of life intact in the city; he describes them as "incapsulated."\(^{16}\) Hoselitz, studying urbanization in India, found that villagers transplanted their village way of life into the city; residence in the city had almost no effect.\(^{17}\)

Wirth’s theory of urbanism assumes that the individual is passive; he does not confront the urban world, but is confronted and strongly influenced by it. Closely tied to this is Wirth’s synchronic perspective. The

\(^{15}\) Louis Wirth, "Urbanism as a Way of Life," p. 12.

\(^{16}\) Philip Mayer, _Townsmen or Tribesmen_, p. 90.

\(^{17}\) B.F. Hoselitz, "Urbanization and Town Planning in India," p. 121.
townsman is seen at one point in time and his personal and cultural background, which may be of considerable importance in explaining his reactions and adaptation to city life, is hardly mentioned.

More recent empirical research has shown the importance of understanding the urban dweller's social history in explaining his responses to urban life. Caudill noted that Japanese-Americans made rapid and successful adjustment to life in Chicago because their cultural background was highly compatible with American middle-class values. 18

Although the present study, which focuses on a group of elite African families, differs from Caudill's study in many respects, it is similar in that it examines the contribution of the African's personal and cultural background to his adaptation to urban life.

Empirical research in Africa has generated many theories about social life, some of which emphasize the disorganizing effects of rapid social change, and some of which focus on new and adaptive social behavior which develops as the migrant to the city attempts to cope with the changing social environment. The latter emphasis

has emerged only within the last decade.

1.3 Theories of Social Disruption

In 1926 Malinowski organized the first training program for the African Institute. He impressed upon his students and colleagues that non-Western cultures were not inferior to their own. In his fight against ethnocentrism he argued that missionaries and district officers were interfering with the native social systems without considering implications of their actions. Malinowski and his associates used the functionalist model of society and feared that culture contact and urbanization would prove dysfunctional to the tribal system.

Similarly, sociologists and anthropologists of this period looked upon the effects of culture change with dismay. The indigenous socio-cultural system was breaking down; no new set of values was developing to replace the old ones; Africans were experiencing the


20 Lucy Mair, Anthropology and Social Change, p. 134.
"chaotic welter of transition." Such alarm is reflected in Krige's statement: "Everywhere in Africa contact with the European is causing change and disturbance, institutional dislocation and disintegration." Municipal administrators were another conservative force; they feared that urban Africans would be more difficult to control, that once free from tribal mores, city dwellers would be easily influenced by "agitators."

A similar opinion was institutionalized by Smith and Westermann, persons who helped found the African Institute. They hoped that research done by the Institute would document the disruption of rural life and delineate positive steps that could be taken to stabilize it.

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21 Ellen Hellman, "Native Life in a Johannesburg Slum Yard," p. 60. Hellman admits that her observations may have been influenced by the area of the city she was studying, namely a slum. Of interest is a description of the process of "demoralization" in Chicago in similar terms to Hellman's description of the disintegration of tradition in Johannesburg. Thomas and Znaniecki describe how the new system in Chicago, even at its best, was unable to control individual behavior as effectively as did the old system in Poland. See William I. Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, The Polish Peasant in Europe and America, vol. 2, pp. 1647-48.


As late as 1954, the major concern of the Abadjan Conference on urbanization and industrialization was the adverse implications of rapid social change in Africa south of the Sahara. An analysis of the papers presented shows the extent to which the negative effects of urbanization were emphasized. Terms like "social breakdown" and "maladjusted community" were used to describe urban conditions.  

1.4 Theories of Social Order

In the last decade there has been a shift from emphasis on the disruption of tribal social structure to an increased concern with new social patterns emerging in urban centers and with individual adaptive mechanisms. Mitchell was one of the earliest social scientists to point out the importance of viewing urban social systems as well-ordered, different from rural systems, and requiring separate study. Gluckman is another who emphasizes order in urban life and who criticizes the tendency to consider the townsman as still controlled by tribal authorities.  


Epstein acknowledges the debt Africanists own to Gluckman for pointing out the misconceptions involved in the use of the rural-tribal frame of reference in urban research.\textsuperscript{27}

By 1960, second and third generation Africans populated the cities. In addition, labor migrants continued coming to the towns and staying for longer and longer periods. It was no longer possible to maintain that most of the urban Africans were strangers to the city. On the contrary, when they returned to the country, many were regarded as outsiders. Plotnicov concludes from his research that often "...a return home would involve the immigrant in an intolerable situation."\textsuperscript{28} The town dweller could no longer be treated as an exception and a body of theory and a new methodology were developed to describe and study him.

Concurrent political events in Africa further reinforced thinking in this direction. In the early 1960's leaders of newly-independent nations struck out against the shackles of tradition and colonialism. There was a growing demand for more rapid change which influenced urban research. Attention was then shifted to the positive

\textsuperscript{27}A.L. Epstein, "Urbanization and Social Change in Africa," p. 281.

\textsuperscript{28}Leonard Plotnicov, \textit{Strangers to the City}, p. 297.
effects of social change and to the satisfying relationships and associations emerging in the growing cities.

In the past scholars viewed the disintegration of the tribal unit and the kin group with alarm. They now discovered that the tribe functioned in a new and independent form as a tribal association and served "...as an adaptive mechanism, easing the adjustment of migrants to the strange surroundings of the town."29 Kinship ties thrive under urban conditions, for the migrant needs help in finding a place to sleep, a job and food.30 As the migrant makes friends at work and during his leisure hours, his social circle widens beyond tribal affiliations and he becomes integrated into a new, urban social network. Regular social patterns emerge and the bases of a new social structure become apparent. Whereas former researchers interpreted these changes as chaotic and anomic, they are now viewed as comprehensive and adaptive responses to complex and changing situations.31

31 Plotnicov, Strangers to the City, p. 44, and Aidan Southall, Social Change in Modern Africa, p. 25.
1.5 Methodology

1.5.1 Introduction: The new trend in urban social theory described above necessitated a change in methodology. Faced with the inadequacies of the functionalist model in explaining rapid social change, social anthropologists shifted their attention from the problems of the individual who had moved outside the bounds of his traditional social structure to the individual who was creatively adapting to life in a new situation.\(^{32}\)

1.5.2 Social Networks: Network analysis of social relations can be used in modern industrial, urban centers where anthropologists' customary analytical models of kinship and association, used with foragers, cultivators, herders, and urbanites in traditional cities, are inadequate. There are other reasons why network analysis is useful in the urban setting. For the ethnologist the unit of study is usually a social setting which is well demarcated from other settings and is a relatively self-contained unit. In urban societies the discernible units blend continuously into one another and overlap so that it is difficult to isolate a unit for study. To overcome this problem the technique of social network analysis

\(^{32}\)Van Velsen discusses these methods in terms of a shift from a structural approach to situational analysis and a concern with the behavior of the individual.
was employed to determine the social units of the residents and to examine the settings in which interaction occurred. The main objective was to observe urban social structure from the viewpoint of some of the participants.

Social network analysis has been employed by several British social anthropologists. Barnes used it to study a Norwegian island parish, Bott to investigate middle-class English families, and Epstein to examine the social relationships in a Zambian Copperbelt town.\(^{33}\) Network theory has been further discussed and refined by Southall and Gutkind,\(^{34}\) theorists concerned with social change and urbanization in Africa. Southall states that the method is useful for discovering "...the type and the channels of interaction between persons and the extent of regularities which give a minimum of order and coherence to social life in communities which have no clear structure of discrete groups."\(^{35}\)

In the present study the concept of social network

\(^{33}\)J.A. Barnes, "Class and Committees in a Norwegian Island Parish; E. Bott, "Conjugal Roles and Social Networks"; and A.L. Epstein, "The Network and Urban Social Organization."


\(^{35}\)Southall, Social Change in Modern Africa, p. 25.
was operationalised by questioning the residents about their friends—who they are, where they live, where they met, how often they meet and under what circumstances. Information gained in this way made it possible to note to what extent the two neighborhoods represent a social unit, to what extent the residents are involved in social networks with individuals from different backgrounds and individuals who are not related to them.

1.5.3 Methods: In the study of Marimba Park and Westwood an integrated picture of life in the neighborhoods was constructed through "participant" observation,\(^{36}\) and formal and informal interviews covering census data, attitudes towards certain traditions, and social networks.

Very little basic data are available on Africans in Salisbury and only one article (by Lukhero) has been written about African elites.\(^{37}\) No intensive studies

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\(^{36}\) It is acknowledged that a white person in a black neighborhood cannot participate fully in the life of the community. This factor as well as other aspects of the methodology are discussed more fully in Appendix D.

have been done on the life styles of urban Africans in Rhodesia. In the present study, participant observation over an extended period of time provided the basic information needed to formulate questions and tentative hypotheses.

To understand the life styles of the people it was necessary to become immersed in their activities—to share meals, and to go to churches, beer halls, parties, and club meetings with the residents. My wife and I lived with a family in Westwood for ten months. Detailed descriptions of behavior were obtained in these ways.

Studying human behavior in a complex urban setting requires methodological tools that are different from those employed in traditional anthropological studies. Participant observation, while essential and valuable in obtaining data, was not completely adequate. Unlike the village, events occurring in the suburb are not easily observable. The fact that much activity takes place outside the neighborhood and the privacy afforded by large, modern houses hindered observations. Thus the researcher used both formal and informal interviews to gather data. The situation was made still more difficult by the political and racial situation; a white investigator accompanying informants into public situations was regarded with suspicion by both Africans and Europeans.
Chapter 2
URBAN HISTORY

2.1 Introduction

The cities in Rhodesia are the creation and property\(^1\) of the white people; prior to their coming in 1890, cities did not exist. The Africans who first came to live in Salisbury did so primarily in accordance with the needs and requirements of the white population, the primary need being for labor. The African was seen as a visitor or temporary worker in the town and not as a permanent urban dweller.\(^2\) This point of view is reflected in the body of legislation which was enacted over the years to deal with the problems of growth and change and to help maintain the peculiar segregated economic and political relationship of the races in the urban setting. The position of the black man in the white man’s city has changed only in recent years to acknowledge the African

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\(^1\)The Land Apportionment Act of 1930 categorized all land in Rhodesia and apportioned it between the races. All urban areas were included in the European areas. The act made it illegal for an African to acquire, lease or occupy (with certain exceptions) land in the European areas.

A permanent urban resident and to accord him the privileges and obligations consonant with this point of view.

The status of the urban African in Rhodesia has undergone considerable change over the last few decades, and his present position can best be understood by tracing his past. The history of urbanization in Rhodesia can be divided into three separate phases: the labor migrant phase, 1890-1955; the temporary townsman phase, 1955-1960; the permanent townsman phase, 1960-present (1969). These three phases are indicative of the social realities of city life only insofar as the government urban policies of the day were successful. No doubt there were some Africans who maintained uninterrupted residence in the city for periods of years, but they were not recognized by the government as permanent city dwellers. The lack of urban facilities together with government policy strongly encouraged their departure from the city when their employment ended.

2.2 The Labor Migrant Phase, 1890-1955

The labor migrant phase began as soon as white men first began to settle in the territory (1890) and was characterized by governmental pressure aimed at breaking up the tribal system. Traditional tribal life was seen
as a hindrance since it did not encourage men to leave their villages to seek work on European farms or in towns. The later part of this phase saw a reversal in official policy and a reinforcement of certain traditional tribal elements in the face of growing fear that too many Africans were coming into the towns.

When the first Europeans began arriving in 1890 in the territory which was later named Southern Rhodesia, they assumed that the indigenous peoples were a potential source of labor for farms and mines. The local Shona and Ndebele, however, did not readily volunteer to work for the settlers since they had sufficient resources to supply their needs. It was not until they were forced to pay a hut tax in cash and began to be attracted by European goods that they sought employment. In the early years

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3This name was given to the territory between the Limpopo and Zambezi Rivers in 1895 in honor of Cecil John Rhodes.

4"It may be said with certainty that the vast majority of the natives in the country either do not work at all or do not work for more than one or two months in the year. The remaining period with occasionally brief spells of work on their lands, being spent in absolute idleness. The fruitfulness of the land enables them in good seasons to produce with a minimum of effort large crops of grain for which there is a ready market at good prices." "Report of the Acting Administrator for Mashonaland (Mr. W. H. Milton) for the Eighteen Months Ending the 30th September 1898," p. 103."
of colonization the demand for labor was high, and in 1898 the Acting Administrator for Mashonaland\(^5\) recommended that the hut tax be increased to alleviate the labor shortage.\(^6\) The colonial administrators of the African reserves also tried to "push the subsidized chiefs into the role of recruiting agents" in order to get workers.\(^7\) In some cases messengers of private persons would approach the chiefs and demand laborers. On occasion village headmen were beaten and wives kidnapped to coerce tribesmen into volunteering for work.\(^8\)

In Matabeleland the labor shortage was partially met by importing workers from other territories. In 1898, the Administrator of Matabeleland reported that forty families of Fingoos, "a most industrious tribe," had already been moved to Rhodesia from the Cape Colony in South Africa. This importation of foreign labor increased rapidly; in 1961, 30,000 of 66,000 employed

\(^5\)In 1898 Rhodesia had two provinces, Mashonaland and Matabeleland.


\(^7\)W. J. Barber, The Economy of British Central Africa, p. 35.

\(^8\)P. Mason, The Birth of a Dilemma, p. 226.
Africans were from neighboring countries.\(^9\)

It was commonly believed by employers that foreign workers, when available, were preferable to Rhodesian Africans. Whereas the indigenous workers could easily return to their villages after working for several months, the migrants who had traveled hundreds of miles from Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia, or Mozambique to get work had more commitment to it. A further result of the foreign migrant's commitment was that his seniority over the local worker would be enhanced by virtue of his longer term of employment. The employers tended to perpetuate this pattern by


The ratio of indigenous to foreign Africans employed in Rhodesia was still higher in the preceding thirty years as can be seen by the table below.

**INDIGENOUS AND NON-INDIGENOUS AFRICAN MALES EMPLOYED FOR WAGES IN SOUTHERN RHODESIA FOR SELECTED YEARS ('000s')**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year (Fiscal)</th>
<th>Non-indigenous males employed (avg. number)</th>
<th>% of total employment in Southern Rhodesia</th>
<th>Southern Rhodesia males employed (avg. number)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1929</td>
<td>90.3</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>84.7</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>72.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1935</td>
<td>121.0</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>83.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>146.9</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>95.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1942</td>
<td>161.0</td>
<td>54</td>
<td>134.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>174.2</td>
<td>58</td>
<td>124.2</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

discriminating against indigenous Africans and hiring non-indigenous Africans. Foreign workers, unable to retreat to nearby reserves, would submit to harsher treatment than would local workers.

In 1906 the Native Labour Bureau was formed for the purpose of recruiting labor from outside Rhodesia. Writing in 1909 Hone noted the beginning of change in the Africans' attitudes as they came into contact with traders and missionaries. Whereas there was still difficulty in securing labor for the farms and mines, Hone reports that the labor in the towns was abundant. "Natives readily seek employment as domestic servants, office messengers and drivers, being attracted by European civilization and the many fascinations of town life."  

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10 An example of the prejudice operating against indigenous labor is cited below. "The Mashonas are naturally a most indolent race; and the Matabele, who were accustomed to fighting, considered it undignified to do manual work." F. F. Hone, Southern Rhodesia, p. 64.

11 "But with the introduction of a civilized white population into a country, it is impossible, however low in the rank of humanity a savage race may be, for it to continue in its state of stagnation. Apart from the work of missionaries...the trader with his wagon...barters his wares for the grain and meal of the natives; he encourages their vanity and their tastes for luxury, and the Mashona who a few years before thought it sufficient clothing to have two or three jackal tails hung from his loins, today requires a tall hat or a second hand frock coat..." Ibid., p. 63.

12 Ibid., p. 76.
During this early period the government regarded tribalism as a bad influence on the Africans because it discouraged them from volunteering for wage labor. The policy of the day encouraged the break-up of the tribal system.

In 1913 the Chief Native Commissioner expressed satisfaction at the weakening of tribal controls in the country.

Chiefs and elders of families complain that they no longer control their following as they did in the past, and that the young people are breaking away gradually from the old tribal system of control. Contact with civilization is the cause of this and though chiefs and others complain, no steps should be taken to prevent this gradual evolution. The increased powers granted to Native Commissioners have materially assisted in breaking up these tribal methods of control and I am glad to say that the results so far have been satisfactory.

By 1919, the process of urbanization was underway and

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13 Another reason for the government's dislike of tribalism was the paternalistic belief that the civilized way of life was infinitely superior to the tribal system and that those who were not "civilized" should be converted as soon as possible.

14 Report of the Chief Native Commissioner of Mashonaland for the Year 1912.
the report of the Chief Native Commissioner noted that some of the migrant laborers were now permanent town dwellers "...who seldom, if ever, return home."\textsuperscript{15} The report also noted approvingly that the African in the city had found it necessary to work in order to exist. Thus, by favoring the break-up of the tribal system, and the Africans’ entrance into the wage economy, the government was unwittingly encouraging urbanization.

By 1935, however, as Africans came into the towns in increasing numbers and began to compete in business and mingle in the shopping districts with whites, the fear of integration cast a shadow over the scene. The idea of a permanent African population sharing the city and threatening cherished ideals of segregation was unacceptable to most of the European population.\textsuperscript{16} Migrant laborers with their primary ties running back to the tribal villages posed no threat because they resided only temporarily in the European areas.

\textsuperscript{15}"In considering the disintegrating effect of civilization on tribalism, Native Commissioners draw attention to two factors which are hastening the process. An appreciable number of young men are attracted by the glamour and social life of towns and industrial centers, where it become necessary for them to work for their living. They are becoming permanent laborers, who seldom, if ever, return home." Southern Rhodesia Report of the Chief Native Commissioner, for the Year 1919.

Whereas in 1913 the Chief Native Commissioner expressed satisfaction at the dissolution of the tribal system and the steps that the government was taking to bring this about, in 1937 his counterpart held a different view.

These migratory laborers in the main have still their roots in the land, and their real homes are in the native areas. And there perhaps we can afford to be empirical. Experienced administration...will give opportunities of reintegration and social development on the one hand, and on the other, the conservation of the soil and the augmentation of vital supplies of water.

The philosophy behind this statement is reflected in the laws enacted to keep Africans from settling in the towns. Until 1960 it was not possible for an African to own land in an urban area. The law required that an employer provide housing for his employees and when an African townsman lost his job he also lost his house. It was difficult for an African to get accommodation since housing contracts were made through employers or as a privilege dispensed by township officials. The perpetual housing shortage further aggravated the situation.

Old people who had lived most of their lives in town found that they had no house to live in once they

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17 Report of the Chief Native Commissioner and Secretary for Internal Affairs for the Year Ending 1937.
stopped working and could no longer pay rent. Some of these people found themselves rejected by relatives in their rural village unless they had visited or sent gifts from time to time during their years in town. The predicament of those who had not done so was to be both homeless in the city and rejected in the villages. Keenly aware of this possibility, many townsmen keep constant contact with their rural relatives; they know that their ultimate security lies in the country.

In some cases, even if an African in the city had kept contact with his rural relatives, he could still find that he had no land to go back to in the country. Under the Native Land Husbandry Act (1951), portions of land in some reserves were allocated on a freehold basis to individual tribesmen instead of being held in common by the group. This departure from the traditional system of land tenure meant that those not present in the villages when the land was parcelled out under the new system, lost present and future claims to land in their area. Consequently, some city dwellers lost their

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19 J. F. Holleman, Report of the Mangwende Reserve Commission of Inquiry, p. 137. This step was taken as a move against the traditional system of shifting agriculture which, although possible in the past, had become less practical as the numbers of people and stock on the land increased rapidly. In R. H. Palmer, Aspects of Rhodesian Land Policy 1890-1936, p. 47.
rights to tribal land in the reserves while lacking the right to buy land in the towns.

Until 1960 when the Land Apportionment Act was amended, the legal structure encouraged Africans to feel that their homes were in the country. As early as 1896 laws were enacted "...for the suppression of vagrancy within the limits of certain towns." A complex pass system developed whereby an African had to prove that he was not a vagrant by showing one of the following passes: a current certificate of self-employment, a current town pass to seek work or a visitor's pass showing he was a bona fide visitor in the area. If he was a visitor and wanted to stay overnight with a friend or relative, his host would have to register him with the township authorities who would give permission for him to stay a certain number of days. Unregistered visitors are arrested in predawn police raids.

A vivid example of the status of Africans in the cities is the fact that as late as 1934 it was unlawful for an African to use any sidewalk or pavement within municipal areas. Laws such as these, combined with

21 Gray, Two Nations, p. 108.
other ecological and socio-political factors have prevented the urbanization process in Rhodesia from following the more laissez-faire pattern typical of European and American cities.\textsuperscript{22}

By 1953, however, the government began to feel certain economic, social and demographic pressures to change their policies. In the fifteen-year period from 1938 to 1953 Rhodesia’s exports had increased five-fold.\textsuperscript{23} By 1956 the number of Africans employed in Salisbury had increased to five times the 1936 figure.\textsuperscript{24} Northern Rhodesia, Southern Rhodesia and Nyasaland were joined together to form the Central African Federation in 1953. The Federation resulted in unprecedented economic expansion in the three territories. These years are often

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textsuperscript{22}Y. Glass, "Industrialization and Urbanization in South Africa," p. 52.
  \item \textsuperscript{23}Gray, Two Nations, p. 201.
  \item \textsuperscript{24}Flewman, Report, p. 162.
\end{itemize}

\textbf{EUROPEAN AND NON-EUROPEAN POPULATION OF SALISBURY}

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{lcccc}
\hline
Salisbury and Municipality and Suburbs: & 1936 & 1946 & 1951 & 1956 \\
\hline
Europeans & 11,392 & 21,294 & 40,433 & 61,850 \\
Asians & Coloureds & 1,277 & 1,813 & 3,058 & 3,740 \\
Africans in Employment & 20,177 & 45,993 & 75,488 & 102,044 \\
Number of African Employees & 177 & 216 & 187 & 165 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\end{table}
referred to as the time of the "great multi-racial experiment." The Southern Rhodesian Parliament passed laws permitting Africans to buy all types of European liquors, to use certain hotels (subject to the owners' approval), and to participate in the State Lottery and other forms of betting.25

Another of the social pressures influencing the policies of the administration was the attitudes of urban Africans. More and more of them were beginning to regard themselves as townsmen. A survey in 1947 showed that twenty per cent of a sample taken in Salisbury regarded themselves as permanent city dwellers.26 In 1958 the Plewman Commission estimated that between forty and fifty per cent of the African population of Salisbury constituted family groups.27 No longer did the vast majority of Africans leave their wives in the rural areas; more and more of them had transplanted their roots from the tribal villages into the city. Towards the end of the Labor Migrant Phase the government acknowledged the need to provide homes for urban


27Plewman, Report, p. 18.
Africans. In 1953 a plan was drawn up for two home ownership schemes. The two areas set aside for this purpose were in Seki Reserve, eighteen miles south of Salisbury, and Ntabazinduna, twenty-two miles from the city of Bulawayo. Both schemes failed because they were too far from town. However, they were the beginning of a new stage in government policy—the temporary townsman phase.

2.3 Temporary Townsman Phase, 1955-1960

Having realized that it was necessary to provide security for African city dwellers, in 1955 the government borrowed £1.5 million from the Colonial Development Corporation and certain mining and insurance companies, mainly to develop "home ownership schemes." For the first time Africans were allowed to own houses in the urban areas and approximately 6,000 houses were built in 1956 to be purchased by Africans over a twenty-year

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28 "The establishment of Native Townships in native areas is being dealt with in two ways. It is proposed to set up closely settled and self-contained native townships in native areas within reasonable reach of the large European towns. In these townships natives will be able to purchase stands and build their own houses. Residential stands will be about one-eighth of an acre, water will be reticulated throughout the township, sanitation will be controlled and buildings will require to conform to certain minimum standards." Annual Report of the Township Officer, Native Affairs, for the Year Ended 31st December 1953, p. 16.

29 Plewman, Report, p. 40
period. The land on which the houses stood, however, still belonged to the government under the terms of the Land Apportionment Act. Instead of holding freehold title to the land, the African was given a ninety-nine-year lease which could be withdrawn on three-month's notice. Thus an African feared that having paid for his house, his lease on the land could be withdrawn forcing him to leave the house. This actually happened in South Africa under the Natives Resettlement Act,\textsuperscript{31} so it was considered likely that it could also happen in Rhodesia.

One of the main recommendations of the Plewman Commission (1958) was that urban Africans be given security of tenure by allowing them to obtain freehold title to land in the townships. The Commission was a watershed in government policies. The basic recommendations of the Commission were to grant recognition that the permanent townsman existed and to make provisions for him.\textsuperscript{32} By accepting these recommendations

\textsuperscript{30} Tindall, \textit{A History}, p. 314.

\textsuperscript{31} G. M. Carter, \textit{The Politics of Inequality}, p. 91.

\textsuperscript{32} The Commission recommended that the pass laws be abolished, that more funds be provided by government for home ownership schemes, and that there be more emphasis on building family accommodation rather than bachelor hostels. Plewman, \textit{Report}, pp. 41-116.
the government was put in the position of having to make policy changes which characterize the permanent townsman phase.

2.4 Permanent Townsman Phase, 1960-1969

Once the recommendations of the Plewman Commission were accepted, the pass laws were abolished, more home ownership and family accommodations were planned, and, most important for the Africans' feeling of security in the city, an amendment to the Land Apportionment Act made it possible for Africans to buy land in certain sections of urban townships.\textsuperscript{33}

A major feature of government policy after 1960 has been the attempt to give African townsman a sense of participation and belonging in the urban environment. In keeping with this policy Kambuzuma Township--six miles west of Salisbury--was established in 1963 as a self-development scheme. A Kambuzuma resident purchases a basic unit of accommodation and is required to add an additional two rooms within ten years. The basic unit is designed so that up to four rooms can be added. The township now has a population of over 12,000.\textsuperscript{34} Similar

\textsuperscript{33} G. C. Passmore, \textit{Local Government Legislation in Southern Rhodesia up to 30th September, 1963, p. 17.}

\textsuperscript{34} \textit{Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing, 1968, p. 13.}
self-help schemes have been initiated in Highfield township, and in one section of Harare township a small number of better-type houses are being sold to Africans.

Marimba Park and Westwood are another result of post-1960 changes in government policies regarding urban Africans. These two neighborhoods were established as areas in which wealthy Africans could buy large plots of land and build their own homes. They are separate from the townships and subject to fewer controls which limit the development of urban life styles among their residents.
Chapter 3

THE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS AND HISTORY
OF MARIMBA PARK AND WESTWOOD

3.1 Geographical Setting of Marimba Park and Westwood

The black, middle-class suburbs, Marimba Park and Westwood, are in the middle of a predominantly African area extending ten miles to the west of Salisbury. Driving there from downtown Salisbury, one passes through a shabby, second-class shopping district. The stores there are mostly owned by Indians and sell calico dresses, beds, cooking pots, and other items demanded by their African customers. As one continues west the colorful shops make way for manufacturing and warehousing concerns linked by railroad tracks that cross and recross the main road. Large buses stop frequently to discharge workers and to take on passengers bound for the townships further out. Continuing beyond the light industrial sites one passes Rugare on the west (see Map I). This township houses workers employed by Rhodesia Railways. To the north is Westwood where nineteen houses are grouped around the base of a hill. The road continues on past Kambuzuma Township and Marimba Park and ends at Mufakose Township.
The above map shows the relationship between the townships and the two suburbs, Marimba Park and Westwood. Westwood is about 6½ miles and Marimba Park 8½ miles from downtown Salisbury. They are the only areas in the city where an African can buy lots of a quarter-acre and larger, and design and build his own home.

Both areas stand out in marked contrast to the nearby townships. In Marimba Park and Westwood the large homes are set in spacious, landscaped yards. Nearly every family has a car parked in their garage. Close by in the working-class African townships—Mufakose, Kambuzuma and Rugare—the streets are lined with rows of small houses which the government has designed and built.

Westwood extends around the base of a large, wooded hill. To the southeast is a low, open field which becomes a marsh during the rainy season. A stream running
through the middle of this field is fed by effluent from the sewage disposal plant. The odor is often so strong that people passing this vicinity in a car must close their windows. Cattle from a nearby farm graze here, and Africans from neighboring Rugare Township plant gardens in this field.

Westwood's southern boundary is the main road running from downtown to Mufakose Township. In the past Rugare Township was some distance from Westwood, but recently it has grown toward the main road. Today Westwood does not have the same air of exclusiveness it once did since the rows of small houses in Rugare have nearly reached the road. In the evenings, especially on Saturday evening, the noise from the Rugare beer hall reminds Westwood residents of the proximity of their neighbors.

On the west Kambuzuma Township is immediately adjacent to Westwood. The houses on this side of Westwood look out over the streets of Kambuzuma, and their owners complain about the noise from the beer halls.

Marimba Park lies two miles to the west of Westwood and is divided by the main road. On the southern side of the road the houses stand on a gradually rising hill. On the northern side the land slopes gently down into a valley. To the west is Mufakose. Marimba Park
and Mufakose were once separated by a strip of open land a mile wide, but when the government began building new houses in Mufakose in 1968, this space shrank to a quarter mile. To the east a police station and a farm separate Marimba Park from Kambuzuma.

3.2 The Housing

The homes in Marimba Park and Westwood resemble those found in Salisbury's European suburbs and their owners reported that they had modeled their homes on other houses they had seen in Salisbury and in foreign countries. One man designed his house like a chalet he had seen while traveling in Switzerland. Another man copied the plan of his house from an American magazine picture. Western standards prevail; none have chosen the traditional design of the circular pole and mud huts which still house the majority of Africans in Rhodesia. In contrast to the houses in the townships, all homes in Marimba Park and Westwood have electricity, running water and indoor plumbing. All the families have radios and most have televisions. Kitchens are equipped with modern appliances including electric stoves and refrigerators. All but five of the families have telephones.
Westwood houses, in contrast to those in Marimba Park, were built and designed by the Europeans who lived there before the area was declared multi-racial in 1964. They are older than those in Marimba Park and in some cases have had considerable repair work done on them. The interior of homes in both neighborhoods are similar. A typical living room contains a sofa and chairs upholstered to match and small tables for serving tea. The arms and backs of the furniture are protected with hand-crocheted doilies and there is usually a rug in the center of the room and curtains on the windows. A common feature in the living rooms is a display cabinet which holds china, tableware, and other ornaments. In a few homes traditional African crafts are displayed. Wall decorations range from family photographs to scenic and religious pictures.

Most of the homes have verandahs or patios and every house has a garage. Servants' quarters are usually at the back of the yard. The one- and two-acre plots are all fenced and provide the residents with enough space to grow corn and other vegetables. One businessman grows vegetables for his store on the acre behind his house.

3.3 History of Westwood

The Consolidated Exploration and Development
Company established the suburb of Westwood in 1898. It was the first one outside the municipal area of Salisbury.\(^1\) In time Westwood grew into a respectable, middle-class suburb.\(^2\) When the land to the west of Salisbury was zoned for the development of African housing schemes,\(^3\) the European residents of Westwood posed a problem. The government could allow them to stay while African townships gradually surrounded them, or it could request that they be moved. As this was a political issue with racial overtones, it was potentially explosive. The question of the future of Westwood was brought up in Parliament and it was decided that the property owners should be moved out and compensated.\(^4\) But after this


\(^2\) Westwood had European, Coloured and Asian property owners. The Minister of Local Government said in Parliament in 1963: "There are 27 European, Coloured, and Asian property owners in Westwood, but some of these have not been heard of for a long time." J. Howman, in *Hansards*, p. 1210.

\(^3\) It is difficult to reconstruct the nature of the decision to create African townships on Salisbury's western side. The decision may have been part of a broader plan which envisaged a black area stretching from Rugare to Mufakose Township. On the other hand, the area may have been selected for economic reasons with little conscious effort to create a continuous black belt of African townships.

\(^4\) Howman, in *Hansards*, p. 1210. Only one resident had to be forced to move.
was done, no plans were made for the disposal of the properties by the government.

Meanwhile, Kambuzuma, a self-help housing scheme for Africans, was begun in 1964 on the tract of land immediately adjacent to Westwood. Africans could buy a basic dwelling unit in Kambuzuma from the government under the stipulation that they enlarge this unit to a pre-determined size within ten years. In their search for building materials, they fell upon the vacant houses in Westwood and carried away doors, windows, ceilings, plumbing, wiring and anything else deemed portable and re-usable.

Stricter enforcement of the Land Apportionment Act after the break-up of the Federation (1963) made it difficult for Africans or Coloureds married to Europeans to find accommodation, just as it forced multi-racial missionary institutions like the Dorothea Mission and the Marist Brothers to move from European areas. The government suggested to both these groups that they go to Westwood. 5

5Our interviews revealed contradictory information concerning the government’s reasons for the purchase of Westwood. One government official stated that the property in Westwood was bought to provide a middle-class residential area for Africans. Another claimed that the government bought the area in order to declare it a non-racial area.
In 1964, Parliament officially declared Westwood a non-racial area and offered lots and houses to both black and white buyers. The late Winston Field, Prime Minister of Rhodesia at the time, envisaged a multi-racial community developing in Westwood. The decision to declare Westwood a multi-racial area was attacked as hypocritical by some. An African Member of Parliament said:

We do not want little zoos to attract tourists of the world. Buy a new coat and do not patch the Land Apportionment Act about by amending it. If I am right we are only going to find Africans and Coloureds in that so-called multi-racial area. Europeans already living there will evict, afraid of being a laughing stock of their lot.

This proved true: as of 1970 there is only one European homeowner in Westwood along with a few living in the neighborhood's multi-racial institutions.

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6 This was to be quite a large community with multi-racial schools and hospitals. There should be a place where the races can be together if they so choose. People should be allowed to send their children to any school they like—African, European, or multi-racial—nobody would be able to say, 'you haven't provided these facilities.' Personal interview with Winston Field, 12/13/68.

7 Mr. Chigogo, in Hansards, p. 2202.

8 This man came to Westwood after it was integrated. He shares his home with an African family.
The latter include a hostel for the School of Social Service; a Dutch Reformed Bible Training Center, the Dorothea Mission; a residence for an order of Catholic priests, the Marist Brothers; a Red Cross Training Center and dormitory; and a Y.W.C.A. hostel. Excluding those living in these institutions, Westwood's population is 100.

Since 1964, all the houses have been sold, and several new houses completed. A prospective buyer is allowed to rent a house for six months before purchase with rent applied toward the purchase price. To prevent land speculation in the area, a person choosing to buy an undeveloped lot must agree to build within two years.

Sixteen families have moved into Westwood since 1964, and the community has remained multi-racial, though only minimally. Some claim that the government is disappointed. They say that officials had hoped no Europeans would choose to live in Westwood, thereby proving that integrated living had little popular support.

3.4 History of Marimba Park

When European settlers first arrived in the area of present-day Salisbury in 1890, they found that the Marimba Valley had been extensively cultivated by various Shona-speaking groups of people. The area was claimed
by one of the early settlers and called the Warren Farm. In 1960, the government bought it from the person to whom Warren had sold it; part of the area was renamed Marimba Park.

Mr. Mucha¹⁰ a wealthy businessman and African Member of Parliament, asked the government in 1962 to permit Africans to buy property outside the townships. At first the authorities refused, claiming that Africans could not afford to buy one- or two-acre lots and build according to acceptable standards. Mr. Mucha persisted. The government agreed that if he could find ten Africans with sufficient capital, they would consider his scheme. Mr. Mucha found more than ten people. Ironically, the authorities, who only reluctantly approved the plan, now distribute publicity photos to show how successful Africans can become in Rhodesia.

Prior to 1964, Marimba Park was the responsibility of the Town Manager¹¹ of Highfield African Township which is about four miles away. In October, 1964, Kambuzuma Township was established and responsibility for Marimba Park was transferred to that Town Manager.

¹⁰Brief biographies of Mr. and Mrs. Mucha and all the other residents are found in Appendix B.

¹¹A Town Manager is the European supervisor of an African township.
Kambuzuma is two miles from Marimba Park.

Despite slow growth at the beginning, building in the area began to accelerate after 1966. After the detention of African nationalists political leaders in 1964 and after Rhodesia's Unilateral Declaration of Independence from Great Britain on November 11, 1965, upper-class Africans felt more secure about investing in expensive residences. Prior to 1965, there had been violence and intimidation, some of it directed against successful Africans, presumably by nationalist groups.

Another factor which may have contributed to the building boom was the growing conservatism in the country. After 1965, it became plain that there would be no chance of seeing a liberal government in power in the near future. Only with a liberal government would it be even remotely possible to see the repeal of the Land Apportionment Act—that law which prevents Africans from owning property in European areas. Some wealthy

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12In 1966, £55,000 worth of building plans were approved. From 1962 until 1966 the average worth of plans approved was less than £10,000 each year. Annual Report of the Secretary for Local Government and Housing for the Year Ended 31st December, 1966, p. 14.

13The African nationalists were apt to regard wealthy Africans as "sell outs" and as sources of income for their political parties. For these reasons wealthy Africans were afraid to display their wealth. More information on this subject is found in Chapter 7.
Africans who would have preferred to buy land in European areas now resolved that if they were to own a high-cost home at all it would have to be in Marimba Park.

The above analysis attempts to explain the sudden upsurge of investment in Marimba Park during 1966 in terms of political factors. The residents seldom referred to any of these things when asked why they moved to Marimba Park. They were more apt to say, "We wanted a place which our children can have when we die," and "We wanted to move out of the crowded townships."

As of 1968, there were twenty-six houses in Marimba Park, and several more under construction. Thirty-one additional lots have been purchased and await development. The total capacity of the area is 150 lots. The original price of the land was £105 per acre—this has been doubled by the government. The purchaser signs a two-year lease and pays ten per cent of the purchase price each year. Construction must begin within the first nine months. At the end of two years, if the house meets the minimum cost requirement of £2,500 per acre (most actually far exceed this), then the purchaser can pay in full for the land and take title. These regulations also serve to prevent land speculation. Because loans are difficult for an African to secure unless he is a doctor,
teacher, or civil servant, most homeowners have built without assistance from commercial lending institutions. Some residents felt that the rising cost of lots (now £250 per acre) was exorbitant. One resident said, "The government doesn't like to see us doing so well and has put up the charge to discourage us."\(^\text{14}\)

Against this background of the origins and characteristics of Marimba Park and Westwood we will consider in the next chapter the people who live in these neighborhoods.

\(^{14}\) The government explains that the initial cost was uneconomic. Report of the Minister of Local Government and Housing, 1965, p. 16.
Chapter 4

CHARACTERISTICS OF THE RESIDENTS
OF MARIMBA PARK AND WESTWOOD

4.1 Introduction

The people who live in Marimba Park and Westwood are the nucleus of an urban middle-class. The life styles of this new group are modeled on those of the politically-dominant whites, but law and custom limit social contact between Africans and Europeans. On the other hand, education, income\(^1\) and wider experience separate the suburbanites from other Africans in the townships and especially those in rural areas. The physical isolation of Marimba Park and Westwood is symbolic of the gulf that lies on both sides of the affluent blacks who are adjusting to town life. This chapter describes these people and their life styles as a background to later analysis of change and adaptation.

4.2 Tribal Identity

Although Salisbury is located in that part of Rhodesia known as Mashonaland, the city is home to

\(^1\)The approximate average annual income of families in the townships is £228 (Report on Urban Budget Survey in Salisbury, p. 13). The average annual income of the subsistence farmer is about £25 (M.J. Britten in The Rhodesia Herald). In contrast, the minimum annual income of families in Marimba Park and Westwood is approximately £1200.
Africans from all parts of the country, as well as aliens from surrounding countries. This ethnic heterogeneity is reflected in Marimba Park and Westwood. If we classify the residents according to the tribes of their fathers, we find there forty-nine Shona, four Ndebele, five Xhosa, four Zulu, two Sotho, one Tswana and one Yao. Eight of the thirty-five women are from South Africa; six of them are married to Shona men. The fathers of four of the residents were South Africans who migrated to Rhodesia. In some cases this method of assigning people to tribes is arbitrary and misrepresents the actual cultural background of certain individuals. For example, the father of one woman, Mrs. Mombe, is a Xhosa who migrated from the Cape region to Rhodesia sixty years ago with a European pioneer-doctor. Her mother is an indigenous Ndebele yet the family settled in a Shona-speaking area. When she was ten her parents

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2 This is consistent with the fact that all but the Yao are patrilineal.

3 The Shona are usually divided into dialect groups—Zezuru, Manica, Ndau, Karanga and KoreKore. In Marimba Park and Westwood there are twenty-two Manica, seventeen Zezuru, seven Ndau and three KoreKore. Holleman states that it is doubtful if such classification can be justified on linguistic grounds. J.F. Holleman, "Some Shona Tribes of Southern Rhodesia," p. 354.

4 Brief biographies of Mr. and Mrs. Mombe and all the other residents are found in Appendix B.
sent her 200 miles to a boarding school run by Anglican missionaries. There she completed her education, was trained as a teacher and later married a man who had been educated at the same school. His father, a Sotho, had also migrated to Rhodesia and married an Ndebele woman. The young couple lived at the mission for twenty-three years before finally moving to Salisbury. Though their tribal ancestry is diverse, as we have seen, both say they are Ndebele. Their own children are equally fluent in Shona, Ndebele, and English.

Tribal identity is often obscured by an unusual life occurrence. Mr. Mapadza's father was a missionary worker from Basutoland living in a mission near Salisbury. When only a year old his father died and he and his mother were cared for by the mission. He has never been to Basutoland, and does not know the language spoken there or Basuto customs.

Evidence of the blurring of tribal identity among the wealthy suburbanites is further discussed in Chapter 7, where it is shown that most of the residents' friendships are made at work, at school, at church and in the neighborhood. Tribal ties are shown to be of secondary importance.
4.3 Education and Occupation

The residents of Marimba Park and Westwood have either done exceptionally well in business or have reached a high standard in school. One third of the thirty-three men have college degrees and one woman is a graduate of a Canadian university. Fifteen of the women received teacher training certificates and ten qualified as nurses. In contrast to their educated neighbors the businessmen have only primary education, but they have succeeded in business. Fifteen men and one woman own and manage businesses ranging from a single grocery store to a fleet of forty-four buses.

Table I

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Professionals</th>
<th>Businessmen</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Secondary School Teacher 4*</td>
<td>Retail Stores 9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Civil Servant 3</td>
<td>Transport 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>University Lecturer 2*</td>
<td>Stores &amp; Buses 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doctor 2*</td>
<td>Contractor 1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Insurance Salesman 1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary School Headmaster 1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Veterinarian 1*</td>
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<td>Market Research Analyst 1*</td>
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<td>Insurance Salesman and 1*</td>
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<tr>
<td>Member of Parliament</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Have college degrees

5In this and the following chapters the term professional includes those occupations listed under column one in Table I.
Table I shows the number of professionals who have college degrees, as well as the occupations of the men.

As late as 1940 there were no secondary schools for Africans in Rhodesia.¹¹ Eleven Rhodesian-born residents went to South Africa to further their education. Two went to Inanda High School in Natal, three went to Fort Hare University in the Transvaal, and five went to Adams College in Natal (Natal and Transvaal are two provinces in South Africa). One man was trained at a college of agriculture.

The businessmen began their careers as salaried workers and ended up as self-employed entrepreneurs. Mr. Mucha is a typical example. He left his job as an agricultural demonstrator employed by the government to become a businessman. He commented on the reason for his change of job, "I had to compete with whites, which was rare in those days. I could not be given the same scale of salary so I decided to chart my own canoe." He saved enough to buy an old truck and started a transport business. He bought several buses and eventually built up to a fleet of fourteen. Next he turned

to building shops in the African townships, and leasing them to other black businessmen.

Table II shows the occupational training which the women received, and their present occupations. It is unusual for African women in the traditional setting to be anything other than housewives, but in Westwood and Marimba Park twenty-five of the thirty-five women were trained as nurses or teachers. Only thirteen of these twenty-five continue to work in the occupations for which they were trained, but some work at other occupations (e.g. cooking demonstrator, secretary, and social worker). The majority of the thirty-five women (twenty-two) work outside the home and are active in voluntary associations like the Y.W.C.A. and church groups. Two of the households are headed by women who are financially independent and the sole owners of their property. Such a situation would be unusual in traditional Shona society since the woman remains, throughout her lifetime, a minor in law, and completely dependent upon the extended family.

7 A cooking demonstrator is a person who explains different recipes to African women in both the country and the townships. She is hired by a business firm whose products are incorporated in the recipes. A side effect of such demonstrations, of course, is the spreading of urban products and ideas.
Table II

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Training</th>
<th>Present Occupations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
<td>Teacher</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurse</td>
<td>Nurse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
<td>Housewife</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helped husband</td>
<td>Helps husband in shop</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business</td>
<td>Business</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Social worker</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Cooking demonstrator</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Secretary</td>
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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>15</th>
<th>10</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>13</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>2</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Teacher</td>
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<td>Nurse</td>
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<tr>
<td>Housewife</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helps husband</td>
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<td>4</td>
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<tr>
<td>Business</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social worker</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cooking</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>demonstrator</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>1</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Secretary</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 35

All the residents share in common the desire that their children be educated. The children in both neighborhoods attend school, and seventeen of the thirty-five families send their children to private, multi-racial schools. Mr. Dombo and Mr. Uchan illustrate the importance which the affluent blacks attach to educating their children. Mr. Dombo became discouraged when he had difficulty finding places for his children to do secondary school in Rhodesia. He sent four of them to...

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8In Rhodesia, education for Africans is not compulsory (as it is for Europeans). The educational system is divided into African education and European education. African children attend government schools or government-aided mission schools. European children attend either government schools or private schools. A few of these private schools admit several Africans in each class.
private schools in England. Mr. Uchan sent his two sons to universities in the United States and in Britain because he feared that he would not find places for them in Rhodesia.

4.4 Social Backgrounds

Before moving to Marimba Park or Westwood all the families lived in the townships. Patterns of mobility are different for businessmen and professionals. Typically the businessmen were born in the country and came to town in their late teens. They began working in menial jobs and were able to afford only the cheapest housing in the townships.\(^9\) In contrast, the professionals, coming from high schools or universities, found higher status jobs in education, medicine and the civil service. With above-average incomes they were able to afford the more expensive houses in the townships. All the families mentioned that a desire to own their own home had prompted them to move from the townships to Marimba Park and Westwood. In Chapter 5 we discuss social mobility and the affluent blacks' backgrounds more fully.

\(^9\)Township housing ranges from extremely simple one and two roomed semi-detached houses without plumbing or electricity, to small cottages with water, lights, three bedrooms, a kitchen, and a living room.
4.5 Religion

Table III shows that the majority of the men and women in Marimba Park and Westwood come from Christian backgrounds. Thirty of the residents had fathers who were ministers or evangelists; seven of them were full-time, trained ministers. Fifty-five of the sixty-eight adults said that their parents were Christian, and of the remaining thirteen, two said that only one of their parents was Christian; two said that neither of their parents was Christian. The nine others were unable to say for certain.

All sixty-eight of the residents identified themselves as Christians and members of a particular denomination (see Table III). Among the thirty-three men in Marimba Park and Westwood, one is a trained minister; three others are lay preachers.

**TABLE III - RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND AND DENOMINATIONS**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Number out of 68 who attended mission schools: 66</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of fathers who were preachers, evangelists, or ministers: 30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of women out of 35 who are members of the Y.W.C.A. 23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anglican 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methodist 18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Catholic 10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Presbyterian 6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salvation Army 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>American Board 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>African Independent Church 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Apostolic 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baptist 2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total 68</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
The fact that all but two of the residents received at least part of their education from missionaries helps explain their willingness to adopt Christian teachings.

Several of the families are devout Christians and organize their lives around church activities. One teacher spends his weekends and several evenings a week preaching both in Salisbury and nearby Tribal Trust Lands. His wife was bedridden for two years and was healed by a religious experience. A businessman built a church, at his own expense, near his rural home. Another man was born at a mission school, the son of an African missionary. One couple lived for twenty-five years at a mission school and continue to attend church regularly now that they are in Salisbury. Twenty-three of the thirty-five women are now or have been members of the Y.W.C.A.

4.6 Life Styles of the Businessmen

There are two different life styles in Marimba Park and Westwood—the businessmen and the professional people. The businessmen, unlike the professionals, are self-employed. They plan each day according to their interpretation of market demands, and have a flexible routine. This independence is balanced by a

10 For example, Mr. Muchero visits his farm whenever he needs to bring in produce for his shop or check on his farm labourers.
certain dependence upon the favor of their African customers.

Mr. Mugudzu is a typical businessman. He owns several shops in Salisbury's Townships, a shop in a nearby town, and he owns several buses which make trips between the city and outlying small towns and Tribal Trust Lands. Mr. Mugudzu wakes at 5:00 a.m., dresses, usually in a conservative brown suit, and has tea, bread and butter for breakfast. In his 1967-model American car he drives to the bus terminal in Harare Township. Here he confers with his drivers and conductors, making sure that his buses are ready for the day's journey to and from Que Que and Enkeldoorn. When we talked to him he was concerned about the large number of passengers who would be traveling during Christmas holidays. His next stop is his office located in an older section of downtown. Mr. Mugudzu rents two rooms above some Indian-run shops; he occupies one room and his clerk the other. Mugudzu's office has four hard-backed chairs and a desk which is cluttered with files and papers.

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11 Harare is one of the two largest African townships in Salisbury and the point from which African buses depart from town for the rural areas.

12 Que Que and Enkeldoorn are two small towns 168 and 90 miles from Salisbury, respectively.
He telephones his son who manages one of his stores in Marandellas, a small town forty-eight miles from Salisbury. He then makes several other calls, including one to his cousin, one to a firm of cloth traders, and one to the cash register salesman. During the morning he receives several visitors, some he knows and other are complete strangers. He says all the businessmen are in this same position; people see their shops and buses, assume that they are rich, and come to ask for help. This morning's visitors include a policeman who asked for £50 for school fees for his children; a man from Wedza (which is not Mugudzu's rural area) who asked him to build a bottle store and let him manage it; a woman who asked if he could find a place in school for her ten-year-old child; and a man who asked for six quarts of beer. Mugudzu refused all these requests.

During the afternoon two of Mr. Mugudzu's rural relatives visit him. They have come to ask for money; one of them must pay a fine to the family of a girl he has impregnated. Mugudzu speaks with them for a long time but gives them nothing.

Handling these requests from both relatives and non-relatives is a typical part of the daily routine of Mugudzu and other businessmen like him who are rela-
tively affluent. In section 4.8 we discuss the expectations which relatives, tribal members and fellow Africans have that wealthier Africans will give them advice and financial assistance. In town the businessmen play a role similar to that of the chiefs in the rural areas. They are asked to mediate between individuals and the European power structure. People may ask a businessman for aid in finding a job or getting a house, or to represent them in marriage negotiations with another family. They may be called upon to settle disputes.

The prosperous African businessman is a comparatively recent figure in Rhodesia’s history. After European pioneers came in the late 19th century, the number of African businessmen increased rapidly. The trading premises in Harare, Mufakose, and Mabvuku Townships are listed below.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Service</th>
<th>Number</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>General Stores</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second-hand clothes shops</td>
<td>36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wood/coal vendors</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Offices</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butcheries</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shoe repairers</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

13 These premises are both rented to the storekeepers by the government and owned by the storekeepers themselves.

14 These townships house a little less than half of the total African population in Salisbury. *City of Salisbury, Annual Report of the Director of African Administration for the Year Ending 30th June, 1968*, pp. 43-44, 70.
Transport operators 9
Tailors 6
Garages 6
Restaurants 6
Photographers 5
Dry Cleaners agents 5
Markets 5
Fish and Chips shops 3
Snack bars 3
Bottle stores 2
Laundries 2
Plumbers 1
Milk Depots 1
Druggists 1
Stationers 1
Supermarkets 1

Until 1931 African and European patterns of production, distribution and consumption were not segregated. Threat of competition led the Europeans to pass the Land Apportionment Act in 1930 (see Chapter 2), and since then other measures have been taken to restrict African Development.

The Land Apportionment Act prohibits Africans from doing business in the European business area and vice versa.\(^{15}\) However, Africans may purchase European goods and services, and a few are employed in European businesses to serve the increasing number of African customers.

Within the range of economic development allowed Africans, a few prosper. These are men who work long

\(^{15}\)Government officials explain this law as a device to protect African businesses from European businessmen who have greater capital and "business acumen."
hours, and who have shaken off traditional obligations to relatives and other Africans. Many businesses fail because their owners try to comply with relatives' demands for gifts, and because of other problems such as inadequate accounting. The successful businessmen in Marimba Park and Westwood have mastered these difficulties through hard work and common sense rather than formal education.

For example, Mr. Dunzu began as a waiter in one of Salisbury's hotels; he became a driver, and then went into the transport business on his own with an old truck given to him by his employer. He expanded this business and today owns a big American car, forty-four buses, two houses in Marimba Park, one of which is valued at £22,000, two houses in Highfields, and he is building a house in the rural area from which he originally came. In addition, he owns several business stands which he rents out.

Successful African businessmen are occasionally featured in Rhodesian newspapers which cater to Europeans. This is a paternalistic note because Europeans who achieve similar incomes would not make the news. The paternalism is

somewhat ironic, considering that it is very difficult for Africans to get loans from banks or other institutions to start a business. Capital is gotten by gradual accumulation and lucky breaks (Mr. Dunzu received his first truck as a gift from someone who was going out of business; another businessman won a lottery); some businessmen are accused of being funded by Europeans who are not allowed to own businesses in the African areas.

4.7 Life Styles of the Professionals

As mentioned above there are significant differences between the life styles of the businessmen and the professionals. Some of these stem from differences in the way they make their livings. We saw in the previous section that the businessmen are self-employed entrepreneurs, who have accumulated capital slowly and invested it in shops and buses. Their customers are other Africans. The professionals--teachers, doctors, civil servants, salesmen, clerks--on the other hand, are salaried employees working in bureaucratic organizations. The doctors treat only African patients and the secondary school teachers work in African schools, but the others in this group work in settings where the majority of their co-workers are white. They have more contact with Europeans
and are more likely than the businessmen to have European friends. 17

Another major difference which we noted earlier is education. The businessmen all have less than eight years of education 18 (the average is five) and the professionals (with one exception) have all completed secondary school. With a school certificate or a college degree the professionals were able to begin their careers in high status, better-paying jobs. Thus it is to be expected that the average age of the businessmen (fifty-two) is more than ten years older than that of the professionals (forty-one). Beginning in menial jobs—driver, dishwasher, laborer—the businessmen were able to afford a home in Marimba Park or Westwood only after years of working. With high-salaried jobs the professionals were able to save money for a home sooner and were in a position to negotiate loans with lending institutions.

In the previous section we noted that the businessmen are well-known in the townships and are under constant pressure from other Africans, both kinsmen and

17 When asked to list their friends, the professionals included the names of fifty-five whites while the businessmen named only six whites as their friends.

18 One exception is a man in his early forties who completed secondary school and took a clerical job. Later he bought a shop in one of the townships and went into business.
strangers, for advice and aid. Their offices are often filled with people waiting to ask for assistance. The professional working in a private company or in a government office, is isolated from this pressure during working hours. Relatives seek his advice and assistance in family matters, but these contacts take place outside of working hours.

The professional has a predictable, steady income, but it is, on the average, a smaller income than the businessman’s. Four of the professionals have more than one source of income. One man who has a B.A. teaches at a secondary school in the daytime, teaches part-time at the university in the evenings, and is studying for an M.A. by correspondence course. His neighbor, also a teacher, does accounting and bookkeeping for businessmen in his spare time. Still another teacher tutors school drop-outs in the evenings. One of the doctors is a part-time author who writes books in the Shona language to instruct people in the fundamentals of health care.

Mr. Tengo is a good example of the typical professional. After graduating from university, Tengo returned to Rhodesia with his wife and baby. Within two months he was hired by a large corporation to work in their market research and public relations department. He is one
of five Africans working in administrative positions so the majority of his contacts during the day are with his white colleagues. Tengo shares the family car with his wife who works as a secretary. Most mornings they take their daughter to a nursery, and their seven-year-old son to a private, multi-racial school, before going to their jobs. At work Tengo instructs a group of research workers who are going to interview housewives in the townships. He makes several trips a year to other towns in Rhodesia to collect information about consumer habits. Lunch hours are spent eating and reading the daily newspaper. At 4:30 Tengo leaves work and picks up his wife and children. In the evenings he watches television and reads. On weekends he takes his wife shopping and they visit their parents and friends together. Mrs. Tengo is active in the Y.W.C.A., and Tengo spends some Saturday afternoons babysitting while his wife goes to meetings.

In the next section we will consider relationships between family members and how these ties are affected by urban life.

4.8 Family Life

In this section we will consider the relationships between the residents and members of their extended families and note changes that are occurring. Relationships
between members of the nuclear family will also be discussed. We will analyze the way in which family structures are adapted to the urban environment.

4.8.1 The Extended Family: Among the traditional Shona the patrilineal extended family is both a domestic and an economic unit. Individual ownership rights are subordinated to those of the group\(^{19}\) and the individual derives his identity from the lineage group. It provides social security\(^ {20}\) for its members whether they remain in the village or migrate to town in search of work.

In town this traditional system is confronted with a system in which individual initiative is rewarded, where money is in great demand, and where the size and design of housing prevents traditional patterns of residence. Relatives are still expected to help each other, but these demands prove burdensome to the townsmen seeking to get ahead. In order to accumulate capital necessary to satisfy the needs of his own family, a man must

\(^{19}\)Hollemman states that individual property rights are subordinated to family property rights in the traditional setting. "...if the common interests of the family demanded it, individual rights could be overruled because the very nature of the property precluded a strictly individual conception of ownership." Holleman, *Shona Customary Law*, p. 332.

\(^{20}\)Gelfand relates how the traditional Shona shares food with relatives and that "...if one of the kin gets into difficulties, his obligations will be met through the family resources." Michael Gelfand, *African Background*, pp. 98-99.
compromise and in some way isolate himself from these demands. This balance is difficult to achieve because of the emotional links that exist between an individual and his kin group.

Among the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood the extended family no longer functions as a domestic unit and they are independent of economic reliance on their relatives, but all indicated that there are strong social bonds linking them to their kinsmen. They all noted that they are under constant pressure from relatives for money and assistance. One resident said about his relatives, "They don't see that my earnings are comparable to my standard of living and there is little surplus." Another man finds it impossible to satisfy the demands of his relatives because his father had six wives and many children. All the families have or have had relatives living with them. In some cases it is a grandparent or a sibling. Other times it is nieces or nephews. One family has educated the husband's nephew through secondary school. He is still living with them and many people think he is their own son. An extreme case is that of a woman who said that the biggest problem in her life occurred when four of her husband's relatives came to live with them. She said, "They thought we had lots of money and sent four big children
to us to look after. It was so expensive that every month we remained with nothing in the house. This went on for four or five years. It was like we weren't even working for we never had anything." She described a strange and undiagnosed illness which overcame her during his time, forcing her to stop work. She recalled that the symptoms left when the four children finally returned to their own parents. Did she ever consider complaining to her husband about the problem? No, it had never crossed her mind because it would be going against custom not to take care of relatives.

Others pay school fees and buy clothing for their relatives. The affluent blacks do not close their homes or their purses to the steady stream of relatives who come to their doors. Rather, they do not let the demand determine the supply. Mediating between these demands and the needs of their own families is a source of conflict that is enhanced by the disparity that exists between their incomes and those of their relatives in rural areas or other townships.

Some people expressed guilt about their obligations to the extended family. A good example of this was provided by Mr. Adat, who is a devout Catholic. He said:
Relatives still come. I have not broken away from these people and I still feel an attachment to these people. I once sent a great coat to my uncle from Jo'burg and gifts to cousins. I still assist my sister and her kids in school. I have been away from these people over thirty years but still we are connected. If I felt I was no longer part of them I would fear the ancestral spirits. I had a terrible car accident in 1967. I quickly thought what is happening to them and all the spirits. If I became totally broke they would look after me.

These fears work to maintain the solidarity of the partilineal extended family.

4.8.2 The Nuclear Family: The adult residents were all brought up in closer touch with customs than their children. They have adopted European modes of living and behavior, but, at the same time, have the knowledge of custom and respect for elders that enables them to maintain some balance between the demands of the two worlds. One woman illustrated this well when she said, "I address my husband by his first name here in town, but when I go out to the villages I call him 'Baba WaCharles.'" 21 But their children are growing up differently. Most attend multi-racial schools. They know little about traditional customs. They know TV, European food, beds, bathrooms, and many other luxuries that their

21 Literally this means "Father of Charles."
rural relatives do not have. Some parents are embarrassed by their children's behavior when the visit in the country. Children are often ignorant of what is expected of them and do not know how to maintain the balance.

Parents are very aware of the differences between their children and children growing up in the rural areas. One woman expressed reluctance about sending her child to a multi-racial school at the primary level. She told of a child who was encouraged to speak English while attending one of these schools; he had difficulty communicating with his grandmother who lived in the country and spoke only Shona. To avoid such problems some of the residents send their children to the reserves to pick up some culture during the school holidays. Others are reluctant to do so because they fear their children will be undernourished and exposed to disease if they stay too long there.

When asked what they thought it was important to teach children, the most common answer was respect for elders and politeness. One informant said, "There are two things we really want them to know. One is to be polite, and when they meet people from the country they
must kneel down. Another reported: "Children should show respect all the time; they should not answer back, we know more through experience. When guests come they must sit quietly or go and play in their room."

An important aspect of family life in Marimba Park and Westwood are the nontraditional attitudes of the women. Not only do many of them work, as seen earlier in this chapter, but they are eager to adopt Western customs. This may be due to the fact that as aliens, many of them are far removed from their traditional backgrounds and do not feel in close touch with their husbands' traditions. Twelve of the thirty-five women are not Shonas and eight of the thirty-three marriages are inter-tribal. Even among Shona marriages there are various different combinations such as KoreKore-Zezuru or Ndau-Zezuru. Marriages between partners of different tribal background are subjected to modernizing influences because most partners did not grow up with the tribal customs of their spouses. Their common cultural reference must then necessarily be western.

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22 The traditional Shona way of entering into the presence of another of higher status and initiating a conversation is to kneel down before him or her. This is done by women.

23 In some cases they do not know one another's tribal language.
As mentioned earlier in this chapter, twenty-five of the women are qualified as nurses or teachers. The businessmen's wives usually help by managing a store for their husbands. Thus, couples in Marimba Park and Westwood tend to see themselves as partners, a pattern not found in the rural economy. They go out together and entertain other couples in their homes. It is a common sight in the neighborhoods on weekends to see women driving slowly up and down the street with their husbands at their sides giving them lessons. Their husbands often take them to women's meetings in the family car and occupy themselves until their wives are ready to go home. A few of the women drive themselves to the meetings.

The pattern is still not wholly egalitarian, as seen by the interaction between the husband and wife in front of visitors. When I arrived at a home when both husband and wife were present, the wife would either excuse herself from the room or sit quietly. Both naturally assumed that I was only interested in talking to the husband. Only if I questioned the woman directly would she comment. Often when I asked the wife something, the husband would not let her finish; he moved to regain control of the conversation. Once when the wife continued to remain during the interview, the husband invited me
to his private study. Despite the reticence of the women in such situations, they are gradually changing from a subservient role to a more egalitarian one.

4.9 Conclusion

This chapter has revealed several points about the residents. Their rural and tribal backgrounds, their schooling and jobs, their religion and family life, show that they have adapted their culture to the urban environment.\textsuperscript{24} Traditional elements like tribal identity are giving way to modern roles at work, church and in the family.

\textsuperscript{24} The residents' adaptation of their religious beliefs and social relationships to western culture is covered in more detail in Chapters 6 and 7.
Chapter 5

SOCIAL MOBILITY AND THE RESIDENTS
OF MARIMBA PARK AND WESTWOOD

5.1 Traditional Patterns of Socioeconomic Life

In the Shona village status is ascribed. The headman holds the highest position and is subject only to the chief. High status is attached to being a member of a ruling clan, or one of the village elders, while low status is delegated to women and children.\(^1\) The occupational status of the medium (shave) and diviner or herbalist (n'anga) is also ascribed: the shave is selected by a spirit to become the mouthpiece of that spirit, and the n'anga either inherits his position from his father or is selected by divine revelation.

Under the traditional system, every able-bodied person is a cultivator. A few iron workers, midwives, and diviners perform their tasks as part-time specializations, but the main thrust of their efforts is concentrated on producing food for their dependents.\(^2\) Today,  

\(^1\)One exception to this is Mambokadzi Charewa, the only female chief in Mashonaland. Phillippa Berlyn in The Rhodesia Herald.

\(^2\)Holleman, Shona Customary Law, p. 318.
seventy-six per cent of Rhodesia's 4.8 million Africans live off agriculture. The remainder, 1,152,000 are townspeople, migrant laborers, and their dependents.⁴

The migrant laborer plays an important part in changing the traditional system. Young men leave the villages to work on farms, in the mines, and in towns. They bring new material goods back into the village and thereby gain status among their kinsmen. Higher status comes as well to those who complete secondary school or learn new skills that can be exchanged for money.

The traditional prestige system also changes as the European government grants new powers to various individuals. It confers on an African policeman the power to arrest and imprison the chief's subjects without the chief's permission. To the scantily clad tribesman the policeman's uniform is awesome and prestigious.⁵ The chief himself is entitled to hold his traditional court (dare) and punish his subjects for breaches of customary

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³ Britten, The Rhodesia Herald. These population figures are from the 1969 census. Rural families have an average annual income of £20 to £25, of which £5 at most is surplus.

⁴ The migrant laborer is discussed in greater detail in Chapter 2.

⁵ In the Tribal Trust Lands the most common uniformed figure is the messenger who conveys messages between the District Commissioner and the chief and is responsible for keeping the peace.
law only by virtue of the government's assent. As symbols of government recognition, he receives a monthly cash allowance, a white helmet, a badge, and a large medallion on a chain to wear around his neck.  

The relationship between the chief, the central government and others under the chief is shown in the diagram below.

Diagram I

Social Structure in the Tribal Trust Lands Today and its Relation to the Central Government

Central Government ——— Council of Chiefs

| Provincial Assemblies of Chiefs |
| Councils—½ elected members & ½ chiefs |

| District Council |

| Local Government ——— Chief ——— Tribal elders, or chief's advisors |

| Headman |

| Kraal Head |

| Head of Family |

| Extended Family |

6The African nationalists do not see these emblems as important status symbols because they consider the chiefs to be pawns of the government.
During the last few decades it has become possible for the tribesman to achieve higher status within the tribal structure. If he is elected by his village to be a councillor he will participate with the other elected members and the chiefs of the district in the discussion and formulation of district policies. These policies must be consistent with guidelines provided by the central government. The councils levy taxes; build schools, irrigation works, and health clinics; they maintain roads, sink wells, and employ subordinates to help carry out their duties.  

5.2 Social Status and Race in the Urban Areas

Whereas status in the rural areas is still largely ascribed, and social mobility is limited, the urban areas offer further opportunities. As centers of

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7 In 1969 there were seventy-eight councils in the rural areas. The District Commissioner is the President of the council, the chairman and vice-chairman are elected by the members of the council, and the secretaries are hired African employees, trained in accounting at the government training center at Domboshawa.

8 Some opportunities in the rural areas exist for African businessmen, teachers, doctors and nurses. There are also nearly 8,000 African master farmers who are independent of the traditional system of land tenure. Under the traditional system the chief allocates land to his subjects on a temporary basis. In contrast the master farmers either own or are in the process of buying farms in the African Purchase Areas.
industry and commerce and they provide employment for 301,573 Africans.\(^9\) This figure does not include the African businessmen and small traders and their dependents who also live in the urban areas.

Segregation exists in schools, hospitals, businesses, and the church.\(^{10}\) These are fields in which Africans are able to rise to high levels. Diagram II below shows that there are Africans who are in higher status positions than Europeans, but they seldom come into contact with Europeans in their occupations, and hence friction is avoided. The case of Dr. Luta illustrates this well. Dr. Luta and his family live in Westwood. When he completed his studies in Great Britain and returned to Rhodesia as a qualified veterinary surgeon he was employed by the government to work with farmers in agriculture. This presented a potentially difficult situation. As a highly trained government employee it would have been awkward for him to go onto European farms and advise Europeans. This problem was solved by making Dr. Luta responsible for advising African farmers in the

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\(^{9}\)Final Report on the September 1961 Census of Employees, p. 3.

\(^{10}\)There are some European teachers at African schools and some Africans attend church with whites, but this is the exception rather than the rule.
Tribal Trust Lands and the African Purchase Areas. While Dr. Luta's salary is equal to his European colleagues who are at the same civil service grade level, he is not in a position of authority over any Europeans. His sphere of authority is completely within the African areas.

Diagram II

SOCIAL STRUCTURE IN RHODESIA

224,000 Europeans

upper middle-class Africans

lower middle-class Europeans

4,800,000 Africans

---


Despite the avoidance of racial friction in this instance, racial tension exists when Africans of high status, like Dr. Luta, come into contact with the petty bureaucrats who administer the townships. Kuper notes that in South Africa whites of lower status are often those who are placed in charge of the African townships. Thus African professionals who have high status in their community are under the authority of whites who have low qualifications and incomes. Kuper states that these petty bureaucrats compensate for their status deficiencies "...by an exaggerated exercise of power."\(^{13}\)

Residents of Marimba Park complain that they are not treated with the respect due them by the officials in Kambuzuma Township who administer Marimba Park. One man said, "We have to stand in the queue for hours at the end of the month to pay our rates at a side window. It is not that we feel superior to the residents of Kambuzuma who also wait, but we are busy and don't have the time. They can send a girl or a housewife to wait, but we can't."

Mrs. Shiri, a resident of Westwood, spoke of racial discrimination practiced by low status Europeans. She

went into a big department store and was told to leave her purse at the cashier before entering into the shopping section. Thinking that this was the rule of the store, she consented and put her purse down prior to entering. Once inside the shopping area she saw a European woman with a purse identical to her own, enter and begin shopping. Thinking this might be a mistake, Mrs. Shiri waited to see what would happen to the next person. Then she saw several more European women enter without leaving their purses behind. She became angry and asked the cashier why these European women were allowed to bring in their purses, while she, an African, was not. She asked to see the manager; the attendants threatened to call the police if she did not leave, but she told them to go ahead. Finally she saw the manager and asked him whether the shop's policy was to discriminate against Africans, because if it was, it should be written up somewhere "Europeans Only," and that she would tell her European and African friends not to shop there. The manager apologized and said that the shop assistants were inexperienced, did not know how to act, and that it was their fault. The next time Mrs. Shiri went into the store she had no trouble.

Allan Wright, a former District Commissioner, reports similar incidents in an article on race relations
in Rhodesia. He found that the main European offenders are those who feel insecure in their occupations. He writes, "My investigations showed that the main offenders fall into the following job categories: shop assistants, artisans, transport employees, government employees in junior posts and kindred types."\(^1\)

Whereas low status Africans are often resigned to discrimination (or at any rate do not voice open resentment), the high status Africans have grown increasingly sensitive to these indignities. On one occasion the executive committee of the Westwood Residents Association was scheduled to meet with representatives of the government. When they arrived a few minutes late, the African constable refused to admit them to the township manager's office, saying that there was an important meeting in progress. After waiting for twenty minutes, the Westwood representatives finally persuaded the constable to inform the township manager of their presence. When they finally gained admission, they saw the township manager seated at a table with other representatives from the local government. He was angry, and looking at his watch, asked why he and the other Europeans had been kept waiting when they had given up their valuable time

\(^{1}\)Allan Wright, The Rhodesia Herald.
to meet with the Westwood representatives. Mr. Shiri, chairman of the Westwood Residents Association, explained the reason for the delay and the township manager accepted it. The Deputy Secretary for Local Government suggested to the township manager that he advise the constable to be more discerning in the future.

It is not only low status Africans, like this constable, who accept and perpetuate the system. Those higher up in the social scale also accept certain aspects of the social structure. The only difference is that they are more aware of the ways in which they are coming to accept what once seemed unjust to them. Mr. Miti, a Westwood resident, explained that on his lunch break he walks past several restaurants and cafés in the city center until he gets to the railway station café which serves Africans. He relates that he never even considers trying to go into these other restaurants as he has become conditioned to accept their refusal to serve Africans as an immutable fact.

5.3 Occupations Open to Middle-Class Africans

In 1969, Terence Miller, the Principal of the University College of Rhodesia, said, "There are now virtually only two career lines for the African student: medicine, where he appears in very small but increasing
numbers; and teaching, which is where eighty per cent of our graduates go." 15 The graduates have careers in education and medicine under what N. H. Wilson has called the "two-pyramids policy." 16 This policy is graphically represented by one pyramid which is "...white with a black base consisting of African unskilled workers," and standing in the European area; the other black, "...except for a white tip, consisting of European administrators" and standing in the African area. 17

Medicine is one of the avenues open to Africans. There are fifteen African doctors in Rhodesia; five are in government service of whom two are in charge of district hospitals; one is a veterinary surgeon. There are 306 African State Registered Nurses in government service. There is little or no black-white competition in this profession. Indeed, more black doctors and nurses are needed, especially to serve in the rural areas. 18

There were a total of 17,479 African teachers in Rhodesia in 1968. Three hundred fifty Africans have

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15 Terence Miller, *The Rhodesia Herald*.
17 Ibid., p. 31.
18 The Africans' faith in Western medicine is growing as it is shown that lives can be saved by doctors.
become permanent headmasters of African primary and secondary schools. A few Africans hold the positions of inspector of schools. However the top administrative positions in the Ministry of African Education—The Secretary for African Education, the two Deputy Secretaries, and the Provincial Education Officers—are Europeans. This is in keeping with the government’s two-pyramids policy.

In 1925, before the passing of the Land Apportionment Act and the instituting of the two-pyramids policy, there were African-owned shops in the European section of downtown—on Railway Avenue, Charter Road, and Second Street. With the enforcement of the act\(^\text{19}\) African businessmen were limited to trading in their own areas. This created an artificial protection for the African businessman, but at the same time it denied him the incentive of open competition and the opportunity to expand his concern appreciably by catering to white customers.

There are no figures available on the number of successful African businessmen in Rhodesia. However, of the 986 African taxpayers listed on the tax rolls, it can be assumed that nearly all of them are businessmen since

\(^{19}\text{The act was originally passed in 1930 and has been amended frequently. Leys, European Politics, p. 28.}\)
there are very few salaried Africans who earn the amounts given below. Of the 986 taxpayers in 1968 one earned more than £9,000 a year and four earned between £7,000 and £8,000 a year. Another four were in the £5,000 to £6,000 income bracket, and thirty were in the £3,000 to £4,000 a year income bracket.\(^{20}\)

The church is an avenue for social mobility open to middle-class Africans in Rhodesia, although the church policies vary from denomination to denomination. The Bishop of Mashonaland (Anglican) recently reaffirmed his desire to see Africans play leading roles in church affairs. He said:

> I would regard Africanization as the inevitable and quite proper evolution of church affairs. In hard-pressed dioceses you will tend to put Europeans looking after their own kind and similarly Africans Missions have more and more to come into the hands of their priests. This evolution is likely to continue because ninety per cent of our own Christian people are Africans.\(^{21}\)

The Bishop of the Methodist Church is an African who received an M.A. in the United States before returning to Rhodesia to take his present position. He has both European and African clergy beneath him in the church hierarchy.

\(^{20}\) The Sunday Mail, May 11, 1969.

\(^{21}\) The Rhodesia Herald, December 13, 1969.
Whereas the church has offered opportunities for advancement to Africans, industry has held back. Government policy over the years has been to encourage European immigrants by offering incoming artisans good living conditions and high salaries. Skilled European workers enjoy protected positions under this system, but there has always existed the fear of African competition. The industrial color bar was embodied in law with the passing of the Industrial Conciliation Act in 1934. The act provided for a high minimum wage for skilled work in the various trades. The result of this act is to exclude Africans from skilled trades because employers generally believe that Africans are less productive workers than Europeans. They are unwilling to pay the African worker the same rate for a job, and the law provides that they shall not employ Africans at lower wages.²²

Skilled work can only be done by registered workmen. Few Africans are registered because of poor training and apprenticeship opportunities. During the period 1962–1969 apprentices registered in terms of existing legislation numbered 3,299 Europeans and 114 Asians and Coloureds and 78 Africans. The African share is clearly very minimal even though an estimated 58,643 Rhodesian Africans

²²Leys, European Politics, p. 30.
have completed the two years secondary education required in order to be eligible for apprenticeship training.\textsuperscript{23}

In 1969, it was proposed that skilled and semi-skilled jobs in industry should be opened up to Africans.\textsuperscript{24} This proposal met with much criticism from Europeans who contended that standards must not be lowered to accommodate untrained Africans. Some Europeans asserted that the lowering of standards would lead to mass emigration of skilled European artisans, and the political defeat of any government which favored such a move.\textsuperscript{25}

These same people fail to note that there are very few schools which train Africans in skilled trades. At one time the Rhodesian government operated a school at Domboshawa which trained Africans in building and

\textsuperscript{23}The Rhodesia Herald, December 18, 1969.

\textsuperscript{24}This proposal has been made often, most recently by Allan Wright in one of a series of six articles appearing in The Rhodesia Herald, September 24, 1969. Terence Miller, Principal of the University College of Rhodesia, suggested that the solution to the country's problems lay largely with industry and that by employing more African graduates, industrialists could set an example the government would have to follow. The Rhodesia Herald, March 12, 1969.

\textsuperscript{25}A Member of Parliament, Robin James, made this claim in an article appearing in The Rhodesia Herald, October 1, 1969. Similar views were expressed in letters to the editor of The Rhodesia Herald, September 30, 1969.
agricultural trades. In 1962, the program was dis-
continued. 26 Nine of the thirty-three men in Marimba
Park and Westwood received technical training at Dombo-
shawa and all have moved into other occupations because
of the limited opportunities for advancement in the
trades.

Africans have found more opportunities in the
civil service, which was opened to them in 1961. Out
of 10,000 civil servants, 1,700 are Africans. Twelve
hundred fifty Africans are earning salaries between
£240 and £420 per annum. Most of the remaining 450
receive between £440 and £1,280 per annum. 27 Three of
the men in Marimba Park and Westwood are civil servants
and twenty more 28 receive their salaries from the govern-
ment, which is the single largest employer of the af-
fluent blacks in these two suburbs.

26 In 1968, there were five junior secondary schools
where Africans could receive vocational training in a
two-year course. There were 461 students in these schools
of whom the majority were fourteen- and fifteen-year olds
who had completed primary school. Annual Report of the
Secretary for African Education for the Year Ended 31st

27 African Advancement in Rhodesia, p. 17.

28 These government employees include eight teachers,
one headmaster, one doctor, eight nurses, one social
worker and one veterinary surgeon.
5.4 The Social and Career Backgrounds of the Residents of Marimba Park and Westwood

Chapter 4 discussed the life styles and ethnic origins of the affluent blacks. This section analyzes aspects in their social backgrounds which may have contributed to their economic success. Of the sixty-eight residents interviewed, forty-three grew up in the country, fourteen in town, ten in missions, and one at a mine. Sixty-six shared the experience of having been to mission schools. Nearly half of the residents, twenty-nine, received their secondary or university education in South Africa, Canada, the United Kingdom, or Zambia.

Twenty one of the sixty-six residents said that their fathers were subsistence farmers (see Table IV). Other occupations reported for parents were seventeen teachers, nine ministers, seven policemen, and eight traders. Looking at the differences between traders and professionals with regard to the occupation of their parents, we find that thirteen (sixteen per cent) of the parents of professionals were teachers while only two

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30 Eight of these were South African women who attended secondary school there, and one was a South African man.

31 Housewives are excluded.
TABLE IV
GENERATIONAL MOBILITY:
COMPARISON OF THE OCCUPATIONS OF THE RESIDENTS
OF MARIMBA PARK AND WESTWOOD
WITH THE OCCUPATIONS OF THEIR PARENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Occupations of Parents</th>
<th>Occupations of the Residents</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Profes-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>sional</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Occupations of Fathers:**

- Teacher: 10 2 1 0 13
- Minister: 8 0 1 0 9
- Policeman: 5 1 1 0 7
- Subsistence Farmer: 8 8 4 1 21
- Welfare Officer: 1 0 0 0 1
- Medical Assistant: 1 0 0 0 1
- Businessman: 3 0 1 2 6
- Interpreter: 0 1 0 0 1
- Agricultural Demonstrator: 0 0 0 1 1
- Clerk: 1 0 0 0 1
- Unskilled Labor: 1 0 0 0 1
- Skilled Labor: 2 0 0 0 2
- Driver: 1 1 0 0 2

**Occupations of Mothers:**

- Teacher: 3 0 1 0 4
- Housewife: 32 12 7 4 55
- Medical Assistant: 2 0 0 0 2
- Business Woman: 2 0 0 0 2
- Domestic: 2 1 0 0 3

82 26 16 8 132

1 Misc. = Professionals turned businessmen or vice versa.
(eight per cent) of the parents of the traders were teachers.\textsuperscript{32} None of the businessmen (and woman) had fathers who were ministers, but eight of the professional men and women did. Also, eight of the forty-one professionals (twenty per cent) are the children of subsistence farmers while eight of the thirteen traders (sixty-two per cent) are the children of subsistence farmers (see Table IV).

In addition to these differences in family background we also noted in Chapter 4 that the professionals are better educated than the businessmen. The businessmen barely completed primary school while thirteen of the professionals earned university degrees, and the rest received professional training. Those in the professions did not change their careers while the businessmen were in other occupations before going into business. In earlier years one of the businessmen had worked as a dishwasher, two as taxi drivers, one as a bus driver, two as carpenters, one as a laborer, one as a clerk, one as an agricultural demonstrator, one as a waiter,

\textsuperscript{32}A generation ago in Rhodesia many occupations had not yet opened up to Africans and there were only rare opportunities for Africans to obtain secondary education. Teachers received a maximum of Standard 6 education plus teacher training courses. A few Africans were trained in missions as medical assistants, agricultural demonstrators, or clerical assistants.
one as a cook, one as a court interpreter, and one as a teacher. This pattern of moving from a salaried employee to a self-employed entrepreneur probably exists because venturing into commerce and trade requires investment of capital surpluses which an African would be unlikely to have until he had entered the wage economy in town.

As shown in the previous section high status occupations open to Africans are those in which there is a minimum of interracial competition. The occupations of the residents of Marimba Bark and Westwood confirm this. Most of them are in education, medicine or business and work within the African community.
Chapter 6

ADAPTATION OF TRADITIONAL CULTURE TO URBAN LIFE

6.1 Introduction

To all outward appearances the residents live like Europeans, but when one looks closely, one finds a strong respect for customs mingled with a desire to be modern. Some Africans refer to the people in Marimba Park and Westwood as "Half Europeans" and "Black Europeans." The following analysis of their customs shows which are discarded and which are kept, and in what form.

In general, there is a tendency to continue with traditional customs and adapt them to urban life. There is an effort to avoid conflict between Western and African tradition. African customs are explained by reference to analogous European customs. The feeling exists that if an equivalent Western custom is found, then the validity of the African custom is insured. For example, Mr. Tuna, a resident of Westwood, compared a traditional Shona ceremony, kurova guva,\(^1\) with the annual laying of a wreath on the statue of Cecil John Rhodes by an

\(^1\) In this ceremony a dead person's spirit is called from the grave to the village by relatives.
important European. Crawford cites similar findings and describes how two Africans compared ancestral life to the ghost scene in "Hamlet" and Jesus' casting spirits out of living people.\(^2\)

These views are possibly the result of the feeling of inferiority an African suffers when living in a country in which the vast mass of the population is dominated by a group that not only has the political power but believes, on the whole, that its culture is superior to the indigenous one. This argument is similar to that which Crawford uses when he seeks to explain why the literate Africans tend to justify their beliefs in European terms.\(^3\)

The African nationalist political leaders in Rhodesia recognized the importance of their traditional heritages as a means of creating unity, independence, and nationhood. There was a deliberate attempt to revive certain aspects of traditional culture.\(^4\) It is difficult to ascertain the extent of their success, but their intent to counter the constant trend towards Westernization is recognized and commented upon by


\(^3\)Ibid., p. 91.

\(^4\)Ibid., p. 90.
by Murphree:

...African leaders are intent on pursuing a deliberate policy of "Africanization" for both political and sentimental reasons. They glorify the specifically African past—the name of the country is to be changed to "Zimbabwe"—and intend to renew specifically African forms of culture.\(^5\)

Two general attitudes towards African traditional culture have been discussed. The first is resigned to accepting Western culture and the second attitude is one which seeks a revival of African tradition. Against this background the rest of this chapter will analyze the attitudes of the people in Marimba Park and Westwood towards certain traditions. Nearly all of them have changed their views of the traditional culture in some way in response to Christian and Western influences. A brief outline of each traditional Shona\(^6\) custom will precede comment on the suburbanites' attitudes towards that particular custom.

6.2 Ancestor Worship and the Coming Home Ceremony

The details of ancestor worship differ from tribe

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\(^6\)Shona customs have been chosen for examination because forty-nine of the sixty-eight men and women in Marimba Park and Westwood are Shona, and the neighborhoods are in Mashonaland. All of the other people, with the exception of one, came from patrilineal, patrilocal groups whose customs are similar to the Shona.
to tribe in Rhodesia. 7 Basic forms are the same. The ancestors are usually honored or appeased in times of trouble. The Shona regard sickness and other misfortune as a sign that the ancestors are displeased. On such occasions beer is brewed and a chicken, goat, or ox is sacrificed to appease the ancestor concerned. The exact procedure is determined after a diviner (n'anga) is consulted. The diviner communicates with the spirits and then recommends a remedy. 8

The coming home ceremony takes place from six to twelve months after the death of a married person. The relatives arrive and spend the night in the deceased's village, dancing and drinking beer. The next day a procession goes to the grave, sweeps it, and drinks beer there. Then they proceed back to the village and the brother of the deceased says, "I am welcoming you—you who went to take our grandson from the grave to the village." 9

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7 While some tribes worship or honor generations of ancestors, the KoreKore, according to Gelfand, honor mainly the immediately departed grandmother and grandfather. Michael Gelfand, Shona Religion, p. 51.

8 Forms of ancestor worship and ritual vary from clan to clan among the Shona. However, they differ only in detail and are basically similar.

9 Only a dead married person has a mudzimu, or spirit, which has power over human beings. Michael Gelfand, Shona Ritual, pp. 74, 190.
The views of the people interviewed about ancestor worship and the coming home ceremony fell into four broad categories: those who favored the customs; those who favored them with little modification; those who favored them with moderate modification, and those who rejected them (see Table V).

**TABLE V**

**ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS TOWARD KUROVA GUVA**
**(N=68)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Attitude</th>
<th>Count</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favors</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with a little modification</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with moderate modification</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>68</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those who favored these customs said that kurova guva was the cornerstone of African religion providing an essential link between man and the ancestors.

Only four residents stated that such practices were unChristian and that they disliked these ceremonies. One of these included the woman who refused to attend the kurova guva held for her deceased father because she is a devout Christian. The majority (forty) of
residents liked the custom of ancestor worship and kurova guva when practiced in a modified form. They regard kurova guva as a memorial or remembrance day ceremony similar to that held by Europeans for their national heroes, and said that a feast with none of the "superstitious" ritual would be sufficient. A typical response was that reverence for the vadzimu is similar to the worship of angels and saints in the Christian church and therefore, not pagan. Mr. Kundani said that he realized that the church did not approve of kurova guva and continued,

Personally, I feel there is no harm in it at all. It is not very different from what Europeans do when they go to Rhodes' grave. When the missionaries first arrived they got the wrong idea about African religion. We pray through the ancestors like Catholics pray through the saints. There are quite a number of places where these ceremonies had died but people go back to these things; it is harmless.  

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9Mr. Kundani recounted one form of ancestor worship practiced in his village. If someone gets sick or there is some misfortune, the n'anga is consulted. Sometimes it is attributed to a mudzimu, or ancestor, who is unhappy about the way he is being treated. A special ceremony is held and beer is poured over a bull which is given the name of that ancestor. From then on this bull is accorded special treatment and never beaten. Mr. Kundani remembers that when he was a herdboy he showed particular respect for this bull. "You are told 'Don't touch that one.'" Mr. Gumbo compared this to his own village and said, "Children are given the name of an ancestor. I wanted to thrash one, but held back because of his ancestor's name; even if he is very young he may be referred to as great-grandfather by his mother."
Mr. Zala, another resident of Marimba Park, did not mention the friction between the missionaries and African religion. He was less defensive about kurova guva and ancestor worship and explained,

Kurova guva is good because like honoring the vadzimu it makes us keep amity between the living and the dead; if we believe in saints and angels of the Christian world when we automatically believe in vadzimu, hence we have to appease them through kurova guva.

This kind of modification of African customs to fit European beliefs is also seen in the following sections of this chapter.\footnote{11}

The businessmen are more traditional than the professionals.\footnote{12} Fifty-two per cent of the businessmen favored keeping ancestor worship and kurova guva in their traditional form, whereas only twelve per cent of the professionals favored keeping these customs as they were (Table VI). An interpretation of this result can be found in Chapter 4 where other comparisons are made between the businessmen and professionals.

\footnote{11}{One woman, who was planning to attend a kurova guva for her mother in a few months' time, did not even bring up the subject of religion when she discussed the ceremony. Explaining its significance, she said: "It is good not only as a social occasion when relatives meet but as a remembrance ceremony."}

\footnote{12}{The term professional is used here in the same way as it is in Chapter 5.}
TABLE VI
ATTITUDES OF THE BUSINESSMEN AND PROFESSIONALS TOWARD ANCESTOR WORSHIP AND KUROVA GUVA (N=68)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Businessmen (N=25)</th>
<th>Professionals (N=43)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>52%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor with little modification</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favor with moderate modification</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 Percentages are rounded off to nearest whole number.
### TABLE VII
ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS TOWARD N'ANGAS
(N=68)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>N'anga (N=48)</th>
<th>Diviner (N=20)</th>
<th>Herbalist (N=20)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
<td>N  %</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors</td>
<td>3  6%</td>
<td>2  10%</td>
<td>2  10%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with little modification</td>
<td>18  38%</td>
<td>2  10%</td>
<td>13  65%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with moderate modification</td>
<td>9  19%</td>
<td>5  25%</td>
<td>4  20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>12  25%</td>
<td>8  40%</td>
<td>0  0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>6  12%</td>
<td>3  15%</td>
<td>1  5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>48 100%</td>
<td>20 100%</td>
<td>20 100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 The difference between the professionals and businessmen on this question was insignificant.

2 Respondents made no distinction between the n'anga as a diviner and herbalist.

3 Respondents made a distinction between the n'anga as a diviner and herbalist.

4 Percentages are rounded off to the nearest whole number.
6.3 The N'anga--Diviner and Herbalist

The n'anga in Shona society is the person who is responsible for communicating between the dead and living members of the family and preventing and treating disease. In some cases he attempts to cure an illness by mixing herbs and other substances together as medicine, and on other occasions he will communicate with the ancestral spirits to determine what steps should be taken to effect a cure.

Twenty-five per cent of the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood are unreservedly against the n'anga (see Table VII). Mrs. Chenda, for example, was outspoken in her disapproval. "They are the biggest cheaters in this world. I don't believe in them." Only five residents admitted that they favor n'angas. Mr. Korena, a businessman, told of their effectiveness as follows:

A friend of mine scolded his father for refusing to give him money for coming to Salisbury in those early 40's. We began working at a garage together. This man is a distant nephew of mine. He got his arm crushed under a lorry's engine mysteriously. A week later his new bicycle was stolen. He bought another one which was again stolen at a pub a month later. We went to Mtoko to check with a n'anga. This man whom I believe

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to be quite an efficient n'anga said that the chap had left his parents angry and had not been reconciled with them. He tried to refuse but I reminded him of the incident. He then went home and got reconciled. Police there- after then detected the person who had stolen his bicycles; in fact it was our neighbor.

The majority of the residents, forty-nine (seventy-two per cent), favored the n'anga but had certain reservations. Of those who distinguished between the dual roles of the n'anga, nineteen (ninety-five per cent) people thought that the n'anga was effective as an herbalist compared to nine (forty-five per cent) who favored him as a diviner. A general complaint was that the n'anga was becoming too commercial. Three people compared him to a psychologist or psychiatrist. One resident, Mrs. Muti, a nurse, expressed a view that shows how aspects of the traditional culture, like recourse to the n'anga, are thought to be beneficial even in the urban setting.

In the urban areas they are different from the rural areas where there are not enough doctors. People feel better after a visit to the n'anga. There are fewer mental patients among Africans than among the Europeans. You don't build up so much because you run and see an n'anga. Those whom I have gone to I felt it was put on just for money, but the ones in the rural areas I found were
better as far as mental health is concerned. I prefer the Western doctor for surgery, but for psychiatry the African n'anga is best.

Scientific medical treatment of physical illness was preferred to the treatment offered by the herbalist.

Mr. Mapadza, for example, said:

With the birth of the first child there are often complications that an African doctor can't handle. Many young mothers died in the past because there was no surgical knowledge. Now that people realize that life can be saved, they take life to be more important than custom.

However, the residents said that if one of their own children were sick and a Western doctor failed to effect a cure, they would go to a n'anga.

By living in Westwood, it was possible to observe what course of therapy the people actually followed when ill. During a nine-month period, nineteen residents received some sort of professional medical treatment. Of the nineteen, one died in the hospital, four spent some time in the hospital, and one went to the dentist. Among these cases, several are instructive. One man called his priest (Anglican) to his home during the night when he had stabbing pains in his chest and feared he would die. The next day he went to the doctor. In two cases residents related how they were subjected to
intense pressure from relatives urging them to see a n'anga. Both people said they refused since they had no confidence in the n'anga and preferred to be treated at the hospital. All nineteen of these people did, in fact, seek treatment from a Western doctor, but whether, in addition, they sought advice from a n'anga as well is not known and is almost impossible to know first hand. None admitted that they did.

There is evidence to suggest that the n'anga was beginning to lose his reputation as a healer among the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood. Amundo, the twenty-six-year-old son of a family in Westwood, once went to a n'anga and told him a false story about having headaches. After consulting the spirits and accepting a fee of two shillings and sixpence "to make the spirits talk," he told Amundo that the woman next door bore a grudge against him and was causing the trouble. This incident convinced Amundo that n'angas are fakes.

6.4 Rovoro--Bride-price

The payment of rovoro, the Shona word for bride-price and lobola is the Ndebele word for bride-price. This custom is found in one form or another throughout Africa.

14
firmly entrenched. Rovoro is paid by the groom's family to the bride's family. The payment consists of cattle, cash, or both. The teachings of Christianity as interpreted by the missionaries in Rhodesia do not directly conflict with the custom and rovoro remains an essential step in the marriage process. Even African ministers do not hesitate to request rovoro for their daughters.

Payment of rovoro is the first step in a series of events which may end with a wedding in church. A traditional marriage is completed when part or all of the rovoro has been paid and the marriage is registered with the District Commissioner in the district where the girl's family lives.15 This process is recognized both by traditional and European law as a customary marriage. A couple desiring to go one step further and have a Christian marriage presents a registration certificate acquired at the District Commissioner's office to a minister or priest who is then permitted to

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15 Registration of African customary marriages with the District Commissioner was not part of the traditional pattern. Under European rule it is required that a man record with the District Commissioner the amount of bride-price paid and the amount, if any, remaining to be paid, together with the names of all parties who participated in the negotiations. In case of divorce, these records may be consulted in deciding on a settlement. The law also provides that if no bride-price is asked by the girl's family, then the District Commissioner shall provide the couple with an exemption certificate.
to marry them in church. Thus, a couple are married in
the eyes of the Christian community only after they
have exchanged Christian marriage vows, but they are
married in the eyes of the traditional community when
the rororo has been negotiated and paid. By getting
married in church an African forfeits his right to become
polygamous at some future date.

In the traditional marriage ceremony a feast and
beer drink is held at the bride's village and the bride's
relatives participate. This is followed the next day
or a few days later by feasting and drinking at the groom's
village when the bride is finally brought there by her
maternal aunt and sister. This same procedure takes
place in the city, but is cut down to fit into one week-
end or two consecutive weekends. This is because most
of the people who celebrate the wedding work during the
week. Also the girl's home may be a great distance away
from the boy's home so that people have to have time to
travel in between.

The wedding ceremony of a Westwood man began on
a Saturday morning\textsuperscript{16} with a church service. Three

\textsuperscript{16}This wedding took place in April, 1969. Invitations
were mailed five weeks in advance and members of the groom's
family began coming in from the country five days before the
wedding to help prepare. They slept on the floor in the
living room and in the kitchen.
flower girls, five bridesmaids and five groomsmen led the bride and groom into the church. After the ceremony which was conducted in Shona, the congregation of about 150 people waited outside while the couple signed the marriage register. When they appeared at the door of the church they were greeted by shouts, whoops and singing from the women of the groom's family. The relatives of the groom displayed their joy as they were the ones who were receiving a new person into the family. The bride's relatives remained silent because they were losing a family member.

The bride and groom, followed by the procession of guests, drove to the bride's home where tea and cakes were served. Later the wedding party drove into town for photographs and in the afternoon there was a dance in the township hall. Meanwhile, the groom's relatives where preparing for the reception at their home for the following day. The male guests sat talking in the living room and in the yard while the women worked in the kitchen preparing the feast. They worked far into the night singing and talking. By seven o'clock the next morning everyone was up and hard at work again. Guests began arriving at ten. At eleven, the bride and groom and the wedding party arrived in a procession of automobiles.
The women began to dance and sing and wave leaves and branches plucked from bushes in the yard. The groom's father led the procession through the yard and into the house. He was waving a homemade baton. The bride, face downcast, was accompanied by two aunts who looked equally sad. Her parents only appeared late in the afternoon, posed for pictures and left. The party continued all day, and at dusk the guests began leaving slowly. The bride and groom stayed at his parent's home for five days after the wedding. It is customary among the Shona and Ndebele for a newly married couple to take up permanent residence in the father's village. In this case the couple were fulfilling a customary obligation but in a modified form. The requirements of urban life make it difficult to retain the customary rules of residence.

All the couples in Marimba Park and Westwood were married according to Christian rites and in every case bride-price was paid. In spite of the fact that Christian marriage makes polygamy illegal, three of the men in the neighborhoods are polygamous, two secretly and one openly. The church refused to marry Mr. Dunzu and his second wife so they had a civil marriage. Mr. Dunzu organized a huge reception and invited many of his friends, including most of the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood. His neighbors refused to attend and all are
critical of his behavior.

As shown in Table VIII below, the majority of the residents, eighty-six per cent, said that they were in favor of rovoro. A typical response was that of the businessman who said:

Rovoro is a custom that should never fade off. It is the unifying factor between the two families. It gives the marrying man and woman pride because their parents are satisfied. They get aware that they have not just picked each other from the street.

Others qualified their approval of rovoro with the comment that it is becoming too commercialized. They believe that a daughter should not be reared and educated for the money which she could bring into the family at the time of marriage. They said that charging according to the girl's education violated the traditional meaning of the bride-price payment and argued that rovoro was meant to be a token binding two families together. It should not be a profit-making transaction.

Attitudes are changing towards the form, but not towards the content of the rovoro transactions. Mr. Mapadza, a teacher, was asked to take part in rovoro negotiations on behalf of a nephew. He confessed that it was the first time he had acted as munvai, intermediary, and discussed those aspects of the custom he considered
TABLE VIII
ATTITUDES TOWARD ROVORO
(N=68)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favors</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with little modification</td>
<td>33</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with moderate modification</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>13%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No answer</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>68</td>
<td><strong>100%</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Percentage are rounded off to nearest whole number

...to be old-fashioned. It appeared to him that the girl's father was being unreasonable in demanding a number of gifts of clothing as well as an initial £70 rutsambo or 'betrothal consideration.'\(^{17}\) plus the rovoro money which would follow after the rutsambo had been accepted. The teacher said:

> As far as our group is concerned, we resent this inwardly. We think it

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\(^{17}\)Holleman calls rutsambo a "betrothal consideration" and distinguishes it from rovoro. Whereas rovoro pays for the bride and her reproductive capacity, rutsambo, Holleman suggests, is "...in the same category as other pre-marital expenses such as the proposal token, 'mouth-opener,' etc, which are, as a rule, not returnable once the marriage has been contracted." Holleman, Shona Customary Law, p. 256.
unreasonable to make one sit on the floor for two hours. These customs were done right out in the rural areas long ago when everyone was seated on the ground. It looks queer now. If someone came in, they would say, "School master, why are you sitting on the floor?" This does not blend well with modern times. These people were all well-dressed in suits and dresses. If they were following custom as they said they were, they would have been wearing animal skins. We were made to sit on the floor in our best suits!

In spite of all his criticisms the teacher did not want to see rovo-roo customs eliminated altogether, but merely modified. He said, "I would invite my daughter's suitor in and allow him to sit on a chair. When we have heard what he has come about, my wife and I will leave the room, arrive at a decision on the price, say a flat £80, and that will be all."

Another resident was critical of the profiteering which has crept in, but was in favor of retaining rovo-roo. He said:

I see myself as eighty per cent Westernized, but I still regard it as proper form that some lobola should be offered for my daughter. It will give her status, he will know he has not married a street girl, he had not got her on the cheap; he has taken her from the home. I am fully aware that the expenses which I paid during her life far exceed the amount paid in lobola, but there should be some contribution.
Thus, the affluent blacks are in favor of retaining rororo, at least in a modified form. Some of the younger generation, on the other hand, feel differently. For example, two daughters of residents got married while taking courses in England. Their parents could do nothing to stop them, and since no rororo has been paid, the girls have been practically disowned. The parents claim that should their daughters return to visit them, they would keep their daughters' children. The father of one of the girls, Mr. Dombo, said angrily that the children born as a result of this union belong to him since no rororo had been paid.\textsuperscript{18} The younger generation, in contrast to their parents, are often outspoken in their criticism of rororo. A good example of this is Nomsa's statement: "I do not support lobola at all. It should be stopped. A child is brought up for its own good. I would not expect anything for my children." However, Nomsa's view is a minority one even among the second generation in Westwood and Marimba Park. During 1969,\textsuperscript{18}

\textsuperscript{18}The importance of the rororo payment in determining whether the patrilineal kinsmen can claim children after a separation is illustrated by Mr. Dombo's experience. Mr. Dombo paid rororo for a woman, had a child with her, then remarried. Since he had paid rororo, he claimed the child and sent it to his sister. He would have kept the child in his own home, but his second wife objected.
there were two weddings in the neighborhoods and they both occurred after rovororo had been paid. Thus, in general, although opinions vary concerning the amount of rovororo that should be paid, nearly all the residents agreed that it should remain in some form.

6.5 Nhaka—Widow Inheritance

The Shona inheritance customs, called nhaka, are the mechanism which provides for the protection of a widow and her children. Since anything a man accumulates during his lifetime—cattle, wives, children—\(^{20}\) is considered the property of his family, it is expected that it should revert back to his lineage at his death. According to custom, the widow has a right to be taken as a wife by a brother of her deceased husband. This might mean that she becomes a second or third wife. She is not forced, and if she refuses the marriage, she can, depending on the circumstances, remain in the village with her children or return alone to her own family.

Today, ninety-nine per cent of the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood who responded are in favor of

\(^{19}\) A strict translation of the Shona word nhaka is inheritance, but in this section the word is used generally to refer to the custom of widow inheritance.

modifying the customs or doing away with them altogether (see Table IX).

**TABLE IX**

**ATTITUDES OF RESPONDENTS TOWARD NHAKA**

*(N=68)*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Per Cent¹</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Favors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with some modification</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with considerable modification</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>68</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

¹Percentages are founded off the nearest whole number.

The men fear that if they die, their brothers will not educate their children. Before the cash economy, there was less fear that the brother would misuse the inheritance, but today it is possible for him to be tempted to buy a car, a suit or perhaps a business with the inheritance. The wives in Marimba Park and Westwood have worked side by side with their husbands and are unwilling to see what they have earned turned over to their husband's brother. To avoid the dictates of customary law and the possibility of nhaka, some men
have written wills which under the African Wills Act take precedence over customary law. One resident has taken out an insurance policy and named his wife as the beneficiary. Other women have separate bank accounts which would not be considered part of their husband's estate at death.

As can be seen by Table X below, the men are more conservative than the women regarding the custom of widow inheritance. Seventy-four per cent of the women were against the custom, whereas only twenty-seven per cent of the men opposed it. None of the women supported nhaka in its traditional form. Mrs. Chenda called nhaka "the worst farce that anyone can think of," and continued, "I don't support it: I think the rural women like it, but the professional women get deprived of their rights. The country woman gets someone to support her." The women often see nhaka as part of a pattern. They are hostile towards their brothers-in-law for not working and continually borrowing money from their husbands without paying it back. "The brothers-in-law wait for the inheritance to come in. They don't work and have no incentive to get ahead because they think that my husband is rich and that they will get everything when he dies," said Mrs. Chenda.
TABLE X
ATTITUDES OF MEN AND WOMEN TOWARDS NHAKA
(N=68)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Men</th>
<th></th>
<th>Women</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>N</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3%</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with some modification</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favors with considerable modification</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Against</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>74</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No Answer</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>33</td>
<td>100%</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1Percentages are rounded off to nearest whole number.

For women of other tribes married to Shona men, the objection to the inheritance custom has an element of inter-tribal conflict added to the objections mentioned above. One South African woman strongly objects to the Shona custom. She said:

"We don't like to speak our minds on the subject of nhaka because"

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21There are six such couples in Marimba Park and Westwood and there are an additional four women who do not practice the nhaka custom traditionally, but are not married to Shona men.
the men will say that we from other countries are stirring up trouble and there will be tribal friction on our account. Now the woman works with the man, side by side, so it is not right that she should be stripped of everything at her husband's death. Some of us women tried to get together and remedy this by getting a change in the law. Even though I married in South Africa, I must submit to this tradition here if I am in the Tribal Trust Lands and appeal to the District Commissioner. He will say that we must use the traditional law of my husband's tribe. No one told me this when I got married. This should have been done; we would like to see something written down as part of the marriage ceremony to insure that this does not happen. The Shona women are very quiet and shy. They may not tell you about this. But we from South Africa are not afraid to speak our minds.

As explained earlier, there are ways in which a widow can legally claim exemption from customary law. She can be protected by European law if her husband has made a will leaving his property to her or if the estate is in excess of £500.

The view of nhaka held by the women is that they are powerless to stop their brothers-in-law from taking everything and leaving them with nothing upon their husband's death. Only one woman knew that legal protection is available to widows in certain cases, and only three mentioned that there husbands had made wills. Men commonly said that nhaka worked well under the
traditional system because it protected the women, but that is no longer needed today as the women can protect themselves. The men are ambivalent about nhaka; they do not want their wives and children to be left at the mercy of their brothers, but they do not like the idea of making a will. They fear that their widow could remarry and the property would be lost to their lineage.
Chapter 7

THE AFFLUENT BLACKS' SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS

7.1 Introduction

The residents of Marimba Park and Westwood do not live in a social vacuum, but have a network of friends stretching into the urban townships, the rural areas, and even into European society. Using the concept of social network, this chapter analyzes the social relationships of the affluent blacks.\(^1\) We also discuss the position of these people within Rhodesian society--their relationships with African nationalists and with Europeans.

7.2 Traditional Social Organization

In the typical Shona village, approximately one-third of the people are members of a single patrilineal group, one-third are people who have come into the village through links with the women,\(^1\) and one-third are unrelated (waterwa), "men outside the clan who have come to the village and asked for permission to live in their midst."\(^3\)

\(^1\)The concept of social network and its usefulness in urban research is discussed fully in Chapter 1.

\(^2\)These may be relatives of the women who married into the group and occasionally a prospective son-in-law (mukwasha).

\(^3\)Gelfand, African Background, p. 7.
In general, a person treats those in senior generations with respect and obeys strict rules of etiquette in addressing them. Kinship terminology is of the Omaha type. One's father and all of the father's brothers are called "Baba" and treated in the same way, while one's mother and all of her sisters are called "Amai"; mother's brothers are called "Sekuru." Among a group of siblings the eldest male has the highest status and is called "Mukoma" by his brothers; when he marries, his status is lower than that of his father-in-law's sons, even though they may be younger than him. The prescribed behavior when kinsmen of different status meet ranges from mutual avoidance (as in the case of a man and his mother-in-law, "Vambuya"), to one of dependence and trust (as in the case of the father's sister, "Vatete," and her brother's children).

Custom prescribes how one should behave toward kinsmen. When the villager goes to town, however, he meets people of different ethnic groups and there are few rules for behavior in this setting. Furthermore, the villager in the city is outside the realm of traditional authorities—the headman and the chief.

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4 Holleman, Shona Customary Law, pp. 67-70.
7.3 Urban Social Relationships

In town, the traditional sanction of shame is weakened when a man finds himself in the midst of strangers. Even if he maintains contact with his kinsmen, status differences are redefined in terms of new values. People with high incomes and education are respected and often play a role similar to that of the elders in the rural areas. This aspect of urban social relationships is discussed more fully in Chapter 4.

A relationship which has changed among the affluent blacks in Marimba Park and Westwood is that between a man and his wife's mother. As mentioned above, in traditional Shona culture this relationship is tense and characterized by mutual avoidance and respect. It is believed that if a man offends his mother-in-law, the spirits in her line can take revenge on him. The men in Marimba Park and Westwood all noted that they feel tense in the presence of their wives' mothers. Ten of them said that they would not eat at the same table with her. One said, "The mother-in-law is sacred and should be respected. I could shake hands with her but I would never go too far in jokes while she is around. I would not go to the table with her." In another family the
wife's mother eats in the kitchen, and if her son-in-law enters she stops eating.

Nine of the men said that they would eat at the same table with their wives' mothers, but there were indications that they would feel uneasy doing so. One man said, "I eat with my mother-in-law, but my wife would see that I sit far from her at the table." The physical surroundings in town contribute to such modifications of custom. In a village setting various members of the family have their own hut. The houses in Marimba Park and Westwood are not designed with facilities which permit continuation of certain customs. If a mother-in-law is visiting it is difficult to segregate her from her son-in-law during meals. She must either eat at another time or in another room.

Traditional kinship relations are being modified. In town people are often separated from those relatives who constitute the traditional network. New kinds of ties are forming between unrelated individuals. In the following section we will look more closely at the social networks of the affluent blacks.

7.4 Social Networks

This study uses the concept of social network to ascertain the kinds of social units which have emerged
among the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood and to analyze the institutional frameworks which foster ties among Salisbury's affluent blacks.

7.4.1 Ethnic Identity of the Residents' Friends:
Mayer found that the "red Xhosa" in East London, South Africa, only associated with people from their home areas in the city and became "incapsulated" within "home-boy groups" which insulated them from the influences of the city. In contrast, the "school Xhosa" became involved in the city with a variety of people. In order to find out if a similar situation existed among the affluent blacks, they were asked to list their friends and to name the tribe or linguistic group, occupation and neighborhood of these friends.

Among the Shona the word "tribe" is usually interpreted to mean linguistic or dialect group. In Rhodesia these groups have traditionally occupied different areas.

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5 The concept of social network is discussed fully in Chapter 1.

6 Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen, p. 90.

7 It was explained to the residents that a friend could be either a relative or an unrelated person.

8 See Appendix C for a sample of the form used in the interviews.
of the country (see Map II).

MAP II

DISTRIBUTION OF SHONA LINGUISTIC GROUPS IN RHODESIA

The friends named by the residents belong to all five of the major Shona dialect groups--Zezuru, Manica, Karanga, KoreKore, and Ndau. Other ethnic groups named include Ndebele, Xhosa, Zulu, Sotho, Tswana, Yao, Coloured and European.

It was found that the social networks of the affluent blacks were like those of the school Xhosa; the majority of their friendships were not formed on the basis of membership in the same linguistic group. When asked to name their friends, seventy-two per cent of the residents listed less than half of their friends as belonging to their same linguistic group. The remaining twenty-eight per cent of the residents named more than half of their friends as coming from their own linguistic group. The
relatively uneducated Ndau businessmen\(^9\) and their wives, who come from the southeast corner of Rhodesia, named more people from their own linguistic group than did any other group of the residents. Fifty-eight per cent of their friends were also Ndau. This was the closest which any linguistic group came to being like Mayer's red Xhosa.

7.4.2 Institutional Framework of the Friendships:

As we have seen, the friendship networks of the affluent blacks were not based upon ethnic ties. The rural-born residents had all spent a large part of their lives attending schools or working outside their rural areas; seventeen of the residents were born in Salisbury. The affluent blacks were asked about the origin and nature of the contact which they had with each friend, in order to find out the social contexts in which friendships were formed. Work, school, and neighborhood were the settings in which most friendships arose. The residents met twenty per cent of their friends through their job or profession,\(^{10}\) sixteen per cent at school,

\(^9\)Included in this group were one businesswoman, three businessmen and two housewives. Only one of them had more than six years of education.

\(^{10}\)This category includes all the friends that a person made in his profession or job. It does not necessarily mean that they are co-workers, but that in the performance of duties connected with a job, a person has occasion to meet another person.
and fifteen per cent through urban neighborhoods (see Table XX).

The social networks of the professionals are characterized by friends made at school while those of the businessmen and women are characterized by a majority of friends made through work. Another interesting difference between these two groups is that the professionals made proportionately more friends through church, clubs, and through their spouses than did the businessmen and women (while businessmen and women had proportionately more friendships originating in rural areas) (see Table XI). A striking feature of the social networks of the professionals is the great variety of social contexts from which they choose their friends.

7.4.3 Occupations of Friends: Seventy-two per cent of the friends named by the residents are in high status occupations such as medicine, business, education, civil service, public relations, marketing, advertising, and social work. A difference between the businessmen and the professionals was that the professionals named six other professionals to every one businessman as their friends, while the businessmen named four friends in business to every three friends in the
### TABLE XI

**SOCIAL CONTEXTS WHICH FOSTERED FRIENDSHIPS**  
(N=57)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Friendships</th>
<th>Business Men &amp; Women (N=11)</th>
<th>Educated Professionals (N=35)</th>
<th>Housewives (N=7)</th>
<th>Prof. turned Business (N=4)</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>School</td>
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professions. Mr. Adat is a person who includes both businessmen and other professionals within his network. He has a B.A. degree and is on good terms with the professionals in the neighborhoods. He is also well liked by the businessmen, three of whom are from his rural area.

The residents are involved in networks which link them and others of high income and high status into a web which constitutes the upper stratum of African society.

7.4.4 Place of Residence of the Friends: The networks of the residents extend out of Marimba Park and Westwood into the urban townships. The majority of the residents interviewed (fifty-nine per cent) reported that most of their friends still live in the township in which they had previously lived.\(^{11}\)

Although the residents have the majority of their ties in the townships, there is evidence that community spirit is emerging in Marimba Park and Westwood. The residents have formed associations to protect the high

\(^{11}\)Three residents cited Kambuzuma and Mufakose as townships where most of their friends live, although the informants had not previously lived in these townships. The reason may be the proximity of Kambuzuma and Mufakose to Marimba Park and Westwood (see Map I).
status of their neighborhoods. For example, when the
government sold quarter-acre lots in Westwood and threat-
ened to do the same in Marimba Park, the residents in
each area banded together to object. (The residents who
owned one-half, one- and two-acre stands feared that
if one-quarter-acre stands were sold in the neighborhoods
it would lead to a devaluation of their property. They
also stated that the reason they had left the townships
and built in the suburbs was because the large lots
there made it less crowded.)

7.5 Relationships Between the Residents
and Other Sectors of Rhodesian Society

The affluent blacks relate themselves to all segments
of Rhodesian society, although the kind of interpersonal
relationships they have differ greatly depending on the
group. Here we will focus on their interaction with
African nationalists, white society in general, and the
more liberal whites.

7.5.1 The Residents and the Nationalists: In 1964
the Rhodesian government banned the two nationalist
political parties. Since that time there has been
very little political activity among Rhodesian Africans.
There is much grumbling, but to date the people lack
an effective leader who can unite them on shared
grievances. At present the detained leaders of the two banned rival nationalist parties constitute the only potential source of political leadership. 12

Before they were banned, each party battled for support and engaged in political intimidation—stone-throwing, petrol-bombing, thuggery, and boycotting. A chief target of the nationalists' attentions was African businessmen in the townships—people who had money and could make large contributions.

The nationalist philosophy emphasizes traditional African culture and the solidarity of the black masses. Africans must unite for the good of the group; only in this way can the white man be overthrown. They are hostile towards anyone who sets himself apart from the masses. The banned nationalist parties are the only potential source of African political power, and this power is openly hostile to Africans living as "half Europeans" in Marimba Park and Westwood. The residents, on the other hand, are bitter about the threats and intimidation they suffered during political upheavals between 1961 and 1964. One man said that he and his wife were beaten by nationalists.

12 This is because some Africans say that to start a new African political party while the leading nationalists are detained would be a betrayal of them. This is one of the reasons why the new African-dominated National Democratic Party has failed to get popular support.
Another family had their home petrol-bombed. One person said:

Some of us in Marimba Park favor Smith because he brings us security. We want change in such things as the Land Apportionment Act and the color bar, but gradual change. We don't want a repetition of the terror which occurred when the nationalists were active. We need the whites, and if they all left Rhodesia tomorrow we would go back 200 years.

Though the residents favor the security and technical assistance provided by the minority, white government, they are eager for integration. The nationalists favor majority rule. While the nationalists criticize the residents for their moderate policies, their outward European behavior, their social aloofness, and their reluctance to give them financial support, the affluent blacks themselves have mixed feelings about their position. On the one hand, they see themselves as pioneers, setting an example for the rest of their people, and as proof to the Europeans that Africans can reach high standards. On the other hand, they see themselves as a lonely group. One man said:

We have pressure on us from both sides. We are not accepted by the Europeans because, although we possess the same academic and economic qualifications, our skin is black. So we see our own people as being our only refuge in times of trouble. We are in the same position as the
Coloureds, not accepted by the whites, and yet not accepted by the Africans because they see us as having adopted the white man's ways.

Although the affluent blacks are marginal to traditional Shona culture and isolated from the white community, they are integrated into the mainstream values of their urban society because they value educational and occupational achievement, and choose friends on this basis. They are effectively becoming a modern, urban middle-class.

7.5.2 Interracial Contacts: Although today interracial contact does occur in private schools, industry, churches, and to a small degree in private social activities, and in a few voluntary associations, the picture was quite different fifteen years ago. The year 1955 was the high point in Rhodesian multi-racialism. This was during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland.\textsuperscript{13} The official government policy was one of racial partnership and integration.\textsuperscript{14}

\textsuperscript{13}The Federation was a union between three British colonies—Nyasaland, Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia—which lasted from 1953 to 1963.

\textsuperscript{14}Africans reached high positions at this time. Savannah, an African Member of Parliament, was appointed a junior Minister in the Federal Prime Minister's cabinet; Hove, another Member of Parliament, became the Federal High Commissioner to Nigeria, the first African to be appointed to such a high diplomatic post; and Dube became First Secretary to the Federal Government's mission in Washington. Nathan Shamuyarira, \textit{Crisis in Rhodesia}, p. 17.
A group of forty to fifty educated, elite Africans were invited to official functions; they were "specimen types" and were soon well known in social circles. One woman in Westwood speaks with nostalgia about the evening she and her husband dined with the Queen Mother at Government House. It had become the fashion to have Africans at parties. One man recalls being asked often by Europeans, "Can you find me some African friends?" Multi-racial clubs sprang up; the most popular one was the National Club. International firms paid membership fees for their African staff, and people like Sir Humphrey Gibbs, Governor of Southern Rhodesia and Sir Robert Tredgold, Chief Justice of the Federation, were members. People in Marimba Park and Westwood who were members of the National Club speak highly of it and were disappointed when it was disbanded in 1964.

Residents of Marimba Park and Westwood were active in other multi-racial clubs. One man went to England in 1960 under the auspices of the Capricorn Society. This organization was supported by the government of the day and sought to foster racial harmony and progress.\(^1\)

\(^{15}\)An African who attended a Capricorn convention noted, "I went up to Salima as a reporter for my paper, and shared a hut with a white Rhodesian. It was the first time in my life that I had undressed and slept in the presence of a European, or seen a white man undress." Shamuyarira, \textit{Crisis in Rhodesia}, p. 20.
A businessman in Marimba Park took a leading part in a courtesy campaign which lasted from 1958 to 1961. "We went about breaking rudeness in shops and public places." Africans were hired by large corporations and trained for managerial positions.

When the Rhodesia Front Party came to power in 1962, racial segregation returned. As noted above, African nationalists struggled to gain control between 1961 and 1964. The movements were crushed and racial partnership was rejected by the minority white government. Racial representation was built into the 1969 Constitution. Separation of Africans and Europeans on the voter's roll was explained by the Prime Minister as follows:

We believe that common roll seats, with Africans contesting Europeans for the same seat is an unsatisfactory and distasteful business. It leads to bitter and unrelenting conflict, which is a contributory cause of increased racial tension and disharmony in the struggle for power based on common roll and common constituencies. This is something we seek to abolish completely from the parliamentary structure of the new Rhodesia. 16

Today, integration occurs in only a few places. Some private schools continue to be multi-racial. Contact still exists for those Africans who are employed in large international companies. Several of the residents of Marimba

16 Ian Douglas Smith, Address to the Nation, p. 3.
Park and Westwood have administrative and managerial posts in these firms. Churches and religious organizations also provide some multi-racial contact for urban Africans. The formation of the Centre Party in 1968 was a step taken to revive the old idea of racial partnership and cooperation in the political sphere. A resident of Marimba Park accepted an invitation to address a meeting of the Centre Party in 1968. At official government functions it is the chiefs who are invited to represent the African people.

7.5.3 Liberal Whites and Affluent Blacks: Liberals in Rhodesia are those Europeans who believe that Africans can change from a traditional way of life to a modern urban way of life, and believe that their success should be acknowledged with social acceptance. Their "liberalism" must be understood in the context where both liberal and conservative ideologies are skewed far to the right. Conservatism and paternalism are often combined. A good example is this statement by a government official:

Africans have been taken willy-nilly into Western civilization which has taken us thousands of years to develop. It has done them a lot of harm. In the Tribal Trust Lands the African has his hut, his food, his water, his firewood, and his wife, and his cattle. What more
does he want? He should not come
into town where he can't get a job
and become a loiterer looking in
shop windows.

The liberal, on the other hand, favors advancement
on merit. Liberals are found among the middle and
upper income groups where threat of economic competition
is least.

Half the families in Marimba Park and Westwood con-
tinue to maintain contact with liberal whites. However,
the Europeans with whom they associate are on the periphery
of European society. At a wedding in Westwood, thirty-
five to forty Europeans attended the various stages of
the two-day ceremonies and celebrations. Several of
these guests were marginal to white society, two were
recent immigrants, four other had recently come to the
country as missionaries, one guest had formerly been
placed in detention for political reasons, one was an
American, and six were teaching at religious institutions.

Two residents of Marimba Park have expressed sus-
picion of European liberals. One informant described
his mistrust as follows:

In places like the States when one
meets liberal Europeans it is part
of their lives, whereas here when
I meet a liberal, he has very often
an ulterior motive. To win him votes
if he is a politician, or to get him
an African girlfriend, or you may
find he wants to use me as an agent for his business, he may want to get into an African area for business, or he may want me to speak to the chief on his behalf about this or he may want to use my name to run a store.

Another informant regards some liberals as rejects of the European community and undesirable associates.

Thus, while the affluent blacks favor integration, they are suspicious of whites who voice liberal sentiments because of their marginality. It is difficult for some of them to believe that whites would want to associate on equal terms with blacks unless they had to or unless there was some ulterior motive behind the association.17

7.6 Conclusion

In this chapter we have examined the residents' place in Rhodesian society. It was found that they are part of an emerging African middle-class based on high incomes, high status jobs, and in the case of the professionals, a high standard of education. Furthermore, it was shown that although the life styles of the residents are similar to those of the Europeans, they are marginal to European society.

17 My wife and I discovered during the course of the study that one resident in Marimba Park and one in Westwood thought we were government spies. Later, they put aside these suspicions and allowed us to interview them. They turned out to be two of the most talkative subjects.
Chapter 8

CONCLUSION

In Chapter 1 two theoretical orientations were discussed. In one, culture contact in both rural and urban contexts was seen as disruptive of the tribal system causing "...disturbance, institutional dislocation and disintegration." The second orientation stated that urban migrants adapt their traditional culture to the urban environment without undue strain. Our findings support the latter view, for we have shown how Shona culture has adapted to the urban environment with a minimum of dislocation.

We attempted to delineate processes of adaptation occurring within Shona culture. The specific questions asked were:

1. To what extent do the suburbanites retain their traditional culture? How are patterns of culture traits adapted to the urban environment? Which aspects of Shona culture changed more than others?

2. How relevant is the rural-urban model to the study of Salisbury's black bourgeoisie?

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3. Do kinship and tribal ties give way to new social ties, and what is the nature of the adaptive process involved?

4. How is the affluent blacks' social organization adapted to the conditions of a plural society? Do the suburbanites' loyalties lie with the dominant whites or with the African masses?

We found\(^2\) that:

1. Some traditional customs are completely abandoned yet many remain in a modified form.

2. The rural-urban model is not relevant to the affluent blacks because they were prepared for urban values in the rural areas through the missionary schools.

3. Kinship and tribal ties become less important in the city where friendships based on work, school and neighborhood take precedence.

4. The affluent blacks have divided loyalties. They side with the African masses against the racial discrimination practised by the white minority but they emulate the whites, and many of their

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\(^2\)These answers apply to Marimba Park and Westwood. Further research is needed to determine if their validity can be generalized to other segments of the urban population or to similar groups in cities in other parts of Africa.
values are compatible with middle-class European values.

We shall discuss these four findings in greater detail below.

1. **Some traditional customs are completely abandoned yet many remain in a modified form.** In the area of family relationships traditional patterns are modified, whereas economic and technological patterns are western.

   a. As noted in Chapter 6, traditional practices take on new meanings and new forms in the city. Ancestors are asked to intercede on behalf of the supplicant just as saints are the intermediaries between Christian men and their God. The Christian God assumes the role of Almighty without disturbing the ancestral hierarchy. The coming home ceremony (kurova guwa) becomes an occasion for remembering a dead person rather than calling his spirit home to the village and integrating it into the ancestor (vadzimu) world. The n'anga (herbalist and diviner) is still the psychiatrist, but he is consulted only in time of dire misfortune, especially when Western medicine has failed.

   Twenty-eight per cent of those who responded to the question about widow inheritance (nhaka) favored modifying the custom, and fifty-one per cent were completely opposed to the practice. In the rural areas these views
would be unpopular. The inheritance of a deceased man's property by his brothers insures that the patrilineal group does not lose wealth. That there is considerable dissatisfaction concerning nhaka suggests that allegiance to the patrilineal group is becoming less important while the nuclear family is gaining in importance.

Because widow inheritance often results in polygamy, Christian missionaries in Rhodesia have opposed the custom. They maintain that the death of her husband should free a woman of her marital obligations. They also consider unjust the system whereby the husband's lineage claims his wife's children after his death. It is common for widows to seek the protection of missionaries when refusing to fulfill obligations to their deceased husbands' lineages.

Pauw reports similar findings in his study of second generation Xhosa townsmen. "In the urban situation, however, traditional patrilineal patterns have lost much of their significance for the structure and growth of domestic groups..."4

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3A man's property includes his wife and children.
All the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood paid bride-price (rovoro). Although forty-six of them favored modifying the form of the traditional negotiations or the prices charged, none of them thought it possible or desirable to do away with the custom entirely. Even the university lecturer who said that he considered himself eighty per cent Westernized said that to pay rovoro was "proper form."

b. In the area of family customs, traditional patterns are modified, whereas economic and technological patterns are Western.

The affluent blacks enjoy advanced technology—telephones, cars and televisions. They make their money the Western way—working in hospitals, schools, government, and private industry. Why have some parts of the traditional culture changed more than others? Differential rates of Westernization in different sectors of Shona culture can be explained by the social and economic pressures existing in the urban setting. The purchase of a car adds to the African's prestige. His ability to give friends rides to work and in emergencies to take them to the hospital enhances his popularity. In a society in which ninety-nine per cent of the people travel to work on foot or by bicycle or by bus, owning a car gives a
person high prestige. Clothing, too, is an indication of status. The first purchase that an urban African makes after paying his rent and setting aside money for food is an item of clothing. Once he has a new outfit of Western clothes, he will save for a bicycle, a radio, or furniture for his house.

Whereas it is easy to accept the consumer goods of technological change, strong social pressures prevent changes in family customs. The institution of marriage and the customs that go along with it are an integral part of Shona urban culture. Men marry in their late twenties and thirties when they have saved enough money for bride-price. Marriage is a rite of passage. An unmarried man is considered a boy even though he may be thirty years old. As soon as he marries, however, he is given the status of a man by the elder generation and granted certain privileges like participating in family conferences. A man’s rise in status at marriage is not so much due to

5"The African is as much subjected to the impact of European advertising as the European himself. He sees all the garments in the shop window as much as the European, and he has become fashion conscious and exhibits a high degree of pride in his personal appearance." Plewman, Report, p. 54.

6These late marriages also keep the urban family smaller, although it is argued by some that late marriage on the part of the man is no guarantee of a small family.
the marriage itself, but rather it is due to the evidence of means which a man displays by having made rovororo payment. Thus rovororo is tied to the status system of the urban Shona; this contributes to the maintenance of the custom.

The survival of bride-price can also be attributed in part to the missionaries' attitudes towards this custom. While the Christian church condemns ancestor worship and the coming home ceremony, they take a neutral stand on rovororo. The church's concern is whether the couple is married by Christian rites and not whether there have been additional traditional customs attached to the wedding.

Another reason for retention of the bride-price custom is that marriage comes under strain in the city and bride-price serves to strengthen the marriage bond. If a wife leaves her husband, her own family sends her back to him because they do not want to refund the bride-price. Only in cases of extreme cruelty will the wife's parents side with her against the husband. Bride-price gives Shona men more control and power over their wives, and educated Shona women have advocated the abolition of the custom for this reason.

Pauw reports similar findings in his East London study. In the economic and technological fields the Xhosa followed Western patterns while the bride-price
custom and male initiation\(^7\) ceremonies continued along traditional lines.\(^8\) He suggests that the reason for bride-price continuing among the second generation urban Xhosa is that marriage is insecure in the urban setting and that the traditional custom of bride-price offers stability. He uses the concept of "synchronization"\(^9\) to explain the fact that different sectors of a culture change at different rates. These sectors are inter-related but they are not always synchronized. Synchronization occurs over time.

Pauw's observation that technological change occurs more quickly than change in marriage customs is also valid for the affluent blacks in Salisbury and can be added to the factors mentioned above, namely the influence of the church and the social forces giving status to men who pay bride-price.

\(^\text{9}.\) Processes of reactive adaptation and cultural creativity in response to the Western environment are found in the indigenous culture.\(^{10}\)

\(^7\)Unlike the Xhosa, the Shona do not have male initiation rites.
\(^8\)Pauw, The Second Generation, p. 198.
\(^9\)Ibid., pp. 197-9.
\(^{10}\)These two processes are defined in an article by Leonard Broom, et al., "Acculturation," pp. 985, 987.
Thus far we have discussed change in specific customs and in different cultural sectors. In the following pages we will briefly compare the mode of cultural adaptation of the affluent blacks to Western culture with the mode of adaptation of the nationalists to Western culture. The two modes of adaptation will be referred to as cultural creativity and reactive adaptation.

Cultural creativity is a process in which alien elements are incorporated into an autonomous system; reactive adaptation occurs when the autonomous system rejects and withdraws from aspects of the alien culture. The nationalist movement in Rhodesia is an example of the latter and carried with it characteristics commonly found in nativistic or revivalistic movements.

c.1 The Process of Cultural Creativity: The residents of Marimba Park and Westwood have kept within the rules of the dominant culture. They have had the white man's formal education, learned the principals of his religion and succeeded in his economy to the extent permitted by segregatory laws. By adapting their culture to his they have reaped material and social
advantages. However, they are still not socially accepted by the majority of the whites and the government insulted them by recognizing the relatively uneducated chiefs as the "true leaders of the African people." Despite this, the residents have modified their traditions to conform with the white man's culture rather than rejecting it.

**c.2 The Process of Reactive Adaptation:** The African nationalists have rejected the white man's world

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10 In the mission schools which they attended they were given extra privileges by the priests and teachers in exchange for their espousal of Christian values. One of the privileges was to be allowed to continue in school. This privilege was not available to many, since only twelve-and-a-half per cent of primary school children go on to secondary school. The fathers of nine of the residents were ministers and sometimes earned these rewards for their children by helping the missionaries convert other Africans.

Shamuyarira describes how his father's preaching helped him in his dealings with government officials:

> It was considered a great favour that word had been sent so quickly. It was not unusual to sit outside that office [the District Commissioner's office] for days before being attended to. The Head Messenger told my father proudly that, as an Evangelist Preacher of the Methodist Church he knew that he had a lot of pastoral work to do, and he would therefore be attended to as early as possible. (Shamuyarira, *Crisis in Rhodesia*, p. 33)
and refuse to work within the system. Some of these Africans are in prison, others have left or fled the country. Samkange, the son of an African minister, writes from Bloomington, Indiana:

We were taught that the white man had found us naked savages, wallowing in poverty and squalor, completely unaware of the minerals on which we were sitting; that we had no idea about God, government or anything; that we had no arts or crafts, no industries, no culture and no civilization. ... In short, we were taught to despise our heritage and everything African.

Why some Africans rejected the white man's culture while others did not was not the subject of this study. However, it is possible to propose a model as a guide for future research on this question. The nationalist movement reached its peak between 1960 and 1964. One by one, African countries to the north were getting their independence. The City Youth League gained control of the Rhodesian nationalist movement by ousting Mzingeli, the former leader of the movement. "CYL leaders challenged the fundamental laws which created the officials and the Parliament, to whom Mzingeli had been content to

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11 There are at present an estimated 158 political detainees and 150 restrictees in Rhodesia. All are Africans. The Manchester Guardian, February 21, 1970.

complain."  

In short, the movement received its dynamism from young men who expected to gain political control of the country in the near future. The members of the old order (among whom the residents of Marimba Park and Westwood) were already economically established and had lower expectations concerning the Africans' political future.

2. The mission-educated migrant finds in the city more than anywhere else, opportunities for utilizing his Western education, and he finds the urban values more congruent to his own.

The residents of Marimba Park and Westwood participated in Western institutions from an early age in the rural areas. The church, the school, and government posts provided new roles and new avenues for social

13 Shamuyarira, Crisis in Rhodesia, p. 41.

14 The sons of some of the residents participated in the nationalist movement during the early sixties.

15 The above could be tested by finding out through interviews what the nationalists' and the affluent blacks' expectations were between 1960 and 1964, their awareness of the number of other African countries which achieved independence or had been promised independence during this period, and their earnings and employment during this time and prior to it.

16 This does not include the fourteen residents who grew up in town.
mobility. By participating in these institutions the residents became conversant with urban expectations even before moving to the city, and in this way were adapted to living in the city. Mayer and Pauw report similar findings in their studies of Xhosa townsmen. "The school migrant coming to the town has found there the opportunities for greater fulfillment of those Western-oriented ideals fostered by his background in the country."\textsuperscript{17}

Other research done in southern Africa supports this study's findings concerning the church's role in bringing about social change in the rural areas. Such research includes Murphree's study of religion among the Budjga, which reports that church membership cuts across kinship lines and offers new roles and avenues for social mobility.\textsuperscript{18}

3. Friendships formed at work, school and in the neighborhood have become more important, while kinship and tribal ties have weakened.

\textsuperscript{17}Pauw, The Second Generation, p. 195. Also see Mayer, Townsmen or Tribesmen, pp. 206-8.

\textsuperscript{18}Murphree, Christianity and the Shona, p. 158. Murphree lists (p. 158) similar studies done in southern Africa. It may be that the Africans who availed themselves of the new roles were often those who were discontented with the traditional system.
The residents chose most of their friends from linguistic groups other than their own. People they met at work, church, school, clubs, sports and in their neighborhood accounted for sixty-five per cent of their friends.

The residents of Marimba Park and Westwood are more secure in the urban situation than are the migrants. Unlike the migrant they earn a steady income and own land and houses in the city. The affluent blacks' lack of financial dependence on kinsmen is reflected by the decline of the number of relatives included in their social networks. This finding parallels that of Parkin. He reports that in Kampala, Uganda, "higher status people" tend to make friends on a non-tribal basis while people at the lower levels of the socioeconomic scale find that contacts with home companions are sources of aid and comfort. Jacobson's study of friendship among Africans in Mbale, Uganda, confirms this. Elite Africans select friends of the same occupation and age as

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19 Eighty per cent of the residents listed less than half of their friends as belonging to their same linguistic group. In Chapter 7 the relationship between tribal tie and linguistic group is discussed.

themselves; ethnicity plays only a small part in their choices.  

4. The affluent blacks have divided loyalties. They side with the African masses against the racial discrimination practiced by the white minority but they emulate the whites, and many of their values are compatible with middle-class European values.

In Chapter 7 we noted that the affluent blacks are not accepted by the whites although their life styles and values are similar. They are seen as part of a large, undifferentiated mass called Africans and law and custom provide almost no opportunities for contact between blacks and whites of equal status. Yet despite the disadvantages imposed on the affluent blacks by the present system, they have a vested interest in maintaining certain aspects of it. They say that the whites have a right to stay in Rhodesia, that they are maintaining a measure of stability in the country, and that they have valuable technological skills which the Africans need to learn.

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The Africans in Marimba Park and Westwood associate primarily with the small group of Africans who are on their own socioeconomic level. The residents and their friends form the nucleus of an emerging middle-class, the growth of which depends upon future government policies, and the economic development of Rhodesia as a whole. If future government policies promote social and political integration, the affluent blacks will surely cooperate, for as it has been shown, most of the affluent blacks accept the free enterprise system based on individual advancement, but reject strongly the Rhodesian government's segregationist policies.
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Lukhero, L.B.

Mair, Lucy

Mason, P.

Mayer, Philip

Mboya, Tom J.

Mitchell, Clyde

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## APPENDIX A

**Significant Commissions and Laws Affecting Urbanization in Rhodesia**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAW</th>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>REASON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1894 Town Management Ordinance No. 2</td>
<td>A law concerning the establishment and regulation of African Townships.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896 Registration of Natives Regulations, published as Ordinance No. 2.</td>
<td>All persons seeking employment in townships were to report to the Registrar of Natives who would give to every such native a pass.</td>
<td>&quot;for the suppression of vagrancy within the limits of certain towns.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898 Government Notice No. 181 of statutory Town Location Regulations.</td>
<td>It gave the authority to the governing body of a town to appoint an inspector to administrate a native urban location within its boundaries.</td>
<td>to regulate and inspect native urban locations and deal with idle or disorderly persons in them.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2. Ibid., p. 42.
3. Ibid., p. 32.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAW</th>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>REASON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1904 The Native Tax Ordinance No. 21.</td>
<td>Tax was increased from ten shillings to one pound per hut and ten shillings for each polygamous wife.</td>
<td>to raise funds and to get African labor for agriculture and the mines.(^4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1906 Native Urban Locations Ordinance No. 4.</td>
<td>The Governor is responsible for establishing urban locations, in which Africans employed in seeking work, or visiting town should reside exclusively, except for domestic servants who could reside on their employers' land.</td>
<td>&quot;to make provisions for the establishment of native reserve locations in or near urban areas.&quot;(^5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1925 Land Commission, Report of the Morris Carter Commission.</td>
<td>His report &quot;stressed the need for protecting Africans by keeping them apart from whites as far as possible.&quot; He recommended the division of the land into European and African areas.</td>
<td>&quot;to investigate the question of setting up separate purchase areas for Africans and Europeans.&quot;(^6)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**LAW**

1930 and 1941 Land Apportionment Acts.

**CONTENT**

Divided the land in European and African areas upon the recommendations of the Morris Carter Commission. "No African shall acquire, lease, or occupy land in the European area." Certain exceptions to above are listed, e.g. African employees are allowed to live in European areas. Similarly Europeans are not allowed to live on land in African areas, with certain exceptions.

**REASON**

In 1925 Africans had bought 45,000 acres while the Europeans had bought 31,000,000 acres. Thus it became apparent that there was a danger of Africans finding themselves without land as Europeans bought up large tracts.

The settlers were afraid that Africans would buy land much more extensively in the future, compete economically with them, and buy farms next to theirs.

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7 The Land Apportionment Act, p. 334.


9 R.H. Palmer, Aspects of Rhodesian Land Policy 1890-1936, p. 35
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAW</th>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>REASON</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1937 Natives Registration Act.</td>
<td>Africans in the towns must have a town pass to seek work or a visiting pass or certificate of self-employment. An employer must register his contract of service reached with his employee, with the authorities.</td>
<td>&quot;For the registration and control of natives.&quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 Natives (Urban Areas) Accommodation and Registration Act.</td>
<td>This act &quot;compels employers to provide free accommodation for African workers either in licensed private premises or in an African township.&quot;</td>
<td>To fund housing projects.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951 Native Land Husbandry Act.</td>
<td>&quot;Gave the Government powers to divide up the land in the Native Reserves and to allocate in equal lots to every individual who had rights in the reserves.&quot;</td>
<td>Designed to bring about individual land tenure and thus protect the land which was being depleted through communal land tenure. &quot;While</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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10 Plewman, Report, p. 32.  
LAW
1951 Native Land Husbandry Act (continued)

CONTENT
Africans who neglect their land by staying in the cities for too long were liable to lose their land rights in the reserves. 13

REASON
traditional shifting cultivation was perfectly adapted to the conditions which existed before the coming of the Europeans, it became less viable as the numbers of people and their stock increased rapidly. 14


Among other recommendations the report advocated the abolition of the pass laws, 15 that Africans should be allowed to own land in the townships, 16 that funds be provided for home ownership schemes, 17 and that the authorities should build more family accommodations rather than bachelor hostels. 18

To assess progress and problems in African urban affairs, and to make recommendations.

13 Ibid., p. 70.
14 Palmer, Rhodesian Land Policy, p. 47.
16 Ibid., p. 96.
17 Ibid., p. 41.
18 Ibid., p. 50.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LAW</th>
<th>CONTENT</th>
<th>REASON</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1960 Amendment to the Land Apportionment Act.</td>
<td>Africans may purchase land in the African Townships area.</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961 Amendment to the Land Apportionment Act.</td>
<td>Africans may acquire, lease, use or occupy land in the industrial areas.</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1962 Liquor Amendment Act (No. 63 of 1961)</td>
<td>Africans may drink in certain public houses in the European Areas and buy spirituous liquors.</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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20 Ibid., p. 16.
21 Ibid., p. 21.
APPENDIX B

This section includes a brief biographical sketch of each of the families living in Marimba Park and Westwood. The peoples' names have been changed to protect their identities.

Mr. and Mrs. Adat and their five children were one of the first families to build a home in Marimba Park. Mr. Adat was born in a rural district of Rhodesia. When he finished primary school he and Mr. Muto went together to Johannesburg, South Africa, to work in the gold mines. After saving enough money, Mr. Adat began his secondary education at a mission school in South Africa. Later he married a Zulu woman and the couple lived in Johannesburg for over twenty years before moving to Rhodesia. In the meantime Mr. Adat completed a diploma in social work and earned a B.A. degree. At present he teaches social work at a training school in Salisbury. Mrs. Adat is a primary school teacher.

Mr. and Mrs. Badza are both in their 40's. She is a nurse and he is a businessman. Both were educated in South Africa and she trained as a nurse in England. Their three children attend private, multi-racial schools. Mr. Badza is one of the younger generation of businessmen who are well educated. Both of their fathers were also businessmen.

Dr. and Mrs. Chenda are among the most recent arrivals in the neighborhood. Their new home is complete with tennis court and swimming pool. She is a nurse and he is a doctor; both were trained in South Africa. Dr. Chenda drives their two children to private schools each morning before going to work. His wife takes great pride in her home and is considering resigning from work to devote herself full time to home making.
Mr. and Mrs. Chido are one of the oldest couples in the neighborhoods. They both have children by former marriages and three daughters by their present marriage. Mrs. Chido is from South Africa and Mr. Chido was born in Malawi. They came to Salisbury during the days of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland when Mr. Chido was elected to the Federal Parliament. After the Federation was dissolved in 1963 they were barred from returning to Malawi because of their support of the Federation. At present Mr. Chido is employed by the Rhodesian government.

Mr. and Mrs. Dombo are an unusual couple. In addition to becoming very successful in business they are both well-educated. Mrs. Dombo is a South African who came to Rhodesia to work as a nurse. Mr. Dombo trained as a teacher and eventually rose to be headmaster of a government primary school before launching into business. Four of their five children are attending schools in England. The youngest son helps his father in the business.

Mr. Dunzu began his career as a taxi-driver in Salisbury. Today he is the owner of a large fleet of buses and a number of business properties in the townships. His first wife was a teacher and the mother of his nine children; the second wife is a nurse.

Mr. Gumbo is a secondary school teacher. He received most of his education in South Africa and lived there for ten years after marrying a South African woman. Mrs. Gumbo was also trained as a teacher. Their son is attending university.

Mr. and Mrs. Korena have no children of their own, but several of his children by his first marriage live with them. Mrs. Korena studied nursing in South Africa and works at a hospital in Salisbury. Mr. Korena operated a small transport business until petrol rationing forced him out of business. At present he is unemployed.

Dr. and Mrs. Kudani rented a house in Westwood before building their own home in Marimba Park. They married when he was still a medical student in South Africa and after returning to Rhodesia worked in a government hospital in another city. They have four children, three of whom are school age. Each morning Dr. Kudani drives them across town to the private, multi-racial schools they attend.
Dr. and Mrs. Luta met and married while both were studying in Scotland. When they returned to Rhodesia she began working as a nurse at a government hospital and he was employed by the Government. Two of their four children are school age and attend private, multi-racial schools.

Mr. and Mrs. Mapadza met sixteen years ago while they were teaching at mission schools in the same area. Today he is headmaster of a government school in Salisbury and she is still teaching to help pay the fees for their three children to attend private multi-racial schools. Both Mr. and Mrs. Mapadza have traveled to the United States and Canada—he on a State Department teacher exchange program and she with the Y.W.C.A.

Mr. and Mrs. Miti both completed secondary school and teacher training courses. They met while teaching at schools in the same area. After teaching for several years Mr. Miti was promoted to headmaster of a primary school. During the Federation he joined the government service and was sent with his wife and two daughters to Lagos, Nigeria, to work in press and public relations. At the end of 1963 they returned to Salisbury and he joined the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Mrs. Miti is active in the Y.W.C.A. and was sent to the United States for a leadership training course.

Mr. and Mrs. Mombe are both in their fifties. They were educated at a mission where both were recognized by the priests as extremely able students. She was trained as a teacher and he as a bookkeeper. They married and lived at the mission for over 20 years. In 1964 they decided to move to Salisbury and find better paying jobs. Mr. Mombe works in the accounting department of a European-owned company and Mrs. Mombe is the only African woman in the recipe advisory section of a large international company. They have five adult children—four sons and a daughter.

Mr. and Mrs. Mucha were one of the first couples to build in Marimba Park, and he was influential in interesting other Africans in buying in the area. Mr. Mucha studied agriculture in South Africa and married Mrs. Mucha while he was there. When he returned to Rhodesia Mr. Mucha worked as a demonstrator for the government for several years before opening a shop. Since that time he has expanded his business interests to include several more shops, some buses and a number of residential and
business properties which he rents to others. Until last year Mrs. Mucha managed one of her husband's stores. In the past Mrs. Mucha was very active in African women's clubs. Last year she decided to stop working in the stores and devote more time to her home. Mr. and Mrs. Mucha have no children, but share their home with her widowed sister and her daughters.

Mr. Muchero started out as a court interpreter and later saved enough money to open a grocery store in one of the townships. Mrs. Muchero looks after the shop while he makes visits to their farm near Salisbury. Their eldest daughter is doing a commercial course in Malawi, and the three younger girls are at private, multi-racial schools. Mr. Muchero took a four-month course in England in farming and supermarket management.

Mr. Mugudzu has lived in Salisbury for 50 years, his wife for 20 years. He started out working as a cook and later as a waiter and began his own business in 1944 with a truck. Later he bought a bus and drove it himself for 17 years. Today he owns shops and buses.

Mr. and Mrs. Mukaka are extremely friendly and outgoing. They have lived in Marimba Park since 1966. Mr. Mukaka has a B.A. which he earned by correspondence while teaching at secondary school. His wife is also a teacher. He also teaches part-time at the university. Two of their four children are school-age, one of them attends a private, multi-racial school.

Mr. and Mrs. Mumba have lived in Salisbury for twenty years. After finishing primary school Mr. Mumba trained as a carpenter and worked as a cabinet maker for several years before opening his own store. Today he owns several stores in the townships and Mrs. Mumba manages one of them for him. Six of their children are attending government schools and the youngest is at a multi-racial private school. Before moving to Marimba Park the Mumba family lived in a one-room house.

Mr. and Mrs. Musha were both born in the same rural district. After they married they came to Salisbury where Mr. Musha worked at various unskilled jobs and attended night school, finally completing four years of primary education. In 1938 he opened a shop in one of the townships. Today he has two stores in Salisbury and one in a nearby town. They have four sons, one of whom was killed in an automobile accident.
Dr. and Mrs. Mutare lived at the university campus before moving into Marimba Park in 1968. Dr. Mutare teaches at the university and Mrs. Mutare is active in several women's clubs. Three of their four daughters are in England and the fourth daughter is married and living in Rhodesia. Their only son lives with them.

Mrs. Muti is a capable, intelligent woman in her late thirties. After divorcing her husband she left her two children with relatives and went to Canada where she took a B.A. in nursing. Today she is one of the best-qualified African women in Rhodesia. She owns a car and a house and sends both her children to private schools.

Mr. and Mrs. Muto are from the same rural district. When he was 18 Mr. Muto went to South Africa with Mr. Adat and worked in the mines. Four years later he returned to his village and married. Later he migrated to Salisbury and got a job as a clerk in a government office. Then he went into business for himself. Mrs. Muto helps her husband part-time in the shop. The couple has nine children.

Mr. and Mrs. Nomsa each have only primary school education but they are one of the wealthiest families in the neighborhood. Their five children all attend private, multi-racial schools. Mrs. Nomsa assists her husband in one of his shops when she is not busy with her home and children. She has taken courses in gardening, decorating and personal appearance.

Mr. Nyama began working in town as a dishwasher. Today he owns several stores in Salisbury's townships. His first wife died and he remarried. He and his second wife have six children; the older ones attend school in the townships.

Rev. and Mrs. Rudo moved to Westwood when Rev. Rudo was employed by an inter-denominational church council. Mrs. Rudo is a teacher. The couple have five children. Rev. Rudo has made several trips to Europe and the United States in the course of his job.

Mr. and Mrs. Ruva and their seven children have lived in Marimba Park since 1966. Mr. Ruva is a businessman and in the past Mrs. Ruva helped him by managing the store. They are both from the same rural district.
and came to live in Salisbury after they were married. Their parents and brothers and sisters are all still living in the rural area.

Mr. and Mrs. Shiri moved to Salisbury in 1965 when he was promoted by the government. Mrs. Shiri is also employed by the government as a social worker in one of the nearby townships. They are both very active in their church. Their four children attend government schools in the townships.

Mr. and Mrs. Tengo were married while he was attending a foreign university. When they returned to Rhodesia he was employed by a large international company to work in public relations and marketing. Mrs. Tengo taught school for several years before taking a better-paying job as a secretary. Their two children attend private, multi-racial schools.

Mr. and Mrs. Tuna are one of the youngest couples in the neighborhood. Mr. Tuna works as an insurance salesman and his wife as a nurse. The couple have three children who attend school in a nearby township.

Mr. Uchan went to South Africa when he was 18 and got a job driving a bus. Later he married a South African woman and returned with her to Salisbury where he opened a small grocery shop. Two of his sons are at universities in the United States and England. The other four are attending government schools in Salisbury.

Mr. and Mrs. Undu spend a lot of time commuting between town and their rural home near Salisbury. Mrs. Undu remains there during the week looking after their farm and spends the weekends in Marimba Park. The couple have fifteen children.

Mr. and Mrs. Untu are both very active in their church. It is a focus around which their family's activities are organized. Mr. Untu has a B.A. and is a teacher at a government secondary school. Mrs. Untu was also a teacher until she resigned several years ago to devote more time to her eight children.

Mr. and Mrs. Yudzi and their five children lived on the campus of the university before moving to Marimba Park. He is a lecturer in Shona and Mrs. Yudzi teaches in a government primary school. Mr. Yudzi has traveled to England and the United States several times.
Mr. Zala had a high post in the government during the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Since multi-racialism has declined in Rhodesia, so has his family's style of life. Today they live very quietly, as compared with ten years ago. Mr. Zala has a B.A. from a South African university and has traveled extensively in Europe and the United States. Mrs. Zala is a nurse. Their six children attend private, multi-racial schools.

Mrs. Zinto has been a widow for thirteen years. She runs a store in one of the townships and she has built a home in Marimba Park for herself. Her only daughter is married. She said that she built the house as security for herself and her daughter and her grandchildren.
APPENDIX C

The examples that follow of two friendship networks illustrate the method used to gather information about a person's friends. The form used is adapted from one used by Pauw (1963) in his study of second-generation Xhosa townsmen in East London.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin Tribe</th>
<th>Lives Where</th>
<th>Freq. of Contact</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Nature of Contact</th>
<th>Basis of Friendship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>2xmo.</td>
<td>nurse</td>
<td>Mrs. ------ We met in Jo'burg. We met through our husbands. I tell her my difficulties if there are any family problems. She talks to me too. If either my husband or I are wrong, she tells us whether we like it or not. Her former husband wanted us to part. We discuss family problems. When we lived in Highfield we used to see her once in two days, but now it is less.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs. Yudzi We met through the children in church. We discuss family problems. Our husbands are great friends.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mufa.</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs. ------ We met at school. We teach at the same place. We discuss children together. She was friendly to me when I first came to that school. She also does dressmaking.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndebele</td>
<td>1x2wk.</td>
<td>hs.wife</td>
<td>Mrs. Mucha I go and see her when she is ill. I met her through my husband. She used to manage a store for her husband.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>1xmo.</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs. Gumbo I met her when she taught in South Africa. I was a student there. She sell vegetables at the market now. I met her when they were living at the college. We used to go and visit her there. We don't see each other much now.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zz MPark</td>
<td>1xmo.</td>
<td>bus.wmn.</td>
<td>Mrs. Nomso We meet every Sunday in church. When I became a Roman Catholic she was my godmother.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Ndebele   | 1x2mo.      | cooking         | Mrs. Mombe We met at Highfields at school and we used to go to the same church when I was still an Anglican. She helped me with curtains and packing in Highfield. We used to visit a lot in Highfield.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Kin Tribe</th>
<th>Lives Where</th>
<th>Freq. of Contact</th>
<th>Occupation</th>
<th>Nature of Contact</th>
<th>Basis of Friendship</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>1xwk</td>
<td>housewife</td>
<td>Mrs. Mugudzu</td>
<td>We live here in</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Marimba Park. We</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>advice each other</td>
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<td></td>
<td>on hand work,</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>knitting and</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>crocheting.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xhosa Mufa</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs.-------</td>
<td>I met her at the</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>school where we</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>both teach. We</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>are both</td>
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<td>interested in</td>
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<td>school work.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs.-------</td>
<td>She is a friend</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>from school. We</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>both teach together.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>Mufa.</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs.--------</td>
<td>We meet at school</td>
</tr>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>only.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndua Mufa</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mr.--------</td>
<td>He once taught</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>my daughter,</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td>then I found</td>
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<td></td>
<td>him at that</td>
<td></td>
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<td>school. He asks</td>
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<td>me to ask my</td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>husband to help</td>
<td></td>
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<td>him. I ask him</td>
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<td>to do drawings</td>
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<td>for the board</td>
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<td>for me sometimes.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Mufa.</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mr.--------</td>
<td>I met him at</td>
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<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Highfield, then</td>
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<td>I met him here</td>
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<td>again. He comes</td>
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<td>to the house. We</td>
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<td>take him as a son.</td>
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<td>I applied for my</td>
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<td>daughter in</td>
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<td>Malawi and he</td>
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<td>helped me and she</td>
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<td>is now in Malawi</td>
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<td>studying.</td>
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<td>Malawi</td>
<td>Mufa.</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>headmaster</td>
<td>Mr.--------</td>
<td>I met him at</td>
</tr>
<tr>
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<td>school and he</td>
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<td>comes to see me</td>
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<td>when I am sick.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zz Mufa.</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mr.--------</td>
<td>We met at school</td>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
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<td>and we go</td>
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<td>to the same</td>
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<td>church. He is</td>
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<td>the leader of</td>
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<td>my section. We</td>
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<td>meet at church</td>
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<td>occasionally</td>
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<td>when they come</td>
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<td>here for picking</td>
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<td>leaves for Palm</td>
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<td>Sunday.</td>
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<td>Kinship</td>
<td>Lives Where</td>
<td>Freq. of Contact</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Nature of Contact</td>
<td>Basis of Friendship</td>
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<tr>
<td>Khosa</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>once in a while</td>
<td>hs. wife</td>
<td>Mrs. Dombo. I met her at Highfield. Then her daughter was more close to me because we were in the same school. I think she used to talk a lot to her mother about me.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khosa</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>every other day</td>
<td>hs. wife</td>
<td>Mrs. Mucha's sister who lives with them. I met her at Harare where they were living. We are quite friendly. She comes here. I see more of her than of Mrs. Mucha.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khosa</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>1x2 mo.</td>
<td>hs. wife</td>
<td>Mrs. Kudani. I met her through my cousin who was schooling with her. My cousin was in South Africa. We see each other once in two months, something like that.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>once in a while</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs. Mukaka. At one time she came to school where I was. We just meet each other once in a while.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndagau Hf.</td>
<td>often</td>
<td>social worker</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs.----- She is a relative of my husband. I knew her as a girl in South Africa. The friendship began because she is a relative. They do come here often to visit us.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica Hf.</td>
<td>1xyr.</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mr.----- Teacher who was teaching children and we were in the same school. He makes it a point to come here every year.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndagau MPark</td>
<td>not very secy.</td>
<td>often</td>
<td></td>
<td>Mrs. Tengo. I met her at school where we were teaching together. We only met here at MPark visiting each other. We also saw each other at Y meetings, but I have resigned now.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica MPark</td>
<td>not very</td>
<td>often</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs. Dunzu #1. In fact both of them I know but we just greet each other. We are not friends as such.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kinship</td>
<td>Lives Where</td>
<td>Freq. of Contact</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Nature of Contact</td>
<td>Basis of Friendship</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndau</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>1x2mo.</td>
<td>hs. wife</td>
<td>Mrs. Musha. She is known by my husband.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>univ.</td>
<td></td>
<td>nurse</td>
<td>Mrs. ----- We met at Umtali. We used to see them once or twice a year but since they are at the university we will see them more often. They just returned this year from London.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndau</td>
<td>Umtali</td>
<td>1xyr.</td>
<td>teacher</td>
<td>Mrs. ----- I just saw her recently because her parents are here in Highfield. When Christmas comes she always sends a Christmas card. We met in Umtali through my husband. They were schooling together. They kept us for a night when we came to Umtali. She was so nice to me when I gave birth to this small boy. Here they make you leave and I was used to staying in the maternity clinic for up to 10 days. She really helped me. She did all the work for me.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>Mufa.</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>nurse</td>
<td>Mrs. ----- She told me what to do with my son and told me to take him to the skin specialist. I knew her from South Africa when she was training as a nurse. I met her through my husband.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin Trip</td>
<td>Lives Where</td>
<td>Freq. of Contact</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Nature of Contact</td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndau</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>1xwk.</td>
<td>social worker</td>
<td>Adat. We went on foot together to South Africa in 1934. We went 1/3 of the journey on foot. We slept in the budu and took food with us. We both went to work in the mines. I met him when he came back to Salisbury. We just visit each other's home. In 1938 we parted company. I came back from South Africa then.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Hf.</td>
<td>several x mo.</td>
<td>bns. man</td>
<td>He was my classmate together with Adat. We left him at home and then he also left home for Cape-town. When he came back from South Africa he lived with me for 3 months in Harare. Sometimes we met at church. We used to be neighbors in Hf. and we saw each other daily.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndau</td>
<td>MPark</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>bns. man</td>
<td>Musha. I met him in Salisbury in 1939. I began when he was working for the Cold Storage Commission as a laborer. From that time he is married to my sister-in-law. He passes through here and our businesses are next door and we are both in the Traders Association.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Zz</td>
<td>Harare</td>
<td>daily</td>
<td>bns. man</td>
<td>He was a salesman at Salisbury Bottling Co. That is how I started knowing him but now he is in business in Harare. He has a grocery shop. He doesn't come to the house but he intends to come here and say Makorekoto (congratulations).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndau</td>
<td>Harare</td>
<td>1xwk.</td>
<td>minister</td>
<td>I left him while he was still young, so I only met him here in Salisbury.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Br</td>
<td>Harare</td>
<td>2xwk.</td>
<td>bns. man</td>
<td>Muto. He owns a bazaar. He used to be African Traders Association Chairman. I was with him yesterday and he was here day before yesterday.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chipingea</td>
<td>4xyr.</td>
<td>minister</td>
<td>Rev. He is our senior minister in our church. His daughter is in America. So for three days I see him (cont.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kin</td>
<td>Tribe</td>
<td>Lives Where</td>
<td>Freq. of Contact</td>
<td>Occupation</td>
<td>Nature of Contact</td>
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<td>-----</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>MPark, sometimes</td>
<td>Man, man</td>
<td>only quarterly because he is at home. We knew each other when we were still young, before he became a minister.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Zz</td>
<td>MPark, 1xwk.</td>
<td>Man, man</td>
<td>Mumba. I came to know him because of his brother, Elijah. Before he married his wife was a bridesmaid at my uncle's wedding. This is where we met. From then we were friends because we both run businesses. Yesterday he carried me to town in his car. Early in the morning we both go for work and we meet sometimes. These days his business is in Highfield and mine is in Harare so we don't meet often.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Manica</td>
<td>MPark, sometimes</td>
<td>Man, man</td>
<td>Mucha. He used to use my car. He used to visit Bindura in my car.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Dombo. Because of these businesses, and we used to meet in meetings from time to time. Whenever we meet we show friendship.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
APPENDIX D

My wife and I lived in Westwood for ten months with an African family. We shared meals, attended parties and club meetings with members of the family. In this way we were able to become acquainted with all the families in both neighborhoods. The people with whom we were living introduced us to their friends in both areas as students doing a study for a university degree. Having gained the confidence of the residents we were able to interview them. Four sets of interviews were conducted with both the husband and the wife in each family. These were:

1. An open-ended interview on traditions.

2. A structured interview in which questions were asked about specific Shona customs (kurova guva, vadzimu, n'anga, rovoro, and nhaka). These were the traditions most frequently mentioned in the first set of interviews. The questions asked were: a) what do you think of kurova guva? b) what do you think of the vadzimu? c) what do you think of n'angas? d) what do you think of rovoro? and e) what do you think of nhaka? Most informants responded at length to each of these questions explaining the custom, giving examples from their own experience, and expressing
their opinions about the custom.

3. A neighborhood census which contained questions on religion, education, occupation, income, tribal identity, length of urban residence, prior residences, prior occupations, birth place, number of children, travel, voluntary associations, rural-urban visiting, assistance to relatives, parents' occupations, siblings' occupations.

4. An interview on social networks. Each adult was asked about their friendships. A sample of the interview schedule is found in Appendix C.