

UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA



DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY

Survey of Highfield
African Township
by
P. STOPFORTH

Occasional Paper
No. 6 1971

SURVEY OF HIGHFIELD AFRICAN TOWNSHIP SALISBURY

Department of Sociology

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UNIVERSITY OF RHODESIA

SALISBURY

1971

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CONTENTS

The Survey	1
Demographic Description of the Township The	4
Families and Other Dwelling Occupants	9
Urban Settlement	18
Participation in Formail Institutions	24
First and Second Urban Generation Dwellers	29
Urbanization and Social Change	31
Appendix A — Housing Composition of Strata	37
B — Diagrams of Family Structures	38
C — Religious Groupings D —	42
Occupations	44
E — List of Voluntary Associations	45
F — Dwelling Unit and Family Sizes G —	47
Specimen Questionnaire Schedule	50
Maps, Diagrams, Etc.	50

PREFACE

This sociographic study is the first element in a three-stage programme designed to penetrate more and more deeply into the life of an African township in Salisbury. The work has been carried out by the Urban Studies Research Unit of our Institute for Social Research, the project leader being Mr. P. Stopforth.

The financing of Mr. Stopforth's faculty research fellowship has been by the University, but substantial funding for the fieldwork, transport and other expenses has come from the Ministry of Local Government and Housing, to whom we are grateful. At no time has any pressure been felt from officials of the Ministry, who have merely desired copies of our scientific reports to help them with their planning for African housing and family life in the urban areas.

Undoubtedly the most important of Mr. Stopforth's findings is his new view of the classification and function of the urban African family as found in Highfield township. What he is making in effect are two salient points:

1. that pressure on urban accommodation is such that *any* claim to relationship is made and accepted as a basis for joining the family in town; that consequently formal kin lines and hence structures become blurred and almost meaningless; and
2. that diffuse kin relationships of this kind are not constrained by the walls of an African township dwelling unit, but tend to spread into neighbouring units and even across roads.

In order to make these points plain. Mr. Stopforth has tended to reject for this situation the orthodox anthropological classification of the *extended family*, although he retains it as a generic term. Instead he prefers the term *enlarged family* as a new technical expression for these "groupings of convenience" between main families (or their substitutes) and related and unrelated lodgers, boarders and dependants.

My contention is that this nomenclature and analysis fit the facts well. It is common cause among those who administer African urban townships in this part of Africa that whatever accommodation is built — one-family, two-family, flatlet, hostel, or any other — it becomes saturated with whoever persuades the room or house tenant that he has any claim to be accommodated. Functionally this is a different case from the organic kinship growth, nourished by the ever-present ancestors, of elementary, extended and joint families in the rural areas. The urban situation is one in which related and unrelated persons band together as best they can to make a living and survive in what in many respects is a hostile milieu.

The diagrams in Appendix B show some rather strange family shapes if any attempt is made to adhere to orthodox structural analysis. The contention here is that this analysis is inappropriate for the African township and that any planning based on it will be misdirected. A more fruitful approach would seem to be, in consultation with the people themselves, to find out one or more optimal sizes of enlarged family accommodation which can be managed by a tenant, or are desired by him, and to concentrate on building a proportion of these. The *ad hoc* and pragmatic approach to urban living which they represent reminds one to some extent of the "messing",

commune, collective and even "crash-pad" accommodational arrangements of Western youth. This is not to say, even as in our own case, that no arrangements should be made for orthodox "respectable" family dwellings.

If any one theme emerges from the Stopforth study it is progressive urbanization. He views the African people of Highfield as "transitional between an order defined by kinship reliance on the one hand and a modern individualistic network on the other". The bonds of kinship are declining in favour of other networks involving neighbours, friends and co-workers. Demographically, in contrast to the fact that the adult males have spent less than 50 per cent, of their lives in town, some two-thirds of the pre-adult population have been born in town and the proportion is likely to increase in the future. In terms of other criteria of urbanization, 20 per cent, of the adult population did not visit the rural areas at all during a preceding year and the modal education level has reached Grade 6-7 for both males and females. On the other hand, many practise traditional religion as well as Christianity, thus keeping both options open, but such trends appear to be disappearing in the second urban generation of those born in town. Over all Stopforth notes a trend to secularization and modernization.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge the assistance of my colleague, Marshall W. Murphree, Maurice Webb, Professor of Race Relations at this University, who kindly read and commented on the manuscript.

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Director.*

Institute for Social Research,
University of Rhodesia,
May, 1971.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Funds for this research project were provided by the Ministry of Local Government and Housing, sponsors of the Urban Studies Unit.

Map A: Highfield African Township, was supplied by the Government Town Planning Department, Rhodesia.

To both these authorities our thanks are due.

I also acknowledge the assistance of Miss J. M. Trollip, who has contributed in all phases of the research process and in the arrangement of appendices.

P. STOPFORTH.

INTRODUCTION

Highfield African Township is among the largest of ten African townships in the Salisbury area, and is one of six administered by central government, local government being responsible for the administration of the balance. According to a Ministry of Local Government and Housing report (1970, pp. 1-3), "Highfield African Township is situated eleven kilometres south of Salisbury city and . . . was the first African township to be built and administered by (central) government in the Salisbury area and was initially intended to accommodate only government servants. However, due to the high demand for accommodation, residence was extended to other people who were not government employees." The township was first occupied in 1938 (Old Highfield) and expansion of the original complex continued until 1955. Thereafter, new sections of the township were added during 1956, 1960, 1962, 1964, 1966 and 1968. As the township has expanded residentially, facilities of a modern type community have developed. Map A shows the number and distribution of recreational facilities, shopping centres, markets, beerhalls, schools, churches, clinics, welfare offices and centres, transport services, etc., as well as illustrating the residential spread of Highfield.

The township occupies an area of 5,000 hectares, and estimates of the population size range from an official census figure of 52,560 to a government estimate of 72,280. During the period of the present sociographic survey, July and August, 1969, 7,364 residential dwelling units (houses) were counted in a total enumeration of housing. Some 3,376 houses fall under a home ownership scheme, while the balance represents rented housing. The quality of housing, both ownership scheme and rented, ranges from well-appointed accommodation through the barely sufficient to cramped inadequacy. Living space is at a premium, an external condition which exercises some influence on patterns of social relationships. For example, 21.0 per cent, of the survey sample population are on record as unrelated lodgers, living in houses with unrelated families or with other equally unrelated lodgers or lodger families. While not a slum or squatter territory the area is depressed by normal western standards. Social and material security is scarcely apparent, especially as many of the population derive from elsewhere. Since even those born in Salisbury originate from a traditional form of organization, changing social values and patterns of relationship are much in evidence.

There is no indication of any residential pattern by tribal, linguistic or lineage affiliation, so that physical delimitation on the basis of these factors does not arise. In fact, there is evidence that many people would avoid living near other relatives in the township, even if they could do so.¹ Similarly, foreigners to Rhodesia, who comprise 14.8 per cent, of the adult population, are widely distributed throughout the township. Externally, Highfield is little different from any depressed western residential community where work is sought in a city beyond the community and where the administration of local government is in the hands of some outside

1 Case studies in social change, on a revisit of the Highfield survey sample, reveal that more people would prefer to live "far away" from relatives in town, if the choice of proximity were to arise.

interest. Internally, the social dynamics of the population are characterized by changes familiar in the resettlement of a traditionally and rurally oriented people in an urban environment.

² See Table III.

I. THE SURVEY

Choice of Highfield as the Survey Universe

The Sociographic Survey of Highfield African Township represents the first step in a wider programme of urban African research being conducted by the Urban Studies Unit. To this end, and in the absence of other reliable information describing an African urban situation in Salisbury, a township representative of as wide a sociological range as possible was sought. Unfortunately the terms of reference of the research project excluded the possibility of surveying townships administered by the local authority, since the project was confined to "government" townships. Of these, Highfield was chosen as the universe of the survey by virtue of the following considerations. An informal housing survey of six townships, conducted by the research team, revealed the widest variety of residential or house-types in Highfield (basically 19 categories), which suggested that it would be the most representative of the range of housing in all the townships. As the largest of these "government" townships, Highfield incorporates many of the accommodation features of the others, e.g., home ownership, rented housing of various types, self-builder schemes. It also has features not found in the other townships, e.g., more expensive rented housing (\$24 cottages), flats and a unique self-builder scheme where one room, a roof and pillars towards the completed four-roomed dwelling are provided. The objective criterion of house type was reinforced by the apparent range of socio-economic composition of the population of Highfield. The others are more limited: Kambuzuma township has an income requirement as a qualification for residence and Dzivarasekwa township caters for domestic servants and more depressed wage earners. Furthermore, as Highfield is a well-established township it was expected that social patterns would manifest sufficient homogeneity and continuity for scientific study.

Highfield, then, was considered to represent as wide a range as possible over a number of townships, but was not viewed as a representative African township in the sense that it is directly comparable with others. At the same time a survey of Highfield may contribute to the process of inductive generalization concerning African urbanization in Central Africa.

Aim of the Survey

Since little concrete data were available concerning the conditions and traits of social life in Highfield, the Sociographic Survey, as the title implies, was designed to provide a "social map" of the population as an initial step in a wider study of social structure. The sociographic description includes data on demographic arrangement, family structure and the "lodger" population, urban settlement, participation in formally instituted activity, origins of the population and urban generation differences. An attempt is made to describe social change from the data presented.

Survey Technique

A questionnaire type survey schedule (Appendix G) was constructed and successfully administered by four African field assistants especially trained for the purpose. Of note in the design of the schedule is the replication of section B for all adults (i.e., persons 17 years and over) furnishing sociological data over a wider spectrum of a population than is usual when employing an interview technique. The spread of data ensures a greater knowledge of the *de facto* population, certain elements of which might be assumed to be socially transitional, e.g., the presence of a lodger population, relatives from the rural extended family living with a core or elementary family in town, single lodgers living with unrelated families, or groups of unrelated lodgers residing together.

Scope of the Survey

The questionnaire schedule was administered in 102 dwelling units, these representing a stratified systematic random sample² of 7,364 dwelling units in Highfield. The strata are constituted as follows (see Appendix A): Stratum I includes 773 higher cost rented houses; stratum II, 3,215 lower cost rented houses, and stratum III, 3,376 home ownership scheme houses. The sub-sample size for each stratum is 34 dwelling units.

The 102 sample dwelling units consist of successful interviews from the originally drawn sample of 105 units, the three non-responses being distributed one per stratum. The sampling unit, a dwelling, is defined as follows: A discrete dwelling unit, having an identifiable stand number (sampling frame) and recognised by the township administration as an abode for a family and other persons residing there. The survey sample of dwellings yielded a total sample population of 867 individuals composed of 447 adults and 420 children (cut-off age, 17 years).

Survey Statistical Information

Sample size = 105 dwelling units.

Effective sample size = 102 dwelling units.

Non-response = 3 dwelling units or 2.8 per cent, of the sample.

Sample fraction = $1/72$.

Total numbers (individuals) in the sample:

Individuals = 867.

Adults = 447.

Minors = 420 (cut-off age, 17 years).

² The stratified systematic random sample was drawn as follows: Appendix A describes the three strata and classes within each stratum, all in terms of type of house. Random numbers were drawn for each stratum and size of the classes calculated. The actual stand (case) numbers are derived by the formula: E = Random number minus the last cumulative total of class. In retrospect it is realized that the sample constitutes a cluster sample of dwellings, but the probability of a large variance on calculations is small.

The total number of individuals in the sample (N = 867) include 33 visitors, four adults that evaded interviewing, three non-response individuals and one mental case.

SE (X): Standard Error of the mean: $S.E.(X) = c$

$$\frac{\sqrt{\sum (X - \bar{X})^2}}{N} \quad N - Y \sim$$

C.V/ Coefficient of variation:
$$\frac{2 S.E.}{\bar{X}} \times 100$$

The C.V. at the 5 per cent, level of confidence can be interpreted from the table directly below.

C.V. \wedge 100	Useless
C . V . - 1 0 0 but $>$ 50	Poor
C.V < 50 but \wedge 25	Fair
CV < 25	Good

S.E.s (X) and O.V. for the numbers of people constituting main families and within dwelling units is shown below. (Consult Appendix F for the range of dwelling unit and family sizes, Table 1-7).

	Mean	S.E.(X)	C.V
Number of people per dwelling unit, total sample (Table 1)	8.5	1.08	25.4
Number of people per dwelling unit, excluding visitors (Table 2)	8.0	1.05	26.2
Number of people per main family, all family structures (Table 3)	6.6	0.87	26.3
Number of people per elementary family (Table 4)	6.0	0.70	23.3
Number of people per dwelling unit dominated by the elementary family (Table 5)	7.5	0.86	22.9
.....			
Number of people per dwelling unit dominated by enlarged family (Table 7)	8.0	0.74	18.5
	8.9	0.90	20.2

II. DEMOGRAPHIC DESCRIPTION OF THE TOWNSHIP

Population Distribution

A total sample of 867 persons from 102 dwellings represents a mean of 8.5 persons per dwelling. The mean multiplied by the total number of dwelling units (7,364) produces a total population estimate for Highfield of 62,594 persons (persons residing in three government camps excluded from the calculation). This estimate exceeds the Central Statistics Office (1969, p. 4) enumeration by 10,034 persons, while falling short of the Ministry's (1970, p. 2) estimate by 9,688 persons.

*Total population
estimates of Highfield T
ownship*

1969 African Census enumeration	52,560
1969	Sociographic
Survey	62,594
1970 Highfield Delineation Report	(est.) 72,282

The difference between the survey population and census enumeration estimates, holding error constant, can be attributed at least partly to the fact that the census enumeration (March/April) was conducted at a time of the year when many women and children are absent from the township, while the survey result (July/August) reflects optimum township population in the annual cycle.³ The estimate provided by the Ministry is derived from records. Here accuracy will be dependent on the sample of records chosen and the reliability of the population record in reflecting the actual number of people residing in the township at any one time.

The distribution of the population is described by Table I. Consult the population pyramid, Fig. 1, for a graphic illustration of the population. The picture is one of a young population with 74 per cent, of people under the age of 30 years. When compared with the 1969 African census figures for Rhodesia as a whole, the following peculiarities of the Highfield population are apparent:

³ Annual cyclical movement of population from African urban townships is occasioned by the agricultural seasonal cycle of ploughing, planting and harvesting. A sociological survey of three African townships conducted during 1970 will detail the actual rate of this movement.

TABLE I.

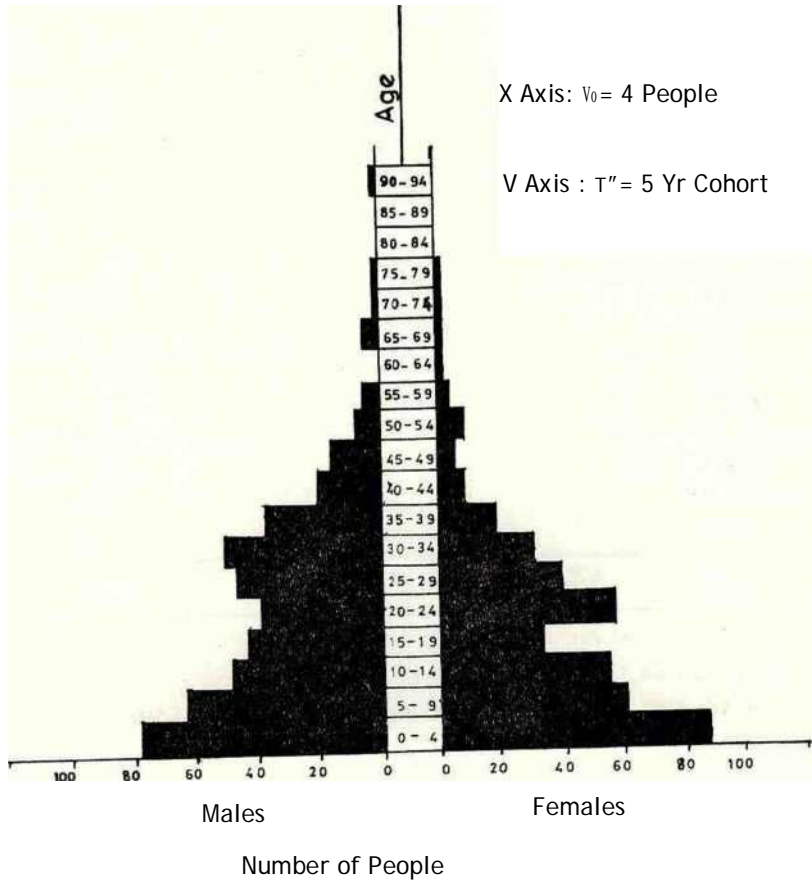
**Sample Population of Highfield Distributed by Age and Sex, Compared with
the 1969 Census of Population African Age Distribution for Rhodesia***

<i>Age</i>	<i>No. of People</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>% of Highfield Sample</i>	<i>*% of People of Rhodesia</i>	<i>S.E.</i>
0-4	162	16	86	18.8	16.7	
5-9	124	64	60	14.4	17.4	
10-14	103	49	54	11.9	13.6	
15-19	75	43	32	8.7/53.8	10.1/57.8	±9.9
20-24	96	39	56	11.1	8.1	
25-29	85	47	39	9.8	7.1	
30-34	79	49	29	9.1	6.1	
35-39	55	38	18	6.4/36.4	5.4/26.7	±9.5
40-44	28	20	8	3.2	3.9	
45-49	21	16	5	2.4	3.7	
50-54	15	7	8	1.7	2.5	
55-59	9	6	3	1.0	1.7	
60 +	12	8	4	1.4/9.7	2.9/14.7	± 8.6
TOTAL	864	462	402	99.9	99.2	
Col. 6: 0.8% age not stated. Non-responses 3.						n = 102
* C.S.O. 1969 Census of Population. Preliminary Results: Part VI:						p. 22.

The first four cohorts (0-19 years) are under-represented in Highfield,⁵ suggesting a slight efflux of population in this age group. A factor affecting the apparent efflux of children from the township is the number of married males living in the township while their families remain in the rural area. This arrangement will tend to lower the percentage of children as a sub-total of the township population. One of the most interesting features of this popula-

⁵ The difference between the first two cohorts of the 1969 census of population reflecting a greater number of people age 5-9 years than 0-4 years will be smoothed. Personal communication, Central Statistical Office, Salisbury.

FIG. 1 : Population Pyramid



lion category is the absence of females indicated by cohort 15-19 years. This absence, occasioned by efflux, cannot be wholly accounted for by present data, but it is suggested that this period (15-19 years of age) is spent in the rural area under instruction in traditional roles and for sexual security.

The large number of people in Highfield between the ages of 20-39 years consisting of numerous young women and older men indicates the rate of influx of migrants and immigrants into the urban area. The male influx is obviously of work-seeking age and the increases of females 20-24 years old would supply marriage partners. From age 40 years the population diminishes rapidly, which indicates some return to the rural area. However, as life expectancy among Africans is low, this efflux is not necessarily as great as usually accepted. Urban experience data presented later in this monograph will serve to reinforce the above contention.

The distribution of the population follows an expected pattern in an underdeveloped country where only 16 per cent, of the indigenous population live in an urban environment. The expense and need of cash in urban life tend to keep non-earning population down, i.e., young and old people, while the population represented by people of working age registers an increase when compared with the total Rhodesian population.

Dwelling Composition of the Population

The composition of the population of Highfield is described in Table II in terms of various categories of dwelling occupancy. These categories refer to the claim of an individual to living space, described below.

TABLE II.
Number of People by Categories of Occupancy

<i>Categories of Occupancy</i>	<i>Number of People</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Owners Heads of	35]	4.0
Renters I households	60]	6.9
Dependants	466	53.7
Related lodgers	38	4.4
Unrelated lodgers	182	21.0
Boarders	29	3.3
Visitors	52	6.0
Domestic servants	5	0.6
TOTAL	867	99.9

Heads of households are described as owners or renters of a dwelling unit (and in two cases the renter is someone other than the official renter). They are at the head of a family which is referred to as the main family,¹⁶ to distinguish it from the lodger families in the same dwelling unit. Of the heads of household, four are females.

Dependants consist of wives, children, relations and any other people who are dependant on the head of household only. Dependant in this case excludes a male lodger's dependants living with him in town.

Related lodger refers to a relative and his dependants who pay essentially for space in the dwelling and who as a general rule do not eat with the main family. For example, there are six related lodger families in the sample who would make their own arrangements for eating.

Unrelated lodger refers to a person, and any of his dependants, who pays for space in the dwelling only, given that he is not related to the main family or dwelling caretaker. Where there are a number of lodgers or lodger families inhabiting a dwelling, they are unrelated to each other.

Boarders are related people who contribute cash for their food and eat with the main family. They do not pay for living space and their contributions differentiate them from dependants.

Visitors are people who do not usually live in the dwelling. Many of these, however, spend long periods in town, often as work seekers.

Domestic servant denotes those servants who occupy space in the dwelling.

In six cases of tenanting where no head of household could be established, the dwelling unit is occupied by a miscellany of lodgers and lodger families.

Table III describes the composition of the adults of the sample by country of origin.

TABLE III.
Composition of Adult Population by Country of Origin

<i>Country of Origin</i>	<i>No. of Adults</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Rhodesia Rural	300]	73.9]
Rhodesia Urban	346]	85.2]
Malawi	28	6.9
Portuguese East Africa	15	3.7
South Africa	14	3.4
Zambia	3	0.7
TOTAL	406	99.9

⁶ The occupants of dwelling units are referred to in groups severally as "main family", "lodger family", "no main family", etc., and not as "household". A dwelling unit may include more than one household, which is usually defined as some kin group; often a group that shares food.

III. THE FAMILIES AND OTHER DWELLING OCCUPANTS

Families

As suggested by the categories of occupancy in the dwelling units, there is the possibility of different types of family structure, in terms of combinations of families, dependants, boarders and lodgers within the dwellings. Taking the main families, that is, families of heads of household, and following Reader's (1955, pp. 60-69) classification of urban family structure, Table IV describes the frequency of family structure. (This does not include unrelated lodgers or their families; visitors are also not included.)

TABLE IV.
Frequency of Different Main Family Structures

<i>Family Structure</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>	<i>Percentage</i>
Elementary family	41	40.2
Extended family	38	37.3
Fragmented family	5	4.9
Fragmentary extended	9	8.8
No main family	9	8.8
TOTAL	102	100.0

The *elementary family* consists of husband, wife and children; this may also be regarded as an elementary core in a larger family structure.

The *extended family* consists of an elementary core with the addition of relatives from the lineages of either or both husband and wife. The designation subsumes *joint family*, which includes a second related core family. It also comprises polygynous families and what will later be referred to as *enlarged families*.

The *fragmented family* consists of an elementary family minus one or other of the spouses.

Following the rationale of extended and fragmented families, the *fragmentary extended family* consists of a fragment of the elementary core with the extension of other relatives.

In nine of the 102 dwelling units no main family was extant, and the situation will be elaborated later in this report.

The relevance of urban family structure to the present study is in the departure from traditional structures, and in the sociological consequences of the changing structures for the people in their new environment. An incidence of 40.2 per cent, elementary family structure in Highfield can be considered a radical departure from the rural norm of the extended family and the ideal of polygyny. However,

comparative data on family structure for Central and Southern African urban areas exhibit as high or even a higher incidence of the elementary family:

	<i>Percentage of Elementary Family</i>
Reader (1955, p. 64), Baumannville Township	20.0
Chavanduka (1970, Table IV), Shona Ward (Musami)	35.1
Reader (1966, p. 77), Zulu Wards	44.0
Sociographic Survey, Highfield Township	40.2

Chavanduka (1970), re-studying a rural ward in Rhodesia, presents an incidence of 35.1 per cent, of elementary families. Scrutiny of his census material (included at the end of the publication) reveals the possibility that although elementary structures within houses occur frequently, very often this does not constitute the total family situation. Taking the "Second Line"⁴ of Mushake Village, for instance, consisting of 10 houses, nine elementary families and one fragmented family are possible, or alternatively eight elementary and one polygynous families. However, kinship relations among some of the houses suggest only two elementary families, both immigrant families to the village, while three further houses go to forming an extended family (a father in one and two sons in each of the others). A further two houses cater for a father and son, a polygynous family occupies the next two houses and in the final house the wife of the head of household is related to the Headman, and consequently perhaps to others in the vicinity. Such an analysis of the situation reduces the number of true elementary families to two or possibly three, the remaining families being extended.

Reader (1966, p. 77) derives a mean elementary family incidence of 44.0 per cent, from the decennial census of South Africa for Makhanyaland. It is apparent that the family unit is equated with the kraal, of which there are up to 377 in a ward. When related to his chapter on extended families and descent groups, it is possible that many elementary family groups, each inhabiting a kraal, form parts of extended families in the tribal situation. The figure for Baumannville Township (less than 20.0 per cent, elementary family), which includes a "large sprinkling of professional and clerical workers" (I.S.R. 1955, p. iii), would appear to provide some comparison, although the population of Highfield township is more heterogeneous.

The contention here is that urban settlement is producing a family structure of the elementary type which is more analogous to the modern western individualistic structure than the elementary types in tribal areas. The latter appear to manifest themselves as residues of the process of rural to urban migration. The suggestion, then, is that the higher incidence of the elementary type family reported in the more tribal situations of the three studies quoted above would be reduced if kinship ties in

⁴ A "line" in a rural Rhodesian village consists of a line of houses separating the arable land from grazing land.

immediate vicinities were analysed. That is, there is the probability that elementary families in a tribal situation are involved in a more extended kinship network than urban elementary families and possibly other urban family types as well. Such families are spatially and temporally more insulated from wider kin contact.

It must be emphasized, however, that the family structures in Highfield, that is, the *de facto* structure within each dwelling unit, represent groups of related people living in town. There is no attempt to deny continued interaction with the extended family in the rural area and the common cultural principles held both in town and country. The question is one of the quality and extent of the networks involved. Adams (1968, pp. 30-32) shows the importance of kin in a modern society (America); and many authors emphasize the solidarity of lineage groups in traditional society. The data of this paper will suggest that the people of Highfield may be viewed as transitional between an order defined by kinship reliance on the one hand and a modern individualistic network on the other.

Of the 41 elementary main families in Highfield, 20 or almost 50 per cent, are found in low-cost small area housing which inhibits extension by the joining of relatives. However, the balance is evenly divided between higher- cost larger area rented housing and the home-ownership scheme. As these houses usually have a larger area than low-cost rented housing, the suggestion is that at least 50 per cent, of the elementary type family structures have come about without the physical pressure of limited housing space.

The discussion so far includes only main families and these are complicated by other people accommodated in the dwelling. There is a mean of 1.5 lodgers per dwelling (which in some cases would include lodger families, especially in the home-ownership stratum) co-resident with elementary families.

The extended family comprises 37.3 per cent, of the sample. Five out of the 38 are joint families (bearing little resemblance to any principle of cojoining in traditional society) and two are polygynous. Although only two polygynous families were recorded in the survey, eight other men living in town maintain two wives, one wife in town, the other in the rural area. The urban extended families constitute an interesting phenomenon in that their structure is very heterogeneous in terms of relatives added to the elementary core. The 38 extended families include 96 relatives added to the elementary core — a mean addition of 2.5 persons per family. These extensions to the elementary core are described by Table V.

TABLE VI.
Frequency of Extended Relatives by their Relationship to the Male Head
of Family

<i>Relationship</i>	<i>No. of Relatives</i>
Through wife	13
Through sister.....	13
Through mother	20
Through daughter	9
Through patriline	41
Total	96

n = 38 extended families.

These figures show categories of relatives through whom the relationship is designated, e.g., sister includes sister herself, sister's son, etc.

There seems to be no clear-cut lineal adherence pattern for extension save the greater propensity for it to occur within the family head's patriline, not surprising in a dominantly patrilineal population. It is considered wise to depart from the convention of referring to such a family group, which occurs throughout the urban areas of Southern Africa, if not the[^] continent, as *extended* and to reconceptualize the structure by the description "enlarged" family structure. Richards (1950, p. 210) has contended that "extension takes place on the basis of certain nuclear or pivotal relationships". Table V suggests that "extension" relies on almost a randomized range of nuclear and pivotal relationships — the head of householder's descent group, his mother's, wife's, sister's and daughter's. It is contended that the urban enlarged family is assembled in response to needs which may be fundamentally different from those activating the formal kinship structure of the rural areas. The traditional kinship norms meet very few of the structural imperatives, and the enlarged family structure may be seen as a response to the new local urban situation without totally breaking with the older traditional ways. Table VI provides a more accurate description of the frequency of family types in Highfield. Diagrammatic examples of the various types of structure are presented in Appendix B for reference and scrutiny.

TABLE VI.**Frequency of Family Structure, Amended to Correspond with Survey Data**

<i>Family Structure</i>	<i>f</i>
Elementary	41
Enlarged	36
Single Spouse, Male	5
Single Spouse, Female	4
Related people living together	5
Polygynous	2
The phenomenon of the enlarged family is distributed among dwelling	
No main family	9
Total	n = 102
units as follows:	
Higher cost rented housing	16
Lower cost rented housing	10
Home-ownership housing	10
36 dwelling units	

The lower incidence of enlarged families in lower cost rented housing is accounted for by lack of space and in the home-ownership scheme by the more numerous incidence of fragmented families, “relations living together” and tenancing phenomena found there.

The fragmented families (5) and fragmentary extended (9) have been broken down descriptively into families with one spouse as head and to groups of related people living together. Reference to Appendix B will show a variation within the category single spouse female as head, more homogeneity among single spouse male as head, and that groups of related people really do not follow any principle of fragmentation in the context of the elementary family.

Following the definition of fragmentary family structure, of the five fragmented families four heads are male and one female. The four male heads are all living with their own children with the wife absent. All four of these families occur in the home-ownership section of the township.

Within the category fragmentary extended family, six heads are male and three female. Two of the females are divorced and the other deserted, and all have their own children resident. Five of the six families with a male head

are inadequately described as fragmented, i.e., there is no evidence of there having been a wife and children, the extension consisting mainly of siblings. This appears to be a family grouping of convenience facilitating adaptation to urban dwelling. The two polygamous families are diagrammatically presented in Appendix B.

The category “no main family” comes about with the absence of the official owner or renter of a dwelling unit in six of the cases. Of the balance, two are single male renters and the last a single male renter with two tenant or sub-families. In the absence of the official owner or renter, the tenants of the dwelling unit consist basically of small elementary families (two dwellings with one family, two with two families and two with three families) plus single unrelated lodgers. Five out of the six absentee landlord cases occur in home ownership dwellings.

Table VII describes the distribution of elementary families by size, the mean size being 6.0 people. The average number of people in a dwelling unit, 7.5, is below the average number of people per dwelling for the total township, i.e., 8.5.

TABLE VII.
Distribution of Elementary Family Size

Class interval = 2	
<i>Elementary Family Size</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>
2.5	5
4.5	15
6.5	8
8.5	11
10.5	2
Total	41

Table VIII describes the distribution of enlarged families by size, the mean size being 8.0 persons, i.e., two greater than the elementary family.

TABLE VIII.
Distribution of Enlarged Family Size

<i>Family Size</i>	<i>f</i>
4.5	5
6.5	14
8.5	12
10.5	2
12.5	3
Total	36

The added relatives who are included in this structure fill three categories of occupancy, viz., related lodger, boarder and dependant. The mean addition of unrelated people to the dwelling unit is 0.9 persons as opposed to 1.5 persons for elementary families. The mean size in number of people occupying the dwelling units containing enlarged families is 8.9, a difference of 1.4 when compared with elementary dominated dwellings. The mean addition of 2.5 added relatives to an elementary core which constitutes the enlarged family is qualified by Table IX which describes the frequency of the number of relatives added to the elementary core.

TABLE IX.
Frequency of Number of Relatives Added to Each Elementary Core in Enlarged Families

<i>No. of Relatives</i>	<i>/</i>
1	13
2	8
3	5
4	3
5	4
6	1
7	2
Total	96

Discussion of the main families in the sample does not exhaust family groupings in the township, as is indicated by the difference between family and dwelling unit size. While many single lodgers inhabit the same dwelling as a main

family, many lodgers with their own families can be found in the same dwellings. These families are called sub-families for convenience, though they are usually (in this sample) small elementary families sharing space with some other family.

TABLE X.

Types of Sub-Family

<i>Type of Family</i>	<i>No. of Families</i>
Unmarried mother	3
Married children	3
Related lodger family	6
Unrelated lodger family	36
Total	48

The unmarried mother and child, the married child with spouse and progeny and related lodger sub-families have already been included in the definition of the enlarged family. Reference to Appendix B will show how these families occur within the elementary enlarged category. It is apparent from the table that lodger families, unrelated to the main family or as themselves tenants within a dwelling, occur frequently.

Lodgers

The total number of lodgers in Highfield township is estimated at 15,906 persons. This estimate is derived from a mean of 2.16 lodgers per dwelling unit (2.16 x 7,364), which could be misleading as they are distributed unevenly among the dwelling strata as presented in Table XI:

TABLE XI.

Number of Lodgers by Type of Dwelling

<i>Type of dwelling</i>	<i>No. of dwellings</i>	<i>No. of lodgers</i>
Higher cost rented	34	29
Lower cost rented	34	35
Home ownership	34	156
Total	102	220

It is readily observable that lodgers are more prevalent in home ownership and about even in higher and lower cost rented dwellings. The slightly higher figure for lower cost rented housing is accounted for by the fact that there are 15 related lodgers recorded there as opposed to three in higher cost rented housing. The township regulations in general prohibit lodging in rented housing, hence one reason for the uneven distribution. Furthermore, it must be stated that the high proportion of dependants in higher cost rented housing, and the small area in relation to number of dependants in lower cost rented housing, do not encourage the

acceptance of lodgers.

Reference to Table II shows that lodgers and boarders comprise 28.7 per cent, of the sample population. These 249 people, while not all supplying income for householders (many of those classed as lodgers are dependant women and children who occupy the space paid for by the husband), nevertheless contribute to incomes over a wide social range. Unfortunately, the sample proved too small to yield reliable data on incomes. However, Table XII presents a general description of the lodging and boarding money accruing monthly for the different family structures.

TABLE XII.

Family Structure by Monthly Income from Gainful Employment and Lodging Rents

Median Income of Mean Lodging

<i>Family structure*</i>	<i>/</i>	<i>Head of household from employment</i>	<i>rent accruing to the Head of household or owner</i>
Elementary family	41	RS36.00	RS2.14
Enlarged family	36	55.00	6.60
Single spouse and related people families	14	34.30	8.60
No main family	9	—	4.40
Total	100		X = 5.43

* Excluding 2 polygynous families.

The higher mean lodging income accruing for the enlarged family compared with the elementary family is due to boarders who, as related people and usually children, hand over more of their incomes toward housekeeping. The high figure for the third family category is the result of the nature of some of these families with male heads (6) where one or more of his siblings or other relations as well as any lodger may be paying for dwelling space.

From the figures in Table XII it is possible to calculate a crude cash total for monthly expenditure on lodging and boarding by these persons in High- field. This also represents the total additional income accruing to home- owners and in some cases renters on a monthly basis. Such a sum would equal R\$39,987. This excludes contributions in kind by related lodgers, boarders and dependants. The figure might then well be higher. Although the fieldwork was carefully done, it is almost certain that not all lodgers (especially some illegal lodgers) were recorded. Pressure on living space gives rise to a situation where a man will be registered as a lodger, pay his money, but reside elsewhere, all in the hope that he may become eligible to rent or own a house in Highfield.

IV. URBAN SETTLEMENT

Urbanism as a way of life is a relatively new development for Africans in Rhodesia. Reader's (1969) suggestion that "The urban growth of new nations is reminiscent in several respects of that which occurred in Europe a hundred or more years ago" has a ready applicability to Rhodesian African urbanization. Aspects of such growth: migration of rural population to urban areas, increasing rate of population growth, population resettlement in an urban environment and the problems of absorbing such displaced peoples, testify to the historical linkage. The purpose of this chapter is to establish the type of urban settlement and growth taking place in Highfield township. The process of urbanization as a social consequence is postponed to a later chapter.

In a little over 30 years the situation has been reached where 14.7 per cent, of the adult population and 67.6 per cent, of the pre-adult population of Highfield can be described as second urban generation, i.e., born in town. Tables XIII and XIV show mean years and percentage of urban experience⁶ by age for adult males and females respectively. Most measures of this experience refer to the period of time spent in Salisbury. The measures are not as reliable for females as for males due to a tendency for the former to spend seasonal periods in the rural areas. It is immediately apparent from Table XIII that adult men in general have spent less than 50 per cent, of their lives in town. However, such a statement requires extensive qualification. As recorded earlier, only 14.7 per cent, of adults were born in town, which means that migrants have come in at varying ages. It is popularly thought that urban Africans are a transient population, every new generation of urbanites being recruited from the rural area. While this assertion might be ⁵

⁵ Urban experience refers to the total number of years an individual has spent in town. Some adjustment to the urban experience of females was made, where relevant, to reflect long periods spent in the rural area.

TABLE XIII
Mean Urban Experience (in Years) by Age, Males

<i>age Males</i>	<i>M.P.</i>	<i>Total Males</i>	<i>Mean number of years urban experience</i>	<i>Percentage urban experience over age</i>
17-19	18	19	8.9	49.4
20-24	22	36	10.4	47.3
25-29	27	46	9.3	34.4
30-34	32	49	12.9	40.3
35-39	37	36	17.0	45.9
40-44	42	20	18.0	42.9
45-49	47	16	20.3	43.2
50-54	52	6	29.0	55.8
55-59	57	6	25.5	44.7
60 and over	73.5	6	44.3	60.3

true for the past situation, it is less true for the present and likely to be inaccurate for the future. Some evidence will be produced to show that a more settled urban pattern is developing.

Reference to the percentage of urban experience, Table XIII, shows that young men 18-22 have spent on average as much and more of their lives in town than older men, 32-37 years. Coupled with the fact that 67.6 per cent, of children are born in town and that 52 years is the life expectancy for Rhodesian Africans, the contention is that the male urban population is already manifesting a more permanent settlement, especially younger men, and that the coming generation of children will experience a largely urban social existence. Considering the present adult male population, reference to Fig. 2 shows a steady increase in urban experience with increase in age, taking 52 years as a working upper limit. One exception, ages 25-29 years, can be accounted for if the individuals are rural immigrants coming to town in their late teens or early twenties, which is probable.

Fin. 11 Urban experlenca of adult
males (l n veary) by age

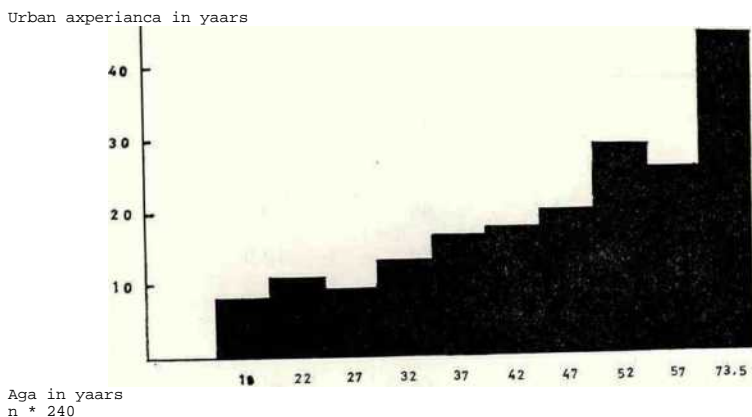


Fig. 2. Urban Experience of Adult Males (in Years) by Age

The case of the female adult population is rather different. Table XIV shows a generally lower level of urban experience than that for males.

TABLE XIV.

Mean Urban Experience (in Years) by Age, Females

<i>Age Females</i>	<i>M.F.</i>	<i>Total Females</i>	<i>X No. of years urban experience</i>	<i>Percentage urban experience over age</i>
17-19	18	17	12.2	67.8
20-24	22	47	9.3	42.3
25-29	27	34	9.4	34.8
30-34	32	28	11.8	36.9
35-39	37	17	14.4	38.9
40-44	42	8	16.3	38.8
45-49	47	5	24.2	51.5
50-54	52	5	24.2	46.5
55-59	57	3	20.0	35.1
60 and over	68.5	2	9.0	13.1
Total		166		

Reference to the population pyramid (Fig. 1) shows that many females in the cohort 17-19 years above are absent from the urban area. Of those that remain, average urban experience is high at 67.8 per cent. The average thereafter is low as some return after a number of years (urban experience decreased) and new immigrants appear as married, or of marriageable age. The diminishing frequency of females with increase in age suggests that the urban area does not supply the same level of security for females as for males with increase in age.

Mitchell (1956, p. 696) defines stabilization as “. . . the settled residence of

Africans in town".⁶ This index is defined as the number of years spent in town since the individual turned 15, divided by the number of years lived since the individual turned 15, all multiplied by 100. An index of 51 or more is considered to be urban. Table XV provides stabilization indices for adult age males utilizing the mean number of years spent in town since age 15 years for the males in each cohort. The age denominator is derived by subtracting 15 from the age midpoint for each cohort.

TABLE XV.
Stabilization Indices (Age Males)

<i>Age Males</i>	<i>M.P.</i>	<i>Age Post Years</i>	<i>15 Total Males</i>	<i>X No. of yrs. in town post Stabilization age 15 years Index</i>	
17-19	18	3	19	0.7	23.3
20-24	22	7	36	2.8	40.0
25-29	27	12	46	4.5	37.5
30-34	32	17	49	7.8	45.9
35-39	37	22	36	12.5	56.8
40-44	42	27	20	17.3	64.1
45-49	47	32	16	20.3	63.4
50-54	52	37	6	23.8	64.3
55-59	57	42	6	25.5	60.7
60 & over	73.5	58.5	6	44.3	75.7
Total			240		

As with urban experience, it can be seen that the stabilization index increases in general with age. When combined with the second urban generation index for children (67.6 per cent.), it then becomes necessary to state that urban stability is likely to increase rapidly for the coming generation. One predicts then that stabilization will be occurring at earlier ages for the urban population of Highfield during the period necessary for the younger generation to mature. Vast influx of rural population would of course change the expected proportional incidence of increased stability. Even in the event of the influx eventuating, however, the gross size of an African urban or townsman population should grow while proportions of the unstable and stable urban dwellers vary.

It is apparent that 37.5 per cent, of adult males are stable in terms of urbanization in Highfield, and the fact that this occurs at age 37 years indicates a social stabilization in terms of more settled family life and relative commitment to urban dwelling.

Table XVI provides stabilization indices by age of females, the derivation being

⁶ Reader (1963) has investigated the possible uses of stabilization measures and the assumptions underlying these uses. The use of the index in this report is merely to denote "... the fact of physical presence in the urban areas during a lifetime" (p. 271).

the same as in the preamble to Table XV.

TABLE XVI.
Stabilization Indices (Age Females)

<i>Age Females</i>	<i>M.P.</i>	<i>Age Post Years</i>	<i>15 Total No. of Females</i>	<i>X No. of yrs. in town post age 15 years</i>	<i>Stabilization Index</i>
17-19	18	3	17	0.8	26.7
20-24	22	7	47	2.7	38.6
25-29	27	12	34	4.6	38.3
30-34	32	17	28	8.9	52.4
35-39	37	22	17	13.4	60.9
40-44	42	27	8	13.8	51.1
45-49	47	32	5	21.2	66.3
50-54	52	37	5	14.8	40.0
55-59	57	42	3	20.0	47.6
60 & over	68.5	53.5	2	9.0	13.1
Total			166		

The female population can be described as stable between the ages of 32 and 47 years, i.e., five years earlier than males. Reference to the population pyramid shows that fewer females migrate to the urban area after age 25 years than males, which would account for the difference. The percentage of stable females at 34.9 per cent, is lower by only 2.6 per cent, than for males. As the ages for stabilization of both males and females coincide to a great extent, this reinforces the argument of an urban-based stable social entity, which would of course be true only for the section of the population described as stable.

The incidence of rural visiting by African urban dwellers provides a further indication of their urban settlement. It is commonly known that cultural continuity is undermined by lack of reinforcement when new structural situations are imposed, which is what occurs during urbanization of a population. Although the people bring their culture with them, much of this is blurred when key status figures are absent. The less rural visiting is practised the more likely it is that people rely on structures in the urban situation, thus producing changes of cultural pattern in consequence.

Table XVII presents a cross tabulation of urban dwellers' visits to the rural area with the length of visit classified at less than one week or more than one week (adults only) during the year previous to the interview (July/ August). This period of one year will include both the Christmas and Easter seasons for all respondents. Two cases were rejected because of insufficient information. A cardinal fault of the instrument on this variable is that very long visits by females (seasonal) cannot be differentiated from the shorter annual vacations of men.

TABLE XVII.

Number of Rural Visits by Periods of Time

No. of visits to the rural

areas of less No. of visits to the rural areas: More than than one week

	one week											Totals	
	01	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11+		
0	81 ⁶⁹	19	8	4	1						1	183	
1	26 ¹⁷		5	1	2		2				1	54	
2	16 ²⁰		1	1	1							39	
3	12 ¹⁴		3									29	
4	18	8	2	1		1		1				21	
5	4		2	1	1							8	
6	7	3	1	1								12	
7	1											1	
8	1											1	
9-10	1		1									2	
Every month	17 ¹⁸		2	3		1	1		1		1	44	
Every week	6	1	1	2								10	
Totals	180	150	37	18	8	3	3	1	1	0	0	3	N = 404

However, it is apparent from the table that 20 per cent, of the adult population did not visit the rural area at all during a preceding year, 17.1 per cent, spent one period of more than a week and 6.4 per cent, one period of less than a week in the rural area. Taking these figures, 81, 69 and 26 individuals respectively, one concludes that 43.6 per cent, of the adult population have, in terms of a past situation, diminishing contact

with the rural area. Consequently the social influence of wider traditional culture participation can be anticipated to be less effective. Further, it is apparent from the table that 73.9 per cent, of the adult population (upper left) need separate consideration. Of these 300 people, 24 per cent, take short visits of varying frequency but no long visits; 19.7 per cent, take short visits as well as one longer visit; 29.3 per cent, take one or two long visits, but no shorter visits.

V. PARTICIPATION IN FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

The re-settlement of a rural population in an urban environment and their continuing residence there means that, despite cultural differences, new patterns of institutionalized action have to be learned. The fact of urban settlement is itself an index of social change. This is most readily observable in the participation of the changing population in the modern institutions which have everywhere catered for social functions abandoned by the family when a modern environment has radically altered the traditional *gemeinschaft* (community). Education becomes a formal exercise and prepares individuals for occupations in an industrial commercial complex, which means that individuals enter into activities which are structurally and culturally remote from traditional family-dominated activities. Christian religion (in this case) and consequently Christian forms of marriage may change the cultural arrangements, so defining new patterns for these cultural universals; at the same time detracting from traditional authority, its relevance and sanctioning ability. Voluntary associations provide forms of organization which transcend family and lineage interests.

Education

Table XVIII describes the distribution of educational standard attained by age and sex.

TABLE XVIII.
Educational Standard by Age and Sex

<i>MALES</i> <i>Age</i>	<i>No Kinder- garten 3-5</i>	<i>Educational Std. Grade Schooling</i>	<i>attained; Grade 6-7</i>	<i>July 1 August, 1969 Form Form 1-2 34</i>	<i>Form</i>	<i>No 5-6 Response</i>	
6-7	18	7					
8-9	1	11	15				
10-11		3	14	1			
12-13			7	10			
14-15	1	1	11	14	5		
16-17			1	9	11	3	
18-19	2			5	1	3	2
20-21				5	2	2	1
22 & over	21	4	42	116	18	14	4
Totals	43	25	80	160	37	22	6

<i>FEMALES</i> <i>Age</i>							
6-7	16	6					
8-9	3	4	12				
10-11	1	1	21	3			
12-13			4	14	2		
14-15			2	7	3		
16-17	1		3	5	5	2	
18-19	1		2	6	1	1	1
20-21	1		5	9	5	1	
22 & over	29	5	46	60	6	2	1
Totals	52	16	95	104	22	6	1

Between the ages of 8-17 years, 13 males and 19 females are not schoolgoing. The figures for no schooling, ages 6-7 years, suggest that many children do not begin their education until they are eight years old, or older, approximately one year later than intended by the educational authorities. Severe drop-out occurs at the limit of Grade 7 (Std. 6), and males (47.7 per cent.) have a greater chance of attaining this level than females (35 per cent.). This drop-out shows no real improvement over a past situation. Table XIX indicates the past adult drop-out rate especially for Limit Grade 7.

TABLE XIX.
Education Standard of Adults by Sex

Age years +	18 No Schooling	Educational Kinder- Grade garten 3-5		Standard Grade 6-7	Attained Form 1-2	Form 3-4	Form 5-6	No Response
Males	23	4	42	126	21	19	6	2
Females	31	5	53	75	12	4	1	1

Efflux of female population, 15-19 years, shows that many females leave at a critical period of their educational lives. This, coupled with the fact that males past and present enjoy greater opportunity for secondary education, means overall that there is a greater chance of education for males. This situation may be ill-adapted to social change, as the main socializers of the society, females, are inept through lack of education at preparing new members for real participation.

Religion (Appendix C)

The bonds of traditional religion are still strong. Data on the incidence of traditional religion reflect the practise of ancestor worship, or that intention where respondents are still young. Table XX provides a cross tabulation of Christian with traditional religion.

TABLE XX.
Christian by Traditional Religion

No Christian Religion	.... 89	of whom	83
Roman Catholic	.. 90	11 n	74
Lutheran	—	» »	—
Anglican.....	.. 56	11 11	45
Methodist .....	.. 64	) 11	47
Congregational		2 11 11	2
Reformed .....	.. 26	19 11	22
Adventist .....	.. 27	11 19	19
Bapist .....	.. 25	91 11	22
Pentecostal		8 11 11	6
African Independent .....	... 17	„	3
Other		2 11 5*	2
Totals .....	.. 406	11 11	325

It is evident from Table XX that 80 per cent, of the adult population adhere to certain traditional religious practices, 78.1 per cent, are Christians and of these 76.3 per cent, practise ancestor worship of one form or another. The low rate of dual religion amongst African Independent Christians can be explained by their severe prohibition of ancestor worship, which practice some respondents are unwilling to divulge (John Maranke's church is a good example).

The high incidence of dual religion is understandable in terms of the emotional implications of one of the most resistant social areas of customary life. It will be shown in a separate study that family reliance is waning, but the belief system of an older order still holds sway for certain life situations, especially where adaptation to modern institutions has not occurred. The practice of dual religion has many precedents in social change, e.g., the importation of Christianity into pagan Britain. A wide literature on the African use of Christianity as a channel to social advancement exists.¹⁰ The exclusive Christians in this sample, apart from Independents, are as a rule young people.

Occupation (Appendix D)

Table XXI provides a breakdown of occupational distribution among adult males and females.

TABLE XXI
Occupational Distribution by Sex

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Male</i>	<i>Percentage Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Percentage Female</i>	<i>Total</i>	<i>Percentage Total</i>
Unemployed	33	13.8	129	77.2	162	39.9
Prof, technical and related	14	5.9	10	6.0	24	5.9
Executive, clerical and related	35	14.6	5	3.0	40	9.9
Sales workers	20	8.4	4	2.4	24	5.9
Agricultural and related	2	0.8			2	0.5
Quarrying	1	0.4			1	0.2
Transport & communication	40	16.7			40	9.9
Crafts/m. prod, process and related	61	25.5	12	7.2	73	18.0
Service workers	20	8.4	7	4.2	27	6.7
Labourers (N.E.C.)	13	5.4			13	3.2
Unknown						
No response						
Totals	239	99.9	167	100.0	406	100.1

io e.g., Murphree, 1969.

The unexpected low frequency of “labourers” is attributable to two facts. Firstly houses or dwelling units, the survey sampling unit, comprise the residential type of Highfield. There are no large blocks of flats, hostels or specifically single accommodation available, such as usually house labour. Further the practice by interested parties of providing accommodation for labour, e.g., Rugare township, will draw labour occupation away from a township like Highfield. Camps are also not included in the sample. The occupational category, “Craftsmen, Production Process and Related workers”, covers a wide range of employment, some of which might ordinarily be

res^d The^U majority of females are not gainfully employed, due probably to the fact that there are not many domestic servants in Highfield. Of interest is the relatively high figure of ten professionals, nurses and teachers, which is comparable with the figure for men.

The rate of unemployment for males is high, and 33 adults are recorded as visitors, some of whom are work seekers who remain in the township for long periods, and are not included in the table. Further, from the population data, it seems likely that young men unable to secure work retire to the rural areas for a while. A few males of 17 years and more would still be studying.

20.2 per cent, of all males occupy positions of relative prestige, such as the less remunerative professions, clerical work and self-employment, of which under professional were three *ngangas* (medicine men), who may be afforded quasi-professional status. Very few people have any executive authority and the term clerk would subsume 14 per cent, of males. The majority of male workers are found in transport and production process jobs. Services and sales provide 12.8 per cent, of all males with occupations. The most sought-after occupation is clerical work and frequent reasons advanced for this preference are security of remuneration and tenure.

Marriage

The main types of marriage recorded were of the traditional type and “Christian with lobola”, which is a combined Christian and traditional marriage. Table XXII summarizes the marriage data collected.

TABLE XXII.

Type of Marriage by Total Adults

<i>Type of Marriage</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Per cent.</i>
Not married	99	24.4
Traditional	208	51.2
Christian with lobola	73	18.0
Christian without lobola	10	2.5
Civil with lobola	6	1.4
Civil without lobola	1	0.2
Other	2	0.5
Divorced	7	1.7
Total ,	406	99.9

The category “other” includes unmarried couples living together. It is immediately apparent that this category is grossly under-represented. It is generally known that the phenomenon of “Pot-Wife” is quite a frequent occurrence in African urban areas, even in a township which has become a well-settled community. One would expect many lodgers to have this type of liaison and reasons for under-representation will have to be investigated in further in-depth work.

When compared with the total number of Christians (Table XX), the lower incidence of Christian marriage suggests conflict between the family orientation of a traditional society and the demands on the institution of marriage by Christianity, which emanates from a more diffusely oriented society. Conflicting prescriptions from different social spheres (the individual being part of both) concerning the same institution are bound to produce ambivalence.

Manifestations, such as the above, should not be misread. Resistance to the change of entrenched institutions is universal, and where the agent of change is an external intrusion the adaptations of the society undergoing change must have functional implications. No social structure is absolute in terms of being the only “right” one and change is likely to be more manifest in externally introduced institutions than in old entrenched institutions, though the former modify the latter; in this case the combined Christian/traditional marriage.

Voluntary Associations (Appendix E)

Voluntary association participation revealed 57 associations in Highfield. Reference to Appendix E will show that participation among the 406 adults is not high. Only 176 participations were recorded, some individuals registering multiple participation in different associations. The financial, religious, women’s and sporting clubs are more frequently patronized.

VI. FIRST AND SECOND URBAN GENERATION DWELLERS

A distribution map (Map B) of those comprising first urban generation adults describes origin before migration to Highfield township (300 individuals). The remaining 46 first generation adults have been recruited from foreign countries as follows:

Malawi	26
Portuguese East Africa	15
South Africa	2
Zambia	3

The 60 second urban generation adults are largely and obviously from Salisbury urban, the next largest recruitment being from South Africa.

Recruitment of second generation individuals from other Rhodesian urban centres is low.

The distribution map shows some urban recruitment along the road and rail link from Umtali to Salisbury. The heaviest concentration of recruitment is from the districts Charter, Lomagundi, Makom, Mrewa, Mtoko and Marandellas. This suggests that Salisbury urban dominates the rural region stretching from Lomagundi in the north-west through the surrounding north-east and east to Charter just south of Salisbury district.

Heterogeneity is a primary indication of change in any society. Whereas once it might have been possible to refer to Africans as a general mass in Rhodesia, it is no longer adequate merely to differentiate, say, rural and urban Africans. With special reference to urban dwelling Africans the most interesting differentiation in the quality of the population in Highfield arises from urban generation difference. At 14.7 per cent, of adult population second urban generation individuals comprise a small but very distinct social entity. As indicated in the body of the report, second urban generation incidence is likely to increase rapidly and this consolidation of more social activities and relationships is likely to set future trends in institutional participation, social service demands, occupational ambitions and life style in general.

The second urban generation is a young population with a mean age of 23 years ten years younger than the mean age (33) for the rest of the population. In brief, the results of a test of significant difference between first and second urban generation is described as follows: Second urban generation at this time are less likely to be householders than first generation (lower mean age). They are not likely to be lodgers, but more likely to be dependents, boarders. The longer period of dependency or the facility of boarder status with parents allows second generation to have some schooling with a greater chance of passing on to secondary education and a higher rate of success at entering A level. The rate for second generation employed is high and coupled with a lower mean age for such unemployed it is suggested that employment is deferred in terms of training and the ability, as dependents, to wait for employment that is hoped to be more suitable.

The test of significance between differences of first and second urban generation dwellers made use of the following formula:

$$T = \frac{P_1 - P_2}{\sqrt{P(1-P)}} \times \sqrt{\frac{N_1 N_2}{N_1 + N_2}} \quad \text{Where } P = \frac{N_1 P_1 + N_2 P_2}{N_1 + N_2}$$

Fewer second urban generation individuals practise traditional religion, and as they are less likely to visit the rural area than first generation individuals, a definite trend denoting social change is apparent. There is a wide literature on the significance of urban generations as a factor in social change. The attempt here is merely to indicate that such a situation exists in Highfield township and that social differences are likely to be more manifest within the coming generation.

It is generally observed that urbanization is both an index and facility of social change, though not the only one. The stimulus to change in Rhodesia, however, cannot be said to emanate from towns only. A number of people who migrate to urban areas already possess educational qualifications and consequently have some idea of urban values. While not attempting to detract from the importance of generation factors, relatively successful rural education in the past narrows the generation gap, so contributing to more rapid social change.

VII. URBANIZATION AND SOCIAL CHANGE

A sociographic survey provides data of the bare bones of a society, that is to say, a foundation of "physical" structure (e.g., family structure) without elucidating important sociological structures (e.g., the linkage between status and role) and normative patterns. However, a knowledge of the sociography of a social entity is the essential step in structural enquiry and provides the conditions around which social structure develops and changes. Population migration in Rhodesia has resulted in the settlement of rural people in an urban environment which has necessitated structural and cultural change generally referred to as a process of urbanization.

The aspects of change in this process are inescapable as evidenced by Wirth's (1938) evaluation of the mode of urban life, "... the substitution of secondary for primary contacts, the weakening of bonds of kinship and the declining social significance of the family, the disappearance of the neighbourhood and the undermining of the traditional basis of social solidarity". Reissman (1964, p. 154) states this process more boldly, "Urbanization is social change on a vast scale". Closer to home Kuper (1965), writing about West Africa, has related urban settlement to the question of social change by stating "Industrial urbanization ... entails also changes in distribution of power, interests, institutional arrangements, norms of conduct and social values and, as a particular process of increasing complexity, cannot be isolated from the more general context of social growth".

The historical linkage between urban growth in Central Africa and the older 'worlds' does not necessarily mean that social consequences are going to eventuate in an inevitable or pre-ordained manner. There can be no one-to-one relationship between urbanization and social change while a multiplicity of cultural and structural arrangements are distributed among and within different societies. Comparison of an African urban population

with the rural generating society suggests the model of changes of system (Southall, 1961, p. 2) linked to towns and centres of employment. Concomitantly, as structure changes at a faster rate than culture, Southall's (p. 16) contention that action change precedes normative definition in cases of sudden social change, would account for the phenomena referred to by Reader (1964, pp. 24-26) as segmentary models. Segmentation suggests the use of dual systems when social groups are involved in transition, especially where they have to convert to new institutions. Change of the system implies a resolution of *Gemeinschaft* into *Gesellschaft*, but the manifestations of diverse social change show adaptations of the old to the new, which accounts for the ubiquitous "emergence" of new structures. A strongly phrased example of this social manipulation is contained in the work of Isomura and Okuda (1966, p. 141), who, speaking of the urban growth of Tokyo, state, "It is not a resolution of *Gemeinschaft* into *Gesellschaft* which is observed, but rather in the case of the cities an enlargement and renaissance of the *Gemeinschaft*".

It is generally held that many of the dichotomous categories created within sociological theory in an attempt to account for change have been over-polarized and are inadequate as exclusive explanations of social change. It is clear, from the evidence of the sources above, that many processes and mechanisms of change and urbanization are involved in urban settlement and growth. In general the trend of change in Highfield may be referred to as secularization (Becker, 1957, p. 142) where fewer of the traditionally defined institutions are regarded as sacrosanct and the population evidences some readiness to accept the situation of the urban environment. The rate and intensity of the secularization (or modernizing) trend can be determined by the effects of bifurcation, conversion and modification as well as adaptation of structures involved in transition.

Bifurcation refers to the existence of two different systems of belief and value operating simultaneously for different social situations and social participation. The local system is linked to the traditional system analogously to the prongs of a fork. Conversion occurs when participation in extra traditional institutions is linked to modification by a dual process whereby modern institutions effect changes in traditional orientations and traditional institutions alter the meaning of modern orientations. Adaptation describes the process where traditional institutions and values change to meet the exigencies of modern situations.

Having presented data from the sociographic survey and claiming that change among Africans is occurring as the result of urban settlement, the question "change from what?" is relevant. For the purpose at hand and in order "to analytically eliminate the relevance of the unique" (McKinney, 1950, p. 235), a simple type of traditional rural tribal⁷ life can be constructed.

purpose stated would accord with Reader's "The state of living in tribes" where this

7 The typification of traditional life for the (1970, p. 55) first sense of tribalism, viz., state occurs in rural localities.

A host of authors have described and typified traditional society. Reference to Map B shows that the urban recruitment pattern for Highfield is very largely from rural areas populated by the Shona people, the society used for the present typification. Peculiarly, tribe is not a very important form of organization among the Shona, and while polygyny is the ideal this is often not realized. Institutionalization is centred in kinship, family and lineage, which groups tend to crystallize as the units of action and categories of experience. Consequently, and aided by a strong ancestor religion, loyalty and identification with the orienting homestead and local district are paramount and are inclined to transcend tribal affiliation. Centralization of instituted activity in familial groups includes economic, educational, religious, political and much associational action. The family group is extended, often as a compound structure, characterized by patrilineal descent. Changes in the rural society have, however, weakened some of the relationship and action categories, especially in those areas close to towns.

From the survey material the physical changes wrought by urbanization are easily apparent. Few, if any, family structures accord with the traditional form, although family solidarity and reliance are reflected in the "enlarged" and "relations living together" structures. Many people (lodgers) are forced to live without family support and sympathy and all family groups in the township are separated from the extended family in the rural area and are residentially discrete from other kin in town or in the township. While contacts with the homestead and extended kin are often maintained (especially by women and children), the type of contact, modified by the extent of urban settlement as well as commitment to modern values necessary for urban survival, is ineffective in maintaining the kind of familial solidarity characteristic of traditional life. The relative affluence of the town dweller also affects traditional status arrangements between rural and urban sections of the family, and within the urban environment the traditional status required by age seniority is compromised by education, occupation and money.

In town, participation in the types of institution associated with and emanating from a modern society is readily apparent, and with the possible exception of education, more easily accomplished than in the country. Paramount in the instituted activities are the variety of occupations that people enter into, all divorced from the subsistence economy and family cooperation. Modern skills have to be learned and money, not relationship, is the medium of exchange and satisfaction. Motivation for education is high and a competitive system is replacing a status system. Religion is characterized by duality, and many people profess Christianity in its many forms as well as belonging to church groups and interacting with other church members who constitute a wide range of people in the township. Christian marriage in western style but often complicated by previous traditional marriage is being sought, especially by the younger people. There is a wide variety of voluntary associations where people can form relationships outside the lineage group and aspire to non-traditional statuses.

In terms of the definition of urbanization, bonds of kinship can be seen to be declining. Apart from the lines of relationship formed by formal institutions and separation from the extended family, other networks of relationship including neighbours, friends and co-workers are in evidence. The weakening of the traditional basis of social solidarity is characterized by a redistribution, in Kuper's sense, of

status, interests, institutional arrangements, norms and values. The increasing complexity of the urban pattern for the people involved necessitates more appropriate and diffuse patterns of relationship or social structure. Other aspects of differentiation include the young second urban generation population. Gans (1962, p. 204 on) has traced the development and change of norms and values through three generations of Italian immigrants to the U.S.A. and shown that the second generation provides the "take-off" in the various acculturation processes. More closely related to Highfield, Pauw (1963, p. 177) has shown the importance of the second generation, but has also noted that many people born in the rural area and educated there rise to positions of importance in the East London township. This could be very applicable in Rhodesia, where rural education is relatively strong. Further, children, especially the second generation, learn the more diffused social pattern of the township as a primary orientation, with the consequence that a secular trend can be accelerated.

A process of bifurcation is implicit in the social change situation. The definitions of traditional culture pertain very strongly while the social structure is changing very rapidly. In town, people are engaged in social activity for which they are culturally ill prepared. In the case where action involves exclusively either town dwellers or rural dwellers in their own localities, bifurcation is simple, i.e., either the local or the traditional frame of reference is chosen and roles played accordingly. However, within the local township system competing structures vie for pre-eminence within the same instituted complex. A good example is provided in the duality of religious practice, where two logically incompatible structures, each with appropriate normative definitions, exist as a social institution. Marriage is prone to similar duality and, using the fork analogy, it is obvious that this form of the most crucial and sacred social institution has a prong in both camps, local and traditional.

Bifurcation may be viewed as a consequence of rapid change where people are forced by new and externally introduced patterns to convert to more or less appropriate social action in order to meet these exigencies. The sociological principle, whereby a minimum of predictable expectation is necessary for a pattern of action to persist, ensures that bifurcation is seldom absolute; a condition emphasized by Reader (1970, p. 71), who advocates that "network ... role and context theory might help to show how a man handles urban situations and makes decisions in them". In most cases where new activities lead to bifurcation of action and definition, modification of both is manifested as alteration of the two systems, local and traditional. Participation in modern institutions effects changes in traditional orientations: for example, the cash economy. Differentiation in education and status modify the principles of patriarchal superordination and reciprocal obligation. Similarly, much of traditional institutionalization infiltrates into the activities of the modern sphere. A good example of this process appears when kinship extension is inappropriately invested in an instrumental relationship, e.g., employer- employee, and the superordinate actor is expected to take a subjective interest in the subordinate actor's needs, e.g., to lend money when the latter's family is in need in terms of the principle of superordinate patronage.

Although urbanization implies movement away from the traditional way of life it can be expected that substantial trust will be maintained in the old order that has served for millenia, in the face of unknown consequences of change. This can be clearly seen in the way that traditional structures adapt to the urban environment. The most obvious

and dramatic adaptation is manifested in family structure, viz., the enlarged family, and in the case of a number of relations living together. Both these structures retain strong features of family solidarity providing the actors with a familiar experience network and a unit of action which can cushion social shock. Further, these family groups act as intermediaries between the traditional life and entry into urban life, especially for the newly arrived work-seeking immigrant. As 6 per cent, of the population were recorded as visitors in the survey, it is probable that all family categories act in this respect. In other ways the family group (all structures) is often utilized to meet needs engendered by the urban situation, these structures thus adapting to satisfy ends in the new situation. Comparing a figure of 45.5 per cent.⁸ family reliance over ten variables in Highfield township with a figure of 55.3 per cent, for an urban community in Tokyo (Koyama, 1966, p. 98) suggests that adaptation and other processes of change in urbanization are functions of the situation, and are not to be viewed as detrimental in the wider trend of secularization and modernization.

None of the processes discussed above is mutually exclusive or exhaustive. They are indicators of how change is coming about as the result of urban settlement and provide some resolution of the paradox whereby a local culture develops as a mediator between new structures and an entrenched traditional culture. To speak of Westernization, detribalization, modernization, secularization, etc., in the context of an African urban township does not necessarily mean that change will result in structural arrangements preordained by other urbanization experiences. Japan, for example, has developed as an industrial force in quite a different manner from the U.S.A., employing structures based on a familial type model, deeply entrenched in Japanese culture (Matsushima, 1966, pp. 69-81).

The urban process in Highfield, based on the data of the sociographic survey, has effected a social change situation consistent with the notion of "Change of System", i.e., departures from traditional life as the result of interaction in the urban environment. In the course of having to meet the external exigencies of a modern situation, initial conversion to Westernization has occurred. In transition, the processes of change have caused rapid structural change without corresponding cultural change. Although structural reference is directed at Western models, few of the structures in the township in fact correspond with the referent, and these emergent structures reflect the changing situation. The variables in this equation of change, Western culture, traditional culture and their ideal social arrangements, as well as the socio cultural arrangements of the local situation in Highfield, suggest the coming into being of a new, emergent social entity, i.e., urban African society.

⁸ Case Studies in Social Change: See Note 1.

Appendix A
HOUSING COMPOSITION OF STRATA

	<i>Type of House</i>	<i>Class Total</i>	<i>Number of Rooms (exclud- ing bathroom and kitchen)*</i>
Stratum I	“European type”	16	various
	“European type” flats	12	6
	\$24 cottages	42	5
	\$12 cottages	48	6
	\$10 cottages	359	4
	Laing semi-detached	242	4
	Self-builder	12	various
	Teachers’ cottages	7	4
	Other flats	28	4
	Tied staff	6	4
	Other	1	—
	Sub-total	773	
Stratum II	Type “C”	364	3 & 4
	Type “D”	28	2
	Converted & Laing terraced	800	3
	Laing dual occupancy	344	2 & 4
	Visagie dual occupancy	1,042	2 & 4
	Emergency terraced	118	2
	Western Triange Triple-Jay	513	1 to 4
	Other housing	6	—
	Sub-total	3,215	
Stratum III	House ownership — Sub-total	3,376	various
	Total	7,364	

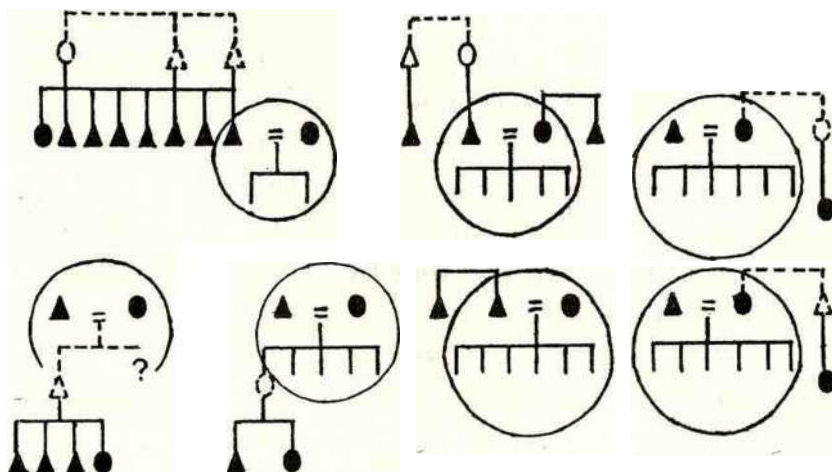
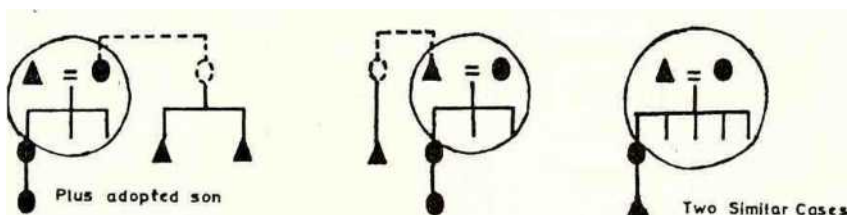
s[†] Few of the houses have such facilities built into the unit.

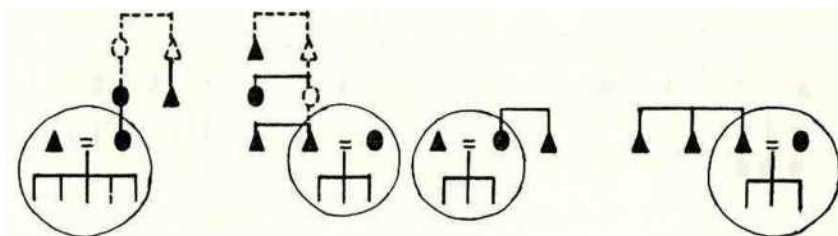
Appendix B

DIAGRAMS OF FAMILY STRUCTURES

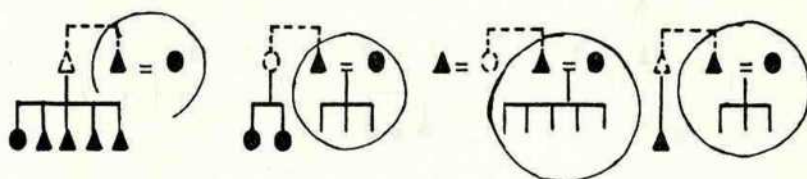
Conventions governing diagrams: Solid symbols represent the people within the family structure, incomplete symbols and lines are used to trace relationships only, and do not represent people in the urban structure. The elementary core of the head of household is encircled. Sex of children in the elementary core is only indicated where necessary.

Elementary Enlarged Family Structures

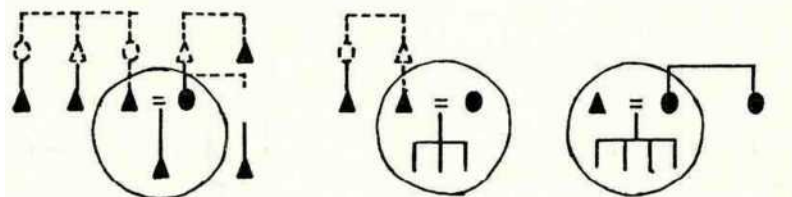


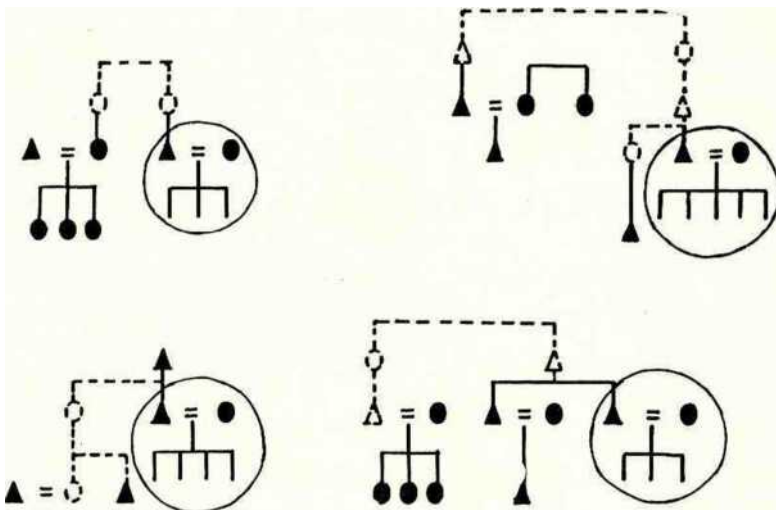


Two Similar Cases

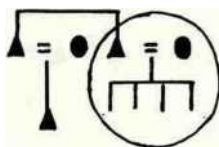
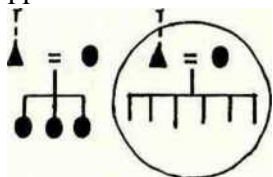


Three Similar Cases



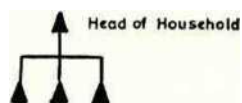


I
I
II



FRAGMENTARY FAMILY STRUCTURES

Single Spouse Male



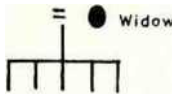
Four Si milar Cases



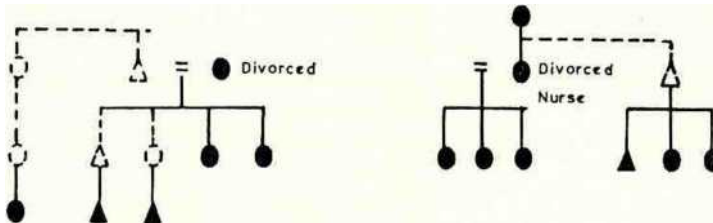
Single Spouse
Female

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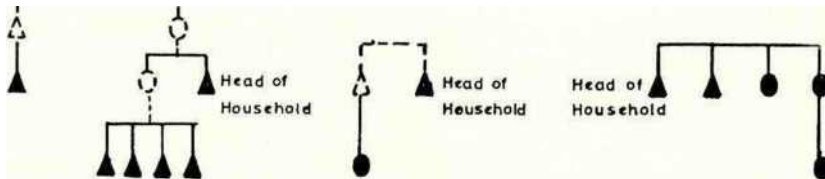


1



Structures of Related People Living Together

Head of Household



Two Similar Cases

Polygamous Family Structures



Appendix C

RELIGIOUS GROUPINGS*

Roman Catholic	
Anglican and Orthodox	Anglican. Church of England in South Africa. Greek Orthodox.
Lutheran	Evangelical Lutheran (Church of Sweden).
Methodist and Salvation Army	Methodist (British Methodist, Methodist Conference). United Methodist (American Methodist, Methodist Conference). Free Methodist. Nazarene (Church of the Nazarene). Salvation Army.
Reformed	Dutch Reformed (D.R.C.). N e d e r d u i t s e Gereformeerde Kerk (N.G.K.). Hervormde Kerk. Gereformeerde Kerk. African Reformed (A.R.C.). Church of Central African Presbyterian (C.C.A.P.). Presbyterian (Presbyterian Church of Southern Africa). Free Presbyterian (Church of Scotland).
Congregational	United Congregational Church of Southern Africa (Congregational L.M.S.). United Church of Christ in Gazaland (American Board).
Baptist (and similar Churches)	Baptist Union of Central Africa (European and Coloured). Baptist Mission of Central Africa (Southern Baptist) (Africans). Evangelical (Evangelical Alliance Mission—TEAM). Churches of Christ (New Zealand) (Dadaya Mission). Church of Christ (Great Britain).

		Church of Christ (U.S.A.) (Nhowe Mission). Christian Brethren. Brethren in Christ. Swedish Alliance Mission. South African General Mission (S.A.G.M.).
Pentecostal		Assemblies of God. Full Gospel Church of God. Pentecostal Holiness. Pentecostal Protestant. Apostolic Faith of South Africa. United Apostolic Faith. Apostolic Church of Pentecost. Apostolic Church of Great Britain. Elim Mission (Foursquare Gospel Alliance).
Adventists		Seventh Day Adventist. Jehovah's Witnesses (Watchtower).
African Independent (Ethiopian) type	Separatist African Methodist.	African Methodist Episcopal. Central African Episcopal. Christian Marching. National Baptist. Soldiers of God. Independent African (Muchakata). Church of the Resurrection. Honde Industrial Mission. St. Francis African Church. African Catholic. Kambirori African Catholic. Reformed African Seventh Day Adventist.
Pentecostal (Zionist)	type	(Kruger Apostolic Church). Apostles of John Maranke (Vapostori). Apostles of John Masowe. Jacanician. Zion of David. Zion City. Mai Chaza.

Other

Society of Friends (Quakers).
 Mormon (Church of Jesus Christ of
 Latter-Day Saints).
 Spiritualist (Christian Spiritualist). Christian
 Science.
 Jewish.
 Hindu.
 Muslim (Mohammedan).

* Classification of denominations and sects derived from a list supplied by N. E. Thomas.

Appendix D

OCCUPATIONS*

Professional, Technical and Re- lated Workers	Teachers. Nurses. Clergy. Other Professionals. Technicians. Accountants. Others.
Executive, Clerical and Related Workers	Administrators. Managers. Bookkeepers. Clerks. Clerk Typists. Proprietors. Self-employed. Personnel Managers. Others.
Sales Workers	Shopkeepers. Shop Assistants. Hawkers, Pedlars, Vendors. Assistants to Shop Sales Workers. Petrol Pump Attendants. Others.
Agricultural and Related Workers	Gardeners Groundsmen Stable Boys Others.
Quarrying	Skilled Man's Mate. Transport and Machine Operators. Labourers. Others.

V
 excluding Private
 Domestic
 Servants.

Transport and Communications Bus, Lorry and Taxi Drivers. Operations	Commercial Delivery Workers. Office Messengers. Switchboard Operators. Others.
Craftsmen, Production and Related Workers	Process Sewers, Tailors and Dressmakers. Other workers in Textile Factories. Shoe Repairers and Leather Workers. Carpenters and Related Workers. Painters. Bricklayers, Plasterers and Construction Workers. Brickfield Workers. Food Process Workers. Tobacco Floor and Factory Workers. Packers and Related Workers. Storemen, Warehousemen and Porters. Others N.E.C.
Service Workers	Policemen, Detectives, Guards and Fire- men. Cooks (not Private Domestic). Private Domestic Servants. Waiters and Waitresses. Watchmen and Caretakers. Cleaners. Workers in Laundries and Dry Cleaners. Others.
Labourers N.E.C.	Truck and Lorry Loaders. Labourers, Other.

* Derived from the C.S.O. publication, *Monthly Digest of Statistics*, July, 1970, and

the I.L.O. Year Book of Labour Statistics, 1967, with amendments for this survey. **Appendix E**

LIST OF VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

Sport	<i>Sample Participation</i>
Football Club	20
Tennis Club	2
Athletics Club	2
Tennequoit	1
<u>Betting Club</u>	<u>5</u>

Choral and Dancing	Traditional Dancing	1
	Ballroom Dancing	4
	Dancing Club	5
	Musical Club	1
	Choral Society	1
Professional/Occupational	Medical Nursing Council	1
	Nurses' Association	1
	Nganga Association	1
	Teachers' Association	2
	Domestic Science Teachers' Association	1
	Rhodesian Tailors and Garment Workers' Union	1
	Colcom Food Club	1
	Trade Union	1
	Public Services Association	
Insurance/Financial	Ukuhoresana Club	
	Financial Club of R.C. Women	
	Lalawi Buruak Society	
	Sena Burial Society	
	Umodzi Burial Society	
	Muslim Burial Society	
	Burial Society (unnamed)	
Religious	Church Committee	
	Women's Home League (Salvation Army)	2
	Seventh Day Adventists Women's Movement	22
	Bible Reading Club (Afr. Indep.)	1
	Methodist Women's Church Group	1
	Youth for Christ	1
	Highfield Christian Movement	1
	Ruwadzania Women's Relig. Movement	10
	Methodist Youth Fellowship	3
	World Council of Churches.....	1
	Christian Council of Rhodesia	1
	Church Choir (Methodist) ⁱ	1
	G.C.U. (Relig. Movement for Girls)	2
	Salvation Army Fellowship	2
	Mashonaland African Fellowship	1
	Rosary Club (Catholic)	1
	Moral Re-armament Organisation	1
	Girls' Brigade (D.R.C.)	1
	Y.W.C.A	4
	Y.M.C.A	1

Charitable	Red Cross	2
	Society for Destitute Aged	1
Women's Clubs (Non-Religious)	Home Improvement Club	1
	Kubatsirana Women's Club	2
	Home Craft Club	9
	Women's Club (Unnamed)	5
Men's Clubs	Drinking Club	1
Youth Clubs	Highfield Youth Club	2
	Boy Scouts	2
	Girl Guides	1
	Debating Society	1

176

Appendix F

DWELLING UNIT AND FAMILY SIZES

Table 1. Number of People per Dwelling Unit, Total Sample

<i>People per dwelling unit</i>	<i>Mid point</i>	<i>Number of dwellings</i>
0- 2	1	2
3- 5	4	16
6- 8	7	39
9-11	10	29
12-14	13	10
15-17	16	5
18-20	19	—
21-23	22	—
24-26	25	1
X = 8.5		102

Table 2. Number of People per Dwelling Unit, Excluding Visitors

<i>People per dwelling unit</i>	<i>Mid point</i>	<i>Number of dwellings</i>
0- 2	1	3
3- 5	4	18
6- 8	7	42
9-11	10	27
12-14	13	8
15-17	16	3
18-20	19	-
21-23	22	-
24-26	25	1

X = 8.0

102

Table 3. Number of People per Main Family, all Family Structures

<i>People per family</i>	<i>Mid point</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
0- 2	1	5
3- 5	4	27
6- 8	7	40
9-11	8	17
12-14	13	3
15-17	16	—
18-20	19	1

X = 6.6

93

Table 4. Number of People per Elementary Family

<i>People per elementary family</i>	<i>Mid point</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
0- 1	0.5	-
2- 3	2.5	5
4- 5	4.5	15
6- 7	6.5	8
8- 9	8.5	11
10-11	10.5	2

X = 6.0

41

Table 5. Number of People per Dwelling Unit Dominated by the Elementary Family

<i>People per dwelling unit</i>	<i>Mid point</i>	<i>Number of dwellings</i>
0- 1	0.5	-
2- 3	2.5	3
4- 5	4.5	7
6- 7	6.5	8
8- 9	8.5	14
10-11	10.5	7
12-13	12.5	1
14-15	14.5	1
X = 7.5		41

Table 6. Number of People per Enlarged Family

<i>People per family</i>	<i>Mid point</i>	<i>Number of families</i>
0- 1	0.5	-
2- 3	2.5	-
4- 5	4.5	5
6- 7	6.5	14
8- 9	8.5	12
10-11	10.5	2
12-13	12.5	3
X = 8.0		36

Table 7. Number of People per Dwelling Unit Dominated by the Enlarged Family

<i>People per dwelling unit</i>	<i>Mid point</i>	<i>Number of dwellings</i>
0- 1	0.5	-
2- 3	2.5	-
4- 5	4.5	4
6- 7	6.5	11
8- 9	8.5	7
10-11	10.5	7
12-13	12.5	7
X = 8.9		36

Appendix G

STRICTLY COIMPTTrwm

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SECTION C

	VrEK	MONTHLY	CODE
29 Hoad of Household'o	LY	£ IL-10-O	oj^fe
30 inoomo Wlfo'S inoomj			
31 Period of roaidenao of Family i No. of Yeara ?			L OS
32 Family size I %			CODE 12
33 Hououbold elzo f *X-			J_x
34 Faraily income			●
35 Housohold Contribution to Family ■ e £ htO-Q			Of^P
36 Incoov Family Structure Typo of			
37 Houoe			ifl.
33 No. of absent children _____ gzv^.			OI

CZM
FBI

SECTION 4

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
Name	Age	Relationship to Head of Household	14. Grade or from	15. Years of school	16. No. of children	17. Birthplace or country	18. LAMARSH	19. Date of payment for	20. Received and/or judge	21. Date, name, address	
1 04301 1931 M	40	Hd. HH (M)	Std 1	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore	2-0-0		None	
2 04302 1931 F	40	W	Std 1	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore	2-0-0		None	
3 04303 1931 M	40	S	Std 3	Yes	1	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
4 04304 1931 M	40	S	Std 1	Yes	1	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
5 04305 1931 M	40	S	Std 1	Yes	1	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
6 04306 1931 M	40	S	Std 1	Yes	1	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
7 04307 1931 M	40	S	Std 1	Yes	1	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
8 04308 1931 M	40	S	Std 1	Yes	1	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
9 04309 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
10 04310 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
11 04311 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
12 04312 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
13 04313 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
14 04314 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
15 04315 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
16 04316 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
17 04317 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
18 04318 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
19 04319 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
20 04320 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
21 04321 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
22 04322 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
23 04323 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
24 04324 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
25 04325 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
26 04326 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
27 04327 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
28 04328 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
29 04329 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
30 04330 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
31 04331 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
32 04332 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
33 04333 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
34 04334 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
35 04335 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
36 04336 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
37 04337 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
38 04338 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
39 04339 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
40 04340 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
41 04341 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
42 04342 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
43 04343 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
44 04344 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
45 04345 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
46 04346 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
47 04347 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
48 04348 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
49 04349 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
50 04350 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
51 04351 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
52 04352 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
53 04353 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
54 04354 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
55 04355 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
56 04356 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
57 04357 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
58 04358 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
59 04359 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
60 04360 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
61 04361 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
62 04362 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
63 04363 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
64 04364 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
65 04365 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
66 04366 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
67 04367 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
68 04368 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
69 04369 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
70 04370 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
71 04371 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
72 04372 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
73 04373 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
74 04374 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
75 04375 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
76 04376 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
77 04377 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
78 04378 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
79 04379 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
80 04380 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
81 04381 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
82 04382 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
83 04383 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
84 04384 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
85 04385 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
86 04386 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
87 04387 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
88 04388 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
89 04389 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
90 04390 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
91 04391 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
92 04392 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
93 04393 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
94 04394 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
95 04395 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
96 04396 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
97 04397 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
98 04398 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
99 04399 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	
100 04400 1931 F	40	W	Std 3	No	N/A	MA DOWNS	Shore			Dependent	

SECTION 5

1. How many years have you worked at in the last 10 years? One

2. Describe your present job Pharmacist (Joining Arms in Haysfield)

3. What address have you attended since leaving school?

4. How many wives are you married to?

5. Which is your church? Salvation Army

6. In your weekly your members?

7. How many times have you visited the rural area for more than a week during the last 12 months?

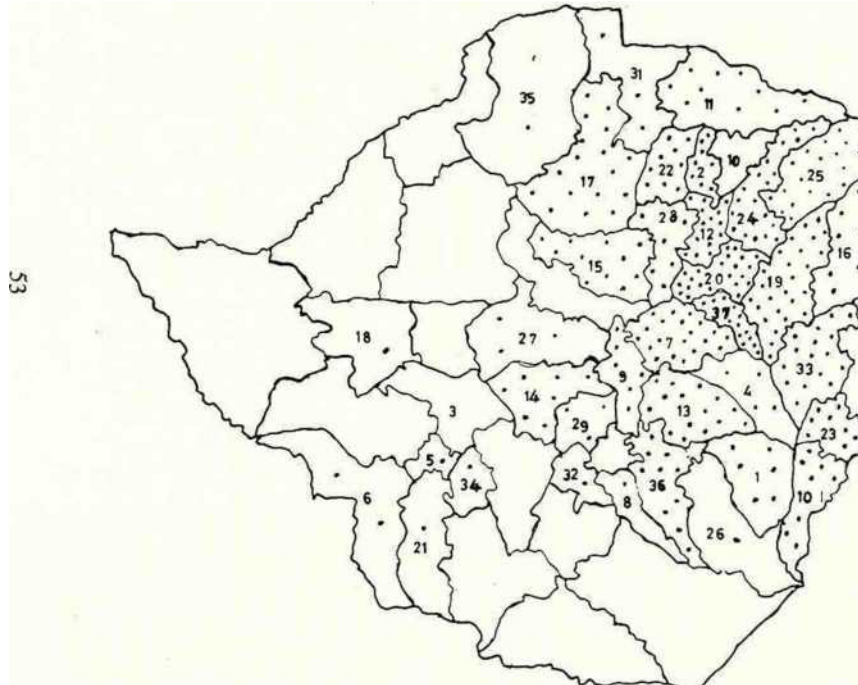
8. How many people from the rural area have visited you for a week or more during the last 12 months? (including children)

9. How many people from the rural area have visited you for more than a week during the last 12 months? (including children)

Fore No. &Sf3 01

HAIE 9	0	i	2	3		5.	6	7	8	9	X	T	
13 'Tara you torn in a town or a rural area ?	Town	Rural	No re-spons										
14 If born in town, was your father born in town or a rural area ? Specify	JOM	ay	2nd Gen	3rd Gen	No ra- s								S.C.
15 Altogether, how many years have you lived in town ? 5" y ^{0.1415}	os												
16 Altogether, how many years'havo you lived in j town since the age of 15 years ? S *4444** 05													
17 How many places have you worked at in tbs last 10 years ?	O'X												
18 Describe your present job	0	1	2	3	4	5	6		N- 8	9	X	T	S.C
19 What courses have you attondod since leaving school ?	Hone	Teac her	Nui^ sing	Socro - taria	Univ ersit	Agric ultur	3uil-j Carp- ding	Book- keepi ng	Typ in a	Homo Craf t	Other Specif y		
20 Hovr ara you marriad ?	Not iarr	a-arr	Christian with lobol	Civil w/out w/fith lobol	Not. od livinmarri s	gpayi ng	Othe r Marr	Divo rced	No re- sponse				
21 How many wives are you married to now ?	0	p	2	3	4	3	6	7	8	9	10	More than 10	
22 Which ie your church T	No ne	R.C.	Luth eran	Meth odist	Ref ormed	Cong- regat	Ang lican	Bap tist	Pent ecost	Adve n	Afr. Inde	Other	E.C.
23 Do you worship your ancestors ?	ha	No	No re-										
24 Hov/ many club3 are you a iy | . y mombor of ? (Names) p.VPifX ^{1m}	0		2	3	d	3	6	7	8	9	10 or more	No re- sponse	
25 H.v many times have you visited th* rural arua for a week or less during the last 12		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9-10	Every	Every Weak	
26 How many timss have you visitsd the rural area for more than a week during the last 12	&	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	More than 10	
27 How many pooplo from the rural araa have visited you for a week or less during the last 12 months	>y	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	More than '0	
28 How many people, from the rural area have visited you for more than a week during the last 12 months ?		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	e	9	10	More than 10	

MAP B



Rhodesian Districts

- | | |
|--------------------|-----------------|
| 1. BIKITA | 19. HAKONI |
| 2. BINDURA | 20. MARANDELLAS |
| 3. BUBI | 21. MATO BO |
| 4. BUHERA | 22. MAZOE |
| 5. BULAWAYO | 23. MELSETTER |
| 6. SULALIMA MANGWE | 24. MREWA |
| 7. CHARTER | 25. MTOKO |
| 8. CHIB I | 26. NDANGA |
| 9. CHILIM A NZI | 27. O.UE QUE |
| 10. CHIPINGA | 28. SALISBURY |
| 11. DARWIN | 29. SELUKWE |
| 12. GOROMONZI | 30. SHAMVA |
| 13. GUTU | 31. SIPOLILO |
| 14. GWELO | 32. SHABANI |
| 15. HARTLEY | 33. UMTALI |
| 16. H. INYANGA | 34. UMZINGWANE |
| 17. LOMAGUNDI | 35. URUNGWE |
| 18. LUPANE | 36. VICTORIA |

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