

THE ZANZIBARIS IN DURBAN

A social anthropological study of the Muslim
descendants of African freed slaves living in
the Indian area of Chatsworth

by

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INTRODUCTION1. Events that led to this Study.

Towards the close of 1969 and the beginning of 1970 there were a few letters and comments in the Durban press⁽¹⁾ suggesting that certain Indians wanted the Zanzibaris, many of whom are descendants of freed African slaves, to be moved out of the Indian area of Chatsworth, where they had been allocated houses by the Municipality. Intrigued by these reports, Mrs. Fatima Meer of the Natal University Department of Sociology, and I, went to the area where the Zanzibaris live, hoping to talk to a few Indians and Zanzibaris resident there. Our visit aroused both interest and suspicion and at one point we were surrounded by a number of angry, excited Zanzibari women who demanded to know what we were doing in the area. One woman waved a newspaper of the night before, which carried a letter signed by a writer who called herself 'a worried mother of Chatsworth'.⁽²⁾ Were we the 'outsiders' who were causing 'trouble' for the Zanzibaris, we were asked angrily. We placated the women by informing them that we had come to Chatsworth to try and find out about the press reports. It thus became only too clear to us that the press statements had engendered feelings of insecurity, suspicion, bewilderment and anger among the women and a few young people to whom we talked.

The outcome of this visit to Chatsworth was that Mrs. Meer and I decided to undertake a short survey among the Zanzibaris and their Indian neighbours.

(1) See below, Chapter IX, p. 262-3.

(2) Daily News 6th January, 1970.

This survey was carried out during January and February 1970, with the assistance of five Indian interviewers, who had just completed their matriculation. We gave the findings of this survey to the press⁽³⁾ and to the Indian Muslim Trustees of the Juma Musjid Trust (who have frequently acted in the role of 'patrons' to the Zanzibaris and their early forbears).

Quite early in the course of the survey, I realised that I had encountered what any prospective anthropologist might consider ideal material for further study. For the Zanzibaris were a small, readily identifiable group of people who were living together in a restricted area and who, I soon found, shared many common patterns of behaviour. Nothing, other than newspaper articles, seemed to have been published about them and very little was known about the details of their historical origins. Most of the popular stories were usually vague, such as that they were members of a 'lost tribe',⁽⁴⁾ descended from freed slaves. One newspaper did add that the forbears of the Zanzibaris were brought by the H.M.S. Briton and that it 'dropped a cargo of captured Muslim slaves on the Bluff'.⁽⁵⁾ Exotic and sometimes contradictory stories also circulated by word of mouth about the Zanzibaris, such as that, on the one hand, they were very pious Muslims and, on the other hand, that they were particularly prone to practising black magic.

It was then, against this background of apparent prejudice and an obvious lack of information that I decided that the study contained in this thesis should be undertaken about the Zanzibaris.

(3) A fairly lengthy summary of this survey appeared in the Daily News of the 26th February, 1970.

(4) Daily News 16th January, 1959.

(5) Sunday Express, 4th October, 1959.

2. Aims and Objects of the Study.

Beattie, in one of his studies on the Bunyoro, notes 'that we can understand the present situation better if we know something of how it came to be as it is'.⁽⁶⁾ In this spirit I thought that it was important to investigate and record the events surrounding the arrival of the freed slaves in Durban and to reconstruct a picture of their settlement in the Kings Rest area of the Bluff, Durban. It appeared equally important to learn something of the early role that the Juma Musjid Trust played in the lives of the Zanzibaris, for it was clear from my early encounter with them that this organisation had been of considerable importance in their history.

The unusual position of the Zanzibari status in the South African hierarchy was another obvious line of enquiry, since it has direct bearing on their present settlement with Indians in Chatsworth. I therefore collected both written and oral material on this issue and I discuss it in some detail in this thesis.

In the early stages of my field work I occupied myself with collecting data on such conventional topics as family life, puberty, ceremonials, marriage, funeral ceremonies, spirit possession cults and the role of religion in the lives of the Zanzibaris. However, in the later stages of my field work and especially after consultation with Professor W.J. Argyle, who took over as my supervisor, it was decided that it would be worth attempting to do more with the material I already had than merely attempting a straightforward descriptive ethnographic survey. I therefore collected numerical data on the size of the population, household sizes, income and other such socio-economic data, which are presented in Chapters

(6) BEATTIE, J. 1960 : 7.

Four and Five.

However, I have not completely discarded the ethnographic data that I collected since I felt that it was worth recording as the Zanzibaris are now exposed to a new environment in Chatsworth and many changes in their way of life have occurred. Some of the ethnographic data has been retained and integrated in the descriptive material that is presented which emphasises the Zanzibari community identity. For a major focus of this study is on the creation and development of a distinctive Zanzibari community from the earliest beginnings down to the present times.

Because of the removal of the Zanzibaris to Chatsworth it was obvious that I could not limit my area of investigation merely to the inter-personal relations of the Zanzibaris themselves in total isolation from their Indian neighbours. Accordingly, I took into account Zanzibari interaction with the Indian community and added further material of my own on this aspect to that of the earlier survey with Mrs. Meer.

3. Methods of Study.

(a) Documentary

Much of the material on the early history of the Zanzibari freed slaves used in Chapter One is from documents I found, after a search of a few weeks, in the Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg. I first went to the Archives during June 1971 and did the bulk of my research there during May 1972. Besides the material that I found in the Archives, I consulted files in the Department of Indian Affairs, Stanger Street, Durban, which also dealt with the freed slaves and their descendants.

The minutes, correspondence and memoranda of the Juma Masjid Trust were also invaluable to me, in trying to complete my picture of the past. A number of people, both Zanzibaris and Indian, whose names are mentioned in the footnotes in the text, were also of great help to me in interpreting the documentary material, since their comments and stories about the past brought alive the recorded facts that I had found.

(b) Fieldwork

My eventual entry into the Zanzibari community was made relatively easy, because before the first survey was undertaken in 1970, Mrs. Meer and I called a meeting of Zanzibaris in Chatsworth, to sound them out on the proposed survey. This meeting was organised by the late Mr. Talib Tinambo, who was recognised as their unofficial spokesman. About twenty-five men and women were present at this meeting. I also suggested to those present that at some later stage I might undertake a more detailed study on the 'history' of the Zanzibaris. A number of those present agreed that a historical study on the Zanzibaris was long overdue. One person remarked that Zanzibaris were tired of being regarded as a 'lost tribe'.

Fortunately for me, the survey which Mrs. Meer and I subsequently did showed that the relations between Zanzibaris and their Indian neighbours were largely free from tensions. Furthermore, the publication of some of our findings in the press, seemed to coincide with a lull in the agitation in the press for the removal of the Zanzibaris from Chatsworth. Consequently, the role I assumed from the beginning of this study was that of a well-meaning researcher, who was interested in the history and the

present condition of the Zanzibaris. Under the heading of 'history', my informants readily told me of the 'old days in Kings Rest' and their 'old ways and customs'. They were also usually quite ready to discuss their 'problems' and 'positions', in Chatsworth and it was in pursuit of these topics that I was able to collect the numerical data presented in Chapter Three and Four.

The actual period that I spent in fieldwork among the Zanzibaris extended from the middle of 1970 to July 1972, but I did not work continuously amongst them for the whole of that time. During the year 1970, I used to go to Chatsworth at least twice a week and visited a number of families there and from these visits I was able to establish who would make good informants. These visits also helped to create rapport, since the Zanzibaris got used to seeing me in the area and I found that I began to assume many roles subordinate to that of a research worker. I was asked to advise in respect to family problems, to help find jobs, to help with the admission of children in schools and with applications for birth certificates, identity documents, disability grants and maintenance grants for unmarried mothers.

During the months of March, April and July 1971 and again during December in that year and in January 1972, I went to Chatsworth almost every day. This break between these two periods of intensive fieldwork was intentional, since I wanted to go back after a lapse of a few months to check my data. In the period from February 1972 until my fieldwork actually stopped in July 1972, I again went to Chatsworth on an average of twice a week. (7)

(7) Since this date I have been going to Chatsworth on an average of once or twice a month, just to keep in touch with the Zanzibaris.

From the earliest time when I began to think of doing this study, I realised that it would not be very feasible or indeed advisable for me to live with the Zanzibaris. The practical difficulty of arranging accommodation in an already over-crowded urban area would have been very great and in fact I would probably only have been able to live illegally in a Zanzibari home.⁽⁸⁾ Moreover, even if I had been able to live among them, the Zanzibaris would probably have been very conscious of the status discrepancies between myself and them. Apart from the facts that I was more educated than them and obviously did not need accommodation, the elders in the community would not have considered it proper for me, a woman, to leave my own family home and live by myself in their community. Accordingly, I felt that doubt would have been cast on my research role if I had tried to live there. Further, by living outside the community, I did at least avoid becoming identified with certain individuals or community intrigues, which could have had the effect of excluding me from certain areas of information.⁽⁹⁾

Also, I eventually decided that there would have been more disadvantages than advantages in employing a member of such a small, compact community as a research assistant. This decision was reinforced by those Zanzibari men and women who did assist me by checking informally, my data for Chapters Three and Four, for they made it quite clear to me that they did not want it publicly known that they were assisting me. I encountered a similar reaction from two Zanzinari informants, one an elderly lady and the other a young woman in her late twenties, both of whom visited me at my home and

-
- (8) Occupiers of the Municipal houses in Chatsworth are not permitted to take in lodgers in terms of their lease, though some in fact do so. See below Chapter IV, p. 84 - 87.
- (9) 'Stranger Value' is an important asset in a community study, since often people divulge more information to an outsider. See BEATTIE, J. 1966 : 37.

kept me informed on Zanzibari affairs that happened between my visits to Chatsworth.

Despite these limitations on my fieldwork, the main method of collecting field data for this study was still through observation and through asking open ended exploratory questions, rather than through the use of standardised survey techniques. I also participated as much as possible in a number of activities such as meetings of the religious singing group (dhikr) and birth ceremonies. I also sat besides mourners at funerals, followed wedding and puberty processions and of course I spent many hours chatting with the families I visited regularly and in this manner conducted my informal and formal interviewing. The merits of participation observation even in a modern urban community are acknowledged by the American sociologist Gans when he notes that it is 'the only method that enables the researcher to get close to the realities of social life. Its deficiencies in producing quantifiable data are more than made up for its ability to minimize the distance between the researcher and his subject of study'.⁽¹⁰⁾ Some of the inevitable limitations and drawbacks to this kind of method are, however, indicated at the appropriate places in the text below wherever I felt that they may have influenced the kind and quality of the data I obtained.

I may note here though, that women and young men were, as might have been expected, more at ease with me than were older men, who tended to be reserved in my presence. On the other hand, I think because I am a Muslim, I was generally more acceptable in the Zanzibari community than might otherwise have been the case. My religion also helped me to understand many of their own religious practices which were closely associated with their way of life.

(10) GANS, H.J. 1966 : 350.

Handwritten notes:
 1. The
 2. The
 3. The

On the whole I had no major difficulties in communicating with the Zanzibaris, since I found that all but one informant, could speak English. The informant who did not speak English conversed with me in Zulu.

The Zanzibaris in Chatsworth are a distinctive enough group to make it almost impossible to disguise the location of their community. However, I have done my best by altering the area and road numbers and I have also sought to preserve the anonymity of individuals by giving them pseudonyms. However, I am very conscious that a diligent and determined enquirer might be able to identify some of them, but I sincerely hope that what I have indicated in this thesis could bring no real harm to the many people who assisted me for, if it had not been for their co-operation this study would not have been possible.

CHAPTER I

THE ARRIVAL AND RECEPTION OF THE FREED SLAVES IN NATAL.

1. Britain's role in stamping out the slave trade in Zanzibar and the East Coast of Africa.

The arrival of the Zanzibaris in Durban was the result of forces beyond their control, and linked directly with Britain's role in trying to put an end to the slave trading activities of the Arabs and Portuguese, along the East African Coast.

For, after Britain abolished slavery as an institution in her own colonies in 1833, she strove to stamp out slavery in other areas.⁽¹⁾ It was largely through the persistent and powerful writings of British explorers, such as David Livingstone, that the Western world learnt with horror of the depopulated and devastated villages, and other atrocities of the slave trade in East and Central Africa. These constant exposures pricked the conscience of European powers and Britain, in particular, tried to stop Arab slave trading in these parts of Africa.

Valiant efforts were made by a number of British Consuls-General stationed in Zanzibar, to get the Sultans there to take action against the slave trading activities of the Arabs along the East Coast of Africa and in Zanzibar itself. But a number of factors prevented the early conclusion of any effective anti-slave trade treaties. In the main, the Sultans feared that the abolition of the slave trade in their dominions would be too radical a social and economic change and would arouse the hostility of the Arabs,

(1) OLIVER, R. and FAGE, J.D. 1962 : 136.

whose resentment at the loss of their valuable trade could easily endanger the stability of the region.

But, largely because of continuing British pressures, Sultan Majid of Zanzibar eventually issued, in 1864, a decree forbidding all transport of slaves between the months of January and April and any slave dhows intercepted during this period by the British naval squadron were to be condemned and the slaves were to be freed. This was potentially a severe curb on the Arab slavers who relied on the south-west monsoon winds that blow during these months, to sail their slave dhows.⁽²⁾ However, as it turned out, this measure was largely ineffective, since Britain, facing severe financial difficulties during this period, had to reduce her anti-slave squadron.

But, in 1873, Britain made another concerted effort to put an end to the slave trade in Zanzibar and threatened the Sultan with a naval blockade of his port. On the 5th July, 1873, the Sultan Burghash therefore signed a treaty which outlawed the slave trade effectively. For the first time the export of slaves from the main continent, whether destined for any port of the Sultan's dominions or for foreign parts, was prohibited. For the first time, too, the gates of the great public slave market in Zanzibar were closed.⁽³⁾ This treaty did not mean, though, the immediate cessation of the slave trade and British naval patrols continued their campaign against the sea-borne slave trade of the Arabs⁽⁴⁾ who were being aided by the Portuguese and African slave raiders.

Soon, however, Britain was faced with the problem of finding a place to settle the slaves she had rescued from the Arab slave dhows. The solution

(2) SIMONS, J. 1955 : 151
(3) COUPLAND, R. 1968 : 202-4.
(4) GRAY, J. 1963 : 237, 241.

to the problem was found when Britain decided to settle some of these freed slaves in her colony in Natal, which was at that time facing an acute labour shortage.

2. The demand for labour in Natal in the Early Eighteen Seventies.

The British colonists in Natal, by the year 1870, numbered about 18,000 and were already a powerful force in the colony's affairs, controlling the legislature and effectively influencing the executive council. More than half of them lived in Pietermaritzburg and Durban where they were employed mainly as artisans and as petty traders. Elsewhere in Natal, vast tracts of land had been apportioned to the settlers as an inducement for them to settle there. The coastal farmers were experimenting in sugar and cotton and, by 1870, were producing ten thousand tons of sugar per annum. In the midlands regions of Natal, wheat, maize and potatoes were being grown and cattle, sheep and pigs were being reared successfully.⁽⁵⁾

However, despite such progress, the settlers felt that development was being retarded because the local Africans, who numbered a quarter million, displayed an apparent dislike for regular and long periods of employment.⁽⁶⁾ Settler agitation for labour had therefore led the Natal government to engage in protracted negotiations with the British Indian government which eventually brought the first batch of Indian indentured labourers to Natal in 1860. By 1870, these first Indians to have arrived

(5) THOMPSON, L. 1969 : 380-1

(6) HALLEY, LORD 1956 : 387.

in Natal were entitled, in terms of their agreement of indenture, to either a free return passage to India, or to remain in the colony as free citizens. A small number of Indians who returned to India had related grim tales of hardships that the indentured labourers suffered in Natal. The Indian government took heed of these complaints and, in 1870, temporarily stopped further emigration of labour to the colony of Natal.⁽⁷⁾

This temporary cut in the supply of labour caused further considerable agitation among the settlers who had started to reap the benefits from the regular and reliable labour provided by the indentured Indian. The labour shortage appeared to be the most discussed and crucial problem facing colonists in Natal in the eighteen seventies. It was in this situation that the liberated African slaves from Zanzibar came to Natal.

3. Proposal to introduce freed slaves into Natal and settler reaction to this proposal.

During May 1873, the labour situation became an especially acute problem for the sugar-cane farmers in Natal, as the crushing season was at hand and the cane had to be cut and new crops planted. The position steadily deteriorated and threatened to get still worse because of a number of extraordinary factors. The impending coronation of Cetshwayo led to a mass exodus of Zulus to their homes. Foreign Africans in Natal, fearing disturbances which might follow the Zulu coronation, also left their employment and flocked to their homes. The flow of African emigration from Delagoa Bay had been stopped. Further, many free Indians refused

(7) PALMER, M. 1957 : 19-24.

employment on the farms and sought other employment to improve their positions.⁽⁸⁾

The Natal government, facing widespread criticism from the settlers at this time, received welcome news from an unexpected quarter, which promised to help relieve the labour shortage. For, on the 26th May 1873, the Lieutenant Governor of Natal received a letter from John Kirk, the British Consul General of Zanzibar, informing him that the Sultan Seyd Burghash of Zanzibar had not yet acceded to the full demands of the British Government to abolish slavery in his dominions.⁽⁹⁾ Kirk further stated that the Sultan's government refused to acknowledge the freedom of the slaves who had been liberated by the British slave squadron from Arab slave dhows. This intractable attitude of the Sultans had, in Kirk's words, 'precluded the possibility of the liberated slaves being located within the Sultan's dominions.'⁽¹⁰⁾

Kirk suggested in his letter that, as the colony of Natal was facing such an acute labour shortage, a temporary arrangement could be made whereby these liberated slaves would be brought to Natal and be apprenticed for a term of years to sugar planters and other employers. This arrangement, Kirk thought, would satisfactorily dispose of the captured slaves and would, at the same time, assist in relieving the labour shortage in Natal, even if only temporarily. For Kirk also mentioned in his letter that, once the British took 'active' steps against the Sultan, the freed slaves would be settled 'within the Sultan's dominions'.

(8.) The critical labour position in Natal is surveyed in The Natal Mercury, 24th June, 1873.

(9) Register of Letters received and sent by the Colonial Secretary's office, 1873, Item no. 1269, letter dated 29th April, 1873.

(10) *ibid.*, KIRK'S letter.

This suggestion of Kirk's can be considered as the first step in the creation of the Zanzibari community in Natal, for the prospect of a sizeable number of freed slaves being introduced into Natal was enthusiastically received by the colonists who saw, in this proposal, a way of relieving their labour shortage.

A report in The Natal Mercury argued that the freed slaves would not feel alien in the colony, as they would still be on African soil, and that there was ample scope for the employment and subsequent location of these people. The report further added that the 'East Africans from Zanzibar are in advance to our Natives, as regards many kinds of industry and they would doubtless do much to introduce new resources and develop old ones'.⁽¹¹⁾

In a leader on the subject, in the same issue of The Natal Mercury, it was recommended and urged that the Labour League hold a meeting at once to warrant the government to take the necessary steps to make arrangements for the reception of the freed slaves. The paper thus tried to create a favourable impression of the advantages that the freed slaves would have over the local Africans and that they would benefit the colony.

Eighteen applications from harassed colonists for freed slave labour were shortly received by the Colonial Office between 30th May and 5th June, 1873. One colonist, A.T. Metcalf, applied for fifty freed slaves. The Civil Engineer of Natal, however, also applied for liberated slaves to be allotted to him for Public Works,⁽¹²⁾ and priority was initially given to his demands for labour. In fact, a Government Notice was issued which stated that, in the event of freed slaves being brought from Zanzibar, the Government would require the entire number received to be employed in Public Works.⁽¹³⁾ But

(11) The Natal Mercury, 27th May, 1873.

(12) Register of letters received and sent by Colonial Secretary's office, 1873 in items 1310 - 1483.

(13) PALMER, M. 1956 : 33 and Government Notice No. 142 of 1873.

*affectionate
and news already
received long before
then arrived*

settler agitation led to an amendment of this Government Notice which reduced the number of freed slaves allotted to Public Works to one half and the rest were to be indentured to private individuals.⁽¹⁴⁾

So that even before the arrival of the freed slaves in Natal, legislation was introduced which ensured that the freed slaves would be put to work in the Colony on their arrival without any apparent consultation with them about any wishes that they might have.

4. Arrival of the freed slaves in Natal.

On the evening of the 4th August 1873, H.M.S. Briton, bearing on board 113 liberated slaves, arrived in Durban. These freed slaves were placed under the protection of the Protector of Immigrants⁽¹⁵⁾ who housed them in the 'Coolie Barracks' at the Point. Accommodating them there appeared to be the logical thing to do, as the Indian Government had temporarily stopped further Indian emigration into Natal and these barracks must have been either empty or partially occupied. I suggest also that the liberated African slaves may have been housed in the same premises as the Indian labourers because both peoples were Black⁽¹⁶⁾ immigrants. Further, as will be shown later, the legislation that was passed concerning the freed slaves, gives the impression that the Natal government wanted the liberated African to be treated as a distinct group from the local Africans. In any event, it was partially accidental that the freed African slave and the Indian labourers came to be administered by the same branch of Government

(14) Government Notice No. 177 of 1873.

(15) See below p.13.

(16) The term Black in this thesis is used when referring to race groups who happen not to be White. When referring to the different race groups specifically the words 'Africans', 'Indians', 'Zanzibaris' and 'Coloured' people will be used.

and this step conferred on them a special identity, partly linked with that of the Indians, which was to be perpetuated in the future and so this can be regarded as the second stage in the creation of the Zanzibari community in Natal.

This first batch of freed slaves were classified as follows :-

Adult men	28
Adult women	22
Girls under 12 years	18
Boys under 12 years	37
Little children in arms of mothers	<u>8</u>
TOTAL	<u>113</u> (17)

The liberated slaves were examined by the District Surgeon who put twelve of them in hospital. (18) The rest were found to be in only fair condition, as most were suffering from fever and illness arising from prostration. Their condition was to be expected, since they had been confined in tiers one above the other in the Arab dhow for ten days and received very little food or water. The sea voyage from Zanzibar to Durban had also proved arduous. A reporter of The Natal Witness, while commending the British government's philanthropic efforts to put down the slave trade, scathingly criticised its thoughtlessness for exposing the freed slaves to the long sea voyage to Natal:

A sporting friend who was on board the Briton facetiously informs me that the liberated slaves are 'weight for age', in other words, a boy of fifteen weighed fifteen pounds. It certainly appears something like cruelty to animals to bring these unfortunate people from Zanzibar waters to Natal and expose them in their worn out condition to a sea passage, under which I fear, several have succumbed. Well might they exclaim with Shylock, 'Be they your Christians?'. (19)

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- (17) Register of letters received and sent by the Colonial Secretary's office 1873 - letter from the Protector of Indian Immigrants dated 12th August, 1873.
- (18) Register of letters received and sent by the Colonial Secretary's office 1873, letter from Protector of Indian Immigrants to Colonial Office dated 6th August and 12th August, 1873.
- (19) The Natal Witness, Friday 8th August, 1873.

5. Place of origin of the freed slaves who were brought to Natal.

It could be expected that the freed slaves had been taken by the slave raiders from a very wide area of East Africa. But, in fact, the contemporary evidence from Natal suggests that they were drawn from a fairly limited area in the region of what is now northern Mozambique.

The first bit of evidence is contained in a letter from the Protector of Immigrants to the Colonial Secretary compiled from the evidence of a number of the freed slaves.⁽²⁰⁾ In this letter it was stated that the freed slaves belonged to different tribes from the Mozambique area, but no details were given about the precise location of their places of origin.

The Protector of Immigrants indicated that communication with the freed slaves was a problem, as they were unacquainted with any of the languages spoken in Natal, and communication with them was made by signs⁽²¹⁾ until an interpreter was found. No information could be obtained from the early reports of the Protector, of how he managed to obtain an interpreter in Natal.⁽²²⁾ But, in 1877, the Protector of Immigrants wrote to Dr. Kirk in Zanzibar requesting that he send an interpreter to Natal. The Protector indicated that there were, by then, close on four hundred liberated Africans in Natal and that he previously had the services of a 'Native of Zanzibar of

(20) Register of letters received and sent by the Colonial Secretary's office, 1873, letter dated 9th August 1873.

(21) Register of letters received and sent by the Colonial Secretary's office 1873, letter from Protector of Indian Immigrants dated 6th August 1873.

(22) Register of letters received and sent by the Colonial Secretary's office 1873, letter from the Protector of Indian Immigrants dated 3rd September 1873. The Protector justifies the expenses incurred in employing an interpreter in the following words: 'Without the services of an interpreter it would have been impossible to have communicated with the freed slaves. It is believed that the expenditure will eventually be covered by the fees to be collected from the employers'.

the Makooa tribe, who could interpret into the Kaffir'. Dr. Kirk's reply to the letter of the Protector stated that there was no one in Zanzibar capable of acting as a competent interpreter in the English and 'Makooa' languages, and he saw no prospects of getting anyone in the near future.⁽²³⁾ These references to 'Makooa' provide the first clues to the origin of the slaves.

The identification of some, at least, of the freed slaves can be further narrowed down from the indirect evidence contained in the informative letters that Mrs. Colenso, wife of Bishop Colenso of Natal, wrote to her friend, Lady Lyell in England. Thus, in 1873, Mrs. Colenso informed her friend that Captain Elton, the Assistant Police Officer of Zanzibar, who had come and inspected the freed slaves in Durban, had found that 'some of the women had their upper lip pierced for a circular lip ring of ivory, which was removed on their being taken as slaves, as it was regarded as a horrible disfigurement in the slave market'.⁽²⁴⁾ The pelele lip ring was worn by women of a number of tribes in East Africa, and appears also to be a characteristic of the Makua people who are from the northern regions of Mozambique.⁽²⁵⁾ This is further evidence pointing to the fact that at least a number of the freed slaves were Makua.

Four years later, The Natal Mercury in its issue dated 25th April 1877, gives a graphic account of how a recently arrived group of freed slaves on the ship the 'Kaffir', were rescued by the British from Arab and Comoro slavers. This report states that the slaves were shipped at the Umpiza

(23) Indian Immigration Papers 1877, R23/1877 and R210/1877.

(24) REES, W. 1958 : 255. Captain Elton was later appointed Vice-Consul of Zanzibar.

(25) TEW, M. 1950 : 26.

river a few miles south of the town of Mozambique and were being taken to Madagascar by the Arab and Comoro slavers. All the slaves were Makua and some were able to speak Portuguese fluently. Commenting on the Makua, the report goes on to state that 'they are highly prized as domestic slaves in Zanzibar, being considered a hard working and faithful race'. But the report notes that the 'disfigurement of their tribal marks render them less in the estimation of the Arabs'.

The combined effect of all this evidence is to suggest that many, perhaps all, of the slaves must have come originally from the more northerly regions of Mozambique. Many of them could also be assigned to the Makua tribe, though it has to be recognised that this term, like many other 'tribal' names in Africa, was very elastic in its application. Further, it is suggested that the reason why the liberated slaves nevertheless came to be called 'Zanzibaris' was that, after they were rescued by the British, they were usually taken to Zanzibar, from where they were again shipped to Durban. So that it can safely be said that few of the freed slaves, despite the name commonly used then and now for them, were originally from Zanzibar, or were of Arab stock, but were rather of mainland African origin, particularly from the Makua area of Northern Mozambique.

My general conclusion about the freed slaves' mainland origin is further supported by the evidence that was recorded of the circumstances of their capture. Thus, a sworn statement by a freed slave woman, Maria, which was recorded by the Protector of Indian Immigrants, Colonel B. Price-Lloyd, on the 9th August 1873 at Durban, confirms this contention:

I live in the Portuguese territory. I am one of the slaves brought by H.M.S. Briton. Six months ago I went to catch crabs and I was kidnapped by a Mussalman and taken into a village and put into a home with other captured slaves. I, with others, (pointing out some of the freed slaves) have been six months in one house, imprisoned and waiting for the dhow. I was captured by a Mussalman called Umkaba. (26) He is black and is set over us by the Portuguese. The Portuguese come to see him at his place. Occasionally he visits Mozambique (i.e. the 'town') and he takes people as slaves and barter them. When the dhow comes, the men catch as many of us as they can and they pay a royalty for each slave to Umkaba. Sometimes when a ship comes, Umkaba gives orders to his men to collect slaves. The slaves were packed in the night and they sailed during nights. We were rescued from the dhow off the Madagascar coast after the British ship fired six shots. It was then the dhow hauled down her sails and surrendered.

Maria's deposition continues by giving a brief description of the location of the place where Umkaba carried out his activities, which she stated was not far from the town of Mozambique, in the northern region of Mozambique.

It is interesting to note that all the freed slaves indicated that they wanted to stay in Natal and indicated that they feared to return to their homelands in the Mozambique area, as they thought that they would be recaptured by the slave raider, Umkaba.

6. Legislation affecting the freed slaves in Natal.

As I have already stated, the freed slaves could not be returned to their homelands and since they could not yet be received in Zanzibar, it was necessary to send them somewhere else, where there was already administrative machinery available to receive them and to safeguard their

(26) In a Memorandum of information dated 11th August, 1873 which was checked from several African freed slaves, the Protector recorded that Umkaba is described as a 'grey head old man who wears a red fez and an Arab gown and is very black' - Colonial Secretary's Office - Memorandum.

interests. Indeed, it seems that the prior existence of the office of the Protector of Indian Immigrants was one of the reasons why the slaves were sent to Natal. For Consul Kirk of Zanzibar stated, in his letter to the Lieutenant Governor of Natal, that he had been influenced in his decision to send the freed slaves there, because he knew that there was 'a staff and organisation already in existence which would be able to supervise the apportioning of the slaves to the various planters'.⁽²⁷⁾

This 'staff and organisation' had only recently been re-organised and streamlined in the year 1872. These reforms had been the result of the complaints of those indentured Indian labourers, who had returned to India after completing their contracts. The 'Coolie Commission' of 1872 substantiated some of their complaints in that it found instances where the working conditions of the indentured labourers were far from satisfactory, with no proper supervision of labour and no written labour contracts which resulted sometimes in delay and even non-payment of wages.⁽²⁸⁾ This report had led to legislation which provided for the appointment of a Protector of Indian Immigrants with wide powers of supervising labour.⁽²⁹⁾

Among the Protector of Indian Immigrants' duties, as then stipulated, was the obligation to draw and attest contracts of indenture between the Indian labourers and their employers. This obligation was extended to cover the contracts of indenture of the freed slaves which also had to be attested by the Protector.⁽³⁰⁾ These contracts were initially for a period

(27) KIRK's letter see above, p.5.

(28) PALMER, M. 1957 : 27.

(29) Law 12 of 1872 (Natal)

(30) In terms of Ordinance 2 of 1850, the Masters and Servants Ordinance.

of five years,⁽³¹⁾ but later were reduced to a period of three years.⁽³²⁾

It is interesting to note that the agreements of indenture came to be popularly referred to by the Indian labourer as the girumit,⁽³³⁾ which is apparently a corruption of the word 'agreement' and that the same corruption came to be used by the freed slaves. For a number of older descendants of the freed slaves whom I interviewed, have stated that their ancestors came to Natal to work under the girumit.

The wages laid down by law at the time were six shillings per month during the first year, increasing at the rate of one shilling a month each year, so that in the fifth and last year of an adult freed slave's contract, his pay was ten shillings a month. An adult freed slave woman's commencing wage was four shillings a month, increasing at the rate of one shilling a month each year.⁽³⁴⁾ In addition to the wages, accommodation, food rations, medical services and clothing were to be provided by the employer. It was calculated that the cost of the introduction and maintenance of the freed slaves in Natal, before they were assigned to their employers, would amount to £9.0.0. per adult. The government was to bear one third of the sum and the remaining two thirds was to be paid back by the employers of the freed slaves to the government in three yearly instalments.⁽³⁵⁾

The Protector of Immigrants was obliged, by law, to keep a record of all the contracts of service or apprenticeship. He was also required to keep a Register of the freed slaves and was required to give each freed slave a particular number. The Register of Liberated African Slaves compiled

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- (31) Government Notice No. 142 of 1873.
(32) Government Notice No. 177 of 1873 (Clause 4).
(33) WATSON, R.S.T. 1960 : 86.
(34) Government Notice No. 186 of 1875.
(35) Government Notice No. 186 of 1875.

by the Protector of Indian Immigrants for the years 1873-1875 gave the following details of freed slaves: the names of the employers of the freed slaves; number of each slave; name; sex; age; name of ship on which the freed slave arrived in the colony; date of assignment to employer; period of employment; finally the date of discharge of the slave was also to be entered.

A noteworthy feature of the liberated slaves listed in the Register for these years was that of three hundred and fifty two male and female slaves, five were registered as being over forty five years old, the oldest being a man, Jamalee, No. 23, who arrived on H.M.S. Briton, and was listed as fifty-four years in age. It would therefore appear that, as one might expect, young men and women and children were preferred by the slavers.

Given the fact that so many of the freed slaves were in fact children, it was obviously necessary to make provision for them in the regulations. This was done by declaring that these children with parents, were not to be separated from them, whereas destitute children were to be apprenticed for a period of seven years. Boys so apprenticed were to be paid two shillings a month, later increased to three shillings a month, and girls, one shilling a month, later increased to two shillings a month, increasing at the rate of one shilling a month each year.⁽³⁶⁾ This labour legislation was later amended so that destitute boys were to be apprenticed until they reached the age of sixteen. Wages were to be paid only when the apprentice reached the age of twelve years.⁽³⁷⁾

(36) Government Notice No. 177 of 1873; (Clause 5 and 6) see also Government Notice No. 186 of 1875.

(37) Government Notice No. 230 of 1874. See also Appendix 'A' to this thesis for copy of Contract of Apprenticeship.

Despite this legislation, the Natal Government was still faced with the unexpected problem created by the large numbers of rescued people who were destitute children under the age of twelve years. The Natal Mercury suggested that a self supporting industrial school should be established for these children, where they could be kept, until they were old enough to be apprenticed out to employers.⁽³⁸⁾ This suggestion was not adopted, but it was especially required by the government that an apprentice should be taught some useful trade or occupation by his employer. In addition it was stated that they should be 'gradually instructed in the great truths of Christianity'. It was also provided by legislation that the apprentice be trained in the habits of cleanliness and that their 'lodgings be separate from those of the Kaffir servants of the colony'.⁽³⁹⁾ An employer was therefore expected to play the part of both teacher and missionary so that the government, in this manner, itself escaped providing any kind of education for the destitute children.

The Colensos, however, were not satisfied with these provisions and felt that the Natal government should train all the freed slaves in some useful occupation. Mrs. Colenso wrote to her friend, Lady Lyell, that Bishop Colenso had suggested that all the slaves who arrived on the H.M.S. Briton be kept together under the care of a catechist or missionary and be trained in some industrial school.⁽⁴⁰⁾ More general criticism was also voiced in England against the use of freed slave labour in the British colonies. For in London, Livingstone's friend, H.M. Stanley, criticised

(38) The Natal Mercury 5th August, 1873. There were then fifty-five children to be disposed of.

(39) Government Notice No. 186 of 1875 and Government Notice No. 99 of 1876.

(40) REES, W. 1958 : 254-255, letter dated 24th August, 1873.

the British government for taking money from employers for every slave that was captured. He considered that this was 'compounding with villany', and stated that, 'England should provide healthy places or an establishment for the freed slaves and not sell these people for a few dollars a head for a term of years'.⁽⁴¹⁾

However, such local and overseas criticism was disregarded in Natal in the face of the urgent need to secure cheap labour for the settlers. But, special concern was shown in the legislative enactments about the welfare and education of the freed slave children. This concern for the upliftment of the young freed slave was shown at a time when very little thought was given by the settler government to educate the local Africans. For this was the period of the regime of Sir Theophilus Shepstone, who believed in developing and controlling the Africans in their own reserve areas along traditional lines through their chiefs, and he was content to leave the education of the local Africans to the few missionaries in the colony.

Thus, from the legislation concerning the freed slaves, one can infer that the freed slaves were regarded by the government as an exclusive, protected group of people who were not to be settled among or confused with the local Africans. It is relevant to note that in all the government reports, they are referred to as the 'liberated African slaves' or 'freed slaves' while the local Africans are referred to as 'Kaffirs'. This distinction was made in spite of the fact that both peoples were African in origin.

Because of the apparent distinction created by the Administration between the freed slaves and the local Africans, there appears to have been confusion and uncertainty in the minds of the settlers, and of the Protector of Indian

(41) The Natal Mercury 1st July, 1873.

Immigrants, whether it was legally possible for a freed slave to marry a local African. Thus, in one of the Protector's reports, correspondence is filed dealing with a settler's query asking if a freed slave woman could marry a 'Kaffir'. Since the Protector appeared not to be sure himself of the legal position, the matter was referred to the Colonial Secretary, who in turn referred it to the Attorney-General of Natal, who finally ruled that there was no law to prevent such a marriage.⁽⁴²⁾

Yet, although the Administration deliberately sought to keep the freed slaves apart from the local Africans, it was a number of chance factors that created links between the freed slaves and the Indian labourers. These links were established when the freed slaves, from the time of their arrival, were put under the same administrative personnel as the Indian labourers and they were further strengthened by the fact that the ex-slaves were compelled to enter contracts of indenture which were similar to those for Indian immigrants, though they were different in detail from them. In view of this fact that both the Zanzibaris and the Indians were employed on the indenture system of labour,⁽⁴³⁾ it is worthwhile considering in more detail some of the conditions under which the freed slaves were employed and comparing these

(42) Indian Immigration Papers No. 8 - 29 of 1877 dated 27th June, 1877. The Attorney-General further pointed out that under Ordinance 2 of 1850, when a female servant marries, her husband can terminate the contract of service and remove his wife from her Master's service.

(43) Unlike the Cape, slave labour was not introduced into the Colony of Natal. But essentially the system of indentured labour was devised to meet the needs of the British colonies which suffered serious economic setbacks because of the abolition of the slave trade. (See HAILEY, LORD 1956 : 387). Mahatma Gandhi, who arrived in Natal in 1898, soon after his arrival, identified himself closely with the Indian labourers and their problems. Gandhi referred to the indentured labourer as a 'temporary slave', adding further that the whole system reduced the labourer to a 'state of semi-slavery'. GANDHI, M.K. 1961 : 22.

conditions with those of the Indians in Natal.

7. Comparison between the indentures of Indian labourers and those of freed slaves.

The starting wage of the indentured Indian was higher than that paid to the freed slave. For the starting wage of the male Indian labourer was ten shillings a month, rising by one shilling a month each year, so that in the fifth and last year, his wage was fourteen shillings. An adult Indian woman earned half the wage a man earned. In spite of current criticism from the Indian government about the Indian indentured labourers' wage structure, the freed slaves were paid an even lower wage than the Indian labourers. But both the freed slaves and the Indian labourers were to be given free accommodation and food rations by their employers. However, the freed slave, unlike the Indian labourer, was given an extra 'fringe benefit' by being provided with clothes.

In other words, the freed slaves were better off than the Indian labourers. The pass system did not apply to them and did not restrict their movements, ⁽⁴⁴⁾ as it did those of the Indian labourer. For the Indian labourer could be arrested, if he was found a mile away from his place of employment without his employer's permission. The freed slaves period of indenture was also shorter than that of the Indian labourer, who was indentured for a period of five years, whereas the contracts of indenture of the freed slaves were finally fixed at three years.

But neither the freed slave nor the Indian labourer had any choice

(44) Contracts of freed slaves were attested under Ordinance 2 of 1850, while contracts of Indian labourers were attested under Law 4 of 1859.

in the selection of their employers, for they were assigned through lots cast among those employers who were interested in employing them. The Protector of Indian Immigrants, who acted on behalf of the labourer, picked out the name of the lucky employer and would then enter into a contract with that employer. This procedure of casting lots was adopted because it appeared to be the easiest way of solving the harrassed Protector's predicament in trying to meet the demands of the labour-hungry settlers.

This lack of choice of employer and, indeed, of whether to be employed or not was highlighted in a case recorded by the Protector when freed slave-women escaped from Mr. Campbell's estate in Oakford. These women sought refuge in the Port Captain's barracks in Durban and were found living there with three liberated African men. The women indicated that they did not wish to continue being employed and declined to go back to their employer's farm. In spite of their clear declarations that they did not wish to be employed, the runaway women were sent to gaol while their employer applied to the Magistrate for a warrant to make them go back to work. Two special constables had to be engaged to take them back to their place of employment at a charge of seven shillings per constable, and this amount was to be deducted from the wages of these women.⁽⁴⁵⁾ This was a severe penalty when one remembers that the starting wage of an adult freed slave woman was four shillings a month. The only way in which both the freed slave and the Indian labourer could be released from their contract was for them to obtain the permission of the Protector who would annul the contract, if he was convinced that the conditions of indenture were not being fulfilled. This again demonstrates that the wishes of the indentured

(45) Indian Immigration Papers 1878, Item 91 -

lots -
1/2 2 2
1878

Resistance
by women

higher no. than
monthly salary

labourer were largely irrelevant and that the primary aim of the contract of indenture was to secure labour for the settler.

The Protector was, however, required by law, to list and number the freed slave and Indian labourer and to ascertain from enquiries and personal visits, the welfare of both categories. Gross injustices could have been done to the indentured labourer, if the Protector had not been appointed to investigate their complaints and look into their grievances.⁽⁴⁶⁾ In one of the Protector's files, I found that a few complaints by freed slaves were noted. For example, the freed slave of a Dr. Burne complained that he was only given mealie meal in his food rations.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The Protector instructed Dr. Burne to include rice in the food rations. Complaints of wages not being paid were also investigated. One such complaint that was handled by the Protector concerned a freed slave woman who complained that she was paid only five shillings for five years.

In addition to the Protector, the Indian government also took a careful note of the complaints of the Indian labourers and constantly took up the cudgels on their behalf to improve their lot in Natal. Thus it was largely due to the Indian government's lively interest in the treatment of the

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- (46) On the 6th September, 1878, Mrs. Colenso wrote to her friend Lady Lyell, concerning a freed slave child who ran away from his employer: 'One little wretch took refuge here, his fault was for running away. He was scored by the whip - his mistress's riding whip - which when he purloined something to eat, she got her husband to emphasize with his shambok, but what seemed worst to me was her tying him by the leg for the whole day when the Master was absent. We were obliged to give the child up when the Magistrate sent for him'. REES, W. 1958 : 339.
- (47) Indian Immigration Papers - Complaints 91/1878 - Descendants of freed slaves have often stated to me that 'their stomachs are never full' unless they have had some rice during the day.

indentured labourer that the legal status of the Indian labourer was clarified on the termination of their contract. The free citizen status and the additional bonus of free land,⁽⁴⁸⁾ granted to the Indian labourer after the period of indenture was different from the position of the freed slave, whose position under the common law on the termination of the contract was never clearly delineated. However, labour legislation affecting the freed slaves stated that on the expiration of the terms of indenture, the freed slaves 'would be free to work or go where they chose'.⁽⁴⁹⁾ Further, on completion of their contracts of labour, the freed slaves and their descendants were issued with letters of identification which entitled the holders of these letters to be treated as a distinct group of people from the local Africans. Consequently, the freed slaves again benefited from the status of being indentured labourers.

8. Entry of further freed slaves into Natal from the years 1873 - 1880.

No new legislation was passed affecting the freed slaves in Natal and their situation was not materially altered in subsequent years, since there was no great influx of freed slaves after the year 1878. Only sporadic shiploads of freed slaves continued to arrive in Natal until 1880. On the 24th April 1874, H.M.S. Kaffir brought a fairly large group of eighty-one freed slaves.⁽⁵⁰⁾ They were part of an original group of 225 slaves who

(48) Department of Economics, Natal University College 1949 : 215. Between 1860 and 1866 only 50 Indians were each granted fifteen acres of land. From 1891 no further allocation of land was granted to Indian labourers.

(49) Government Notice No. 177 of 1873 (Clause 7).

(50) This shipload comprised forty-four men and boys and thirty-one women and girls.

suffered severe trials and were exposed to great suffering, until they landed in Natal. When the British rescued them, they were destined for Madagascar on an Arab slave dhow, with only two days provisions on board. Light winds had prolonged their voyage to eight days. The British frigate that rescued them then sailed for Zanzibar and encountered a cyclone on the way, with the result that a great number of the slaves died on board the frigate. Eighty-four of the survivors, who were thought to be able to withstand the voyage to Natal, were shipped to the colony. These slaves were reported to have been Makuas, some of whom spoke Portuguese fluently. (51)

Another 226 slaves arrived in the year 1876 and, in the year 1877, a record of the number of freed slaves then in Natal was compiled by the Protector. This census showed that, so far, 503 freed slaves had arrived in Natal, comprising 216 men and 136 women and 151 children. Of this number sixty-four men and four women died in the colony and three absconded. So that in 1877, 432 slaves were actually in employment and scattered in areas such as Durban, Umgeni, Berea, Verulam, Pinetown and Pietermaritzburg. (52)

From the year 1878, the number of freed slaves entering Natal declined drastically. In that year only four freed slaves were reported to have arrived. In 1880, three freed slaves arrived in the colony, two of whom were boys who, according to the Protector's records, were reported to have been cruelly treated by their Arab slavers. (53) The end of the importation of freed slave labour into Natal after 1880 was to be expected as the Sultan of Zanzibar and the Portuguese government were, by this time, co-operating with the British government in its anti-slavery campaign.

(51) The Natal Mercury 25th April, 1874.

(52) Indian Immigration Papers 1877 - vide R125. Register of Liberated African slaves.

(53) Indian Immigration papers 1880 item 901/1880.

9. Summary and conclusion.

I have shown that the freed slaves were brought to Natal because Britain was faced with the complex problem of resettling the freed slaves whom she had rescued from Arab slave dhows along the East Coast of Africa. Further, the Natal government and British Consul-General Kirk, of Zanzibar, felt that indenturing the freed slaves for a short period to White employers, would enable the freed slaves to adjust more easily to their new environment. It has also been pointed out that it was again purely historical chance and a matter of administrative convenience which led to the close administrative links being established between the position of the freed slaves and that of the Indian labourer. But, in spite of these links, the Muslim freed slaves never became completely assimilated by the Indians and the Muslim freed slaves retained their own identity, as will be emphasised in the chapters to follow.

A further striking factor that has emerged from the early history of the freed slaves in Natal is that they were treated as a specially protected people and legislation provided that they be treated differently from the local Africans. It is suggested that the differential treatment of the freed slaves from the local Africans, occurred because the Natal government felt to some extent morally bound to alleviate the position of the freed slave in view of the strong anti-slavery sentiments prevailing at that time. In this way the freed slaves were not subjected to all the legislation that applied to the local Africans and were looked upon as a distinct and separate group of people in the colony of Natal. This distinction was maintained in spite of the fact that the majority of the freed slaves appeared to have been Makuas and to have come from the Northern regions of Mozambique and were African in appearance.

This early differential treatment of the freed slaves from the local Africans in Natal eventually led to some of the freed slaves settling

together in separate enclaves, when they were released from their respective contracts of indenture. Further, it will be seen that some of these freed slaves and their descendants who had obtained, from the Protector of Indian Immigrants, letters of identification establishing their freed slave ancestry later strove to perpetuate and strengthen the official recognition of them as a distinct ethnic category within the wider South African society.

CHAPTER II

CATHOLICISM AND ISLAM AS FACTORS IN THE CREATION, THE DISAPPEARANCE AND THE PERSISTENCE OF FREED SLAVE COMMUNITIES.

1. Settlement of some freed slaves in the Bluff area near Durban.

The next, third stage in the development of the Zanzibari 'community' came with the gradual completion of the labour contracts of the freed slaves which, in terms of the legislation, left them free to settle where they wanted. According to a number of the descendants⁽¹⁾ of the freed slaves, once some of their ancestors had completed their contracts of indentured labour, they settled near the Bluff area, which is approximately ten miles south of Durban, and until recently, was fairly isolated from Durban. The Bluff was then dense bushland, and sparsely inhabited by the remnants of the Zulu Amatuli tribe.⁽²⁾

Many of these freed slaves, like the Indian labourer, took to market gardening, growing vegetables, sweet potatoes, pineapples and peanuts. This produce was taken across the bay in rowing boats to the Esplanade, and from there to the local market which faced the Durban Central Railway Station. The men were reputed to be excellent sailors and many were employed by the Port Captain of Durban to row the boats which were sent to meet the ships entering Durban harbour. Some of the men sought employment as domestic servants, while others did the washing and ironing of clothes

(1) The information on the early activities of the freed slaves was often repeated by many of the older descendants of the Muslim freed slaves. The late THALIB TINAMBO was very helpful to me in this respect.

(2) BRYANT, A.T. 1949 : 504-6.

for European families. On Fridays, the Muslim freed slaves would row across the bay to attend the congregational prayer at the Indian controlled Juma Masjid Mosque (in Grey Street, Durban) wearing their loose flowing white shirts which reached down to their ankles.

2. Settlement of freed slaves at the Catholic mission in the Bluff area of Durban.

No details are available from the records of the Protector of Indian Immigrants about the religion of the freed slaves, but to judge from their names in the Protector's register, it is probable that some of them were at least nominal Christians and Muslims, while others could have been pagans. At any rate, it was the intervention of two religious bodies, the one Catholic and the other Muslim, that encouraged the establishment and settlement of the freed slaves in two distinguishable communities on the Bluff.

In Natal, the Catholics had started their first Zulu mission in 1855, but were forced to abandon their missionary activities as they made no impact with the Zulu chiefs. By 1867, Bishop Allard felt that the only way to convert the Zulus to Catholicism was to introduce foreign Catholic Africans into Natal who would intermarry with the Zulus and through this type of interaction, Zulus would then be brought into the fold of the Catholic Church.⁽³⁾ Quite by chance, in 1872, a remarkable Portuguese African is thought to have arrived from Inhambane in Portugues East Africa, in Durban by foot, carrying the Bible. This man was Saturmino do Valle, who today is considered as the 'pioneer lay apostle,⁽⁴⁾ of Zulu

(3) ST. GEORGE, H. 1966 : 3 & 8. See also WELSH, D. 1971 : 44-50 for more general details of the difficulties that the early missionaries faced in converting Africans in Natal.

(4) ST. GEORGE, H. 1966 : 3.

Catholicism. Saturnino settled in the Fynnland area in the Bluff locality, and it was there, St. George claims, a number of freed slaves had settled after completing their labour contracts.⁽⁵⁾ Saturnino attracted around him a number of 'foreign' Africans, including some freed slaves and soon began to bring to the Catholic priests Africans whom he had instructed in the Catholic faith and who were considered to be ready to be baptised. Saturnino's 'catalytic' role among the Catholic freed slaves and 'foreign' Africans emphasizes yet again the formative role a stranger or outsider⁽⁶⁾ can play in welding together people to live as a community, around a spiritually inspiring personality. A similar sort of role was also played by strangers in the emerging Muslim community as will be seen below.⁽⁷⁾

Excited at the prospect of starting a mission in the Bluff area and, with the assistance of Saturnino of converting the local Zulus to Catholicism, the Catholic mission purchased a hundred acre farm in the Bluff area on the 5th April 1880, and established the St. Xavier mission there. A church was built and building plots were provided for families who wished to reside on the mission lands. The baptism register of the St. Xavier church recorded that some freed slaves were baptised together with some local Africans.⁽⁸⁾ Initially, the mission was used as an experiment by the Catholic missionaries to spread their faith. Presumably

(5) ST. GEORGE, H. 1966 : 10 & 9.

(6) e.g. GLUCKMAN, M. (1965 : 101-2) summarises some of the discussions of the role of a 'stranger' or 'outsider' in community life.

(7) See p. 32-33.

(8) ST. GEORGE, H. 1966 : 13. The Register has been destroyed. This was confirmed in an interview with Father St. George during April 1971.

the experiment was regarded as successful, because in 1884 the Catholics established a second mission at Oakford in the district of Inanda, thirty miles from Durban and transported a group of the Bluff congregation to Oakford, in order to attract Zulu converts and start a Catholic village there.⁽⁹⁾ Hence from the inception of the St. Xavier mission on the Bluff, the freed slaves who had become Catholics, were encouraged to marry and assimilate with the local African populace and in this manner introduce more local Africans to the Catholic faith, so that in time to come the Catholic freed slaves did not retain their distinctive identity, language or customary practices.

3. Promotion of a Muslim settlement of freed slaves on the Bluff by the Juma Musjid Trust.

It has been shown that, although a tiny community of Catholic freed slaves did emerge after they had served their period of indenture, the Catholic missionaries made use of these people to convert local Africans and this meant that this community was less likely to survive as a distinct entity. In contrast, it will be seen that the freed slaves who were Muslims were encouraged by the Indian Trustees of the Juma Musjid Mosque to retain both their religion and their community identity.

As mentioned in the first chapter, a fair proportion of the freed slaves probably belonged to the Makua tribe from the Northern parts of Mozambique.⁽¹⁰⁾ It is quite probable that some of these people were

(9) ST. GEORGE, H. 1966 : 16-17. Major Stead, a former Protector of Indian Immigrants who joined the Department in 1919 and continued to be employed by the Indian Affairs Department until late 1970, informed the writer that some freed slaves were also settled in the Red Hill area of Durban by the Catholic missionaries.

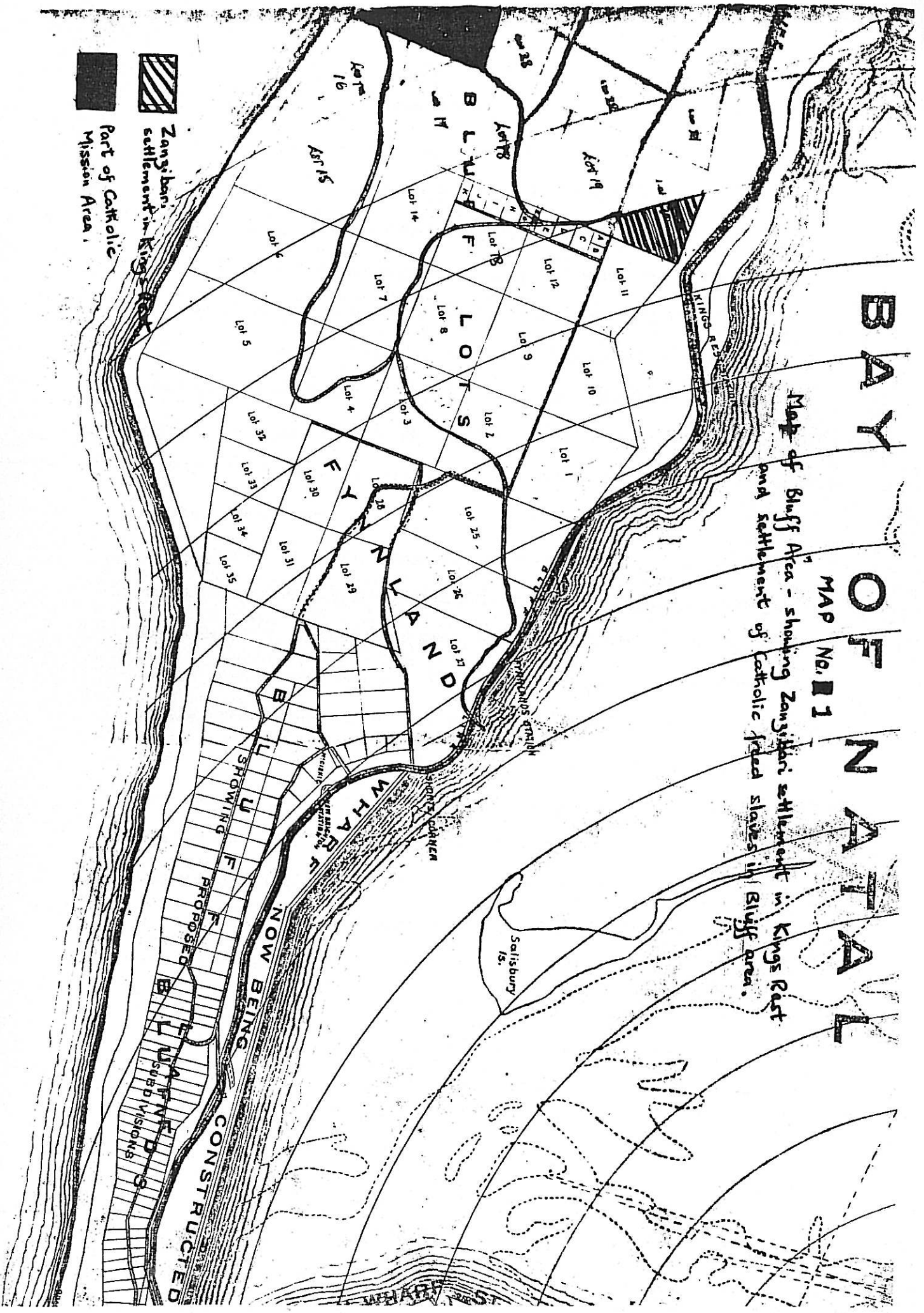
(10) See Chapter 1, pages 9-12.

BAY OF NATAL

MAP No. 11

Map of Bluff Area - showing Zangibari settlement in Kings Rest and settlement of Catholic freed slaves in Bluff area.

Zangibari settlement in Kings Rest
Part of Catholic Mission Area.



Muslims, or at least nominal Muslims for the coastal Makuas who occupied the Portuguese territory between Lujenda and the ocean had certain areas which were strongholds of the Muslim religion.⁽¹¹⁾ These Muslim freed slaves came to be popularly known as the 'Zanzibaris' in Natal and some Indians began calling them 'Siddhis', for the Swahili speaking Africans with their centuries old maritime links with India, were called 'Siddhis' by the Indians in India. This designation of the Muslim freed slaves as 'Zanzibaris' and 'Siddhis' conferred on them a collective historical identity to which they were not really entitled, but which contributed to the growth of a sense of 'community feeling' among them.

The next or fourth stage in the development of this Zanzibari community was when seven Indian Muslim merchants decided that land in Kings Rest⁽¹²⁾ in the Bluff area, should be purchased for the settlement of the Muslim freed slaves. For the regular weekly attendance by the Muslim freed slaves at the Friday congregational prayers in the Grey Street mosque and the general religious zeal of these people, made a deep impression on a number of Indian Muslims who felt that the Muslim freed slaves should be assisted and helped to maintain their community identity and religion.

A crucial turning point in the history of the Zanzibaris therefore came in 1899, when a forty-three acre site in Kings Rest was purchased

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- (11) TRIMINGHAM, J.S. 1964 : 46. The Makuas who lived in Tanzania in the Masasi district have not adopted Islam to any great degree.
- (12) Many of the areas on the Bluff are named after important people who lived in the area. Thus Kings Rest is named after Lieut. King (Kings Rest Woman's Institute 1969 : 4).

from Reuben Benningfield, (13) an estate agent, in the name of seven Indian merchants (14) as Trustees of a 'Mohammedan Trust'. Some Muslim Zanzibari families who had until then been living in the Catholic mission lands also moved to live on the Muslim Trust lands.

In 1916, the Juma Musjid Trust, a charitable and religious trust, was created and this Trust took over the control of the property purchased in Kings Rest in 1899. The Juma Musjid Trust today owns, among other assets, the valuable property of the mosque and a number of shops in the heart of the commercial area of Grey Street, Durban. The Trust Deed incorporated as one of its objects, the following clause:

To own and continue the control and administration of the mosque at Kings Rest, Bluff, Durban for the benefit of the followers of the Sunni Muslim religious faith, either in its present situation or at such other place as hereafter may be decided. (15)

The subsequent Trustees of the Juma Musjid interpreted this clause to mean that the mission station at Kings Rest was intended mainly to provide settlement for the freed slaves and their descendants. (16)

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- (13) Benningfield appears to have had a prior contact with the Zanzibaris. For in 1890, Benningfield brought out 150 Portuguese Africans by ship from Inhambane, to work on a contract basis in Durban. It is possible that some of these people joined the Muslim settlement on the Bluff for some Zulus refer to the Zanzibaris as Amayambana (i.e. 'those from Inhambane or Mozambique').
- (14) HAJEE MOHAMED HAJEE DADA, MOOSA HAJEE CASSIM, ABDOOLA HAJEE ADAM, HAJEE DADA HAJEE HABIB, OMAR HAJEE AMOD JHAVERI, JCOSUB JAN MOHAMED, TAYOB HAJEE KHAN MAHOMED - under Deed of Transfer No. 337/1899, dated 22nd March, 1899.
- (15) This clause was reiterated in the amended Trust Deed of the Juma Musjid Trust dated 7th December, 1957. See Map 1.
- (16) CALPIN, G.H. 1958. Mr. Calpin compiled a Memorandum for the Juma Musjid Trust which was presented to the Population Register by the Trustees to help solve the problem of the race classification of the Zanzibaris.

This is substantiated from the later records of the Juma Musjid Trust where it appears that there were ninety-six dwellings on the Trust lands in Kings Rest, of which fifteen dwellings belonged to Muslim Indians.⁽¹⁷⁾ These Indians, most of whom were Urdu-speaking, had been given permission by the Trustees to live on the Trust lands, as they were in financial difficulties and had no homes. Almost all of these dwellings were rudely constructed, made of corrugated iron and only two or three houses had pitched roofs.⁽¹⁸⁾

Furthermore, unlike the Catholics, the Juma Musjid Trustees regarded the settlement at Kings Rest not as a centre from which to proselytise among members of other groups, but as a means to provide for the spiritual needs of the Zanzibaris already present.⁽¹⁹⁾ It is true that the Zanzibari settlement in Kings Rest absorbed quite a few Indians, local Zulus and 'foreign' Africans from Portuguese East Africa and Malawi. If any of these people married a Zanzibari, then if they were not already Muslims, they were usually required to become Muslims and observe the Muslim religious practices. So that the Muslim faith was clearly a major integrating factor that held the Zanzibari community together and helped to absorb outsiders, but it remains a fact that no large scale conversion of local Africans was ever attempted by the Juma Musjid Trust in Kings Rest.

An important role was played by Mustapha Osman, an African Muslim, who came from the Comores Islands to Durban in the late eighteen-eighties.⁽²⁰⁾

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- (17) List compiled by the Juma Musjid Trustees in 1959, which I was given by Mrs. Marsden, of Russell & Marriott, an estate agency, who handle all the administrative affairs of the Trust.
- (18) See below, Chapter III for comparison of the way of life in Kings Rest with that of Chatsworth.
- (19) CALPIN, G.H. 1958.
- (20) No exact dates are available and the dates given must be regarded as approximate.

The Trustees of the Juma Masjid asked Mustapha Osman to live among the Zanzibaris and act as their spiritual guide, giving particular heed to teaching the Zanzibari children to read the Quran in Arabic. In time to come Mustapha Osman married among the Zanzibaris⁽²¹⁾ and became recognised as the Imam or Khalifa (religious head) of the Zanzibaris and reports of his success as a faith healer also spread. His role can be seen as parallel, in some respects, to that of Saturnino do Valle among the Catholic Zanzibaris.

Besides taking a lively interest in the religious activities of the Zanzibaris, the Juma Masjid Trust rendered material assistance to them. Thus the Trustees had levied a rent of one shilling per year on each dwelling, but this rent was only paid and collected occasionally.⁽²²⁾ Almost the entire burden of paying the rates and taxes on the land therefore fell on the Trust. In addition to this, the Trust paid for the maintenance of the mosque, madressah and graveyard in Kings Rest. In 1961 the Trustees estimated that they had spent close on R40 000 as expenses on the Kings Rest mission since its establishment.⁽²³⁾

It can therefore readily be seen that the Juma Masjid Trustees played a major part in helping to preserve the identity of the Zanzibari community by providing material and moral assistance for its support, without which it probably would not have survived. Further, the mosque maintained by the Trust in Kings Rest played an important part in the life

(21) Mustapha Osman had three wives and eighteen children.

(22) The Catholic mission on the Bluff levied R2,00 per annum rent on the tenants on its land, but this money was also not paid regularly. (Personal communication from Father Noel Coughlan, Parish Priest of the St. Xavier mission from 1940 until the late 1950s).

(23) RUSSELL & MARRIOTT. 1961 : Memorandum presented to the Population Registrar.

of the Zanzibari community. The Zanzibari homes were built not far from the mosque and five times a day they heard the resounding call to prayer. This undoubtedly influenced the lives of the small Muslim community (jamat),⁽²⁴⁾ many of whom became intimately bound with the mosque and the activities associated with it.

So for a time, and as a result of the intervention and support of outside influences, two groups, one Muslim and the other Christian, separated by a few acres, lived their quiet existence almost unnoticed by the outside world in the Bluff area. The Zanzibaris, and particularly the Muslims because of their secluded existence, distinctive dress, religion and language, came to be referred to as the 'lost tribe' of Durban. They also came to be surrounded by a mysterious aura as stories of their powers, in healing, divination and magical practices spread.

4. Imposition of the poll tax on the Zanzibaris.

The sheltered and unobtrusive way of life of the Zanzibaris in Kings Rest was eventually disrupted a few decades later. This disruption came from the White authorities who had, perhaps unwittingly, but through their own administrative actions, helped to create a separate identity for the Zanzibaris. Yet it was they who, through their new administrative policies, began to threaten this identity. This threat lay in the Native Taxation and Development Act of 1925 which required every male African between the age of eighteen and sixty-five to pay R2,00 per annum as poll tax. A man called Joel Paul Mole, whose mother was a freed slave woman and who was a member of the Catholic mission community on the Bluff,

(24) An Arabic word for 'community'.

assisted the administration in collecting taxes from the Africans resident there.⁽²⁵⁾ Ali Madadi, one of the oldest living Zanzibaris, used to accompany Chief Mole when the latter collected this poll tax from the Zanzibaris in the Kings Rest area.⁽²⁶⁾

It would appear then, that some of the Zanzibaris did pay the poll tax, but a number of them tried to evade paying it by claiming that they were of Arab extraction from the Island of Zanzibar and accordingly were not subject to legislation which applied to the local Africans. In order to substantiate their claim, these people obtained signed ohits from the Protector of Indian Immigrants proclaiming that the holders were either 'liberated slaves' or 'descendants of liberated slaves'. In this manner a number of them did temporarily evade paying the poll tax.⁽²⁷⁾ However, the authorities found this situation unsatisfactory particularly as a number of local and 'foreign' Africans

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- (25) Mr. Mole was later officially appointed Chief of the Bluff area of the ABASE KUWENI tribe on the 1st January 1949 in terms of Section 2, 12 and 20 of the Native Administration Act No. 38 of 1927. Chief Mole was paid a basic salary of R80,00 per annum plus a bonus of R40,00 per annum. Chief Mole died on the 10th March 1965 and the Chieftanship was not continued, as his tribe were scattered in areas of Durban and Umlazi. (Information from Mr. E.W. Hastie of the Bantu Administration Department, Durban, 28th September, 1972).
- (26) Information obtained from the late Ali Madadi in an interview with the writer during August 1971. Chief Mole in the case of REX v FAKIRI 1938 N.P.D. : 454 stated that his tribe consisted of Zulus, Basutos and Natives of Zanzibar and Nyasaland.
- (27) This information was confirmed by Major Stead, a former Protector of Indian Immigrants, who stated that he had issued a number of these letters of identification to Zanzibaris who were harrassed by tax collectors or the police looking for tax dodgers. Major Stead gave evidence on the early histroy of the freed slaves in Natal, in the case of REX v FAKIRI 1938 N.P.D.

were allegedly found to be posing as Zanzibaris and had sought refuge in the Muslim mission area and in this way also escaped paying their taxes.

Matters finally reached a head when, in 1938, Fakiri, a Zanzibari from Kings Rest, whose paternal grand-parents came from Zanzibar as freed slaves, was convicted by an Additional Native Commissioner in Durban for failing to pay his taxes. Fakiri appealed against this decision and stated he was not a Native within the definition of the legislation. In terms of this legislation, ⁽²⁸⁾ a 'Native means any member of an aboriginal race or tribe of Africa', and Fakiri, the accused, contended that the term 'Africa' in the statute was not intended to include an island such as Zanzibar. The higher court, the Natal Provincial Division, found that Fakiri had not proved to the satisfaction of the court that he was of non-African origin, and that some of the inhabitants of the Island of Zanzibar consisted of aboriginals from the mainland, and accordingly Fakiri lost his appeal. This court emphasised its decision in the following words:

The contention that the accused is not a member of an aboriginal tribe or race of Africa lies ill in the mouth of a person whose appearance would enable him to pass anywhere as an African Native, who is living with a Zulu woman, who works among Natives and who has for ten years, paid without demur the tax which he now belatedly objects to paying. ⁽²⁹⁾

Some of the Zanzibaris felt that the decision of this case was of great importance for their legal status in this country and therefore decided to challenge the decision by appealing to the Appellate Division in Bloemfontein, which is the highest court of appeal. In order to meet

(28) Section 19 of Act 41 of 1925 as amended by Act 37 of 1931.
(29) REX vs FAKIRI 1938 N.P.D. at p. 461-2.

the costs of this legal action, money was collected from sympathetic Indian Muslims⁽³⁰⁾ and a Christian Indian attorney, Bernard Gabriel, handled Fakiri's case.

Fakiri's main contention before the Court was that he was of mixed origin. His great-grandfather, he claimed, was an Arab. Fakiri spoke Swahili and was Muslim by religion and therefore he felt that he was not 'a Native of Africa'. His legal advisers further contended that his forebears came from Zanzibar, an island twenty-two and a half miles from the mainland of Africa, which lay outside the territorial waters of Africa. The Crown, however, contended that for centuries Zanzibar had been closely connected with the mainland of Africa and that there were many Natives of Africa in Zanzibar. Further, the Crown contended that the accused, Fakiri, 'resembled an African Native and worked among Natives' and therefore should be regarded as an African. The judges of the Appeal Court agreed with the Crown and gave their decision against Fakiri. They stated that, as Fakiri resembled an African Native in appearance, he had not conclusively proved to the satisfaction of the court that he was not a member of an aboriginal race of Africa.⁽³¹⁾

The outcome of this case meant that, at this stage, the descendants of the liberated slaves were apparently now in the same legal position as local Africans. The decision also meant an end of the close association that the Zanzibaris had with the Protector of Indian Immigrants offices, as they now fell under the administration of the Department of Native Affairs. Consequently the decision of the Appellate Division was extremely unpopular with the Zanzibaris who were now required to carry Reference

(30) The late TALIB TINAMBO showed the writer the records of the collection drive that was started to meet the legal costs of the Appellate Division case. Almost all the money was contributed by Indian Muslims.

(31) REX v FAKIRI 1938 A.D. 237.

Books, and some of them still refused to pay taxes and avoided carrying Reference Books. This led to occasional police raids on Zanzibari homes, so as to ferret out evaders of the Poll Tax. The Zanzibaris tended to seclude themselves further in order to avoid being detected and questioned by the authorities for tax receipts and Reference Books. This further seclusion of the Zanzibari slaves added to the mystery already surrounding the 'lost tribe' of Kings Rest.

This episode, involving as it did, confrontation with the White authorities tended to reinforce the Zanzibaris separate identity, since the threatening actions of the administration mobilised the Zanzibaris to the point where some of them rallied to defend their identity by appealing to the highest court in South Africa, against what they considered to be an invasion of their community's interest and rights. Obviously, the final unfavourable decision of the Appeal Court represented a major threat to the identity of the Zanzibari community, but some ten years later, with the advent to power in 1948 of the Nationalist Party, the Zanzibaris were posed with more serious threats in respect of their identity and residence which yet, paradoxically, resulted in the reinforcement of their identity.

5. The effects of the Group Areas Act ⁽³²⁾ in the Bluff and Kings Rest Areas.

The policies of the Nationalist Party in South Africa have been to segregate and separate residentially the peoples of the country on the basis of race and 'ethnic group'. The effects of this policy were ultimately to uproot the tiny Zanzibari community and the larger African

(32) (Act No. 77 of 1957 as amended.)

settlement on the Catholic mission lands in the Bluff area. (33)

(a) Resettlement of the Africans from the Catholic Mission lands in the Bluff area.

As I have shown above, the descendants of the freed slaves on the Catholic mission land in the Bluff area had, over the years, tended to become integrated with the local Africans and they did pay the poll taxes and carry Reference Books with no apparent opposition. The retention of such distinctive surnames as Mole, Merro and Ferro was in many instances the only indication that a person was a foreign African and that his ancestors may have been freed slaves.

By the late nineteen-fifties there were close on two thousand Africans residing on the Catholic mission lands, a large number of whom were employed at the Whaling Station and Petroleum companies in the Bluff area. It would appear that a few ne'er-do-wells joined the people living there and took to brewing illicit liquor. Saturday nights were often noisy, assaults were common and there were frequent police raids in the area. (34)

By 1960 all the Africans on the Catholic mission lands were moved out and those who qualified for Council houses were rehoused in the African townships of Umlazi and Lamontville. It is interesting to note that a contemporary Johannesburg newspaper, in a report on the resettlement of the descendants of the freed slaves from the Catholic mission lands,

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- (33) Indian families who owned freehold land near the Kings Rest area were also forced to sell their land to Whites and had to move out of the area.
- (34) Information from Father Noel Coughlan who informed the writer that in the late nineteen-fifties there were three murders on the St. Xavier mission lands.

referred to them as 'having gone Native'.⁽³⁵⁾ This remark suggests that some White South Africans still had some standard of their own for differentiating descendants of the freed slaves from the local Africans. So that, for these Whites, the descendants of the freed slaves who had become largely integrated with local Africans were apparently looked down on as almost being renegades. The irony of the whole situation is that in many instances the freed slaves and their descendants had been African in appearance and difficult to distinguish from the local Africans. Moreover, if the Catholic freed slaves and their descendants had 'gone Native' it was the White missionaries who had encouraged them to change their identity, and in addition, the Nationalist government policies, by transferring them to purely African areas, ensured that they would completely lose their identity.

(b) Effects of the Group Areas Act on the Juma Musjid Trust lands in Kings Rest.

The same fate did not, however, befall the Muslim Zanzibaris. Since the Kings Rest area fell within a proposed Group Area for White development, the Trustees were eventually forced to sell the Trust lands and in 1956 the Trust granted an option to the Durban Corporation to purchase 26.5 acres for the sum of R31 200.⁽³⁶⁾ The Durban Corporation was granted permission to buy this land from the Juma Musjid Trust by the Administrator-in-Executive only on condition that the Durban Corporation did not dispossess the tenants, before other accommodation was provided

(35) Sunday Express, 4th October, 1959.

(36) Old age homes for Whites known as 'Peace Haven' were later built by the City Council on a portion of the land.

for them. The Juma Musjid Trustees felt that they had secured the interests of the Zanzibaris with this condition inserted by the Administration and they finally agreed to sell close on another sixteen acres to the Provincial Administration for R24 000 for the purpose of building White schools. A small remaining portion of the land was retained by the Trust, after successful negotiations between it and the Group Areas Board, in order to preserve the mosque and the Muslim graveyard. (37)

But it was during this same period that the Juma Musjid Trust bought 130 acres of land in the Zeekoe Vallei area, situated in Umhlatuzana, a proposed Indian area, outside the borough of Durban. The Trustees decided that a portion of this land, approximately forty acres in extent, be set aside for the re-housing and settlement of the Zanzibaris, because the Durban City Council had as yet made no definite plans for the resettlement of the Zanzibaris, and also because the Trustees realised that the Zanzibaris could not afford to provide alternative accommodation for themselves. Another and, perhaps, the main reason why the Trustees bought the land in Zeekoe Vallei was that they were anxious for the Zanzibaris to be resettled as a community and not be dispersed as individual families in different areas. A permit was in fact sought by the Trustees from the Group Areas Board to allow the Zanzibaris to settle in this proposed Indian area. But this application was refused by the Group Areas Board, as the Population Registrar was at that time considering the whole question of the race group classification of the Zanzibaris. Therefore to understand the next crucial stage in the development of the

(37) This land is held by the Juma Musjid Trust under Certificate of Registered title No. 8359/1958, dated 11th October, 1958.

present Zanzibari community, it is necessary to consider some of the complex issues of race classification in South Africa.

6. Race group classification in South Africa.

In terms of the South African system of race classification, which is one of the bases on which the whole apartheid machinery rests, it was by no means obvious how to classify the Muslim Zanzibari community in order to determine their status in the South Africa race hierarchy. For the three major groups in South Africa are based on race and these are legally defined as 'Bantu, Coloured and White'.⁽³⁸⁾ It is to be noted that this classification does not specify Indians, let alone Zanzibaris, as a separate group at this level. The Coloured person in South Africa is legally defined in negative terms, as a 'person who is not a White person nor a Bantu'. Since 1950 the Coloured population so defined, have been sub-divided into a further seven categories or groups. These sub-categories are the Cape Coloured group, Malay group, Griqua group, Chinese group, Indian group, other Asiatic group and Other Coloured group.⁽³⁹⁾ These sub-groups of the general Coloured Group, it has been suggested by the authorities, have been classified on the basis of the cultural distinctiveness of each group. Specific legislation, affecting matters such as residential rights, may be passed concerning the various Coloured sub-groups.

However, in this thesis, unless otherwise stated, the term 'Coloured'

(38) Population Registration Act No. 30 of 1950.

(39) CARSTENS, W.P. 1966 Appendix, also Government Gazette, 6th March, 1959, Proclamation 1753 - 26th May, 1967. For further discussion on the problems raised by race classification in South Africa, see SUZMAN, A. 1960.

will be used outside the legal sphere, to refer to persons of mixed racial origin, and more particularly to people of 'Euro-African descent'. It is also worthwhile noting a confusion in respect of the legal identity of certain persons of mixed racial origins in Natal. These people were always designated as 'Coloureds' in both their birth and identity documents and it is only since the 1970's that their children are being issued with 'Other Coloured' identity cards. (40)

7. Race group classification of the Zanzibaris.

It will be remembered that in 1933, after the decision of the Appellate Division, the Zanzibaris had come under the administration of the Department of Native Affairs and were legally in the same position as local Africans. Zanzibari men were supposed to pay taxes and carry Reference Books, but many of them refused to do so and still continued to carry letters of identification, which proclaimed their former slave ancestry. Consequently, there was still considerable confusion about the status of the Zanzibaris who were often still referred to as the 'lost tribe of Durban'. The Zanzibaris resented being called this and a number of informants have told me that they were fully aware of their identity and it was the authorities who had confused the issue. Thus the late Talib Tinambo, some years ago, conveyed these feelings in Drum magazine:

It hurts us each time we are referred to as the 'lost tribe'. We were never a lost tribe. I admit that we were uncertain of our future for many years, but we knew where we had come from and knew our ancestry as well as other races in this country. (41)

(40) So that in Natal in some families of mixed racial origins, the parents may have Coloured identity cards, but their children are being issued with 'Other Coloured' identity cards. See Sunday Tribune 3rd January, 1971 and Daily News 4th February, 1971.

(41) Drum, February, 1969.

Mr. Harry Lewis, a United Party member of Parliament for Umlazi in whose constituency the Zanzibaris lived, had been approached by the Trustees of the Juma Musjid Trust during the late nineteen-fifties to clarify with the government the issues in respect of the race classification of the Zanzibaris. He therefore took this matter up with the appropriate government officials. The Trustees also retained Mr. G.H. Calpin, author and a former editor of The Natal Witness, to attend to the correspondence and negotiate on behalf of the Trust with the Population Registrar, on the question of the race classification of the Zanzibaris.

Officials from the Office of the Population Registrar visited the Kings Rest area in 1958, but encountered an attitude of non-co-operation from the Zanzibaris. Women refused to emerge from their homes and most of the men disappeared into the bushes when they saw cars bearing government registrations approaching their homes. To the Zanzibaris, these visits from the White officials meant an inspection of their documents of identification and of their tax receipts and rather than subject themselves to such humiliation, they evaded these officials. In the meanwhile the Population Registrar had indicated to the Trustees of the Juma Musjid that as the Zanzibaris were not of pure African stock, but were of mixed racial origin, they would possibly be classified as Coloureds. (42)

Moreover certain officials of the Municipal Department of Bantu Administration had already expressed grave misgivings and doubts about the correctness of the original decision to place the Zanzibaris under their administration. Thus Mr. Bourquin, Manager of the Municipal Bantu

(42) Confirmed in an interview with Mr. Calpin during April, 1971 and by Zanzibari informants.

Administration Department in Durban is reported to have stated, 'I am absolutely convinced these people are not Natives'. Mr. Bourquin also said that the Zanzibaris could not be successfully absorbed into any African Housing Scheme and that he had no machinery to deal with the question of re-housing these people as they were Muslims of mixed origin. (43)

In order to gauge the reaction of the Zanzibaris to the proposed change of their race classification to Coloureds, the Trustees held a meeting on the 16th November 1958, at Kings Rest. At this meeting the Zanzibaris present unanimously agreed that they should be classified as Coloured. Those carrying Reference Books agreed to surrender them and to waive their rights to any rebate of taxes they had paid. The Zanzibaris also agreed to co-operate with the Trustees in the taking of a census of the community which was to be forwarded to the Population Registrar.

On the 14th May 1959, Mr. Calpin forwarded a list of 153 families living in Kings Rest, who were to be re-classified. The heads of the households of twenty of these families were not descendants of the freed slaves. But it was claimed that these men had, over the years, absorbed and adopted the Zanzibaris' ways and customs. A plea was therefore made by the Trustees on behalf of these twenty families, that they be given the same racial classification as the other Zanzibaris and that the community should not be split and scattered by the country's racial legislation.

To the Zanzibaris, Coloured Identity Cards would have meant an elevation of their legal status and an upgrading in the South African race caste structure. For someone previously classified as African, a re-classification into the Coloured Group would bring a relief from the numerous restrictive and repressive laws that applied to Africans. It

(43) Daily News, 13th December, 1956.

would mean an end to the harrassment of the influx control laws, pass laws and registration of service contracts that apply to Africans in South Africa. It would also mean better wages and increased rights to residential and freehold land rights.⁽⁴⁴⁾ It therefore appears that these Zanzibaris were prepared to get the best racial identity that they could.

However, reaction from local Coloured leaders to the proposed re-classification of the Zanzibaris as Coloureds was hostile. There were a variety of reasons for their objections to this proposal. Thus Mr. F. Ekstein, a Secretary of Ward IV of the Coloured Ratepayers Association, raised objections on the grounds of both race and religion to the Zanzibaris being classified as Coloureds. He is reported to have stated that 'we (the Coloureds) are more or less of European descent and these people have never been associated with us'. He went on to state that the Zanzibaris were Muslims, while Coloureds were Christians and therefore the Zanzibaris should not be classified as Coloureds.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The re-classification of the Zanzibaris was seen by other Coloureds as an economic threat to the Coloured community in Durban. For there was a fear in that community that, since the Zanzibaris had for many years been working as Africans, they would accept lower wages than Coloureds and in this manner oust existing Coloureds from their jobs. Yet others felt that the existing facilities for Coloureds, such as housing and school accommodation, were already limited and, if the Zanzibaris were classified as Coloureds, these would be further strained.⁽⁴⁶⁾ The Sydenham Coloured Ratepayers' Association, at one of its meetings, saw the re-classification of the Zanzibaris as an expedient political move to enable the Whites to take over the land of the Zanzibaris on the Bluff.⁽⁴⁷⁾ This meeting resolved

(44) HORRELL, M. 1958 : 4

(45) The Daily News, 7th January, 1958.

(46) Golden City Post, 25th January, 1959.

(47) The Daily News, 16th January, 1959.

that it would petition the Minister of the Interior to reconsider the proposal to classify the Zanzibaris as members of the Coloured Group, since they had little to identify themselves with the Coloureds.

The Zanzibaris, during this period therefore, went through a serious crisis of identity and insecurity, as they appeared to be buffeted around by the White authorities and were rejected by a section of the Coloured community. Their insecurity was heightened as they realised that they would lose their homes. One informant, commenting about this period stated, 'We were treated worse than dogs. Even dogs had their papers (licences) but we were told no one wanted us'.

At this critical period in the lives of the Zanzibari community the Trustees of the Juma Masjid Trust stood by them, and it was largely through the interest and perseverance of the Juma Masjid Trust during this period, that the question of the race classification of the Zanzibaris was finalised and clarified. Commenting on the efforts of the Trustees to help resolve the problem of their race classification, Zanzibari informants have stated that the Juma Masjid Trust 'did not let us down' and 'played the game with us at the time when we needed their help'.

Concerted Coloured opposition to the Zanzibaris being classified as Coloured produced an unexpected announcement from the Minister of the Interior, that the Zanzibaris were still to be classified as falling legally within the ambit of the Coloured group, but under a sub-group known as 'Other Asiatic Group'. The official proclamation, issued on the 3rd February, 1961, gave details of this sub-category of the Coloured Group by describing the 'Other Asiatic Group' in the following words:

In other Asiatic group shall be included any person who in fact is, or is generally accepted as a member of the race or class known as Zanzibari Arabs (also known as Zanzibaris or Kiwes) or any person who in fact is or is generally accepted as a member of a race or tribe whose national home is in any country or area in Asia other than China, Indian or Pakistan.(48)

This proclamation brought an end to the uncertainty of the racial classification of the Zanzibaris who were now to be issued with 'Zanzibari' identity cards instead of Reference Books that applied to Africans, and they were now classified as 'Other Asiatics' and formed a sub-group of the Coloured Group in South Africa.

Early in 1961, the Zanzibaris over the age of 16 years congregated in the mosque yard in Kings Rest for their photographs to be taken and their necessary identification forms to be completed, as they were now to be issued with Zanzibari identity cards. The women wore their traditional dress and their photographs were taken with their heads covered with scarves. A number of these people were found to have no record of their birth dates and did not have birth certificates or any sort of identity documents. Important events such as the First and Second World Wars and other such events were therefore used as guidelines to guess the approximate ages of some Zanzibaris. But a great deal of confusion was still evident as to the precise status of the 'Other Asiatic Group' within the Coloured 'caste' group in South Africa. Matters such as the place of residence of the Zanzibaris had still to be clarified. The Juma Musjid Trust lost no time in settling the matter with the authorities and it soon emerged that the new race classification of the Zanzibaris meant that they could now be legally settled in an Indian area in terms of the Group Areas Act.(49)

(48) Proclamation No. 6620 No. 27 of 1961, Vol. CCIII dated February, 1961.
(49) Act 77 of 1957 as amended.

However, having obtained official certainty about their race designation did not put an end to the problems of the small Muslim Zanzibari community, who were not spared the confusion and bitterness that can be experienced by South Africans of mixed racial origin, because of the arbitrary manner that they are classified in this country. For this led to some Zanzibaris being issued with Coloured, Indian and sometimes African identity documents.

8. The varying race classification of some Zanzibaris.

It has been shown that the official race classification of the Zanzibaris meant that generally their status was elevated in the South African Black hierarchy, for their position was raised from the ranks of the lowest race group, to the intermediate Coloured Group. This official group classification of the Zanzibaris has therefore represented another crucial fourth stage in the creation of a 'community identity' among them.

Yet the arbitrariness of the South African race group classification has not left the solidarity of the small Zanzibari community unscathed. For a few families who were regarded as Zanzibaris, and had lived all their lives in Kings Rest, found it to be to their advantage to opt for classification as 'Coloured' or 'Other Coloureds' and not Zanzibaris. This option was possible where the legal father or grandfather of the family happened to have been a Coloured and the children, on their birth certificates, were designated as Coloureds. These families, in spite of being Muslims and having adopted Zanzibari customs and speaking their language, opted for Coloured identity cards which meant that they had to move to areas reserved for Coloureds, such as Sparks Estate in Durban and Happy Valley in Wentworth.

Besides the few Zanzibari families that were classified as Coloured

Plate 1 and 2 Zanzibari men



or 'Other Coloureds', one large Zanzibari family in Kings Rest was classified as Indian. This again came about because the legal father of the family was Indian and his children and grandchildren took his racial classification. So, in spite of this family being of mixed origin and having been thought of as Zanzibaris by themselves and others, they were, for legal purposes, issued with Indian identity cards.⁽⁵⁰⁾ This Indian group classification did not, however, cause any major disruptions in the lives of this family, as they were settled and continued to live in the same area as the Zanzibaris and have continued, in most cases, to maintain their same close association with the Zanzibaris, despite holding different identity documents.

Added problems have been caused to certain Zanzibari families since 1962, because of the illogical manner in which some children of holders of Zanzibari identity cards have been classified. For, since 1962, the identity documents issued to the children of some Zanzibari families have differed from those of their parents and this provides an interesting and ironical commentary on the vagaries of the South African system of racial classification. Not surprisingly many Zanzibari informants are extremely reluctant to discuss their race identity documents. This is largely because there is a fear among the people that an 'identity witch hunt' may be started against them and their race classification will be queried.⁽⁵¹⁾

When discussing below, the genealogy of one of my informants,

(50) See below, Chapter VI, ZOHRA JAMAL's genealogy.
(51) BROOKES, E. 1968 : 23-5 deals with re-classification of Coloureds. See also Rand Daily Mail, 15th July, 1971. Reports can be lodged against the race classification of a person with the Department of the Interior and if there is sufficient evidence to support the contention of a wrongful classification then the matter can be investigated by the Department of the Interior. The person involved is given an opportunity to make representations on his own behalf.

Plate 3 and 4 Zanzibari women



Zohra Jamal, considerable detail will be given about the variety of identity documents held by members of this family.⁽⁵²⁾ However, to illustrate briefly here the baffling illogicality of race classification in South Africa, it is worthwhile mentioning the race classification problems facing one Zanzibari family presently living in Chatsworth which I came to know well. In this family the husband, who was brought up in Kings Rest, appears on his birth certificate as a 'Mauritian' and holds a 'Coloured' identity card. His wife, who was born in Kings Rest, holds a 'Zanzibari' identity card. Three of the children have 'Zanzibari' identity cards, one an 'Indian' identity card and two 'Other Coloured' identity cards. Two daughters in this family stated that they applied at the same time for their identity cards and received them by post from Pretoria, the one receiving an 'Indian' and the other an 'Other Coloured' identity card. The mother of this Zanzibari family was baffled and bewildered at the different identity documents issued to her children and was heard to say with apparent distress: 'Allah knows all my children are from the same father, but the government thinks it knows better'.

Not only is confusion created by incorrectly classifying people, but it can also cause serious hardship to families, since it can lead to families being split and torn apart, because people who do not hold Zanzibari or Indian identity documents can be evicted from their homes in Chatsworth and their children will not be admitted to the Indian schools in Chatsworth.

9. Summary and Conclusion:

I tried to show in the first chapter that it was a chain of chance happenings in history that led to the freed slaves being brought to Natal and further it was the administrative policies of the early Natal Government

(52) See below, Chapter VI, Zohra Jamal's genealogy.

that led to the liberated slaves being treated as a protected and distinct group of people.

In this chapter I have argued that the effects of two religious organisations on the affairs of the freed slaves had produced markedly different results. The adoption by some of the Catholic faith and the settlement of these freed slaves on the Catholic mission lands in the Bluff area, coupled with the active policy of the Catholic missionaries to use them and often other 'foreign' Catholic Africans to spread the Catholic faith among the Zulus, led ultimately to the descendants of the Catholic freed slaves being almost completely absorbed and indistinguishable amongst the local Africans. For the freed slaves who were Catholics were encouraged to give up their traditional customs and become Westernised. But in fact the freed slaves who became Catholics tended to absorb the Zulu way of life and to adopt their language. (53)

On the other hand, the freed slaves who were Muslims were encouraged by certain Indian Muslims and later by the Juma Musjid Trust, to retain the Islamic faith and the Islamic way of life in the settlement at Kings Rest, which partly accounted for the cultural distinctiveness of these people. (54) Largely because of their Islamic practices, the Muslim freed slaves and their descendants, preserved their separate identity and came to be popularly

(53) Confirmed by Steven Mole, who lives in Lamontville, an African township. Steven Mole's grandfather was Chief Paul Mole. He speaks English and Zulu and does not know any foreign African language, nor does he or his family follow any 'foreign' customary practices. Steven Mole is married to a Zulu woman.

(54) VAN DEN BERGHE found that in Tongaat in Caneville there were eight Zanzibaris who lived in Dube African township there and who had married Zulu women. These Zanzibaris had been largely assimilated into Zulu culture and spoke Zulu. The men, however, remained Muslims and attended mosque. In only one instance were the wife and children converted to Islam - VAN DEN BERGHE, P.L. 1964 : 47.

known as the 'Zanzibaris', (55)

The different official policies of the White government in South Africa from the Nineteen-twenties until the present day have also inadvertently helped to strengthen the sense of community spirit among the descendants of the Muslim freed slaves. For in spite of the Zanzibaris loosing the Appellate Division case in 1938, which required them to pay the poll tax levied on local Africans, the decision of this case tended to draw together and bind closer, the small community settled on the Muslim Trust lands of Kings Rest, who felt that this decision of the courts had assailed their identity as a separate and distinct group of people.

The race classification policies of the Nationalist party also brought about the rallying together of the Muslim descendants of the freed slaves who, with the material and moral assistance of the Juma Musjid Trust, strove to be recognised as a distinct and it is thought, the smallest minority group in South Africa. It must be remembered that granting legal recognition to the Zanzibari community is in keeping with the Nationalist policy of apartheid, which stresses that the ethnic identity of the various peoples in South Africa should be maintained.

All these episodes can be seen, in retrospect as an unintended sequence of stages towards the emergence of a distinct Zanzibari community. Yet another stage followed from the official legal classification of the Muslim descendants of the freed slaves as Zanzibaris which meant that in spite of many of them being African in appearance, they could now be settled in areas

(55) Oriental slaves who were Muslims were brought to the Cape from Bengal and Indonesia. Whisson notes that among these slaves 'their shared faith in Islam gave them an identity which transcended slavery, linked them to a powerful inter-national religious tradition and encouraged endogamy within the faith'. WHISSON, M.G. 1972 : 5.

otherwise reserved for Indian occupation. As the lands in Kings Rest were required for White development, urgent steps were taken by the Durban City Council to resettle and find new homes for the Zanzibari community. In the next chapter it will be shown how, largely because of the race classification and because the Zanzibaris appeared to have lived amicably with Indian families in Kings Rest, the Durban Corporation finally decided to settle the Zanzibaris among Indians in Chatsworth.

CHAPTER III

SETTLEMENT OF THE ZANZIBARIS IN THE CHATSWORTH INDIAN HOUSING
SCHEME.

1. Decision to resettle the Zanzibaris in Chatsworth

The Trustees of the Juma Musjid Trust were particularly concerned with the fact that the identity of the Zanzibari community could easily be threatened and in time even completely disintegrate, if they were to be scattered and settled individually in different areas. They thus aimed at trying to see that the Zanzibaris were resettled as a community in one area.

The Trustees' concern was heightened when they found that the land they had purchased in Umhlatuzana (Zeekoe Vallei), along the South Coast of Durban, for the resettlement of the Zanzibaris was required by the City Engineer's Department for sewage disposal purposes. This made the land in Umhlatuzana unsuitable for the settlement of the Zanzibaris for reasons of public health. The Juma Musjid Trustees therefore now turned to the Durban City Council and looked to them to resettle the Zanzibaris, on the grounds that the City Council was required to assist the Zanzibaris who should be treated in the same manner as displaced Indians and who, because of their low incomes, were unable to find alternative accommodation for themselves.

Moreover, the Juma Musjid Trust lands in Kings Rest were soon required by the City Council and the Provincial Administration for

development purposes and it became a matter of urgency that the Zanzibaris be settled somewhere else. The Durban City Council was, at this time, pre-occupied with housing displaced Indians in Chatsworth which is situated some twelve miles south of the city. The Chatsworth Indian housing scheme is intended, in time, to house some 250 000 people on 4,700 acres of land. This housing scheme is divided into a number of areas or 'units',⁽¹⁾ which, as previously indicated, I shall refer to in this study as 'sections'.

Largely because of the persistent efforts and appeals made by the Juma Musjid Trust, the City Council decided to set aside a block of land in Section 20 of the Chatsworth Scheme in 1961 for the resettlement of the displaced Zanzibaris and Indians from the Kings Rest area. It is of interest to note that the City Council at first suggested that the Juma Musjid Trust should finance the erection of houses for the Zanzibaris, but the Trustees did not agree to this proposition and made it known to the City Council that, in terms of the Trust Deed of the Juma Musjid, they could erect a mosque and madressah, wherever accommodation was provided for the Zanzibaris. But because the vast majority of the people living on the Trust lands were extremely poor, the Trustees had obtained special permission, at the Annual General Meeting of the Congregation of the Juma Musjid Trust, for authority to pay an initial deposit of R50,00 for each housing unit, from the monies received from the sale of the Trust lands in Kings Rest.⁽²⁾ This deposit was required by the Durban City Council from all residents of the 'economic' houses in Chatsworth

(1) Department of Economics, University of Natal 1966 : 30-41.
(2) Juma Musjid Trust Minutes, dated 6th September, 1962.

to cover expenses that might be incurred for necessary repairs to the houses and to act as security for rents in arrears. The Juma Masjid Trust eventually paid the deposits on behalf of the 129 Zanzibari and Indian householders from Kings Rest who were unable to pay this deposit, but had been allocated Council houses in Chatsworth. It was therefore once more largely the Juma Masjid Trust which made possible the continuing existence of the Zanzibari community as a distinct entity within a new setting.

2. Move to Chatsworth

On the 15th December 1962, the first batch of Zanzibari families moved to Chatsworth and in the course of the next few weeks, a little over 600 Zanzibaris were uprooted and settled in a predominantly Indian area. Although the Zanzibaris had no choice or say about their move, they left their homes without creating any disturbances and the move was carried out in an orderly fashion.





The reactions I have recorded from Zanzibari informants to the move have been mixed. A few informants have felt that the Trustees should have bought another site for the resettlement of the Zanzibaris and that the Trustees had broken a binding promise that had been made to their forefathers, by which they had undertaken to look after the Zanzibaris. Others have expressed bewilderment and bitterness that they were moved from the Kings Rest area under pressure and that, some ten years later, most of the land that they vacated still remains vacant and undeveloped.

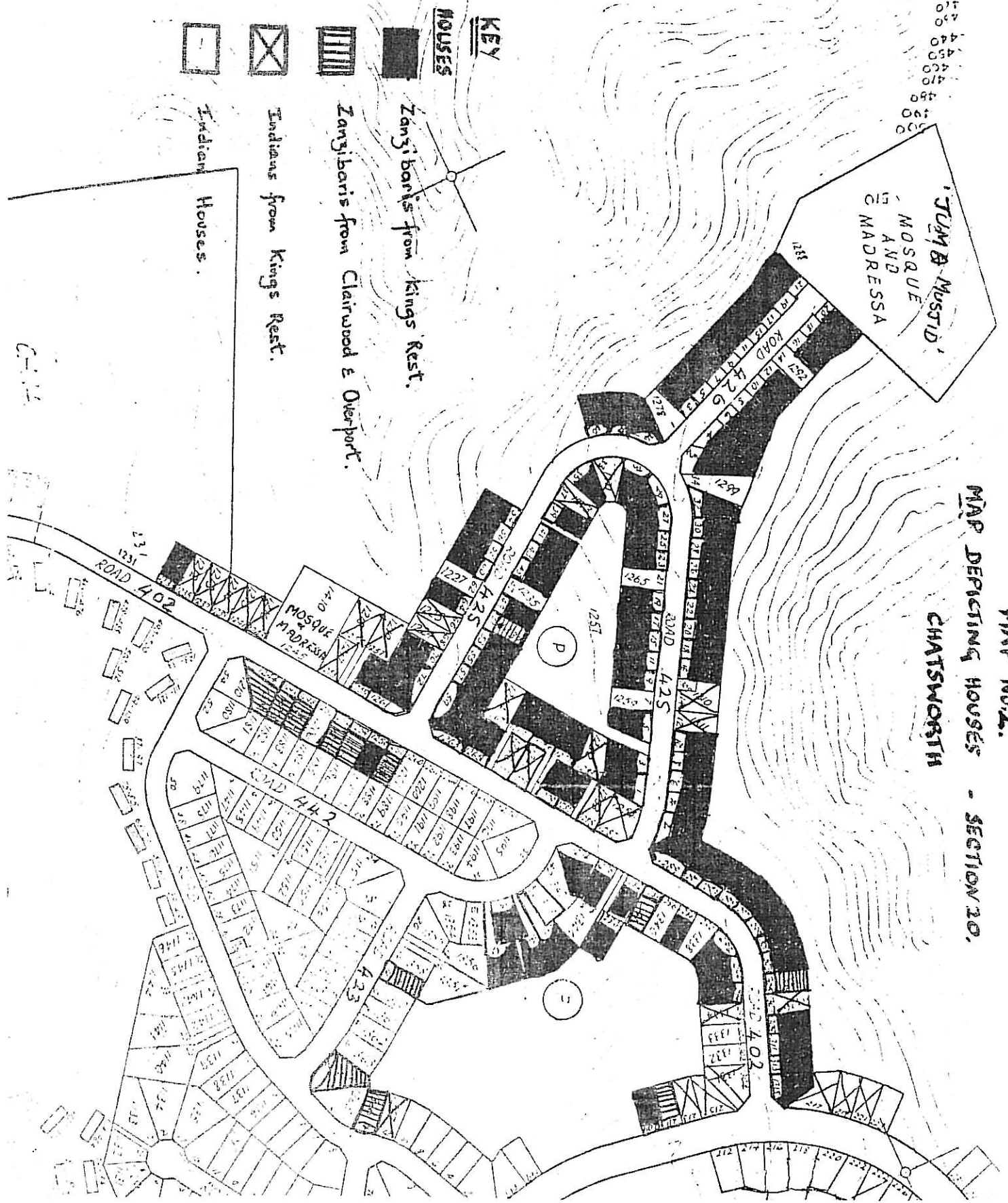
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'JUMBA MUSTID'
MOSQUE
AND
MADRASSA

MAP NO. 2.
MAP DEPICTING HOUSES - SECTION 20,
CHATSWORTH

KEY

-  Zanzibaris from Kings Rest.
-  Zanzibaris from Clairwood & Overport.
-  Indians from Kings Rest.
-  Indian Houses.



We love that land. We were born there. Our fathers, mothers, brothers and sisters died there. Then the Corporation says we must get out. The Corporation sent their big trucks and moved us and our furniture in the trucks and took us to a place where there was just big bushes.

Another informant elaborated on this statement when she stated :

They pushed us out of our houses. When we came to Chatsworth it was a city of darkness. There were no lights, the plaster was wet on the walls and the painters had not finished their jobs.

Still feeling insecure about their position, which was heightened by their hurried move from Kings Rest, another informant stated: 'Allah knows best. Perhaps one day they may say get out of Chatsworth. That is our fate'.

The move to Chatsworth certainly meant an end to the partly self-imposed isolation and secluded life that the Zanzibaris had lived in Kings Rest. It also meant that, for the first time, the Zanzibaris would have to fend more for themselves. For now they had to pay their monthly rent on due date, maintain regular employment in order to meet this rent, and in short, be faced with previously unfamiliar aspects of modern living.

The result of this change for some was apparent when, by 1964, some thirteen Zanzibari families had been forcibly ejected from their homes in Chatsworth by the City Council, because they were in arrears with their rent. Commenting on this situation, the Chairman of the Durban City Council Housing Committee, Mr. J.C. Bolton, stated that the Council had made a mistake by putting Zanzibari families into homes for which they could not pay rent. These cases included a widow with an income of R6,00 per month, who had to pay rent of R9,30 per month.⁽³⁾ Obviously these

(3) Sunday Tribune, 19th April, 1964.

families should have been given sub-economic houses where the rent is much lower, but then they would have been separated from the other Zanzibaris.

Mr. Ali Madadi, whom the newspapers referred to as the 'spiritual head' of the Zanzibari community, also commented on this situation :

Those who have been ejected are widows and unemployed. We would be happy to go back to the Bluff, which has been the home of our ancestors and we believe that the land is sacred to us as we have buried our dead there.(4)

The families that were evicted were later given accommodation by their kinsmen in Chatsworth as tenants in their homes, or they went to live in the Coloured area of Happy Valley near Wentworth. The Juma Musjid Trust did not assist these families, because they felt that they had already departed from the terms of the Trust Deed by paying the deposit on the homes in Chatsworth, and further, they did not want to create a precedent and assist the families that had been evicted, since they anticipated that constant demands for assistance would then be made on them.

The homes that fell vacant were hastily snapped up by Indian families. The City Council gave preference to Indian Muslim families, since it was believed that these families would be able to live harmoniously with the Zanzibaris because they shared the same religion and rituals.(5) In this way some fourteen Indian families eventually occupied houses which were formerly rented by Zanzibari families. The position has, since 1964, stabilised and no more Zanzibaris have lost their homes, as there is a determination among the Zanzibaris not to surrender any more of their homes to Indian families, because of the tremendous housing shortage in

(4) Golden City Post, 18th April, 1964.

(5) Information obtained from Mr. Vincent of the Durban City Council Housing section.

Chatsworth. (6)

The move to Chatsworth meant a discernible difference in the style of living of the Zanzibaris. It also often meant new neighbours and established familiar relationships were sometimes disrupted. It is therefore necessary, because of this difference in the style of life of the Zanzibaris, to examine in some detail the housing and facilities in Chatsworth and to compare these as far as possible with the conditions that existed in Kings Rest.

3. Housing and other facilities in Section 20 Chatsworth

Section 20 is one of the earlier areas to be developed in Chatsworth, forming part of this huge dormitory township for Indians. The township, like other townships provided for Blacks in South Africa, is a 'satellite' one, as it is not expected to become economically self-sufficient, but is regarded as a labour reservoir. Most workers leave their homes at day break on working days to supply labour to the city and the factories, many of which are situated on the southern outskirts of the city. Towards sunset, the workers make their way through the frustration of peak hour traffic congestion in crowded buses, by train or in private cars to their homes. Most of the Zanzibaris prefer using the bus service rather than the train, as the bus route and stops are nearer to the area in which they reside. The single return fare from Chatsworth to the city costs twenty cents per person.

A recently constructed, tarred, dual carriage road leads into the

(6) There were over 17,000 applications in 1971 from Indians for Council houses. The Deputy City Treasurer is reported to have said, 'That there is little hope of the backlog being overcome in the next five years' - The Natal Mercury, 31st July, 1971.

Plate 5 and 6 Zanzibari houses in
Chatsworth.



township of Chatsworth. Most of the land set aside for the development of the township is beautiful hilly land. But these hills are being blighted by the dull uniformity of the Council houses and flats. In Section 20, there are 1793 'economic' houses and 602 flats. The usual plot size is 75 square metres and the average size of the house is 46.8 square metres.

All the Zanzibaris live in some of the four-roomed 'economic' houses. These rooms comprise two bedrooms, a living room and a kitchen. The living room is often used multi-functionally for living, dining and sleeping. The style of furnishing this room varies. In some homes a dining room suite, comprising table and chairs, and in others a three piece lounge suite is found. In almost all the houses a display cabinet or sideboard and a divan, which sometimes opens out into a double bed is found pushed against a side of one of the walls of the living room. Usually on the sideboard is placed a vase of artificial flowers and sometimes small silver trophies won by the children at school sports. On the walls hang family photographs and religious pictures or verses from the Quran written in Arabic. Separate from the house is a room, 5 foot 6 inches by 2 foot 10 inches in which combined toilet and shower facilities are provided. Most Zanzibari householders favour the 'Eastern type' (squatting) toilet that has been provided by the Council, but the overwhelming majority condemned having to use the combined toilet and shower arrangements. 'We are Muslims, we are careful about being pāk (ritual purity) before we pray or touch the Quran and now we have to bath in a small room where there is no partition from the toilet'.

The houses are made of cement blocks with asbestos roofing. Many of the older members of the Zanzibari and Indian community complained that these cement blocks retain a great deal of moisture and this causes the

inmates of the house to get frequent chills, colds and even rheumatism. The walls in the houses have not been plastered by the City Council, nor are ceilings or doors provided inside the house. A number of Zanzibaris have improved their homes by plastering and painting the walls, putting in ceilings and doors inside, tiling their kitchens and otherwise trying to improve the appearance of their homes.

The residents of Chatsworth do not pay for their water or for the water-borne sewerage system that they use. A sink and cold water tap is found in all the kitchens. Hot water has to be heated on the stove inside the houses. A daily postal delivery service is provided for the residents and a twice weekly refuse removal service is maintained by the Municipality. The streets are well lit at night and there is a public telephone call box on Road 402. No Zanzibari resident has a private telephone.⁽⁷⁾ The electricity used by the householder is added to his monthly rent account and, accordingly, this account varies every month, depending on the current that has been used by the householder. The drainage in the area is bad and with the sudden summer showers, a number of the houses on Road 402 and 425 have been flooded with water.⁽⁸⁾

The roads are hardened and tarred in the area where the Zanzibaris live. There is a Police Station in Section 20, not far from the Zanzibaris' area. Several primary schools in the area absorb most of the Zanzibari children who have birth certificates and are of school going age. A handful of Zanzibari children also attend the secondary schools in the area.

(7) One Zanzibari family had a telephone, but it was discontinued as they were not able to pay their telephone account.

(8) The Natal Mercury, 5th March, 1971. A report appeared in this newspaper that 10 homes on Roads 402 and 425 were drenched under 30 centimetres of water after a storm, causing considerable damage to the residents' flooring and furniture.

There are two mosques in the area, one on Road 402 and the other on Road 426.⁽⁹⁾ But these mosques, because of the poverty of the local residents, have been built and financed by monies provided by Indian Muslims living outside Chatsworth. There is, however, no graveyard and the Zanzibaris still bury their dead in Kings Rest cemetery.

There is a clinic in Section 20 on Road 442, run by the Durban Municipality, to which many Zanzibari women go for ante natal and post natal care. A Municipal Nurse also periodically makes 'home visits' in the area. The R.K. Khan Hospital in Section 25, caters for the medical needs of the people in Chatsworth. But many Zanzibaris prefer to attend the King Edward VIII Hospital, Clairwood Hospital or Addington Hospital.⁽¹⁰⁾ Informants have stated that the internal bus service in Chatsworth is extremely poor and inefficient and it is quicker to get to the hospitals situated outside the township.

The Durban Indian Child Welfare have an office in Section 20, which serves the needs of the people in Chatsworth. However, the social workers attached to this welfare agency do not handle any problems that might be brought to them by Zanzibaris. The reason for this position is that, until recently, all welfare problems of the Zanzibaris were handled by the Department of Coloured Affairs and it is only recently that the Indian Affairs Department had begun dealing with Zanzibari affairs. It is felt that shortly the Durban Indian Child Welfare will also begin to attend to the welfare problems of the Zanzibaris, as I have made representations and have been promised that the position will be rectified.

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- (9) See below, Chapter IX, 'Indo Zanzibari Relations' for the ill feeling that was generated because of the building of the mosque on Road 402.
- (10) Zanzibaris who, in appearance could pass as Coloureds have informed the writer that they often go for medical treatment to Addington Hospital, which has a ward allocated to Coloured patients.

A well developed shopping centre in Section 20 should cater for the needs of the community. But, because of the distance of this shopping centre, many Zanzibaris prefer patronising the mobile vans which call at their doors almost daily with foodstuffs and groceries. Bulk marketing is done by many Zanzibaris once a week in Durban or in the Indian market, as the vegetables are thought to be cheaper there and it also means an outing for some housewives. If the Zanzibari housewife runs short of essential groceries, she can often purchase these from two Indian housewives who illegally sell these items from their homes. These Indian housewives also sell cakes, cool drinks and ice creams which are readily bought by both Zanzibari and Indian children.

Although sports, particularly soccer, are popular amongst male Zanzibaris, the playing field earmarked in the area where the Zanzibaris live has, for the last ten years, remained undeveloped, undulating land, over-grown with tall grass. This accounts for the fact that Zanzibaris and Indian children are always found using the streets as their playground.⁽¹¹⁾ There is a cinema and hotel in Section 20. The bar and 'curry room' of this hotel appear to be well supported by the local populace. Zanzibaris are not barred from these places of entertainment, and occasionally a few of them who can afford it make use of these facilities.

4. Comparison of housing and facilities in Chatsworth with those of Kings Rest.

From my description so far it should be apparent that the housing and facilities in Chatsworth are in general far superior to those previously enjoyed by the Zanzibaris in Kings Rest. For in Kings Rest there was no electricity. Candles and lanterns were used for lighting

(11) There is no community centre or library in the area.

purposes and coal stoves, paraffin stoves and open hearths were used for cooking purposes. Zanzibari women speak with relief of no longer having to look for firewood nor having to get up early in the morning to light their coal stoves, as they had to do in Kings Rest. The once-weekly collection of the sanitary buckets in Kings Rest was also an unpleasant experience and the Zanzibaris are grateful that they have water borne sewerage in Chatsworth. Further, in Kings Rest the Zanzibaris paid for their water, which for many years was obtained by the women and children from the communal tap which was situated near the mosque, whereas in Chatsworth each house has its own water supplied free of charge.

Almost all the houses in Kings Rest were constructed of corrugated iron and had flat roofs. The kitchen and eating area was usually built to stand a little distance from the living and sleeping rooms, so that the smoke and cooking smells from the kitchen did not permeate into these rooms.

Nevertheless, many Zanzibaris still talk nostalgically of their former roomy, rambling homes which could accommodate newcomers by an easily constructed, inexpensive additional room. The size of the houses in Chatsworth is often criticised, since sleeping room in them is restricted. The usual arrangement that has been adopted by the Zanzibaris in Chatsworth is for the father and mother to share their bedroom with the young children, while any daughters in the house occupy the other remaining bedroom and the sons sleep in the living room. Mothers were heard to complain that if they had visitors at night, their children had to wait till after they had gone before they could go to sleep.

Another grievance connected with the restricted number and size of the

houses, which is constantly heard, is what is to happen to the young adults when they marry. Where are they going to live, is the question often asked. For in terms of the Agreement of Lease with the Corporation, only the Lessee of a Corporation house, together with his spouse and unmarried children, are permitted to live in a Council house. At present the Corporation has apparently turned a blind eye to this proviso and does not check the houses to see who is living in them, unless a complaint is laid with them about the unruly behaviour of an occupant of a house. The resulting congestion and limited space in Chatsworth is often compared with the position as it was in Kings Rest.

For in Kings Rest a married son either lived with his father or erected an easily constructed house not far from his father's homestead. The extended family was a common feature in Kings Rest partly because the size of the homes made it possible, and also because the son often felt obliged to live with his father who usually assisted a son with his wedding expenses. Conflict between a man's wife and his mother frequently led to the ultimate splitting of the extended family, but even then a son would always try and build his house not far from his father's home. An elderly woman commented, 'A son should live with his father after he marries, but if he goes separate, he should build his house in his father's yard'.

In Chatsworth the Corporation housing does not take account of this development cycle that is or was typical of Zanzibari family structure. Although this may not immediately create problems for all Zanzibari families, it already has for some and will soon do so for many more. Therefore the question is, what will happen to the extended family in Chatsworth and a matter on which the Zanzibaris themselves are particularly anxious is what will happen to those members of the Zanzibari community who eventually will

be too numerous to house in the area.

All the superior facilities and conveniences of Chatsworth are readily forgotten when it is remembered that, in Kings Rest 'we did not pay any rent'. Slowly but steadily the rents in Chatsworth are rising. Thus, when the Zanzibaris moved to Chatsworth in 1962, the rent for the Council houses was R9,10. This was increased a few years later to R10,00. To-day the basic rent for a house is R11,95 and this excludes charges for electricity. The housewife usually waits with considerable anxiety for the rent account every month, which in winter months, with the additional electricity used, usually mounts up to R15,00 or R16,00.⁽¹²⁾ In order to cut down on the electricity account, a few Zanzibari householders use paraffin stoves and have disconnected their electric stoves.

Unsolicited comments were made by many informants about the Corporation houses which are considered by them to be poorly built and complaints were also made that inferior materials were used in the building of these houses. Some Zanzibaris resent the inspection of their homes by the Municipal inspectors in Chatsworth, which is thought to be an interference with their rights. Those Zanzibaris feel that the Council has given them poorly constructed and finished houses and they now have to spend their own money on painting and repairing the houses to comply with the inspectors' annual reports.

5. Changes in material life styles as a result of the move to Chatsworth

The move to Chatsworth also meant, in many instances, that old

(12) It is thought that soon the residents of Chatsworth will also have to pay for their own water. This will obviously mean that the monthly rent account will be further increased.

furniture which could not be taken had to be sold, often quickly at prices less than its real value, or given away to friends and in some cases even abandoned. The vast majority of Zanzibaris appear to have bought new furniture when they moved to Chatsworth. Many Zanzibaris have been tempted to buy new furniture on hire purchase, often when they went to buy their electric stoves and irons on moving to Chatsworth. So, almost eighty-five per cent of the Zanzibari householders are paying monthly instalments of about R8,00 per month on their furniture. Fifty-two per cent of the Zanzibari householders have bought fridges and two households have second-hand washing machines. The possession of a radiogram is considered a status symbol and almost every household has a radiogram, or at least a portable radio in the house. During the day, loud jazz music can be heard from a number of houses. The 'kitchen scheme', which comprises kitchen dresser and table with four chairs with brightly coloured laminated tops is something to which most Zanzibari housewives aspire. However, few if any, of the households in Kings Rest possessed such a wide range of modern household equipment.

Regular weekly or monthly payments have to be made for these luxury items now found in the Chatsworth homes and this means a greater dependence on salaried men and on regular wages.⁽¹³⁾ One elderly informant expressed her feelings when she said 'We are now paying all the time and worrying about rent, furniture and food in Chatsworth'. She went on to add, 'In Chatsworth you can only talk and eat with money. In Kings Rest no one starved. If there was no money, you got something from our big gardens, cooked it and fed your family'.

(13) Two Zanzibaris have committed suicide since moving to Chatsworth. One suicide is attributed to the fact that the person was worried about his wife and six children, as he could not find work. Magistrate Durban, Inquest Report 56/67 - Shaikh Abdul Rehman, committed suicide by drowning. See below, Chapter IV, p 80.

Today much conversation does indeed revolve around money. The high rents, high bus fares and the high cost of food are never endingly discussed. Very little money can be saved and collected to pay for death ceremonies and weddings. Assistance in times of need from kin and friends is felt to be less readily given in Chatsworth, as people are heavily committed to paying their own debts.

It seems then that many Zanzibaris are ambivalent about their changed styles of life in Chatsworth. But one major advantage about which the majority are in agreement is that the schools in the area are good and that already a number of their children are in high school, so that they anticipate their community will progress in this way. On the other hand, some parents whose children do not have birth certificates, are faced with the heart breaking experience of not being able to send them to school. 'They play on the streets. They will get up to mischief and will become skollies one day', said one mother despairingly.

6. Summary and conclusion.

Largely through the efforts and financial assistance of the Juma Musjid Trust together with the co-operation of the Durban City Council, the Zanzibaris were settled as a community in Chatsworth, which has helped them preserve their identity, which otherwise could have been destroyed, as has happened in the case of the Catholic freed slaves who were settled in dispersed areas in African townships.

It is now over ten years since the Zanzibaris moved to Chatsworth and the crisis and crucial stage of resettlement and adjustments to new patterns of living are over. Ten years have led many, particularly the younger Zanzibaris, to think of Chatsworth as their home, and they are

content to be there. But for the older Zanzibaris, Kings Rest and its relatively open spaces and the well established gardens and fruit trees that they left behind are still often nostalgically remembered. For these people, Kings Rest with its mosque and graveyard will always be thought of as their home.

Despite the many changes, the move to Chatsworth has not led to an abandonment of the Zanzibari identity and of the customs which give expression to it. But it has been shown that the move to Chatsworth has brought and will bring changes in the structure of the domestic groups.

This is because the Corporation housing discourages the continuation and expansion of the extended family. Cramped rooms and limited space, coupled with the fact that no new houses have been built for the Zanzibaris in the area that they have settled, poses a crucial question. What is to happen to the Zanzibaris who require and will in time require, with pressing urgency, more homes? Only the future can give the answer to this question, but whatever it is it may seriously affect the community identity of the Zanzibaris which has so far persisted.

In the meantime it is necessary to examine more closely the existing situation, so I give next a mainly statistical account of the demographic and socio-economic characteristics of Zanzibaris in Chatsworth. This will provide the necessary background against which I can discuss, in subsequent chapters, the factors which enable the Zanzibaris to maintain their identity in their present situation.

CHAPTER IV

DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC POSITION OF ZANZIBARIS
IN CHATSWORTH.

1. Distribution and differentiation of Zanzibaris
in Section 20, Chatsworth.

In the previous chapter, I have shown that the Durban Municipality's decision to allocate a special area in Section 20, Chatsworth for the resettlement of the Zanzibaris from the Juma Musjid Trust Lands has meant that they constitute an identifiable group within an Indian area. These Zanzibaris occupy 101 houses, as shown on the accompanying map⁽¹⁾, from which it can be seen that they are clustered mainly on Roads 402, 425 and 426, though there are also a few houses occupied by them on Roads 423 and 401. In the rest of this chapter I shall refer to these Zanzibaris as the 'majority section'.

There are, in addition, another thirteen houses, which are mostly on Road 402 and are occupied by a 'minority section' of the Zanzibaris who did not come from the Juma Musjid Trust lands, but from other areas in Durban, such as Clairwood and Overport.⁽²⁾ These people do not claim links with the freed slaves who were brought to Natal, but they or their parents have come from Malawi and other neighbouring African territories.

(1) See Map No. 2, p. 57

(2) It was the Trustees of the Juma Musjid Trust who recommended that the City Council consider housing these 'Zanzibari' people who were living elsewhere in Durban. From a list of 140 names of people in this category who required houses, only thirteen eventually qualified for Council houses. Many of these people on the original list had no identity documents and in fact were prohibited immigrants. Information from Mr. Vincent, Housing Section, City Estates Department, Durban.

Since they belong to the Muslim faith and are of African appearance, they have been loosely identified by both Whites and Blacks in Durban as 'Zanzibaris'. However, these two sections of the Zanzibaris are themselves conscious of certain differences between them and some of these differences are also apparent to the outside observer who inspects the community more closely. I therefore feel it is necessary to summarise these differences first and then to describe separately the demographic characteristics of the two sections, though in the main this study is concerned with the Zanzibaris who came from the Juma Trust lands.

2. Characteristics distinguishing the majority and minority sections of the Zanzibaris.

a. Language

(i) Majority section.

One readily apparent characteristic of the majority section is that they have a language of their own, which is distinct from any of the other Bantu languages spoken by Africans in the Durban area. A number of Zulu informants have stated that, when Zanzibaris speak Zulu (which many Zanzibaris do know), they can detect the difference immediately in the pronunciation and intonation of the words.⁽³⁾

Some Zanzibaris wish to create the impression that the language they speak is Swahili. For example, in the Appeal Court case of Rex v

(3) A few Zanzibaris informed me that, when they lived in Kings Rest and attended the African school in the area, they had great difficulty in studying Zulu as a language and found that they lagged far behind the African children in this subject.

Fakiri (1938 A.D.)⁽⁴⁾, the Appellant claimed that he spoke Swahili. Again, in a group discussion I had with some seven Zanzibari women, one woman let slip that the Zanzibaris spoke a 'Mozambique' language. Loud protests were registered from the other women who stated that they spoke 'Zanzibari language', and one or two women were heard to upbraid the first woman, who they claimed was misinforming me about their language. This incident was interpreted by me as probably another attempt by these Zanzibaris to claim continuing links with the Island of Zanzibar and to be regarded as a group distinct from the mainland Africans of East Africa. This incident could, however, also imply that the Zanzibaris wish to be thought distinct from those Africans who have come to Durban from Mozambique or other African territories, as legal or illegal immigrants.

However, despite such claims, it has been affirmed by a few Zanzibaris that they do not speak the actual Swahili of Zanzibar known as Kiunguja, nor do they speak the language of the neighbouring Lamu Island. I have already stated that a number of the freed slaves were Makuas⁽⁵⁾ and it is true that certain words in the Makua language, (of which the majority section of the Zanzibaris apparently speak a version)⁽⁶⁾ are identical with or closely related to Swahili. But the contemporary language of the Zanzibaris cannot be classified as Swahili.

From all the inquiries that I have made, I have not been able to discover any literature that has been written by the Zanzibaris in the language they commonly speak. Consequently, any further intensive study of this language will have to wait until proper written and recorded

(4) See above, Chapter 11, p. 36.

(5) See above, Chapter 1, pages 10-12.

(6) Confirmed by Miss J. Roxburgh of the Department of Bantu Languages, University of Natal, who examined a few vernacular texts that I compiled, and interviewed a Zanzibari informant.

collections have been made of it.

In addition to this language of ultimate Makua derivation, most Zanzibaris speak English among themselves.⁽⁷⁾ It is probable that in the Chatsworth situation the use of English will become more common, but some parents lay great emphasis on their children learning to speak their vernacular language. One informant summed up rather well what their language means to them he said,

It is our language. We are proud of it. We must teach our children to speak our language, as if they go overseas or if any of our people come from overseas, how will they recognise us and how will they be able to talk to each other.⁽⁸⁾

(ii) Minority section.

The language commonly spoken by the minority section is apparently Yao. This language is different from the Makua spoken by the majority section, and informants of this section have indicated that they have no desire to learn Yao which is incomprehensible to the Zanzibaris who often refer to the language of the minority section as the 'Malawi language'.

However, as both sections are Muslims, a number of Arabic words and phrases form part of their common vocabulary. For ordinary purposes,

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- (7) No Zanzibari family spoke Afrikaans in their homes. Afrikaans is, however, taught in the schools which Zanzibari children now attend.
- (8) A few Zanzibari informants who have been to Mozambique on holiday have indicated that their friends and, in a few instances, relatives living at a distance from Lourenco Marques, have no difficulty conversing with them in the Makua language, although a few Zulu and English words are used by the Zanzibaris when conversing in Makua. Zanzibari informants have stated that the Makua spoken in Mozambique is a 'deep' and 'pure' Makua.

English is used as the medium of communication between the two groups.

(b) Ancestry.

(i) Majority section

As I have shown, the authorities from the early days were at pains to distinguish in various ways the freed slaves from the Local Africans. Later, the descendants of the freed slaves themselves found it advantageous to be thought of as a distinct group from Local Africans. The letters of identification issued to the freed slaves and their descendants became valued documentary proof for the Zanzibaris, especially when they were harassed or hounded by the police who confused them with local Africans and thought that they were evading the tax laws or influx control regulations that applied to local Africans.

As a result, no stigma seems to be attached to the fact that the Zanzibaris are from freed slave stock. On the contrary, it is considered prestigious today among the families living in Chatsworth, if they are able to trace some connection with the freed slaves. Documents of identity tracing relationships with freed slaves or their descendants are proudly displayed as treasured possessions. Often the actual relationship is unclear, but the informants are still at pains to try and establish some connection with the freed slaves, as this confirms their right to be permanently in South Africa and to be treated as 'protected' people. Furthermore, the classification of these Zanzibaris as part of the 'Other Asiatic' group has helped to develop and maintain what one might call the historical criterion of Zanzibari identity.

(ii) Minority section.

By contrast, it would appear that many of the people in the minority section (or their parents) have come quite recently from Malawi and other neighbouring African territories, to work as migrant labourers and have subsequently stayed on in South Africa, often without official sanction or approval. Consequently, far from being keen to demonstrate their 'foreign' ancestry, as the majority section are, members of the minority section are more likely to conceal their actual origins, while claiming to be 'Zanzibaris'.

Such concealment helps to explain an ambivalent attitude of condescension and sympathy sometimes adopted by the majority section of Zanzibaris, towards the Zanzibaris from the Overport and Clairwood areas, as it is rumoured among the majority section that many 'Malawians', though not necessarily those living in Chatsworth, do not in fact have their identity documents and live in constant fear of being stopped by the police on the roads and being deported from this country.

Another crucial factor that makes the Zanzibaris from Juma Trust lands feel that the so-called 'Malawians' are not completely part of their community is that these people did not share the experience and associations of the community life in the King's Rest area. Consequently they are considered and perhaps consider themselves to be outsiders who do not as yet share the same network of established associations.

(c) Cultural traits and overt signals of identification.

(i) Majority section

An overt symbol of identification among the Zanzibaris is the dress

worn by some of the women. A fair proportion of the women over the age of forty still wear a modified version of their traditional dress in their homes. This comprises a blouse (khimawo) with elbow-length sleeves and a two and a half yard piece of cloth (mkhummi) which reaches down to the ankles, is wound and tied around the waist. A scarf always covers the head of the women as a sign of respect.

On festive occasions married women usually wear the traditional dress, which comprises a number of pieces of cloth that are tied and secured with the aid of ribbons and bands. Traditionally twelve yards⁽⁹⁾ of cloth go into the assembly of this dress and this causes a heavy financial drain on the head of the household. Colourful cottons are preferred by the women and the overall effect of this dress is one of uninterrupted flowing lines. A few women over the age of 60 have their noses pierced on the right side for a nose-ring.⁽¹⁰⁾

Socially prominent customs of Zanzibaris from Kings Rest are associated with the rites de passage of birth, puberty, marriage and death. These customs are distinctive to the Zanzibaris and take up a considerable amount of the time of the people, as a good deal of customary practices are still adhered to today.

(ii) Minority section.

As overt signals of their identity, the womenfolk from the minority section, rather on the style of Indian Muslim women, had ankle length dresses, pantaloons and covered their heads with scarves. However, it has been observed that in Chatsworth a few women from the minority section

(9) Today six yards are used instead of twelve yards. Sarries are bought from Indian shops and are cut up by Zanzibari women and adapted by them for their traditional dress.

(10) Gold jewellery is valued and gold bangles are the cherished possessions of a few fortunate women.

wear blouses and wrap a colourful cotton cloth around their waist which falls to their ankles, which is similar to the dress worn by the older women in the majority section of the Zanzibari people.⁽¹¹⁾

The only time that some of the men who are in the over forty age group, or some younger men from both sections of Zanzibaris who are considered traditionall inclined and steeped in religion, wear a distinctive dress, is when they attend mosque for congregational prayer or during the Muslim calendarical festivals. This dress comprises a pair of long white trousers and a knee length white shirt which is buttoned high at the neck. A cap, which can be a crocheted skull cap or a tasselled black or red fez (kofia), completes this dress.

The customs relating to the birth rituals, wedding ceremonials and death rituals among the minority section are notthe same as those found among the majority section, nor are they as elaborate in the minority section. This may be because of the fact that the minority section had not lived together as a community and this accounts for the fact that their ritual and customary practices have not been emphasised in a community atmosphere.

Further, in spite of both sections being Muslims, distinctions in some religious rituals are apparent between them, for example the minority section do not take part in the Rathieb⁽¹²⁾ and customary

(11) Men in the majority and minority sections of the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth today wear western attire. However, no skull cap or fez is worn often by Zanzibari men from both sections with the western attire.

(12) A Rathieb exhibition consists of men who reach a state of ecstasy by repeating the name of Mohammed and certain Quaranic verses to the compelling beat of drums. During the state of ecstasy, performers plunge razor sharp knives into different parts of their bodies without feeling any pain. The Zanzibari Rathieb appears to be similar to the Cape Malay Califah which is described by LEWIS, D. 1949 : 594 as 'a ceremony of sword dancing and dagger play'. The players, through prayers, do not feel the pain of the steel of the swords and daggers with which they poke and pierce their bodies.

religious singing of the majority section. (13)

Notwithstanding these differences, there is observable contact and flow of communication between the two categories of people during weddings, funerals, post-funerary and commemorative ceremonies and on other occasions where people congregate, such as soccer matches. Moreover, marriage has created a certain amount of interdependence between the two groups, for although the Kings Rest Zanzibaris express a preference for marrying among themselves, they have in the past, readily married the so-called 'Malawians', some of whom were easily absorbed into the Zanzibari community while it was still in Kings Rest.

Besides marriage, which has created a certain amount of interdependence between the two groups, potentially the most important mechanism of assimilation is the secular schools. The contacts among the children and young adults made at schools and on the playing field have led to understanding and bonds of friendship which has created greater interaction between the two groups. Added to this fact is that there are no more houses in Section 20 that can be allocated by the Council to the Zanzibaris from Clairwood and Overport. Consequently this less numerous group is not likely to be reinforced by newcomers and may, in time, become assimilated and absorbed by the Zanzibaris from the Juma Trust lands of Kings Rest.

In the meantime, in spite of both sections living in standardised Council houses which are furnished with a pronounced similarity of taste,

(13) Both majority and minority group belong to the Shafi school of law (of which there are four schools in SUNNI Islam). Indian Muslims in South Africa belong to the HANAFI school while the Malays belong to the SHAFI. The division of the four schools of law is of significance because of the existence of differences in certain aspects of prayer ritual.

and whose general patterns of living standards are similar they are still distinguishable from each other in the ways I have described.

3. Census of Zanzibari households in Chatsworth.

As this study is concerned with Zanzibaris who had originally lived on the Juma Masjid Trust lands at Kings Rest, my census of the Zanzibaris relates mainly to this section of them. For all but one of their 101 houses, ⁽¹⁴⁾ I obtained data by means of a household census. The census provided the following main categories of information: name of registered occupier of the house; his or her marital status; number of occupants in each house; whether occupants were related to or were lodgers of the registered occupier of the house; age of occupants; type of employment and income of household head and other family members; educational qualification of household head; number of illegitimate children in each household. Notes were also made on the type of furniture in the houses and where possible on other property owned by the occupants.

In making this census I did not use a standardised schedule, because I found that many Zanzibaris were hesitant to answer questions on any kind of typed document. So, when interviewing people, brief notes were made of the main categories of census information that were required. In compiling the census I had the assistance of two Zanzibari men and one woman, all in their early twenties, with whom I checked the information I had obtained.

(14) The one household omitted from the survey was previously occupied by a Zanzibari who had committed suicide. (See above chapter III Footnote 13, p.68). However, this house had apparently been sub-let and the occupants refused to answer my questions.

In addition, some of the main categories in my census were compared with another census previously compiled in 1970⁽¹⁵⁾ by a Zanzibari man for the Trustees of the Juma Musjid Trust. This earlier census gave the road and house numbers; the name of the registered occupier of a house; names of occupants of the house who were employed; names of other occupants of the house; their place of employment; their incomes. I found that the census taken by me tallied, in most instances, with that of the Juma Musjid Trust. I therefore am satisfied that my own census is reasonably accurate, though it has certain limitations to which I shall refer.

I now present first the data on the 100 households belonging to the majority section from Kings Rest.

4. Age and sex structure of majority section of Zanzibaris.

The information presented in the tables to follow was given in almost all cases by heads of the household or the person in charge of the house when the information was collected. Like all census enumerators, I had to rely on the accuracy of information given to me about persons whom I did not see myself, since it would have been impossible to see all the members of all households. In some instances I discovered subsequently that informants had concealed information about certain occupants living in their homes. Such concealment was largely because the owner feared that he might be victimised for housing, on his premises, people who should not have been there in accordance with

(15) This census was done for the Trustees because they wanted to have a record of people living in Chatsworth. Information was given voluntarily by the Zanzibaris for this census, since many of them believed that the Trustees would recommend to the Council that more houses were urgently required by the Zanzibaris.

the terms of the lease of the Corporation. For this reason and also to correct other deficiencies, I found very useful the assistance of the three young Zanzibaris who helped to check my data for errors in enumeration.

Ages of the population, especially for those people in the over-forty group, are only approximate, as many Zanzibaris do not have birth certificates. But I found that because these people had, in 1962, supplied information on their births for the purpose of obtaining identity cards⁽¹⁶⁾ many of them at least had some idea of the year of their birth.

From Table No. 1, it can be seen that the Zanzibaris, unlike some other urban African populations, constitute a family community in which females outnumber males and in which there is no marked difference between the sex ratio of the adults and that of those under eighteen. The ratio of the adult male to female population is 180 : 205 and the ratio of the under eighteen male to female population is 165 : 191. It is only among those over fifty that males outnumber females. This last unusual sex ratio may be because, in some instances, men have brought into the community younger females from outside the Zanzibari population, or because some women, when giving me their ages, made out that they were younger than they really were.

(16) See above, Chapter 11 p. 48.

Table No. 1 - Distribution of the majority section of the Zanzibari population in Chatsworth, by age and sex, January 1972.

Age groups	Males		Females		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under 19	166	47.98	191	48.23	357	48.11
19 - 29	86	24.85	100	25.25	186	25.07
30 - 39	35	10.12	34	8.59	69	9.30
40 - 49	22	6.36	44	11.11	66	8.89
50 - 60	25	7.22	18	4.55	43	5.80
Over sixty	12	3.47	9	2.27	21	2.83
Total	346	100%	396	100%	742	100%

The marked juvenility of the Zanzibari population is also apparent from Table No. 1. For, out of a total population of 742 residing regularly in the 100 households, 357 are young persons under 19 years of age. This pattern of age distribution is, of course, not unusual in settled family communities of lower income groups in modern urban situations. To take a local example for comparison, I may cite the earlier study of an urban African family community virtually the same size as that of the Zanzibaris and formerly living in Baumanville, Durban. This study showed that out of a population of 775 people regularly residing in 113 houses, some 374 were under 19 years of age.⁽¹⁷⁾

Since, then, close on half of the Zanzibari population is under 19 years, this proportion has either been born in Chatsworth or spent ten of its most formative years there. Consequently it can readily be appreciated that this young section of the population which, in most

(17) Institute of Social Research, University of Natal 1956 p.41.

instances, has attended Indian schools in Chatsworth and is being brought up in an environment very different from Kings Rest, is likely in the near future to play an important role in modifying the identity of the Zanzibari community.

The juvenile population also constitutes an imminent urgent housing problem, because it will ultimately require extra housing, when its members move into the adult population. Moreover, improved medical services should eventually result in greater longevity which will produce another increase in population in the older age groups. Given the already acute housing shortage in Chatsworth,⁽¹⁸⁾ it is difficult to foresee how the problem can be met in such a way that the new generations of Zanzibaris can continue to remain together as a distinct community in one part of Chatsworth.

It is also possible to infer that the proportion of the population of working age among the Zanzibaris will also increase, although adolescent employment may be delayed in future, as secondary educational facilities are readily available in Chatsworth and many parents have high educational aspirations for their children.

5. Lodgers living in the 100 Zanzibari households of the majority section.

Before I present the information I was able to obtain on the lodgers living in the Zanzibari homes, I must define what I mean by a household in this study. The word 'household' is used for those persons occupying

(18) See above, Chapter lll, p. 60 and 65.

any one house, who are related to the registered occupier of the home, either as 'primary' or 'secondary' kin or in a few instances as more distant kin.⁽¹⁹⁾ These persons, unless small children, share in the maintenance of the household either by rendering services or by contributing cash towards the one domestic budget.

The figures given so far in Table No. 1 do not represent the entire numbers of people living in the 100 Zanzibari homes. This is because in each of twenty-four Zanzibari households, either one of their rooms has been rented to lodgers or, in a few instances, a 'sleeping place' has been let. By 'sleeping place' is meant a bed in a room, together with limited space in the room for the lodger to put his or her belongings.

A lodger is distinguished from ordinary household members in that the former pays a monthly fixed rent for his or her accommodation. Although some lodgers were found to be related to the head of the household, lodgers rarely shared meals with the family and did not share the household responsibilities nor did they contribute to the single domestic budget of the household, except by the rent which they paid.

Exact information on the lodgers was difficult to obtain, because in terms of the Agreement of Tenancy with the Corporation, a householder in Chatsworth is not permitted to sub-let any portion of the house allocated to him. Informants were therefore reluctant to give information on the lodgers they kept and the lodgers, in turn, were not anxious to divulge information about themselves.

The main reason given by occupiers of the houses for taking in lodgers was that they required the additional income. On an average of

(19) 'Primary' includes a wife or children and 'secondary' kin include children's children and the occupier's parents or siblings.

R8,00 is obtained for letting a room. This rent is fairly high when one considers that, excluding electricity, the rent payable for the whole house to the Corporation is R11,95.⁽²⁰⁾ Besides the considerable financial motive, householders in a few instances informed me that they had agreed to take in lodgers because these people had no where to go and they had felt 'sorry' for them.

A reason frequently given by lodgers themselves for renting rooms was that they could not get homes of their own in Chatsworth or that the home of their parents or other family members were too small to accommodate them. In a few instances, family quarrels and friction had led to people seeking lodgings away from their homes. Thus, two unmarried Zanzibari women had left their homes as they found that on the death of their parents, they could not get on with the brothers and sisters-in-law.

Two Zanzibari men living with Coloured women, one Zanzibari man living with an African woman and two Zanzibari women married to African men stated that they had left their family homes and become lodgers, because there was no room to accommodate them and their spouses in these homes. It is, however, interesting that in four out of these five cases the informants stated that there was initial opposition from their families to their marrying non-Zanzibaris.

Table No. 2 - Marital status of lodgers living in 24 of 100 Zanzibari homes - January 1972.

Marital status of lodgers	No of cases	Children	Total no. of persons
Husband and wife	4	nil	8
Husband and wife and children	7	14	28
Unmarried women with children	2	3	5
Unmarried women without children	3	nil	3
Unmarried men without children	4	nil	4
Widow without children	1	nil	1
Total	21	17	49

(20) See above, Chapter III, p. 67.

Table No. 2 therefore shows that there are at least 49 men, women and children in 24 Zanzibari homes who can be called 'lodgers'. However, this figure must be considered approximate because of the difficulties in obtaining information that I have already mentioned. The stability of this population of lodgers was also difficult to gauge but, by September 1972, two couples whom I had originally known as 'lodgers' had moved out of Chatsworth and found alternative accommodation, one couple in the Mayville area and the other in the Clairwood area of Durban. The reasons given for leaving Chatsworth were, in one instance, friction with the landlord and, in the other instance, the availability of more suitable accommodation elsewhere.

6. Adequacy of accommodation in Chatsworth for the majority section.

From Table No. 1 it was shown that there are some 742 people regularly residing in the 100 houses of Zanzibaris who have come from the Juma Trust lands. If, to this figure, the number of lodgers is added, then the total population will be 791. This means that on average, there are 7.72 people regularly residing in a house and if the lodgers are included the figure rises to 7.91 persons.

Table No. 3.

Table No. 3 - Distribution of households by number of persons in relation to house capacity.

100% = 100 Households								
Under occupied			Used to capacity			Over crowded		
Houses	Persons	No. of occupants	Houses	Persons	No. of occupants	Houses	Persons	No. of occupants
1	x	1 = 1	9	x	5 = 45	16	x	8 = 128
2	x	2 = 4	17	x	6 = 102	12	x	9 = 108
11	x	4 = 44	14	x	7 = 98	5	x	10 = 50
						7	x	11 = 77
						2	x	13 = 26
						3	x	14 = 42
						1	x	17 = 17
14		= 49	40		= 245	46		= 448

Grand total: Household population of 100 houses = 742 persons
 - 49 lodgers (as per table No. 2).

The degree of overcrowding is sharply brought out by the figures presented in Table No. 3, since the houses in which the Zanzibaris live were designed to accommodate single families of four or five people and some homes were found to be extremely overcrowded. In the study on the urban African community living in Baumanville in the 1950's, to which reference has already been made in this Chapter, a similar pattern of overcrowding was found amongst these people.⁽²¹⁾ The incapable conclusion one can therefore form is that over the years, little has been achieved to check overcrowding amongst the Black urban population in the municipal housing of Durban. There is already an urgent need for more houses to be allocated to Zanzibaris and the need will become more

(21) Institute of Social Research, University of Natal, 1956, p.76. See Table 25. In contrast to these figures, a survey by the Market Research Bureau, of the University of South Africa, found in Soweto, Johannesburg, in 1970 that the average number of persons per dwelling to be 5.9. See Hellmann E. 1973 : 19.

acute in the next few years, as the number of persons per dwelling is likely to increase rather than dwindle, for the demographic reasons I have outlined above.

7. Some details of the minority section of Zanzibaris.

As previously indicated, the minority section of Zanzibaris who came from Chatsworth and Overport areas occupy 13 houses in Chatsworth.

Table No. 4. - Distribution of the minority section of the Zanzibari population living in Chatsworth by age and sex - March 1972.

Age groups	Males	%	Females	%	Total	%
Under 18	15	44.11	20	47.62	35	46.05
18 - 30	6	17.65	10	23.81	16	21.05
30 - 40	-	-	3	7.14	3	3.95
40 - 50	6	17.65	9	21.43	15	19.74
50 - 60	6	17.65	-	-	6	7.89
Over 60	1	2.94	-	-	1	1.32
Total	34	100	42	100	76	100

The sex and age distribution of these people is shown in Table No. 4. Although the numbers involved are small, the striking thing in the distribution of the population is that, as with the majority section, in the fifty and over age group there were more men than women. The fact that all the men who were heads of the thirteen households were married and that only one of them had married for the second time, leads one to conclude that the men from the minority section of Zanzibaris married late in life and when they did marry, they married women considerably younger than themselves.

From Table No. 4 it can also be calculated that an average of 5.91 persons of the minority section are regularly living in each house. This average is less than that of the Zanzibaris who came from the Juma Trust lands. However, as mentioned above, a number of the wives of households are still young and not past child-bearing age, and the numbers per dwelling will most probably increase in time.

Pillay and Ellison found in 1969 that out of a total of 334 households in the southern area of Durban, which included Chatsworth, the average number of persons per household by religion was 6.65 amongst Hindus and 6.77 per household amongst Muslims.⁽²²⁾ This comparison indicates that the average number of persons per Zanzibari household in the majority section is somewhat higher than that for the Indian household of either religion, whereas in the minority section it is somewhat lower.

However, seven out of the thirteen minority section households have also taken in lodgers. This raises the population living in the thirteen houses to 94 and means that the average number per dwelling, including lodgers, though still less than that found in the majority section of Zanzibari homes, becomes higher than the reported average for the Indian households. Thus the average per dwelling in the minority section is 7.03 per dwelling, while in the majority section it is 7.91 persons.

(22) PILLAY, P.N. and ELLISON, P.A. 1969 : 69.

Table No. 5 - Total No. of people living in the 114⁽²³⁾ Zanzibari Homes in Section 20, Chatsworth.

Classification of houses	Regular residents	Lodgers	Total
Majority section 101 houses	749	49	798
Minority section 13 houses	76	18	94
	825	67	892

The consolidated figures for all residents in all households are given in Table No. 5 from which an overall picture of the population figures can be seen. It confirms my previous remarks that the houses in the Zanzibari complex have more people in them than they were designed for, despite the slightly lower average that is found amongst the minority section.

8. Education and occupation of the majority section.

From the population figures that I have provided for both sections of the Zanzibaris, some idea can be obtained of the main demographic characteristics of Zanzibaris living in Chatsworth. Against this background, I now continue with a description of some of the socio-economic characteristics of the majority section for, as I have previously stated, this study is concerned mainly with the descendants of the freed slaves who came from Kings Rest.⁽²⁴⁾ Consequently, I did not collect all the same data for the minority section which will not be considered in the remainder of this chapter.

(23) In respect of the one household for which information could not be obtained, seven persons will be estimated to live in this household. This figure is taken to represent the average number of persons per dwelling found in the other 100 dwellings. This then means that the minimum number of persons taken to be regularly residing in the 101 dwellings in January, 1972 was 749 people.

(24) See above, Chapter IV, p.72.

Like most Black South Africans, the majority of the Zanzibaris are employed in unskilled and semi-skilled jobs. The reason for this is linked with the complicated discriminatory legislation and the constraints of traditional White attitudes that govern economic relations in South Africa, which effectively ensure that Whites get the best jobs. These factors have influenced the type of jobs held by the Zanzibaris, but it must be borne in mind that in Kings Rest access to educational facilities was limited, so in most cases the present heads of households are not qualified for the better paid jobs.

Most of those Zanzibaris who went to school at all, while they lived in Kings Rest, attended the African school run by the Catholic missionaries on the Bluff.⁽²⁵⁾ A few others attended Coloured and Indian schools in the Clairwood area. But, because of the inadequacy of accommodation in primary and secondary schools and because many Zanzibaris did not have proper identity documents, Zanzibari parents found it extremely difficult to secure admission for their children in schools, particularly in Indian schools. Further, many parents could not afford to finance the education of their children and so very few entered high school while they lived in Kings Rest.

Some of the consequences of these restrictions on education can be seen from Table No. 6 which shows that the level of education is generally low among those Zanzibaris who are old enough to be heads of households.

(25) The highest standard taught in this school was Std. IV.

Table No. 6 - School level of 79 male and 21 female heads of households.

	Male heads of households	Female heads of households
No schooling	19	9
Std. I	5	2
Std. II	11	4
Std. III	22	3
Std. IV	17	2
Std. V	3	nil
Std. VI	1	nil
Std. VII	1	nil
	79	21

As might be expected, I found that most of those who had not been to school at all were the older adults. It can also be seen from Table No. 6 that male heads of households have generally a better level of education than the female heads of households. But, on the whole, I found no great difference between the educational standards of the sexes, although among the older adults there was a higher proportion of women than men who had not been to school. This situation is understandable as the Zanzibari women, particularly while they lived in Kings Rest, tended to be confined to their homes, in a type of semi-purdah system.

Since moving to Chatsworth, the general educational standards of the Zanzibari children have risen, largely because of the accessibility of schools in the area, and because there are no school fees to be paid and also because free school books are provided in the Indian schools. Further, the value of education is increasingly emphasised among the

Zanzibaris, or at least amongst the parents. For example, during the period that I was doing my field work, three boys, two in Standard V and one in Standard IV had left school. This decision was their own and not their parents' who had indeed opposed it, in spite of the fact that the money they earned would help their family incomes. The parents felt that the chance of their sons getting 'good' employment would now be negligible.⁽²⁶⁾

I was not able to ascertain the drop-out rate of Zanzibaris in schools. However, the requirement of the Indian Education Department that children must produce their birth certificates before they can be admitted to schools is causing serious problems among a few Zanzibari families.⁽²⁷⁾ I counted that there were twelve children who were of school-going age, who did not have birth certificates and because of this, could not gain admission to schools.

Zanzibari parents' high educational aspirations for their children are closely linked with their high vocational aspirations, which were emphasised by many Zanzibaris who felt that it was only through education that their community would 'progress' and 'get leaders' who 'would be able to talk' for them.

These aspirations are not only for the boys' futures, as girls are also encouraged by their parents to continue with their schooling. Some Zanzibari parents have been known to delay their daughter's puberty ceremonies which curb their movements, as it is thought that this would

(26) The type of comments made by the mothers of the three boys that I recorded was, in one instance: 'He will now be just a common labourer like his father who has no schooling'. Another mother commented: 'How will my son get brains if he leaves school so early'. 'You can't go far today without schooling', another mother emphasised.

(27) Since January 1972 Africans who do not have birth certificates were also not admitted in African schools. (HORRELL 1972 : 162) See below, Chapter III, p. 69.

affect their education. In any case, there has been a relaxation of the strict seclusion imposed on girls who are required to stay indoors after their puberty rites, so that today girls are allowed to continue with their schooling, even after being through the rites. (28) Consequently, one previous obstacle to continued education for girls has been considerably reduced as a result of the move to Chatsworth.

The effects of the improved access to schools can be seen from figures on the present generation who are not heads of households. In the total of 100 households, I found that there were, in January 1972, two Zanzibaris, a boy and a girl, still in Standard X. Five Zanzibaris, one a girl, had already attended Standard X, but had not obtained a matriculation exemption to enable them to proceed to university. Five Zanzibari boys and two girls had passed Standard IX, while four boys and two girls had reached Standard VIII.

It is relevant to compare educational standards with the employment obtained, particularly in view of the high vocational aspirations of Zanzibaris. Such a comparison is attempted in Table No. 7, which indicates that the actual employment patterns do not correspond too closely with the common Zanzibari expectation that high school education will readily secure much better employment for their children.

(28) Dr. Harriet Sibisi, now Research Fellow of the Institute for Social Research, University of Natal, taught during the late 1940's at the Catholic Mission school on the Bluff. She has told me that once a Zanzibari girl in her teens stopped attending school it was taken for granted by the staff that the girl had reached puberty and that there would be no further trace of her at school again. 'The girls just disappeared without explanation', she stated.

Table No. 7 - Employment of eighteen young Zanzibaris with a High School education - July 1972.

	Sex	Occupation
Std X	Male	Unemployed
	Male	Laboratory assistant in industrial firm
	Male	Salesman
	Male	Salesman
	Male	Unemployed
	Female	None
Std. IX	Male	Unemployed
	Male	Clerk
	Male	Unemployed
	Male	Policeman
	Female	Nurse-aide
	Female	Nurse-aide
Std. VIII	Male	Factory
	Male	Dispatch clerk
	Male	Unemployed
	Male	Factory
	Female	Domestic servant
	Female	Doctor's receptionist

All those classified as unemployed in this table were without jobs for over six months after leaving school. In fact, Zanzibaris with high school education are finding all too often that their school certificates do not ensure easy employment. Some of the frustrations of job-hunting encountered by young Zanzibaris are described below in the wider context of the life history of one of the male informants.⁽²⁹⁾ Another young Zanzibari man in his early twenties, who had been head prefect of his school in Chatsworth, and who had an excellent testimonial from his school principal, found that after some six months of job-hunting, the only job he could get was as a door-to-door salesman for a furniture firm. This informant was heard to say that it was after

(29) See below, Chapter VIII, p.231-3.

leaving school when ones 'troubles' began. It was my impression that most of the young people from high school who did not have jobs could not be described as 'work-shy', but were trying to find employment which they regarded as commensurate with their education.

In comparison with their less well educated elders, I found that there were twelve young male Zanzibaris who had left school more than six months ago, who were still unemployed, whereas only two male heads of households were unemployed. There seems to be several contributing factors which made it difficult for these young people to get jobs quickly.

Some Zanzibaris stated that they could not get employment because they did not have their identity documents. A few attributed this to the delay on the part of the Population Registrar in issuing them with their identity cards. Yet others stated that, even if one had a Zanzibari identity card, it baffled some employers who did not know whether to offer them jobs reserved by convention for Africans or Coloureds. This confusion over racial identity also affected the wages they were being offered.

Some Zanzibaris were themselves unclear whether they would be admitted to the Indian Technical and Teacher Training Colleges in Durban, although one Zanzibari is attending the Indian Technical College in Durban. I was asked this question by a few young Zanzibaris, whom I assured that they should be eligible for admittance to these colleges. Such questions by some Zanzibaris who wanted clarification on their status and rights, indicated that they were confused and unsure of the facilities open to them because of their racial classification.

For these reasons and no doubt for others too, such as the general employment situation, it seems that the job aspirations of some Zanzibaris are not being readily met, despite their attainment of higher qualifications. Furthermore, the majority of Zanzibaris remain in fairly low level occupations, as may be seen in the detailed analysis which follows.

9. Detailed analysis of occupations.

The occupations of men, together with the number in each case, were as follows:

Policeman (1); Imam (1); Muezzin (1); Bus conductor (1); Laboratory Assistant in an industrial firm (1); Messenger (2); Caretaker of a flat (1); Worker in hotel (1); Herbalist (7); Workmen in building and construction (8); Painter (3); Carpenter (1); Labourer in commercial concern (21); Salesmen (3); Labourer in petroleum and oil companies (11); Supervisor of labour (1); Workers in printing firms (3); Clerk (5); Driver (2); Attendant in car park (1); Workers in motor works and garage (5); Manufacturing and industry (56); Labourer looking after boat (1); The total of all these male workers is 140.

The occupations of women, together with the number in each case, were given as follows:

Domestic servants (24); Workers in manufacturing and industry (26); Nursing (7); Workers in hotel (4); Doctor's receptionist (1); Hawker (1); The total of women workers therefore comes to 66.

From this detailed breakdown of the occupations of both men and women, it can be seen that a large number of Zanzibaris are in industries and manufacturing. This is consistent with the fact that they generally receive higher wages in manufacturing and industry and also that Chatsworth is fairly close to the industrial complexes of Clairwood, Moberi and Jacobs. A large proportion of the male and female wage-earners have therefore been encouraged to move into industry and manufacturing, which include light industries such as clothing, carpet, slipper and food processing factories.

There is, however, one category of industrial occupation which denotes a link with the past at Kings Rest. Eleven men were employed by petroleum and oil companies which are situated in the Bluff area below Kings Rest. Most of the jobs held by Zanzibari men with these firms were obtained by them, while they were still in Kings Rest and are considered by them as being 'good' jobs, because of the pay being better than that paid in many factories and pension schemes are also provided for employees. (30)

Another category of occupation which represents a link with the past is that of the seven full-time 'herbalists' who are the only self-employed and independent men in the Zanzibari community. There is a commonly held belief among the Indians in Natal (31) and, to a certain extent, among Africans that Zanzibaris are well versed in black magic

(30) Zanzibaris who were looking for employment frequently asked their friends or relatives who were working for petroleum and oil firms to find them jobs in these firms.

(31) In her work on the Indians in Natal, Kuper writes (1960 : 248) 'The most feared professional sorcerers sunyagaren are not, however, Hindus, but the 'Zanzibar man', a group of Muslims alleged to be versed in stereo-typed black magic.

and Zanzibari men are therefore to be feared. Zanzibari respondents treat this reputation with a certain amount of amusement and stated that it was the 'Malawians' and other foreign Africans, posing as Zanzibaris, who practised black magic. In fact, I did find out that out of the seven Zanzibari herbalists, four were foreign Africans who had married Zanzibari women in Kings Rest and had, over the years, become regarded as being part of the Zanzibari population.

Three of the Zanzibari herbalists have consulting rooms in the Indian commercial area of Durban. One herbalist stated that he earned R220,00 per month, which was the highest single income in the Zanzibari community. By contrast, another herbalist, with a family of eight children, all of whom were unemployed, was living a hand-to-mouth existence and his wife stated that on, an average, he earned R60,00 per month. As another indicator of income in this category, of the seventeen Zanzibaris who owned cars, four of them were herbalists.

Another interesting belief commonly held by outsiders, particularly by Muslims, about Zanzibaris, is that a substantial number of them are employed as Muezzins, following in the tradition of the Prophet Mohammed, who had freed a Negro slave, the possessor of a glorious voice, and for that reason, had appointed him as the first muezzin of Islam. However, I found only one Zanzibari who was employed as a Muezzin,⁽³²⁾ and also as a caretaker of a mosque. Another Zanzibari

(32) It is, however, possible that so-called 'Zanzibaris' who are not descendants of freed slaves may be employed as muezzins in and around Durban. Thus, Meer, F. notes: The first muezzin of Islam was HAZRAT BILAL, a Negro slave who the Prophet freed and who became one of his closest friends. Durban, presumably in commemoration of that tradition, has continued to employ Negro muezzins drawn from the local community of Zanzibari Muslims. (1969 : 188)

is employed as the Imam of the Chatsworth Juma Mosque and as the instructor in a Madressah, for which two posts he earns a total salary of R65,00 a month, together with any offerings from the congregation.

It can also be noted that, because of limited opportunities, Zanzibaris have not gained access to ordinary entrepreneurial activity and no Zanzibari, other than the herbalists, ran any business on his own account. It is also noticeable that there were no professionals. Only one Zanzibari was in the Public Service, where he was employed as a policeman.

The women work in even more restricted fields of employment, of which the main ones are domestic service and manufacturing and industry. In Kings Rest, the few women who worked were employed mostly as domestic servants in White homes in the Bluff area, and a few Zanzibari women were found, even after their move to Chatsworth, to have continued working for their former employers. Although quite a few Zanzibari women are still employed as domestic servants, more are seeking employment in industry because of the better pay and shorter working hours. One widow, who was experiencing great financial difficulties, was self-employed. She baked cakes and pies and hawked her wares from door to door in Chatsworth.

During January 1972, there were four Zanzibari women training to become nurses: the other three nurses were local African women married to Zanzibaris and therefore included as part of the community. The Zanzibari woman who has been to high school knows of few avenues of employment open to her and, on leaving school, seems to think that nursing offers the only desirable alternative to being drawn into a

factory. Nursing also offers the advantages of receiving pay during the training period, which is used to supplement the family income.⁽³³⁾

I found generally that more and more young girls were wanting to work, partly because of the inadequacy of male earnings, but also because they wanted some degree of independence for themselves. It was also coming to be accepted that women could continue working even after they were married. These changing attitudes, which have been fostered by the move to Chatsworth, have led to an alteration in the traditional role of the daughter-in-law in an extended family, who was expected to take over many of the household responsibilities from her mother-in-law.

10. Income of Zanzibaris.

The incomes earned by the majority of Zanzibaris place them among the economically depressed sections of the Black peoples of South Africa, although they appear to be rather better off than many African workers. As I have shown, industry is the largest employer of the Zanzibaris and women in industrial occupations earn less than their men, who in turn earn less than one-fifth of their White counterparts.

The average monthly incomes earned by Zanzibaris in industry are lower than those paid to Indians and Coloureds and only slightly higher than those paid to Africans. The same pattern also emerged from the income figures that I compared in the field of construction. This position has arisen, I feel, partly because of the different race or group classification of Zanzibaris which has to some extent, though not to any marked degree, led to them being considered in the field of

(33) It would appear that African women also find nursing attractive as a career. For a recent examination of the significance of nursing as a career for African women, see CHEATER, A.P. 1972 : 64.

employment as being 'different' from local Africans.

Table No. 8 - Average gross monthly cash earnings in Manufacturing and Construction by racial group - May 1971 (34)

	Whites	Indians	Coloureds	Africans	Zanzibaris
Manufacturing	R315	R80	R73	R52	R54
Construction	R326	R144	R110	R49	R53

The highest paid man in manufacturing was a Zanzibari who was employed in a responsible position in a blanket factory for the last eighteen years and earned R110,00 per month. The lowest was that of a man earning R7,50 per week in a factory.

The highest stated income of any Zanzibari was as previously mentioned, that of a herbalist, given as R220,00 per month. Four other men earned over R100,00 per month and eight more than R80,00 per month. It is interesting to note that the average wage of clerks and salesmen, who have obtained their jobs since moving to Chatsworth and who have high school education was R75,00 a month. But these jobs, which are considered prestigious, are difficult to come by.

Because there were so few Zanzinarians employed in the other occupations, it is difficult to draw comparisons between their incomes and those of other racial groups. However, I did find that a number of Zanzibari informants complained to me that they were not given jobs, that were given to Indians, who they felt had less difficulty in finding employment than they did. Further, it was felt by some Zanzibaris that they were also paid less than Indians. This caused

(34) HORRELL, M. 1971 : 201 & 232. The figures for the Zanzibaris are from my own data.

bitterness among these Zanzibaris, who felt that they were being unfairly treated, since they lived in an Indian area where the rent was higher than it was in African townships, but yet they were not paid the same wage as Indians.

The highest paid Zanzibari women were those employed as nurses or nurse-aides and the lowest paid were those employed as domestic servants. On an average, Zanzibari women earned R14,00 per month as domestic servants. Most Zanzibari domestic servants did not live-in with their employers, but were provided with breakfast and lunch. Figures released by the Department of Statistics in October 1970, gave the average monthly wage to full-time African women in domestic service in Durban as follows:

Cash	R15,80 ⁽³⁵⁾
Kind	<u>R18,44</u>
Total	<u>R34,24</u>

It therefore seems as if the Zanzibari domestic servants earn less on an average than their African counterparts. One reason why they do so is that a number of the Zanzibari women work on a part-time basis for a few times a week. Another reason is probably that since the majority do not live-in, they are regarded as being only part-time employees.

The highest paid Zanzibari woman in domestic service earned R30,00 a month and she was provided with living quarters, food and uniforms by her employer. This woman had passed her Standard VII examination and was studying through a correspondence college to complete a few

(35) HORRELL, M. & OTHERS 1973 : 323.

remaining courses for her Standard VIII examinations. (36)

Women employed as workers in hotels earned more than domestic servants, as they earned on an average, R30,00 per month and were provided with uniforms and food.

Of the unemployed Zanzibaris, four men received disability grants and five men and seven women received pensions of R18,00 per month from the State. (37) In a few other instances Zanzibaris complained that they had applied for pensions or disability grants, but had been unsuccessful, apparently because they did not have birth certificates. Delay in dealing with applications for State aid was also criticised by some informants. For example, one man stated that some nine months after applying for a disability grant, no decision had been made whether or not he should receive a grant.

11. Household Incomes.

Because of the complex structure of certain households and also because of the fact that many households contain large numbers of people, it is not economically feasible for them to rely on single wage earners. Even in smaller, less complex households the earnings of many heads are still inadequate to support properly all their members.

(36) This respondent informed me that she would eventually like to do nursing.

(37) As from October, 1972 the maximum monthly pensions were increased to R41,00 for Whites, R20,50 for Coloureds, R19,50 for Asians (which includes Zanzibaris) and R6,50 for Africans. (HORRELL, M. 1972 : 412).

This situation is partly mitigated by the fact that in sixty-seven households, as can be seen from Table No. 9, there is more than one wage earner. The total number of sources of income per household ranges from one to five. This range excludes income from lodgers. (38)

Table No. 9 - Total number of incomes per household and average monthly incomes.

Total No. of households	No. of Incomes per household	Average monthly income per household	Medium ^{am} monthly income per household
33	1	R62,68	R55,00
35	2	80,65	72,00
18	3	120,03	126,00
7	4	162,50	156,00
7	5	206,64	192,00
100			

However, although these sixty-seven households had more than one source of income, I found that in only forty-two households were the total earnings R100,00 and above.

12. Standard of living.

The standard of living is clearly related to the number of persons in the household in relation to the total income of the household. It is also related to the cost of living for which the only figure I have available is one for the year 1969 when the Durban Indian Poverty Datum line (P.D.L.) was estimated at R73,52 per month for an average Indian

(38) I have, however, included in these figures disability grants and pensions as sources of income.

family of seven.⁽³⁹⁾ This figure is, of course, now too low, since the Rand has been devalued and the prices of household essentials and rent has risen sharply. Moreover, this figure allowed only R4,30 for rent and R1,45 in respect of transport costs.

It may therefore be estimated that the comparable Poverty Datum Line for Indians and Zanzibaris in Chatsworth today is closer to R100,00 per month. This estimate may in fact be on the low side, as on an average, a sum of R16,00 per month is paid as rent and electricity to the Durban City Council by Zanzibari families.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Further, transport costs are onerous, as a return journey by bus from Chatsworth to Durban costs 18 cents and from Chatsworth to Clairwood, 10 cents.

Poverty Datum Line figures do not allow for any luxuries at all, not even for medicines, education, savings, holidays, hire purchase, blankets or newspapers.⁽⁴¹⁾ I have already indicated that eighty-five per cent of Zanzibari householders have bought furniture on hire purchase and were still paying instalments.⁽⁴²⁾ The minimum level

(39) PILLAY AND ELLISON (1969 : 65) note that almost 60% of the 835 Indian households they had studied in and around Durban earned less than this figure of R73,52 per month, which was estimated as the P.D.L. for an average Indian family of seven. Prof. Fourie of the University of Durban Westville has estimated the Indians P.D.L. for 1973 at R110,00. See Natal Mercury 13th July, 1973.

(40) See above, Chapter III, p. 67.

(41) Professor Edward Batson, of the University of Cape Town has described the Poverty Datum Line as 'an inadequate minimum'. (RANDALL, P. 1972 : 19)

(42) See above, Chapter III, p.68.

which effectively takes into account these items that are omitted by the Poverty Datum Line figures, would consequently be much higher than R100,00 for Zanzibaris.

Further light is thrown on this matter by the work of Professor H.L. Watts, of the University of Natal, who has estimated that the P.D.L. in 1971 for an African family of six in Durban, was in the region of R69,75. However, the Minimum Effective Level for the same family would be somewhere around R105,00 per month.⁽⁴³⁾

I have already indicated that the average number of people living in the Zanzibari households was 7,91 persons and that it is only in the instance of forty-two households that the earnings reached the R100,00 per month and over. Therefore in the other fifty-eight households the earnings were insufficient by this measure.⁽⁴⁴⁾ In some cases the poverty is alleviated by income received from lodgers and monthly food hampers which are distributed by a Durban Muslim charitable organisation to certain of the most needy Zanzibari families.

Because of the small per capita incomes, very few informants did say that they had small savings in the Post Office and Building Societies Savings Accounts.⁽⁴⁵⁾

As no substantial amount of money had been saved by Zanzibari families, no Zanzibari head of a household appeared to be in a financial position to exercise his right of option to pay for the Council house in which he lives. This option, which is included in the terms of the Agreement of Lease, allows heads of households to buy the house, after

(43) HORRELL, M. 1971 : 178.

(44) For an example of the actual household budget of a family, see below, Chapter VII, p. 192.

(45) Zanzibaris are apparently not conscious of the advantages of insurance policies. Unlike some urban Africans, Zanzibaris do not invest in funeral policies. This may be partly because Muslim burials are extremely simple and the body is not placed in a coffin.

occupying it for a minimum period of seven years. In this respect, Zanzibaris are behind some of their Indian neighbours who have exercised their option to buy their houses and have made structural improvements to their homes. I might also add that some Zanzibaris are accordingly less well off than they were in Kings Rest, where they at least owned their houses which they had built themselves on the Juma Trust lands. It is true that these houses were not of very good quality, but they had the advantage in that they could be extended by the Zanzibaris as their families increased.

12. Summary and Conclusion.

The general picture of the Zanzibaris which emerges from the facts summarised in this chapter is that they are a rapidly growing section of the population. They are also, like the majority of Black South Africans, an economically depressed group of people, employed largely in unskilled and semi-skilled occupations. As a result of both these factors, many of them occupy homes that are overcrowded, with very little hope of new homes being allocated to them by the City Council because of the long waiting list for Council houses. In many cases, too, their incomes are inadequate to their other needs. Therefore, although the contemporary situation of the Zanzibaris is no doubt much better than that of the freed slaves from whom many of them are descended, it is not clear that their position is very much better than it was at Kings Rest. Although I have no comparable figures relating to their situation there, it is probable that the average earnings of Zanzibaris were lower at Kings Rest than they are in Chatsworth. On the other hand, it can,

with certainty, be asserted that their expenses are much greater in Chatsworth. One item of expenditure alone which is considered by Zanzibaris as 'crippling' is the rent that they now have to pay at Chatsworth. It is therefore not possible to state with any confidence that the Zanzibaris are, as a whole, materially much better off than they were.

Nevertheless, many Zanzibaris themselves show considerable optimism about their future. This optimism rests particularly on the availability of schools in Chatsworth which encourage them to believe that their children will be better educated. Better education, in turn offers the hope of an improvement in the future standard of living of their community. Such optimism is perhaps less prevalent amongst some of the high school educated youth who seemed conscious of their insecurity in respect of better employment opportunities which appears to be closely related to the whole question of their status as Zanzibaris and also as Blacks in South Africa.

I propose in the next chapter to discuss briefly the social organisation and the main type of households to be found in the one hundred houses of the majority section of the Zanzibari community, in an endeavour to bring alive the bare statistics that have been given in this chapter and also to discuss the roles assigned to the heads of these households.

CHAPTER V

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD ORGANISATION AND THE ROLES OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS.

1. Definition of terms used.

Having dealt, in some detail in the previous chapter with the demographic data on the majority section of the Zanzibaris living in Chatsworth, it becomes obvious from the gross figures of the population, household size and the multiplicity of incomes that there exist 'complex' households in a number of cases. I shall now, in this chapter, begin to consider the social organisation of the population of the majority section of the Zanzibaris in terms of the composition of the households and of the roles of the household heads. From the information I collected in the household census, I was able to classify in some detail the types of households present.

In arriving at a workable classification of the households, I found that, with the exception of the last two types of households listed in Table No.10 below, it was convenient to take a 'conjugal pair'⁽¹⁾ as the

(1) By 'conjugal pair' I do not necessarily imply that the pair had legalised their union by marriage in the form of a civil or religious ceremony. In fact I found that there were a few couples whose unions had no legal or religious status, but who had been living together long enough for their unions to be considered 'conjugal' for the purposes of my analysis. In the case of all the couples who were actually married, the parties had entered into a Muslim marriage contract which was often registered at a later stage, in accordance with the provisions of the civil law. I found generally that women were anxious that their religious marriages should be legally validated in this way, as it gave them a feeling of security. Some men, on the other hand, tended to delay taking this step, as they feared that their wives might become assertive and demanding. Thus, one man commented, 'It is best to register a marriage after you have seen how your wife behaves as otherwise she can get too big for her boots'.

minimum unit from which various types of households emerged or developed by additions to this unit. Subsequently, the original conjugal pair forming the minimum unit from which the household developed might be depleted by death, divorce or separation. These additions or depletions represent, of course, developments over a period of time which, in some instances, have led to more than one nuclear family living in a house.

There was a discernible, though limited, number of such possible 'development cycles' with further separable sub-divisions in each 'cycle'. Both these 'cycles' and sub-divisions of them enabled a classification to be made of all the one hundred households that were included in the census.⁽²⁾

The numerical results of this classification of households are represented in Table No.10 and I shall now comment in more detail on the composition of each of the major types of households, paying particular attention to the role of the heads of the households. I emphasize this latter point because I found that the sex and economic status of heads of the households considerably influenced their authority in the organisation of household affairs and the respect that was accorded to them by other members of the household. Further, such variations are obviously not apparent from the mere classification of the households.

(2) It must be noted that the forty-nine lodgers described in the previous chapter do not fall within the ambit of my definition of household. Only those persons living in the household who were related to the registered occupier of the house and who contributed to the maintenance of the household were regarded as members of it. See above, Chapter IV, p.84-7.

Table No. 10 - Classification of 100 Zanzibari households by kinship structure as at March 1971.

Households by kinship structure	No. of households.	Total no. of persons.
1. <u>Households comprising conjugal pair with or without children.</u>		
(a) without children	2	4
(b) with unmarried children (nuclear families)	31	219
2. <u>Households comprising nuclear families with other kin.</u>		
(a) with husband's relations	4	31
(b) with wife's relations	6	55
(c) with children of married daughters living elsewhere	3	22
3. <u>Households comprising extended families.</u>		
(a) 2 parents and married sons	5	47
(b) 2 parents and married daughter	1	6
(c) 2 parents and unmarried children and their illegitimate children	14	124
4. <u>Households comprising incomplete nuclear families.</u>		
(a) widow and unmarried children	8	50
(b) wife separated	1	8
(c) husband divorced	1	6
(d) husband separated	3	15
5. <u>Households comprising incomplete extended families.</u>		
(a) 1 parent and married son	8	65
(b) widow and unmarried children and their illegitimate children	5	44
6. <u>Households comprising compound families.</u>		
(a) widow enters second union	1	9
(b) widower enters second union	3	14
(c) separated husband enters second union	2	8
7. <u>Households with no conjugal pair.</u>		
(a) unmarried head	1	1*
(b) unmarried brothers and siblings and their children.	1	14
	100	742

* Occupant of this household has taken in lodgers.

2. Households comprising the conjugal pair with and without children.

On the basis of the definition of a conjugal pair that I have adopted, this category consisted of only two cases in which there were minimum units of husband and wife without children. In all the other cases the conjugal pairs were living with their unmarried children.⁽³⁾ Table No.10 shows there were thirty-one such nuclear families with a total of 219 people living in these households, giving an average of seven persons per household with a range from four to eleven persons. The two childless families can also be thought of as likely to develop into nuclear families since the wives in both cases were not past child-bearing age.

In such households, where the conjugal pair are living together, the husband's dominant role is emphasised in Zanzibari society and the expected role of a wife is that she is dependent on her husband and subordinate to his authority.⁽⁴⁾ Thus, I found that a few wives refused to give me any information until they had received permission from their husbands. Zanzibari men live in their own world and had their own conversation and discussions that do not concern women. A woman's subordinate position is also emphasised in that she is expected to remain in the background when her

(3) Such families would normally be called nuclear families.

(4) During the pre-wedding ceremonies and on the wedding day itself the bride is constantly exhorted to be ever mindful of her husband's temper, to serve him, cook for him and not to leave the house or embark on any venture without his permission. To dramatise her role of a subservient wife, on the wedding night the bride's mwethi washes the bridegroom's feet in a dish of water and instructs the bride that she should, in a similar manner, wash her husband's feet very night until she has had her first child. Mwethi (ritual guardian). See below, Chapter VII, 171-4 and Chapter VIII, p.217.

husband is entertaining any of his friends or strangers, and strict segregation of the sexes is maintained at social functions where men and women sit in separate rooms. Consequently I found that when men were being interviewed, their wives would retire into another room, even if I knew them well, as it was not expected of them to participate in any joint discussion with their husbands.⁽⁵⁾

There is a clear division of labour between husband and wife and the latter is expected to stay at home and be engaged in household activity, washing of clothes and cooking.⁽⁶⁾ In Kings Rest, where there was more land, women also used to plant vegetables for their family use, without any assistance from their husbands. However, as the cost of living in Chatsworth is higher than it was in Kings Rest, coupled with the fact that the husbands' income is often low in relation to the size of his family, more women are seeking employment today.⁽⁷⁾

Even so, the husband, as head of the household, is usually the main wage earner and he controls the family income. In theory, he is responsible for paying rent and for the economic maintenance of the household. A wife's earnings and the earnings of children living with their parents are supposed to be given to the father, who in turn then gives a fixed amount of money every month to his wife who handles much of the actual expenditure.

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- (5) In a few instances when male respondents did not remember the names of certain kinsmen, while helping me draw up genealogies, they would shout out to their wives for assistance. The wives would shout back the reply from another room and in some instances carry on a lengthy conversation with their husbands but did not think it proper to join us during the interview.
- (6) Men often assist in cooking at funerals, weddings and other festive occasions.
- (7) See above, Chapter IV, p. 101-2.

In practice, the general picture among the Zanzibaris is that, although it is firmly understood and never lost sight of that the husband is the economic authority of the household, the wife budgets the family income and it often becomes her concern to allocate money for rent, food and furniture. It is only in rare cases that the husband questions his wife's handling of the family's finances. On the other hand, I did find in a few instances that wives were given an allowance by their husbands to cover the household expenses, but the husbands did not reveal to their wives how much they actually earned. I interpreted this as another example of wives being made to feel that they were subordinate to their husbands.

Even as a mother, Zanzibari women do not have much power or authority as the father in a Zanzibari family is the major policy maker and his decisions have the force of authority for his dependant children. Disciplining of the children is usually left to the father when he comes home from work.⁽⁸⁾ The one time that I found that the authority of a father was challenged and children reacted against this authority was in a few instances where children had become economically independent. But, this type of behaviour on the part of the children was regarded as deviant and was disapproved of by many Zanzibaris.

A father is expected to assist his son and daughter to pay their wedding expenses and this obligation becomes greater if a son or daughter contributed towards the maintenance of the household expenses before their marriage. However, the ideal pattern of children handing over their earnings

(8) Fathers often threaten to punish their children with the stem of a peach tree, which I was informed 'stings' and 'bites' and 'leaves marks' for some time after the punishment. A few peach trees have been planted in Chatsworth for this purpose.

to their fathers is often not realised in practice today. A few fathers were heard to say that their sons may be more educated than them, but that their sons lacked 'respect' and 'good sense'. However, as expressions of familiarity are avoided between father and son, even in the present changing situation, this helps to a certain extent to diminish conflicts and friction between them. (9)

Consequently, where a man is head of a household, either in the role of husband or father, he is cast in a dominant position in Zanzibari society and he is regarded as a figure of authority.

3. Households comprising nuclear families with other kin.

The next category of households consisted mainly of nuclear families that had been expanded to include consanguinal kin of either the husband or the wife. Consequently, the conjugal pair, together with their unmarried children, still formed the core of such households which had, however, been supplemented by the incorporation of other kin.

These other kin included the following types: a husband's father's brother; husband's unmarried siblings who, in a few instances, had mated without marrying and therefore had offspring; the wife's mother; a wife's unmarried brother; in one instance a niece of the wife and the niece's illegitimate child; in two instances the wife's married sister and her family were living in the households.

(9) Thus sons do not talk freely, joke or smoke and interact with their fathers on a level of close intimacy.

In both the latter instances, where married sisters and their children were living together, the families thought of the arrangement as being temporary until suitable alternative accommodation could be found for the families without homes. In one instance a sister had given accommodation to her married sister, her husband and one child, as her sister had quarrelled with her husband's family members.

Children of married daughters, who were themselves absent, were living in the three households of category 2(c) of Table No. 10. In one of these instances, a widowed daughter had remarried and had left her four teenage children to live with her parents, both of whom were pensioners in their sixties. In the other two cases, children of daughters who had married Africans and were living away from Chatsworth, were being brought up by their grandparents.⁽¹⁰⁾ The wife in one of these households at first told me that three of her grandchildren were her own children. It was only some time later, when I gained her confidence, that I was told that the children were in fact her married daughter's children. The daughter, married to an African and living in the African township of Umlazi, told me that she wanted her children to be brought up among Zanzibaris, so that they could learn their customs and attend the madressah in Chatsworth.⁽¹¹⁾

In these nuclear families, that had been expanded to include other kin, the headship of the household still vested in the husband of the conjugal pair and there was usually a similar pattern of organisation and

(10) It is, of course, quite common in Africa and elsewhere for children to be sent to live with their grandparents, especially where the parents are in town and the grandparents in the country. However, apart from these three rather special cases, I found no evidence of such a practice among the Zanzibaris. I did, however, find that young girls were often sent to live for short intervals of a week or two, to help aged relatives.

(11) I also think that it was hoped that eventually these children would get Zanzibari identity cards.

behaviour as already described for the ordinary nuclear family. However, the presence of an aged relative in the household tends to modify and 'soften' the authority of the father in his relations with his children.

4. Households comprising extended families.

This category of households consisted, in those cases to sub-division 3(a) and (b), of the original conjugal pair, together with other conjugal pairs formed by the marriages of sons or daughters of the original pair. Some of these additional pairs had off-spring of their own; others did not. In sub-division 3(c) of this category, children of the original pair had mated, without marrying, and had illegitimate off-spring with them in the household.

It is possible to consider the households in sub-division 3(a), in which married sons lived with their parents, as the product of one set of 'traditional' expectations. According to these expectations, sons were supposed to continue living with their fathers after their marriage and the obligation was greater if the father had helped the son with his wedding expenses. That is to say, for some, marriage was ideally patrilocal among the Zanzibaris.

The head of such an extended family is the father in the original conjugal pair, in accordance with the well established pattern of paternal authority. However, the father-son relationship in an extended family becomes more relaxed with time, particularly after the birth of the son's children, and the sons increasing economic independence also enhances his status in the family. Eventually the son comes to share the responsibility for decisions in household matters with his father.

Presumably in order to reduce tension and conflict between a husband's mother and a son's wife, that may arise in such extended households, social distance is enjoined on them. Thus, a husband's mother and son's wife do not enter each others bedrooms and a son's wife is not supposed to address or talk directly to the husband's mother. These avoidance practices are relaxed after the son's wife gives birth to a son. (12)

From informants' statements, it would appear that in Kings Rest, one of the main reasons for the splitting of extended families that did occur, was tension between a son's wife and his mother. However, in Chatsworth I feel that one factor which will often prevent a married son leaving his father's home is lack of alternative accommodation for Zanzibaris. But on the other hand, it must not be lost sight of that, since the homes in Chatsworth were designed for nuclear families, after a while the extended family will have to split because of lack of space. Already such extended family households are overcrowded, with the number of people living in these homes ranging from nine to fifteen people.

In only one case, as indicated in sub-division 3(b), was a married daughter, together with her husband and children, living with her family. From enquiries that I made it emerged that a daughter, after marriage, should ideally live with her husband or his family. Some informants even explained this ideal being in accordance with the Prophet Mohammed's way

(12) Two newly married brides living with their husband's parents who were interviewed by me, informed me that they talked with their husband's mothers in matters relating to household work, but did not engage in chatty conversations with them. Moreover, they also told me that, in front of outsiders, they observed the avoidance custom and did not talk at all with their husband's mothers, lest they be considered 'disrespectful' and 'fast'.

of life. For example, one respondent stated, 'The Prophet did not go and live with his wives, they came and stayed with him'. 'It is our Muslim law that a woman stays with her husband or his family', said another respondent.⁽¹³⁾ However, married daughters often retain close ties with their mothers, who usually are responsive to their problems.

The last sub-division of the extended family category, 3(c), includes the largest number of cases in this whole category. Altogether I counted twenty-five Zanzibari women and sixteen men who had illegitimate children in the one hundred households under survey. In seven of the fourteen households of 3(c), one daughter had illegitimate children and in one household two daughters had illegitimate children. In the remaining six households, sons had brought illegitimate children to live with their parents. In one of these six households, two sons were present with their illegitimate children and in each of the other five households there was one son with illegitimate children.⁽¹⁴⁾

A girl's movements in Zanzibari society on the whole are strictly supervised after she reaches puberty, as women are expected to be virgins

(13) This appears also to have been the practice in Kings Rest. However, I was informed that when a girl married a non-Zanzibari, her family usually accommodated her and her husband in their home.

(14) Illegitimate children were also found in categories 2(a), (b), 4(a), 5(b) and 7(b) of Table No.10.

when they marry and proof of virginity is required by the community on consummation of the marriage. Consequently if a girl gives birth to an illegitimate child, her chances of a 'good' marriage are considerably reduced.⁽¹⁵⁾

Two Zanzibari girls from category 3(c) of Table No. 10, who had illegitimate children from Zanzibari men, were planning to get married to these men. Marriage had been delayed in both instances because of economic factors and also because according to Zanzibari custom, a woman who is pregnant cannot enter into a religious marriage. The reason advanced for this customary practice is that if a daughter is born to the couple she will be regarded as the 'wife' and a son will be regarded as a 'brother-in-law' of the man, as the religious marriage ceremony is thought to 'marry' the man to his unborn child.

The disciplining of these illegitimate children of sons and daughters was largely taken over by their grandparents and therefore there was, in the families in this subdivision of the category, little resemblance to the matrifocal family where males are absent or marginal, as found for example, among Negro families in the Caribbean which have been described by Smith and Henriques and others.⁽¹⁶⁾ A contributory reason for this difference may be that the mothers of the illegitimate children are living with their families on whom they depend for accommodation and in most of these families, the traditional kinship institutions

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- (15) One woman respondent who had an illegitimate child from a Coloured man and who was about 28 years old, informed me that she did not think any Zanzibari man would ever want to marry her now. She commented, 'Zanzibari men think I am now a second-hand scrap'.
- (16) SMITH, M.G., 1962, HENRIQUES, F.M., 1953; PAUW, P.A. observes that among the Xhosa of East London there is a tendency towards a matri-focal type of household (1963 : 161-4).

are still deeply rooted and this means that the effective head of households are normally males.

The reason advanced by a number of older Zanzibaris for the illegitimate births was that, since moving to Chatsworth, their girls have more freedom, in that they continue with their schooling for a longer period than they did when they were in Kings Rest.⁽¹⁷⁾ Furthermore, girls are working today and they feel that their economic independence has freed them from the supervision and restraining influence of their parents. This economic independence has changed the nature and pattern of the household roles of young girls who are no longer, in many instances, confined to domestic chores and there appears to be greater contact between young adult persons of different sex at weddings and other social functions.

It is usually unmarried mothers who figure in literature on illegitimacy, but an unusual practice that I found among the Zanzibaris was that of Zanzibari fathers who had brought their illegitimate children to live with their families. The mothers of these children were usually Coloured or African women. Probing the reason for the practice where young children were separated from their mothers, I found that there was a desire by the fathers of these children that their children be brought up among Zanzibaris and most important of all, that they attend the madressah in Chatsworth. In a few instances I found that fathers had brought their illegitimate children to live with their families, because in this way they escaped paying maintenance for their children to their mothers. Two Zanzibari men stated that the mothers of their illegitimate off-spring found that these children were an embarrassment in their community and welcomed the idea of their children being brought up by their fathers

(17) See above, Chapter IV, p. 94-95.

among Zanzibaris. (18)

5. Households comprising incomplete nuclear families.

In this fourth category of households, the original pair has been reduced by the death, divorce or desertion of one of the spouses, but the remaining spouse has continued to live in the household with his or her unmarried children.

In these incomplete nuclear families, widows form the largest number of surviving spouses. In Kings Rest it was the customary practice among the Zanzibaris on the death of a husband, for his wife to inherit his home and she is also regarded as the owner of his furniture and household effects. However, children of the marriage had residential rights in the home. This practice appears to have been continued in Chatsworth where it is possible for a widow to become an officially registered occupier of a Council house. (19)

In spite of the fact that widows are the official heads of households and, in some instances, the registered lessees of the Council houses, their positions are never as authoritative as that of their husbands would have been during their lifetime. This is largely because women are cast in a subordinate position to men in Zanzibari society. Furthermore, widows

(18) I found that a number of illegitimate children of sons did not have any birth registration documents and this meant that those who were of school going age were being denied any form of secular education. See above, Chapter IV, p.94.

(19) Provided, that is, the woman is over twenty-one years of age and has contractual capacity. This provision is different from that in African townships in Durban where women who are unemancipated cannot become official tenants of Municipal Houses. See SEEDAT, Z.K. 1969 : 135-6.

are often economically dependent on their children for the maintenance of the household and this also effectively diminishes their powers as head of their households.⁽²⁰⁾ Consequently they are never regarded by their children as being completely able to step into their late husbands dominant positions and their headships must be seen as partial and transitional.

Widows themselves are conscious that they are not accorded the same status as their late husbands. Comments made by a few widows expressed this awareness: 'Now with no husband my children don't have the same respect for me or listen to me'; 'You can't rely on sons once their fathers die'; 'The children don't give you money in your hand at the end of the month as their fathers used to do'. In two instances widows had reported their sons to their mwethi,⁽²¹⁾ when they found that their sons were not showing them sufficient respect, nor were they attending to their responsibilities in household affairs.

Further sub-divisions of incomplete nuclear families are indicated in categories 4(b), (c) and (d). In these instances the conjugal pair was reduced through divorce or separation of the spouses. I was not able to calculate the divorce rate among the Zanzibaris, but I was informed by the Zanzibari Imam of Chatsworth that from 1965 to the end of 1972, he

(20) See above, Chapter IV, p.101-2 for the type of occupations taken by women which pay them a very low income.

(21) Mwethi (ritual guardian). Thus one informant stated that her son aged twenty-six gave her a great deal of trouble and caused constant problems in their home, as he refused to contribute towards the expenses of the home and quarrelled incessantly with his brothers and sisters. This woman stated that when she felt she could no longer cope with the situation she reported her son's behaviour to his mwethi who gave her son a 'lecture' after which she stated his behaviour had improved. For discussion on mwethi see Chapter VII, p.171-4 and Chapter VIII, p.217.

knew of only one case where the parties were formally divorced.⁽²²⁾ However, in another instance a Zanzibari man was deserted by his wife who left him and three young children to fend for themselves. After a period of close on ten months, as his wife did not return to him and as there was no trace of her in Chatsworth, he considered his marriage to have been dissolved.⁽²³⁾

6. Households comprising incomplete extended families.

The largest sub-division in this category of households, that is 5(a), comprised sons who had married and, with or without off-spring, were living with one parent. In the other sub-division, 5(b), of this category of households, mated, but unmarried, children with their off-spring were living with one parent.

Again in the majority of these households, the surviving spouse of the original conjugal pairs were widows. A few of these widows were employed, but again they earned meagre incomes and had to depend on their children. The eldest son living with a widow, made all the major decisions in the family, with his mother's tacit concurrence.

Many widows in the incomplete extended households tended to stay at home and took an interest in the internal household affairs and in rearing

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- (22) I was informed by the Imam that the religious marriage contract was dissolved by him in the presence of both parties to the marriage and a few of their family members who acted as witnesses to the divorce.
- (23) Local gossip that I picked up on this incident was that the woman had not wanted to marry, but had agreed because of pressure brought on her by her father. By September 1972, two men, one who had been divorced and the other whose wife had deserted him, had remarried Zanzibari women according to Muslim religious rites.

their grandchildren, particularly in households where the daughter-in-law worked. A few of the widows in these extended families made unsolicited comments that their daughters-in-law did not accord them the same degree of respect as would have been given to them if their husbands were alive. I felt that this type of comparison was made because of the dependent and insecure status of widows in incomplete households.

7. Households comprising compound families.

These households consisted of one widow and three widowers, with unmarried children from their previous marriages, who had remarried. There was also one case, 6(c), of a man who had separated from his wife and then remarried. In the case of the widow who had remarried, she had left four of the children of her previous marriage with her parents, but had taken two of them to live with her new husband.

At the time of this study, there were no polygamous unions recorded among Zanzibaris in Chatsworth and consequently there were no compound families of that type to record. This seems to indicate another change from the situation at Kings Rest where, according to a few informants, their fathers or grandfathers had more than one wife at a time. Although there were no such polygamous Zanzibari households in Chatsworth, I know that a few married men had entered into extra-marital unions with Zanzibari women in Chatsworth, and with women living outside Chatsworth. Some Zanzibari wives appeared to treat with tolerance, the idea that their husbands might not be faithful to them, but reacted strongly to the idea of their husbands taking a second wife, or entering into a permanent union with another woman, and sharing a house with a second wife. It therefore seems as if the

polygamous compound family is now a thing of the past among Zanzibaris.⁽²⁴⁾

8. Households with no conjugal pair represented.

The two cases that fell in this residual category comprise one household in which the official lessee of the Council house is unmarried and has let two rooms in his house to lodgers.⁽²⁵⁾ The other household consists of an unmarried brother, who is regarded as the head of the household, and who is living with his unmarried siblings and their illegitimate children.

These households therefore cannot be regarded as developing from a conjugal pair, since there is no member of such a pair present. Since there are only two such households in this category I do not think they require further comment.

9. Conclusion and summary.

It has been shown that the conjugal pair in time usually develops into the nuclear family which in turn, can develop into extended families, but does not always do so in the contemporary situation in Chatsworth. On the other hand, the acute housing shortage in Chatsworth does encourage many married children or mated children and their illegitimate off-spring to remain in the homes of their parents for lack of other accommodation, But it cannot be said that this always happens.

Another development in the nuclear family is when one of the spouses is left in the household through death, divorce or desertion of the other

(24) In terms of Islamic law a man is permitted to have four wives at a time.

(25) The lessee of this house is regarded as being 'simple' and eccentric.

spouse. These families, it has been seen, may develop further into either incomplete extended or into compound families.

From the analysis of the various types and sub-types of households, it has also been seen that the authority of the husband and father is usually well recognised as heads of households. Women, on the other hand, do not become central dominating figures, in the incomplete nuclear extended families and their authority is never as pervasive as that of males. Further, the male and female roles are sharply distinguished among the Zanzibaris.

A further interesting feature that emerged in this chapter is that certain households have incorporated other kin and illegitimate children of sons and daughters. Some unmarried men who have begotten children appear not to evade the obligations of parenthood and have brought their illegitimate children to live with their families. This feature emphasises one way in which the Zanzibaris accept and accommodate new members into their community and in this manner their numbers will probably increase.

Having so far given largely a historial and numerical account of who the Zanzibaris are and of their living conditions in Chatsworth, I shall, in the subsequent chapters, deal with genealogies and the life histories and social networks of two particular informants and in this way endeavour to give a more particular insight into family life and kinship in the community.

CHAPTER VI

COMMENTARY ON THE PARTIAL GENEALOGIES OF TWO INFORMANTS.

1. Selection of the genealogies.

In this chapter, I have chosen to present the partial genealogies of two informants, selected from those I collected from a number of informants. These two genealogies were not, however, selected by any method of random sampling, but because they concerned informants, from different age and sex groups with whom I had been able to establish an easy rapport at an early stage of my field work and who gave me the maximum co-operation in gathering my data.

Although they are only partial and relate to only two persons, the genealogies do serve to indicate the links and connections between households which hitherto, in the previous chapters, have been considered only as isolated, statistical units. Furthermore, I found that these genealogies contained data on complex racial intermingling through marriage over the generations which has led to the Zanzibaris becoming a genetically mixed community, which contrasts sharply with the official 'racial' identity given to it by the authorities. Moreover, I felt that, by concentrating and commenting on genealogies centered on individuals whose life histories and personal networks I will present in subsequent chapters, I could indicate more clearly the processes by which individuals move into and out of the Zanzibari community.

2. Commentary on Zohra Jamal's Genealogy.

Zohra Jamal (C8), who is my first subject, was initially contacted by me on the 24th January 1970 at her home in Chatsworth. All the interviews thereafter were held in her home, which was an ideal setting, as I was able to participate in conversations she had with friends that visited her and to observe at first hand her activities and quality of her relationships with her husband, children, friends and kin. Basic data was collected from her on family history, genealogies, western and religious education, income and household budget. But most of my interviews with Zohra were unstructured, though where possible the information gathered at these interviews was cross-checked with information acquired through casual conversation with other members of the family and friends of my main informant.⁽¹⁾

Partly because of this method of interviewing, the genealogy of Zohra Jamal that is presented is only partial. For, as can be seen from Diagram 1, it consists mainly of Zohra Jamal's siblings and their descendents, together with some details of her ascendants in the immediate patriline. I did not trace a complete genealogy of all Zohra Jamal's matrilineal and their affinal kin through all the lines, as is recommended for instance by Barnes.⁽²⁾ The reason for not getting such a complete genealogy was

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- (1) Besides ZOHRA (C8) herself, I also interviewed in connection with the genealogy MANSUM (D4); SULEMAN (C19); SULEMAN (C9); IMAN MOHOMED (D1); HAZRA (C5); FATIMA (E4); FATIMA (D8); SARAH (D32); ZULEKHA (D29); HAFEEZA (D36); NEMA (D21); MIRIAM (D15); ZEID (E33); ZOHRA (E20); FATIMA (D34); ZUBEDA (E17); ALUNA (D12); FATIMA (D23); WINNIE (C16);
- (2) Barnes, 1967 : 106.

that it would have taken more time than I could afford. In any case, I now feel completeness would not have added much, since the genealogies as I present them are sufficient to emphasise and illustrate the points I want to make in this chapter.

(a) The paternal grandparents of Zohra Jamal.

Zohra Jamal's paternal grandfather was GOOLAM HOUSEN (A1), a full-blooded Indian. 'He was pure Indian from India. He was a Hyderbadie and used to speak Urdu', she often emphasises, and appears to be proud of her Indian ancestry. 'He came on a ship to work on the girumit⁽³⁾ and was one of the first people in Durban to make the Thaziyas',⁽⁴⁾ the story is told about Goolam Hoosen. This account of his origin may well be true, as a number of Urdu-speaking Muslims came from Hyderabad, to work in Natal as indentured labourers.

Goolam Hoosen seems to have made contact with the Zanzibari community of Kings Rest during the late 1880's or 1890's and married ZOHRA (A2), who, it is believed, was a freed slave woman and appears to have come from the Mozambique area. Information of this Zohra is, however, very sketchy. Nevertheless the fact of their marriage provides an early indication that contact between some Indian Muslims and Zanzibaris was not confined to the religious sphere nor to the fact that they were under similar contracts

(3) See above, Chapter 1, page 14.

(4) THAZIYAS represent tombs of the Prophet's martyred grandsons, which are near Kerbala in Iraq. MEER, F. (1969 : 206) notes that Thaziyas were introduced to South Africa in the very early period of Indian indenture by Muslims from South India.

of indenture that were devised for them by the White administrator.

Goolam Hoosen and his wife Zohra lived all their lives in Kings Rest and had four sons, one of whom (B1), died while still young. The third son (B4), settled in Johannesburg and the fourth son (B5), it is believed, eventually settled in Mozambique. The second son JAMAL (B2), who was of course of Indian paternity, married a Zanzibari woman (B3), and they lived and reared their own family in Kings Rest.

From the facts recorded about some of the individuals in this earlier generation, certain significant trends emerge that can be observed repeatedly in later generations. Among these is the lure of other centres, like Johannesburg, for some members of the Zanzibari community, particularly for those who are not full-blooded Zanzibaris. Another feature that repeats itself in later generations is the continuing links that are maintained by Zanzibaris with Mozambique, where more than one descendant of freed slaves have returned to live permanently or temporarily.

(b) Zohra Jamal's parents.

Jamal married HABIBA (B3) whose parents TOFFIC and SURIYA, who do not appear in the diagram, were freed slaves.⁽⁵⁾ I was told by a few of my informants that Habiba's parents were originally not Muslims but Catholics who lived on the Catholic mission property. This family moved to live on the Juma Musjid Trust lands in Kings Rest and, I was informed, then became Muslims. The marriage of Jamal to Habiba thus indicates that there

(5) In a file, which I found at the offices of the Department of Indian Affairs, Stanger Street, Durban, during 1972, I found an undated list of names of some of the freed slaves, Toffic and Suriya are listed as freed slaves who were married and had the following children: MOOSA, ANJEREA, HABIBA, LOUISA, CASPER and HENRY. Some of the childrens' names appear to be Christian while others are Muslim.

was continuing contact between the Christian and Muslim freed slaves from the early days.

Jamal and Habiba lived in Kings Rest and had ten children, two of whom (C15, C20) died while still young. All Jamal's children were registered on his 'Pass' (which was a legal document of identification that used to be issued to Indians) as his legal children and were classified as Indians, in spite of the fact that only the paternal grandparent of these children was fully Indian.⁽⁶⁾ This classification again illustrates a recurrent feature of the history of the Zanzibaris, already mentioned in the previous chapter, that they have been racially categorised and legally identified to fit into an arbitrary scheme that has been devised by the authorities.

However, Jamal did maintain links with members of the Indian community in Durban, as he was, during his lifetime, employed as a caretaker of an Indian guest house in Durban. His wife, Habiba was a midwife (soma) who delivered Indian children, both Hindu and Muslim, in the Kings Rest area, as well as many Zanzibaris. Jamal did not live to see the move to Chatsworth, since he died in Kings Rest in 1959, but Habiba did, for she died only in 1965, in her daughter Zohra Jamal's house in Chatsworth.

Zohra's parents thus illustrate, in their different roles, how individual members of the Kings Rest community were able to bridge the gap that might have been considered to be great between Indians and the 'foreign' Zanzibari Africans. In fact, I was informed by Zohra Jamal that her mother learnt her skill as a midwife from a Hindu Indian woman living near Kings Rest. These links with Indians reinforced the more formal institutional ties that obtained between the Zanzibaris and the Juma Musjid

(6) For further reference to this case see above, Chapter II, p.50.

Trust and those ties created by the European Administration when the freed slaves arrived in Natal.

(c) Zohra Jamal's sibling group and their descendants.

AYESHA (C2), the eldest daughter of Jamal, had a son who was born out of wedlock. It is rumoured that the child's father was a European, who worked in the Bluff area, but there are conflicting stories about the actual name and occupation of this man. However, Ayesha's child, IMAN MOHOMED (D1) certainly looks Euro-African and could in the South African race classification system, be regarded as a Coloured. Iman Mohomed was brought up by his grandparents, Jamal and Habiba, as his mother drifted away from her family in Kings Rest, largely because she later married a Christian Coloured (C3) and lived with him until her death in the Coloured area of Happy Valley, near Durban.

Iman Mohomed's putative origins and his mother's subsequent liaison with a Coloured, highlight certain other recurring features in the Zanzibari community. One of these features is that illegitimate children, no matter what their racial origin, are often accepted and absorbed by the community. The other feature is that Ayesha's liaison with a Christian Coloured made it difficult for her to live with her husband among the predominantly Muslim closely-knit Zanzibari community of Kings Rest.

Iman Mohomed is himself married to a Zanzibari woman from Kings Rest called MIRIAM (D2). They have five children. Iman Mohomed's eldest son (E1) is married to a Coloured woman and is living in the Wentworth Coloured area and rarely visits his family in Chatsworth. The second son (E2) is working

in the Orange Free State and occasionally sends his father some money. Iman Mohomed's third son (E3) married a woman from the minority section of Zanzibaris, after their move to Chatsworth. They have two children, and they all live with Iman Mohomed and Miriam in their home.

Iman Mohomed's youngest son (E5), who is not married, works in a factory and also lives with him, as does Iman Mohomed's daughter (E6) who is fifteen years old and who has recently undergone the puberty seclusion rite which has confined her to the house. Zohra Jamal is Iman Mohomed's daughter's ritual guardian or mwethi.

It is interesting to note that the two eldest sons of Iman Mohomed have Coloured identity cards, whereas the other two have been issued with Zanzibari identity cards. The two sons who have Coloured identity cards decided to retain these identity cards, because they thought it would be more advantageous, particularly in the economic sphere, to have these cards.

Iman Mohomed himself stated that he originally held a Coloured identity card but, when the Zanzibaris were issued with identity cards he opted for a Zanzibari one, although he realised that possession of a Coloured card, as in the case of his two sons, could also have been advantageous to him.⁽⁷⁾ 'People know who the Coloureds are, they don't know and are not sure about Zanzibaris, especially when you are looking for a job', he stated. His decision to take a Zanzibari card was clearly much influenced by his wife. 'She is a good woman and wanted to stay among our people and keep the religion', he added. For he realised that with a Coloured identity card he would not have been allocated a house in Chatsworth.

(7) See above, Chapter II, where I have described how some Zanzibaris went in the other direction and decided to opt for Coloured race classification and identity cards which had not previously been available to them.

was given the name, HALUWA (C7). Two children were born from this union, FATIMA (D8), a girl, and FIKRI (D11) a boy. Haroon, being the legal son of Jamal, was registered as an Indian, but because he was not legally married to Haluwa, his children were not classified as Indians as he was. However, in 1961, when the Zanzibaris were issued with identity cards, Fatima and Fikri were among those who received Zanzibari cards. (14)

Haroon died in 1942 and Haluwa in 1955 both in Kings Rest where they are buried. Haroon's marriage to a Zulu woman and her conversion to Islam illustrates the importance placed on converting outsiders who marry into the Zanzibari community.

Their daughter, Fatima (D8), had an illegitimate daughter, ZUBEDA (E17), from a Zanzibari man who lived in Kings Rest. This daughter, Zubeda, is renting a room in Chatsworth and is living with a Zanzibari man AHMED (E18), from the Kings Rest area and they have seven children. Zubeda's husband⁽¹⁵⁾ is a ne'er-do-well and drinks excessively. In spite of numerous people having counselled him to marry Zubeda according to Muslim rites, he has refused to do so. (16)

Fatima, Zubeda's mother, later legally married a Coloured man, HARRY (D9)

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- (14) See above, Chapter II, p.48 where I have shown that some people living on the Juma Trust lands, who did not have any record of their birth dates or any sort of identity documents, were issued with Zanzibari identity cards.
- (15) See above, Chapter V, p.111 (footnote 1). Zubeda's relationship with Ahmed would be regarded as a conjugal union in terms of my definition given there.
- (16) I was not able to establish why Ahmed refused to regularise his union with Zubeda, since I did not interview him, but I was told that Ahmed was a particularly difficult and self-willed person.

who subsequently became a Muslim and was given the name of ABDUL, when he married Fatima according to Muslim rites. Their children have not yet obtained identity cards, but on their birth certificates, they take their father's race classification and appear as Coloureds. All Fatima's children attend a Coloured school near Wentworth.⁽¹⁷⁾ Fatima realises that the race classification of her children will create problems as they grow older, since, under the Group Areas Act, her children who will obtain Coloured identity cards will not be able to live in Chatsworth, which is an Indian area.⁽¹⁸⁾

Weekends are very trying for Fatima as her husband, Harry, drinks excessively during this period. 'What can you expect from a Coloured man', she states. 'I can stand his drinking in the weekends, but he drinks even during the month of fasting (Ramadan) and shames me and the children', she complains. Fatima further added that because of her husband's behaviour, some of her children refuse to attend the madressah in Chatsworth, because they are teased by the other children.⁽¹⁹⁾

Zohra Jamal does not visit her brother's daughter, Fatima (D8) very often, even though her house is opposite to Iman Mohamed's (D1), whom

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- (17) Bus fares are an added expense of sending these children to school, but when I first did field work Fatima said that it worked out cheaper for her, as at that time school books were free in Coloured schools but were not so in Indian schools.
- (18) Fatima's house was allocated to her when the Zanzibaris left Kings Rest and she is at present the registered occupier of her house.
- (19) Fatima informed me that some Zanzibari children looked down on her children who were 'Coloureds' and also because their father was regarded as a 'drunkard'. I found this stereotype about Coloured drunkenness quite common among Zanzibari informants as indeed it is among other groups in South Africa.

she visits regularly. However, Zohra shows concern about Fatima's and her daughter Zubeda's plight, and constantly advises Fatima and Zubeda not to 'talk back' at their unsatisfactory husbands and to pray that they reform.

Fikri (D11) is the only son of Haroon and Haluwa. Fikri was first married to NAFEESA (D10), a Zanzibari girl from Kings Rest, and they had four children. Nafeesa died in 1967 and now Fikri is married to ALUNA (D12), who comes from the Stanger area. Both of Aluna's parents are Muslims, but her father came from Malawi, while her mother is purported to be part Indian and part Coloured. Aluna is looking after Nafeesa's children and she and Fikri have two children of their own. Fikri's second marriage to Aluna thus illustrates the connection that exists between Zanzibaris and these Malawians who are also Muslims and who become readily absorbed in the Zanzibari community.

Zohra Jamal maintains little if no contact with Fikri and his wife, Aluna, because she thinks that Aluna is ill-treating her step-children, and considers disapprovingly, that Fikri is completely dominated by Aluna.

ZOHRA JAMAL (C8) herself, the Ego in this genealogy, is the legally registered wife of SULEMAN (C9), a Zanzibari from Kings Rest. She has two sons who both possess Zanzibari identity cards. Her eldest son RAPHENTHA (D14) is married to a Zanzibari woman from Kings Rest and lives in his own house in Chatsworth. Before Raphentha married, he had an affair with a Coloured woman who bore him a son, who is called ZEID (E33). Zeid is being brought up by Zohra as her own son. This adoption of Zeid by Zohra Jamal shows another recurrent pattern among Zanzibaris who may absorb illegitimate children of sons as well as of daughters into their households and take over the responsibility of bringing them up.⁽²⁰⁾

(20) See above, Chapter V, pages 122-123.

Zohra did not remember when she last visited her son Raphentha at his home, the reason being that the relationship between her and her daughter-in-law was not very cordial.⁽²¹⁾ However, Raphentha visits his mother at least once a week. Zohra's other son, HOUSEN (D16) is not married and is living with his parents in Chatsworth.

Zohra Jamal's next sibling, RABIA (C10), was the third daughter of Jamal and Habiba. Rabia was married to a Muslim African, ABDUL (C11), who came from the Mozambique area, but was not of freed slave descent. Rabia's marriage is comparable to that of Harusi (D5) whose marriage was arranged by her family to a Muslim Mozambique African.

Rabia and her husband lived in Kings Rest and moved to Chatsworth, where they both died in 1969. They had eight sons and one daughter. All those of Rabia's sons still living in Chatsworth and her only daughter, now in Cape Town, have Zanzibari identity cards. Her two eldest sons who are in Cape Town, were, I was informed by Zohra, trying to obtain Coloured identity cards. The two eldest sons of Rabia married Cape Coloureds and that is one reason why they are presently living in Cape Town. Recently Rabia's only daughter FARIDA (D25), left Chatsworth to join her brothers in Cape Town, because she felt that the prospects of getting a well paid job were better there.⁽²²⁾ Two of Rabia's other sons, ESSOP (D20), and JOOMA (D22), have married Zanzibari women from Kings Rest and have their own homes in Chatsworth. Three of Rabia's sons are not married and are

(21) Zohra is extremely reluctant to talk about her son Raphentha's family. See below, Life-history of Zohra Jamal. Chapter VII. p. 185.

(22) There are no legal restrictions on Zanzibaris moving from one province of the Republic to the other. Such restrictions do, however, apply to Indians who cannot move out of Natal unless they have a special permit. Consequently those persons in this same genealogy who have Indian 'identity' would not be legally able to make the same move as their consanguines, Farida and her brothers, have done.

living in Rabia's former house in Chatsworth.

Rabia's daughter, Farida (D25), occasionally writes from Cape Town to Zohra Jamal and Zohra enlists the help of either FATIMA (D34) or ZULEKHA (D29), daughters of her late brother OMAR (C13), to reply to Farida's letters. Recently, Zohra Jamal went to Cape Town to see CASSIM (D17), Rabia's son, because his wife had died, and Zohra wanted to see for herself that Cassim's children were well cared for. This concern which motivated Zohra Jamal to travel so far illustrates the ties of kinship among some of the Zanzibaris which extend to areas away from Chatsworth. Zohra does not visit her late sister Rabia's other children in Chatsworth as their homes are situated some distance away from Zohra's home, unless there is some special reason to do so. However, Zohra does keep a watchful eye on Jooma's (D22) household affairs. This is largely because Jooma has a big family and is not a very consistent worker, so that this family often find it difficult to make ends meet. Zohra often collects old clothes from her Indian friends to distribute to this family.⁽²³⁾ The ties of kinship with this family are further strengthened as Jooma's wife, Fatima (D23), is the daughter of Zohra Jamal's husband's late sister, and is the sister of Mansum (D4.)

Zohra's younger brother, OMAR (C13) was the third son of Jamal and Omar. Omar was married first to FATIMA (C12) whose mother was Zanzibari and father an Indian. Omar and Fatima were married according to Muslim rites and the marriage was later registered in terms of the common law. They had seven children, all of whom took their father's racial identity, which was Indian, and they have all been officially classified as Indians. This racial classification has not yet caused problems for Omar's children, since fortunately for them the Zanzibaris have, in terms of the Group Areas

(23) See below, Chapter VII, p.196 for Zohra Jamal's life history and her contact with certain Indian families.

Act, been settled in an Indian area. During 1945, Fatima died and after her death her children were cared for by their paternal grandmother, Habiba. Zohra Jamal also played an important role in looking after these children.

During the late nineteen-fifties, Omar entered into a liaison, that eventually lasted for some years, with a Hindu woman called MARIAMMA (D14) who later became a Muslim and was given the name of AYESHA. Mariamma already had two children, from her first husband, who was an Indian, and these children also lived with Omar in Kings Rest. No attempt appears to have been made to convert Mariamma's children to Islam, but Mariamma's conversion to Islam emphasises once more that the acceptance of outsiders into the Zanzibari community frequently meant the acceptance on their part of Islam. The marriage of Omar to Mariamma is, however, one of the rare cases where an Indian woman has married a Zanzibari man. Mariamma bore no children to Omar and, after the move to Chatsworth, they lived together there. Mariamma died in 1965 and was buried in the Kings Rest Cemetery. Omar died in 1969 in Chatsworth and was buried, according to his wishes, next to his first wife, Fatima (D12) in the Kings Rest Cemetery.

The eldest child of Omar and his first wife, was called HAJRA (D27) and she married one of the so-called Zanzibaris, who originally came from the Coloured area.⁽²⁴⁾ Hajra and her husband now live in Port Shepstone, and they have five children. She keeps only sporadic contact with her family and visits them on rare occasions in Chatsworth.

Omar's twin daughters, ZAINAB (D28) and ZULEKHA (D29) are also married. Zainab is married to a Muslim African man from the Mozambique area and they live in Johannesburg, where her husband works as a tailor. This

(24) See above, Chapter IV, p.12-80 for a discussion on these people.

marriage was arranged by Zainab's father and she did not know her husband before her marriage. The marriage of Habiba and Zainab once again illustrate links by marriage with 'foreign' Africans from the Malawi and Mozambique areas. Zainab writes letters in English at least once a month to her twin sister, Zulekha or to her younger sister Fatima (D34).

Zulekha (D28), who was named after her mother's mother, is married to a Zanzibari man from Kings Rest and now lives in Chatsworth with her husband and five children.

SARAH (D32) is the fourth daughter of the late Omar and the late Fatima. Sarah is considered to be slightly mentally retarded. She hardly talks, but is extremely hard working and helps Zorah Jamal with her household work every day. Her sister, Fatima (D34), whose earnings barely cover her own expenses, gives Sarah an allowance every month. Sarah has a six-year-old illegitimate child from Frank, who is the son of Mariamma, the Indian woman who lived with her father (i.e. Sarah's 'step-brother'). Sarah's child, ANWAR (E50), has very straight hair and looks rather conspicuous because of this feature among the Zanzibari children.

FATIMA (D34), the fifth daughter of Omar also has an illegitimate child named SHIREEN (E51), from a Christian Coloured man. As Fatima holds an Indian identity card, her daughter on her birth certificate is also described as being Indian. Zohra Jamal constantly counsels Fatima to marry Shireen's father. 'Make nikah (a Muslim marriage contract) with him', I have often heard her nag Fatima, in this way emphasising that marriage is thought to be the ultimate goal of all women.

JAMAL (D35), is the only son of Omar and is named after his father's

father. Jamal is married to HAFEEZA (D36) who is the sister of ALUNA(D12), the wife of Fikri (D11) who in turn is Jamal's father's brother's son (C6). Jamal and Hafeeza were originally living in Omar's (C13) house. Recently however, Hafeeza quarrelled with her sisters-in-law, Fatima and Sarah, as a result of which Fatima left her late father Omar's house and sought shelter in Zohra's home. This move then led to Hafeeza persuading her husband to move into the home of Hafeeza's sister, Aluna (D12).

MUNIRAH (D38), the youngest child of Omar and Fatima, has an illegitimate child from a Muslim Coloured man from Cape Town, whom she met in Durban. Recently Munirah moved to Johannesburg with her child and they are living there with Zainab (D28), her elder sister. Munirah's family hope that Zainab will introduce her to a 'good man' and that she will in time marry.

Zohra Jamal feels particularly close to her late brother Omar's family, because she feels she has brought them up. She is, however, disenchanted with Jamal's (D35) behaviour, since she felt that his behaviour in going to live in his wife's sister's home was unmanly and a 'disgrace'. But she nevertheless made excuses for Jamal and stated that his wife was 'too clever' and that he was 'too soft'. Zohra Jamal sees Sarah every day and says Fatima has a 'good heart' and feels re-assured that Fatima will look after Sarah when Zohra dies. Zohra Jamal does not visit Zulekha (D29) except on special occasions, since Zulekha lives far away from Zohra's house, but Zulekha herself visits Zohra at least once a week, usually during the morning. Zulekha's children visit Zohra almost every day on their way to and from the madressah, which is situated near Zohra's house. Recently, Zulekha sent her eldest daughter to stay with Zohra for a few

weeks, so that she could help Zohra who had caught 'flu'.⁽²⁵⁾

MOHOMED (C17), another of Zohra Jamal's younger brothers, lived with a Coloured woman for a while. One son, GOOLAM HOUSEN (D39), was born from this union and he was brought up by Mohamed's mother, Habiba.

Zohra Jamal also played a part in looking after him. However, Goolam Hoosen does not have a Zanzibari or Coloured identity card, but holds an African reference book, in which his ethnic group appears as Xhosa.

Goolam Hoosen, I was informed, had told his family members that he applied for a reference book because he had difficulty finding work without any identity documents. He had not been able to obtain a Zanzibari or an Indian identity card, since he was an illegitimate child and therefore could not take his father's racial classification. Further, as he had lost contact with his mother, he gave up hope of being able to obtain a Coloured identity card.⁽²⁶⁾ I was further informed that Goolam Hoosen could, in appearance, be taken for an African and he found that he had little difficulty in getting a reference book.⁽²⁷⁾

Zohra Jamal, as Goolam Hoosen's father's sister, had been extremely concerned that Goolam Hoosen was not classified as a Zanzibari. For her, Goolam Hoosen is a child her mother brought up and now, because he holds a reference book, she feels he may be prevented, in terms of the law,

(25) See above, Chapter V, p. 118 footnote (10).

(26) I did not interview Goolam Hoosen himself, since during the time that I was doing field work, he was in hospital with T.B. I did, however, meet and briefly interviewed Goolam Hoosen's mother, WINNIE (C 16), who was visiting Zohra during January 1973. She too expressed concern that her son, Goolam Hoosen, had an African reference book.

(27) I was informed by a number of Zanzibari informants that it was easy to obtain an African reference book.

from staying with the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth. Zohra, on her own initiative, went to the offices of the Indian Affairs Department to try and have Goolam Hoosen reclassified as a Zanzibari. However, her attempt was unsuccessful. Zohra tried to visit Goolam Hoosen, who was in hospital with T.B., at least once a month.

Goolam Hoosen's father, Mohomed, is at present living in Chatsworth in his own home, with an African (Sotho) woman and they have no children. Zohra does not visit her brother's home, and from oblique remarks she made, it emerged that she did not approve of her brother living with this woman, and thought that the union should be properly regularised in terms of Muslim law. Mohomed himself, however, visits Zohra at least once a week.

SULEMAN (C19), the youngest surviving son of Jamal and Habiba, does not live in Chatsworth, but in a Coloured area in Wentworth. However, he visits his family members, particularly his sister, Zohra Jamal, at least once a week. Zohra does not visit Suleman at his home and her contact with him is therefore limited to his visits to her. For a long time, Suleman was evasive about the reason why he lived away from his relatives. Recently, Zohra Jamal revealed to me in disapproving tones that Suleman lived in Wentworth because he was living with a Coloured woman, though he has no children from her. However, almost as if to console herself, Zohra added that Suleman still kept his faith and attended the mosque for prayers when he came to Chatsworth.

This completes the details of the first partial genealogy, and from it I will next present the partial genealogy of my second subject, Yusuf. One of the reasons for doing so is that I wish to compare it with Zohra

Jamal's genealogy. For, among other points that emerged from her genealogy, a marked degree of racial intermingling with Indians and other ethnic groups was present, extending right from the start of the genealogy since one of the apical ancestors was Indian. In contrast to this, both the paternal and maternal apical ancestors of Yusuf were freed slaves. In addition, it will be seen that although a racial intermingling occurs in later generations of Yusuf's family, it is not with Indians. The presentation of the partial genealogy of Yusuf will also show further links between households, including some with those in Zohra Jamal's genealogy.

3. Commentary on Yusuf's genealogy.

Contact was first made with YUSUF during February 1970, when he expressed suspicion and doubts about the present study.⁽²⁸⁾ However, later on when I became a familiar figure in the area, armed with a notebook and pencil, his suspicion turned to curiosity. He showed interest in Hilda Kuper's book on the Indians,⁽²⁹⁾ and eventually agreed to co-operate and be interviewed, when it was suggested to him that the outside world should know more about the Zanzibaris.

Most of the interviews with Yusuf were held in his house, but I found that some of the interviews that I had with him at the University of Natal were extremely useful. For the university surroundings seemed to impress on him the seriousness and importance of the study and, most important

(28) This attitude I discovered was linked with the anti-Zanzibari sentiments that were appearing in the local newspapers round about this time. See below, Chapter IX, p. 262-3.

(29) KUPER, H. 1960.

of all, that outsiders cared and concerned themselves about the welfare of the Zanzibari people. Yet another interesting effect of the university surroundings was that Yusuf was more relaxed there and told me many little interesting bits of information about certain Zanzibaris, which he otherwise might have felt constrained not to divulge, since in his home surroundings there was always the fear that he might be overheard.

Again in contrast to Zohra Jamal's case, I shall comment particularly on Yusuf's maternal genealogy, consisting of his mother's sibling group and their descendants, together with some details of Yusuf's ascendants in the immediate matriline. The reason for this choice is that Yusuf's paternal genealogy is very extensive, since his paternal grandfather was a polygynist with three wives.⁽³⁰⁾ Besides this factor, I feel little would be gained from the detailed analysis of both lines, since many of the patterns which I wish to emphasise are just as evident from his maternal genealogy, as from the paternal one.

(a) The maternal great-grandparents of Yusuf.⁽³¹⁾

Yusuf's mother's mother's father was MARANSO (A1), and his mother's

(30) I did, however, collect Yusuf's paternal genealogy.

(31) Additional information on this genealogy was obtained from the following informants. ROOKAYA (C1); ABRAHAM (C2); ABOOBAKER (D3); MAHAROO (D4); FATIMA (D6); MIRIAM (D7); MANAWE (D14); MANSUM (D17); ZARINA (C5); SALEEM (C6); ZARIA (D26); SHARIFA (D27); HANIF (D30); ZAKIA (C8); FIDNA (C10); BASHEER (C12).

Thus, Iman Mohomed made the opposite choice to his two elder sons, which illustrates yet again the relative fluidity of the racial and legal identity of Zanzibaris up till the 1960's, since I have been informed that the authorities do not easily issue Zanzibari identity cards today.

Iman Mohomed, who was fifty-eight years old at the time of the research, had been a heavy duty driver for thirty-five years, but since 1971 has not been able to work because his asthma has worsened. He is drawing unemployment benefit, but this will soon be exhausted and he hopes he will qualify for a disability grant. 'Life is hard. There is no money in the house and I have to sit at home with the women and read newspapers', he says dejectedly.

Zohra Jamal maintains close contact with Iman Mohomed and tries to visit him at least once a fortnight. This is because she is, as mentioned previously, the ritual guardian of Iman Mohomed's daughter and she goes to his home to enquire about her ward's activities, and also because she is worried about Iman Mohomed's health and realised that he cannot climb uphill to visit her at her home.

Reverting to Zohra Jamal's siblings, we come now to ABDUL KADER (C4) who was the eldest son of Jamal and Habiba. Abdul Kader married HAZRA (C5) according to Muslim rites. Hazra's parents were both freed slaves,⁽⁹⁾ and she and Abdul Kader lived in their own home in Kings Rest. They had seven children who, with the exception of two, all died young. Abdul Kader was registered as an Indian, but because he married Hazra according to Muslim

(8) See above, Chapter II, pages 49-51.

(9) I could not find, in the file mentioned above in footnote⁽⁶⁾, the names given to me by the late Hazra as those of her parents.

whose name means 'a bride', and who is the only surviving daughter of Abdul Kader and Hazra, was named by her grandmother, Habiba. For when Harusi was born, Habiba was about to put the fez on her son's (C13) head, just before he mounted the horse⁽¹³⁾ that was to take him to his bride's home in Kings Rest. Harusi's marriage was arranged by her father, Abdul Kader, to a Muslim man who had come from the Mozambique area, but who was not of freed slave origin. She accompanied her husband to Lourenco Marques, where she lived for some time. Her husband died in 1969, and recently she, together with her two children, returned from Mozambique and are living in one house in Chatsworth with her brother Ismail and his family. In order to support herself and her children, Harusi does washing and ironing for a few White families in the nearby Bluff area. She hopes soon to rent a room in another Zanzibari home, as she realises that her brother's home is extremely overcrowded.

Harusi's case illustrates again the persistence of ties with Africans from Mozambique, particularly with those who happen to be Muslims. Her return to Durban and her family also shows the way in which kinship amongst Zanzibaris can be used to obtain refuge, even after a long absence, by someone whose position has become difficult in some distant land. Although Zohra Jamal and Ismail (D3) live on the same road, Zohra does not visit them often, as she expects them to visit her at her home. Ismail's wife, Mansum (D4), visits Zohra at least once or twice a week, as Zohra's husband is her late mother's brother.

The next of Zohra Jamal's siblings was HAROON (C6), the second son of Jamal and Habiba. Haroon married a Zulu woman who became a Muslim and she

(13) In Kings Rest, bridegrooms hired a white horse from an Indian living in the area, to take them to their bride's home.

rites and their marriage was not legally registered, his children and grandchildren were all regarded as Zanzibaris and have been officially recognised as Zanzibaris.⁽¹⁰⁾ It will be noticed elsewhere in the commentary to follow that because a few of Zohra's brothers were not legally married to their wives, their children have been legally classified according to their mother's race classification.

Abdul Kader died in Kings Rest in 1950, but Hazra, who had been living with her eldest son, died in Chatsworth in 1970. ISMAIL (D3), the only surviving son of Abdul Kader and Hazra, is married to a Zanzibari woman from Kings Rest. Ismail and his wife, MANSUM (D4), have seven children. His eldest daughter, ZAIDA (E8), has an illegitimate child from an African man, and she and her child were living with Ismail.

It is interesting to note that I was at first informed that the father of Zaida's child was a Coloured man, but much later when I got to know the family well, I discovered that he was in fact African (i.e. Zulu). This and other such instances illustrate Zanzibari consciousness of the relative placing of Coloured and Africans in the South African racial hierarchy.⁽¹¹⁾ A further contributing factor to this type of deception may be that the Zanzibaris were trying to minimise their social interaction with Africans, since some Indians, it was alleged in newspaper reports, were accusing Zanzibaris of introducing Africans into the Indian area of Chatsworth, and these reports also claimed that some Africans were posing as Zanzibaris and living illegally in Chatsworth.⁽¹²⁾ HARUSI (D5),

(10) An illegitimate child, in terms of our law, is entitled to take his mother's race classification, unless the mother is White and the child's father is Black, in which case the child is classified as Coloured.

(11) Zaida, at the time of writing this study, had married the African man with whom she had been cohabitating, according to Muslim rites, and they had rented a room in Section 20, Chatsworth.

(12) See below, Chapter IX on Indo-Zanzibari relations, p. 263.

mother's mother was MAHAROO (A2), both of whom were listed, in the undated file⁽³²⁾ I found in the offices of the Department of Indian Affairs, as being freed slaves indentured to Mr. W.P. Voysey. There is no information in this file to show if Maranso and Maharoo were married before or after their capture by the British. However, it is recorded in the file that they had one daughter, MAHAIJA (B1), who was Yusuf's maternal grandmother.

Very little is known today about Yusuf's great-grandparents, but stories have been handed down that they were Makuas and that they were rescued by the British from Arab slave dhows. The British, it is reported, were greatly perplexed when these liberated slaves refused to eat the food the British gave them. It was only through gestures that the British were made to understand that some of the liberated slaves would rather die than eat meat that had not been slaughtered by a Muslim and that they required clean, 'unpolluted'⁽³³⁾ utensils in which to cook the rice and lentils that were given to them by the British. This type of story about the rescue of the freed slaves by the British has become part of the folklore of the Zanzibaris and it also emphasises how the present Zanzibaris see the importance of emphasising their Muslim faith as a distinguishing feature of even their earliest remembered ancestors.

(b) Yusuf's maternal grandparents.

Mahaija married ALI (B2) in Kings Rest. Ali, I was informed, was a

(32) See above, p.133 footnote (5).

(33) The freed slaves feared that the utensils used by the British may have been used to cook pork and that they may not have been properly washed by them. Muslims are, of course, prohibited from eating pork.

'foreign' Muslim African from Mozambique, who was not a Makua but was from near Beira and was of partly Arab descent. The story that is told about Ali is that he was the son of a chief, who had left his home, in fear of his life because there was 'some trouble about his father's seat'.

Mahaija had seven children and she died in the nineteen-thirties, while Ali died in the nineteen-forties. The marriage of Mahaija to a foreign Muslim African is once again indicative of the links the Zanzibaris had with these people who became absorbed into the community.

(c) Yusuf's mother's siblings and their descendants.

ROOKAYA (C1), the eldest child of Mahaija and Ali, married a Sotho man, ABRAHAM (C2) who apparently joined the Zanzibaris when he was young and, after becoming a Muslim, continued to live with the community in Kings Rest. Abraham does not possess a Zanzibari identity card, ⁽³⁴⁾ but is regarded by the Zanzibaris as being one who knows all their customs and who used to accompany the Zanzibari boys to the circumcision lodge, when they lived in Kings Rest.

The acceptance of Abraham, a Sotho man, into the Zanzibari community and his marriage to a Zanzibari woman, once again emphasises the tolerance towards outsiders by the Zanzibaris, particularly if they shared their religion. As Abraham is not legally married to Rookaya, their children take their mother's legal identity.

Rookaya and Abraham's second son, ABOOBAKER (D3), has two illegitimate children from a Coloured woman (D2) who are being brought up by Rookaya

(34) Abraham was extremely cagey about telling me what identity documents he possessed. I learnt from my other informants that he has an African reference book.

and live with her in her home in Chatsworth. Aboobaker's children are both of school going age, but as they have no birth certificates, they cannot be admitted to any school.⁽³⁵⁾ However, these children do attend the madressah in Chatsworth. Their presence in the community is another example of a Zanzibari man bringing his illegitimate children to be reared by their families, a somewhat unusual feature of some Zanzibari households to which I have already referred previously.⁽³⁶⁾

The next child of Abraham and Rookaya is MAHAROO (D4), who is nicknamed 'Beauty', and is a buxom handsome woman who is married to a Malawian African, RIAZ (D5), who possesses a Zanzibari identity card, although he is not of freed slave descent.⁽³⁷⁾ Maharoo married her husband in Kings Rest and they have three children living with them in their house in Chatsworth. Maharoo's marriage once again emphasises the links the Zanzibaris of Kings Rest have formed with foreign Muslim Africans.

Maharoo's husband, Riaz, has in fact always been interested in the propagation of Islam and he was financed by a group of Muslim Indian businessmen to further his studies in Islam. Riaz spent two years in Pakistan, in an Islamic seminary there. While Riaz was in Pakistan, Maharoo worked in a factory and her rent was paid by a Muslim Indian family, who considered this as an act of charity in subsidising a poor Muslim family. Today, Riaz is employed as a full-time evangelist, employed by the Islamic Propagation Centre and works at their seminary, 'As Salaam', in Braemar, which is about fifty miles from Durban.⁽³⁸⁾ The assistance

(35) See above, Chapter IV, p.94.

(36) See above, Chapter V, p. 119-124.

(37) For a discussion on the minority section of Zanzibaris see above, Chapter IV, p. 72-80.

(38) During 1971-2 there were forty African pupils in residence at 'As Salaam' - information from Islamic Propagation Centre, Durban, 12th July, 1973.

that Maharoo and her family obtained from Indian Muslims shows once again the interest these people took in the Zanzibaris, particularly their concern that their interest in the Muslim faith should be maintained.

Rookaya's second daughter, FATIMA (D6), is employed in a factory and lives with Rookaya. MIRIAM (D7), the third daughter of Rookaya and Abraham, is married to a Zanzibari man (D8) in Chatsworth and they live in the husband's widowed mother's home. Rookaya and Abraham's two youngest children (D9 and D10) are still at school.

Yusuf's links with his mother's sister, Rookaya, are strong, as they live next door to each other. Yusuf considers Rookaya as a 'big mother'⁽³⁹⁾ and Rookaya keeps a watchful eye over Yusuf and his other brothers and sisters activities, because Yusuf's mother has to leave early in the mornings to work in a hotel. Yusuf does not visit his cousin Maharoo (D4) often, nor does he visit Miriam (D7) at her mother-in-law's home. He does not have very much in common with Miriam's husband, Sayed, who Yusuf thinks has 'gone too religious'.⁽⁴⁰⁾

Yusuf's maternal uncle, OSMAN (C3), the eldest son of Mahaija and Ali, married a Zanzibari woman called MOOKETA (C4), the step-sister of Fatima,⁽⁴¹⁾ the first wife of Zohra Jamal's brother, Omar. Mooketa died in Kings Rest in 1959 and Osman died in 1962 in Chatsworth.

MAHAWA (D11), the eldest child of Mooketa and Osman, married

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- (39) Amongst the Zanzibaris a mother's eldest sister is known by the kin term Khulu and shares a common social identity with one's own mother. See appendix 'B'.
- (40) Miriam's husband belongs to a Tableegh Group, which conducts revival meetings among Muslims on a world-wide basis. I was able to establish that three Zanzibaris in their early twenties had joined a Tableegh Group organised by Indian Muslims of the Isipingo area, near Chatsworth.
- (41) See above, Zohra Jamal's genealogy and Diagram 1, C12 (Fatima) and C13 (Omar).

MOHOMED ALI (D12), a Zanzibari from Kings Rest, and they live in Chatsworth, together with their six children.

MANAWE (D14), the second daughter of Mooketa and Osman, had two illegitimate children (E12 and E13) from a local African (D13), with whom she made friends at the Catholic school for Africans on the Bluff, which a number of Zanzibaris attended. She was, at the time of my field work, 'in love' with a Zanzibari man (D15) whom she described as a 'play boy' and has a child (E14) from him. Manawe's Zanzibari lover was giving her R2,00 a week as maintenance for her child and she had obtained a court order⁽⁴²⁾ for maintenance of R5,00 a month against her former African 'boy friend'. Manawe was living with her illegitimate children in the Chatsworth home of her late father, Osman.

MAHARIE (D16), the next daughter of Osman, had left the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth and was living with her Muslim Malawian husband in the Marianhill area. This marriage is yet another example of the links with foreign Muslim Africans, though in this case the husband had not become absorbed into the Chatsworth community as Riaz (D5) had, for example.

MANSUM (D17), the fourth daughter of Osman and Mooketa, was also married to a Muslim Malawian man (D18) who came to South Africa as a young boy to look for work. Mansum and her husband are renting a room in the home of Maharoo (D4), the father's sister's daughter of Mansum.

Like her elder sister, MANIRIBO (D20), the fifth daughter of Mooketa and Osman, had fallen in love with a local African man from whom she has

(42) A few other Zanzibari women who had illegitimate children had also obtained court orders against the fathers of their children for maintenance. However, the majority of these women claimed that often these men evaded the responsibility of supporting their children, since they changed their residence and it was difficult to trace them and enforce the court orders against them.

a child (E17). I was informed that Maniribo was going to marry her lover who would become a Muslim and they were hoping to rent a room with a Zanzibari family in Section 20, Chatsworth. She and her illegitimate child were, in the meanwhile, living with her sister Manawe (D14) and the latter's illegitimate children, together with her unmarried brother, Ismail (D21) and young sister, FARIDA (D22) who is still going to school. All these persons inhabit the late Osman's home.

Yusuf's contact with the children of his late uncle, Osman, is not very great, since they live some distance away from his house and, moreover, he stated he had little in common with the only surviving male child of Osman, who is Ismail (D21).

ZARINA (C5), the second daughter of Mahaija and Ali is Yusuf's own mother, who was married to SALEEM (C6),⁽⁴³⁾ a Zanzibari man from Kings Rest who died in 1971. Saleem was the husband's brother of Zohra Jamal, my first subject, Zarina and Saleem's eldest daughter, ZARIA (D26), is married to a man from Johannesburg, who holds a Coloured Identity card, though his father is a Muslim Makua from the Mozambique area and it is his mother who is Coloured. Zaria's marriage was arranged by her late father, and she did not know her husband before her marriage. Recently, her marriage has run into difficulties and she has returned to her family who are trying to sort out her problems. This indicates again that, although a woman may be married and is living away from the Zanzibari community, she can still look to her kin for help and assistance in times of difficulties.

SHARIFA (D27), Yusuf's second sister, is employed as a nurse-aide

(43) The late Saleem was nicknamed 'Mr. Stick', as he was renowned for his impromptu solo dances and skits at weddings and at post-funerary ceremonies, when friends and relatives keep an all-night vigil.

at a mission hospital in Durban. Yusuf's immediate younger brother, HANIF (D30) has an illegitimate child (E18) from a Zanzibari girl (D29) who belongs to the minority section. This child is living with her mother whom Hanif hopes to marry, but he finds that he has been unable to save money from his earnings at a factory. The remainder of Yusuf's siblings are still in school and the whole sibling group live with their widowed mother in her house in Chatsworth.

Junior to Yusuf's mother are AHMED (C7) and ADAM(C9), twin sons of the late Mahaija and Ali. Adam (C9) joined the army during the last world war. He now lives in England and his family believe that he is married to an English woman. Adam last wrote to his brother, Ahmed, almost ten years ago and has not maintained contact with his family since then. Ahmed himself is married to a Zanzibari woman, ZAKIA (C8), from the Kings Rest area, and they have eight children. Zakia informed me that she does not actually have a Zanzibari identity card, because at the time the Zanzibaris were issued with their identity cards in Kings Rest she was ill in hospital. She further informed me that, in spite of her brothers and sisters having Zanzibari identity cards, she has been unsuccessful in obtaining her identity card. She thinks she should consult a lawyer to help her with this problem, but does not have the money nor the time.

Because Zakia is not legally married to her husband, and as she has no identity documents, none of her children have birth certificates and thus they have not attended school. Zakia's eldest daughter, SHIFA (D35), lives with an Indian Muslim family in Section 30 and helps this family with their domestic chores for a small monthly remuneration. This is not an unprecedented arrangement, since during the time the Zanzibaris were in Kings Rest a few young girls were sent to live with Muslim Indian

families and acted as their domestic help. These girls were treated as part of the family they lived with, and there was no question of them being given accommodation in the 'servants quarters'.⁽⁴⁴⁾ This again emphasises that Muslim Indians have tended to treat the Zanzibaris as their dependants in the social as well as the religious sphere.

Ahmed and the remainder of his family also live in Section 30 Chatsworth, which is about four miles from Section 20. Ahmed was allocated a house in Section 30 some four years ago, since he could not get a house when the Zanzibaris were allocated houses in Chatsworth in 1962.⁽⁴⁵⁾ I interviewed Ahmed's wife, Zakia, who still feels very isolated from the Zanzibari community and informed me that she would like to live in Section 20 with the other Zanzibaris. She also told me that she last went to Section 20 a year ago, to attend a family funeral. Her husband has more opportunities to visit the Zanzibari community in Section 20 where he goes at least once a fortnight.

However, Yusuf does not visit in return his uncle, Ahmed, and his family in Section 30, though he is one of the people his uncle sees whenever he is in Section 20. So, despite his uncle's visits, the bond between Yusuf and him is not close.

FIDNA (C10) is the third and last daughter of Mahaija and Ali. She was married in Kings Rest to HASSAN (C11), whose mother was Zanzibari, but whose father was Swazi. Hassan was born in the Stanger area in Natal,

(44) Today, however, most young Zanzibari girls find it more attractive to work in factories.

(45) For a while Ahmed and his family lived with relatives in Section 20, but then moved to live in Happy Valley, a Coloured area. Zakia, Ahmed's wife, informed me that she was very unhappy there and was relieved when the City Council, who had their name on their waiting list, allocated them a house in Section 30. This may also mean that as the houses in Section 20 are occupied, Zanzibaris may be allocated houses in other Sections of Chatsworth. A few families from the 'minority section' have been allocated houses in other sections in Chatsworth.

and married Fidna in Kings Rest, and they now live in Chatsworth. Hassan was issued with a Zanzibari identity card along with the other Zanzibaris at Kings Rest in 1962.

Fidna's eldest daughter, KATENNAE (D44), has two illegitimate children from a Zanzibari man. She had, since December 1971, gone to Pietermaritzburg where she was living with her mother's youngest brother, BASHEER (C12). Fidna was very worried and confided to me that one of Katennae's children (E19), is described on her birth certificate as a 'Bantu'. She wanted to consult a lawyer to see whether this error could be rectified, as she thought that the child would have problems in later life. Fidna also made it clear that life was more difficult for Africans in South Africa and that they were 'troubled' by the pass-laws. Again, as in the case of Zohra Jamal's brother's son, Goolam Hoosen (D39),⁽⁴⁶⁾ the attitude was conveyed that Zanzibaris believed their status in the South African system to be more privileged than that of Africans.

On the other hand, the case of ZARINA (D46), the second daughter of Fidna, shows that the official Zanzibari status may not be considered so privileged as that of some other categories of Coloured. For Zarina has an illegitimate child (E21) from a Coloured man whom she was planning to marry. Fidna informed me that her daughter, Zarina, had not herself registered her child with the authorities because her 'boyfriend' was coming from Johannesburg to attend to this, since he wanted his child to be registered as 'Other Coloured'. The reason given for this was that the child's father felt that with a Coloured identity card, his son's chances in life were better.

(46) See above, Zohra Jamal's genealogy, Diagram 1, D39 (Goolam Hoosen).

The remaining children (D47, 48, 49 and 50) of Fidna and Hassan are still young and are at school.

Yusuf is very fond of Fidna, his mother's youngest sister, for whom the kin term amongst the Zanzibaris is nakhe. The conventional role associated with the term is that of a gentle, loving confidant towards her elder sister's children. Yusuf visits Fidna's home almost every day, as it is only one house away from his own home. A further attraction is that he is very friendly with Fidna's daughter, Zarina, with whom he shares many common interests, such as gramophone records and pop singers.

BASHEER (C12), the youngest son of Mahaija and Ali, lives away from the Zanzibari community in Edendale, an African area near Pietermaritzburg, where he works. Basheer was married to a Sotho nurse who died leaving him to rear their ten children. These children appear to be brought up as Africans, and attend African schools. Basheer's eldest daughter attended the Inanda Missionary school and is at present doing a teacher's diploma at the University of Zululand. Basheer himself keeps contact with his family in Chatsworth and he acted as a go-between and represented his sister Rookaya (C1) during the wedding of her daughter, Miriam (D7).⁽⁴⁷⁾

Yusuf used to go to his uncle Basheer's home in Edendale for some of his school holidays. Yusuf also corresponds with Basheer's eldest daughter and often says jokingly that he would like to marry her, since marriage with a mother's brother's daughter is a desirable form of marriage among Zanzibaris and references are often made about this type of marriage,⁽⁴⁸⁾

(47) A mother's brother, known by the kin term halu is indulgent towards his sister's children, but there is no established joking relationship between them.

(48) Cross-cousins can be called jokingly 'husband' and 'wife' and this usage indicates that marriage is possible with cross-cousins and also leads to privileged familiarity between these individuals.

although it can be observed from Zohra Jamal's and Yusuf's partial genealogies that no such marriage has been recorded for them, nor did I come across any such marriages among other Zanzibaris.

Having dealt with the partial paternal genealogy of Zohra Jamal and the partial maternal genealogy of Yusuf, together with the links between households, I shall now compare and contrast these genealogies and pin-point certain recurring patterns and links in them.

4. Summary and conclusion.

Zohra Jamal's paternal relatives are living in twelve different houses in Chatsworth, while Yusuf's maternal relatives live in five different houses in Section 20 and in one house in Section 30. It has been shown in the text that Zohra Jamal's and Yusuf's contacts with some of these households are greater than those with other households and this distribution seems to be based on personal likes or dislikes. This variability of contacts illustrate the selectivity of kinship links in the Zanzibari community, as in any other community. But this selectivity does not mean that the households with fewer contacts themselves are not themselves inter-connected with yet others and so the total contacts of all households result in a network of very complex cross-cutting ties which helps strengthen the community feeling among the Zanzibaris.

Besides such links within the community through consanguinity and marriage, there are links through marriage outside the community with all the major Black racial groups.⁽⁴⁹⁾ From the commentary on the genealogies, it has been shown that, although some of their early forbears were

(49) In only one instance, in Zohra Jamal's genealogy was a White man purported to have been the father of a Zanzibari, Iman Mohamed.(D1).

freed slaves or descendants of freed slaves, others were of foreign African, local African, Coloured and Indian origins. So that even from the early days the emerging Zanzibari community was racially mixed. One reason that may have made it necessary for the freed slaves to intermarry with the other Black racial groups, was that, although the Muslim freed slaves did tend to marry among themselves, they nevertheless had to marry outsiders in order to perpetuate themselves, because of the smallness of their own numbers.

It has already been shown in the earlier chapters that the Zanzibari community is being constantly reinforced by newcomers, who were often foreign Africans, such as those from Malawi or from Mozambique. The partial genealogies have further shown that the links with these Africans were not always random, but often based on the fact that they were Muslims. If they were not, then through social pressures they were encouraged to become Muslims and in this manner the social cohesion of the community was fostered. A further contributing factor, which helped the Zanzibaris to maintain their community identity and to absorb newcomers, was that they lived together on the Juma Musjid Trust lands in Kings Rest, where the genealogies show that many outsiders also came to live as Muslims. Further, the relationships of dependence with certain Indian Muslim families through domestic and other employment and the resultant contact with these families have helped to strengthen the attachment to Islam amongst Zanzibaris.

Although there seems to be no adequate way of quantifying my evidence, there are apparently rather more new entrants into the community than losses from it.⁽⁵⁰⁾ These marriages take place in spite of the fact which

(50) There are twenty-one marriages recorded in Zohra Jamal's genealogy, nine of which are with outsiders. In Yusuf's genealogy there are eleven marriages recorded, five of which are with outsiders.

I have previously indicated, that some Zanzibaris express a preference for marrying among themselves.⁽⁵¹⁾ A few informants who had married non-Zanzibaris told me of the opposition that they encountered from their parents over their choice of marriage partners. One woman who married a local African told me that she 'disappointed' her parents who, in the beginning were very 'cross' and they made 'big trouble', about her decision to marry a non-Zanzibari. However, the fact that the non-Zanzibaris marrying Zanzibaris are often either already Muslims or convert to Islam, is an important counter-weight to being a non-Zanzibari.

A further interesting factor that emerged from the genealogies is that the children of non-Zanzibaris who have married Zanzibaris are usually brought up as Muslims and this helps them to become assimilated with the Zanzibaris. The one exception appears to be Yusuf's mother's youngest brother, Basheer (C12), who was married to a Sotho woman and their children, it would seem, are not Muslims. However, an important consideration in respect of this unusual case is that Basheer is living away from the Zanzibari community.

In the two genealogies that have been discussed, losses from the community have also been recorded. They have come about through marriage or through leaving for other provinces in South Africa in the hope of better employment. In a few families it has been shown that if one member is well established in an area, this may cause a chain reaction for others to follow him. Thus three of the children of Zohra Jamal's late sister, Rabia (C10), were working in Cape Town where they are said to be 'well off'. Two daughters of Zohra Jamal's late brother, Omar (C13), had also left Chatsworth for Johannesburg. One of these women is married and well

(51) See above, Chapter IV p. 86.

settled in Johannesburg and the other had joined her to try and get a better job there.

In Yusuf's genealogy it was seen that his mother's youngest brother Basheer (C12), had left the community and had a well paid job in Pietermaritzburg, where Yusuf's mother's youngest sister's eldest daughter, Katennae (D44), has been living with him since December 1971. However, in Yusuf's genealogy there is not the same incidence of individuals leaving the Zanzibari community for other areas in South Africa for better employment, though this difference may probably be because his genealogy is smaller. Nevertheless, what does emerge clearly from this genealogy, as from Zohra Jamal's, is that where marriages were contracted with people outside the community and homes were set up outside Chatsworth, this sequence usually leads to permanent losses, from the Zanzibari community. This was particularly noticeable where the individuals involved are Zanzibari men married to non-Zanzibari women. Thus, Yusuf's mother's brother, Adam (C9), was living in England where it is thought he is married. Yusuf's mother's youngest brother, Basheer(C12) was living in Pietermaritzburg and was married to a Sotho woman. In Zohra Jamal's genealogy, it was shown that Iman Mohamed's son (E1), was married to a Coloured woman and was living in the Wentworth Coloured area, as was Suleman (C19), Zohra Jamal's youngest brother.

However, it has been seen that the ties of kinship are still strong among the Zanzibaris and are maintained even after marriage and removal, as is particularly noticeable where a woman has married and left the Zanzibari community. Thus, in Zohra Jamal's genealogy, the daughter (D5) of her brother Abdul Kader's, married a man from the Mozambique area and

returned to her community with her children, when her husband died. In Yusuf's genealogy, it was noted that his sister (D26) had returned to her home, because she was encountering difficulties in her married life.

The ties of consanguinity are also emphasised in the commentary on the genealogies, when it was shown that not only were the illegitimate children of daughters frequently reared by their kin, but also, and more unusually, that unmarried sons sometimes brought their children to live with their families. These illegitimate children, whatever their ethnic origin, became Muslims and are readily absorbed into the community and are not regarded as **outcasts**. Nine instances of children born out of wedlock have been recorded in Zohra Jamal's family history. In two of these instances, illegitimate children of Zanzibari men are being reared by their kin. In Yusuf's genealogy four women and two men had illegitimate children, and of the men, one had brought two of his illegitimate children to live in his mother's home. The presence of these illegitimate children in the various families, invariably leads to their mothers or fathers, who have mated with non-Zanzibaris, being drawn back into their family circles, since they are dependant on them for giving them and their children a home.

In the next two chapters to follow, I shall present the life-histories of the two central egos in the partial genealogies that I have discussed. From the overall demographic picture of the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth, which I presented in Chapter IV, I have been steadily narrowing the focus of the study to the two central egos in the partial genealogies who are linked to a number of persons in other households. The final narrowing of focus onto these two egos will be presented in the next two chapters. In these chapters besides dealing with the personal

histories of the central egos, I shall incorporate some of the life-crisis customs of the Zanzibaris, which will be a departure from the usual form of ethnographic survey. Further, some of the voluntary associations among the Zanzibaris, together with the personal networks of the two central egos, will be presented, in order to further elucidate the field data that I have collected on the community spirit and identity of the Zanzibaris.

CHAPTER VII

LIFE HISTORY AND SOCIAL NETWORK OF ZOHRA JAMAL

1. Introduction.

The life history in sociological and anthropological studies have been used successfully by a number of writers, particularly Oscar Lewis, ⁽¹⁾ in his studies of the culture of poverty. For the type of community study I have undertaken on the Zanzibaris, the life histories dealt with by me will not be very detailed and their main purpose will be to emphasise the community spirit and identity among the Zanzibaris. In particular the life histories and social networks will amplify the material on the links between different households and the interaction and co-operation between them presented in earlier chapters.

In addition, I felt that the life history method would be a useful way of describing the ethnographic data, such as the customs surrounding puberty, circumcision, guardianship, marriage and death, that I had collected on the Zanzibaris. For, I felt that through the descriptive material of life histories, I could describe more vividly other aspects of life such as the expected behaviour patterns, some of which have changed since the Zanzibaris have moved to Chatsworth.

(1) LEWIS, O. 1961, 1965, 1968. SOUTHALL, A. 1965 : 27 also suggests that the detailed study of a few persons may reveal more than the usual quantifiable data.

2. Brief outline of Zohra Jamal's personality.

The last house on Road 642, which is steep, winding and ends in a cul-de-sac, is not far from the mosque. Outside the house on a little bench, there usually sits Suleman, a slightly built, grey-haired old man, who claims to be 'maybe near eighty years old'.⁽²⁾ He is barefooted and shabbily dressed. Suleman's aged eyes, which have been narrowed by the creases in his face, gleam as he gives the Arabic greeting of 'peace be with you'.

Sitting nearby and framed in the doorway is his wife, Zohra, who is a small sprightly woman in her late sixties. Zohra wears a modified version of the Zanzibari dress, which comprises a long sleeved blouse, a three-yard piece of colourful cotton cloth which is wound around her waist, and a scarf which covers her hair. Zohra's lips, mouth and teeth are tinged a light orangey-red, for she had that morning, as she has done ever since she married, cleaned her mouth with the root of a tree belonging to the henna family.⁽³⁾

Zohra is a friendly person and warms to personal questions and has an air of superiority and knowingness. She speaks in a decisive manner, for she has earned the respect of her community. She has earned it not

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- (2) Both Zohra and her husband did not know their birth dates and I had to estimate their ages, using guidelines such as dates when they applied for pension and also from their children's birth dates.
- (3) The day after her wedding a bride is given a root of the Euclia Natalensis shrub and she is instructed by her mwethi to clean her mouth every morning with the root. The orange tinge left by the root indicates that the woman is married. Informants have told me that this is a Makua custom. Shrub identified by Mr. J.H. Arnold, curator of the Botanic Gardens, Durban, who informed me that the shrub is distributed along the coast of Natal and extends as far as Kenya and Ethiopia.

only because of her age, but also because she is considered to be one of the few people in her community who knows all the 'old things and customs about the Zanzibaris'. Her own family members respect her because she has always advised and assisted them. Zohra's generous nature, coupled with a ready sense of humour, has made many friends for her both inside and outside the community.

In keeping with Muslim tradition, Zohra always introduces herself as Zohra Jamal. She may be the wife of Suleman Tinambo, but she still retains her father's surname, even after marriage. She does not consider it disloyal to her husband when she emphasises, 'I was born a Jamal and shall die a Jamal'.⁽⁴⁾

Zohra has had no formal schooling of any kind. The circumstances of her early family life were such that there was no money to spare for education from her father's meagre earnings as caretaker of a Muslim guest house in Durban, a job which he got through the help of an Indian Muslim family he had befriended.⁽⁵⁾ Life was particularly hard for the daughters of Jamal who, because their mother was continuously ill, had to forgo school.

For the same reason, Madressah education was also denied Zohra and this has caused her considerable pain and embarrassment. She will only confide her inability to read the Quran to a person she knows well. To compensate for this grave omission in her religious education, she has

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- (4) I found that most Zanzibari married women, when asked their names, introduced themselves by their father's surnames. LEWIS I.M. observes that 'in terms of Islamic law, a wife's jural links with her own natal kin (or guardian) are not complete severed'.(1969 : 54)
- (5) See above, Chapter VI, p.134. Contact with the Indian family may have been made by Zohra's father, through his father who was an Indian. Zohra also feels that contact with Gujerati Indian families may have been made by her father, when these Indians came to visit the mosque in Kings Rest or when they came to distribute alms and subsidise poor Muslim families in the Kings Rest settlement.

learnt by heart a few of the more familiar verses of the Quran and knows all the liturgical songs which the women chant. But, the lack of formal education has not been a great stumbling block to her, for, endowed with quick intelligence, a vigorous manner and her ability to speak English fluently, she is able to do most things she sets out to do.

3. Crucial stages of the life cycle of Zohra Jamal.

(a) Puberty.

At the age of fourteen years, Zohra reached puberty and (as is still the custom among the Zanzibaris, when a girl gets her first menses) she was secluded for seven days in a room, which became out of bounds for all men, including her father, because Zohra was thought to be 'unclean'. This male avoidance during the period of the girl's seclusion is thought to impress on her that she is now to treat men differently and that her sex role is different from the role assigned to men.

Also in keeping with custom, a ritual guardian or mwethi⁽⁶⁾ who was a personal friend of her mother's, was chosen by her parents to supervise her conduct. It is usual to choose a relative to act as a girl's mwethi. However, a person who stands in the relationship of a 'mother' to the girl cannot be chosen as a mwethi. This prohibition rules out the possibility of a mother's sister or father's brother's wife, who fall in

(6) PRINS, A.H.J. 1967 : 108 and TRIMINGHAM, J.S. 1964 : 131 both state that a confidential adviser called kungwi or makungwi is appointed by the people of Zanzibar and East African coastal areas when a girl reaches puberty. The mkungwi is regarded as a sterner substitute for the parents.

the category of a 'mother' to the girl, being appointed as her mwethi. But, a father's sister, mother's mother and female siblings of the mother's mother, mother's sister's children or a brother's wife, who are all regarded as 'sisters' of the girl, can be chosen as a girl's mwethi. However, a mwethi need not be related to her ward. The appointment of non-kin as mwethi then involves the conversion of a non-kin relationship into a quasi-kinship or pseudo-kinship tie, with obligations to assist a ward. The institution of mwethi therefore allows for the development of links between otherwise independent social units and it can also reinforce existing kin ties. (7)

In any event, Zohra's mwethi had full authority to correct and reprimand her. As a Zanzibari girl's mwethi assumes the role of being a disciplinarian, 'mwethiship' is a form of institutional sharing of the parental role. This sharing ensures, it is felt, that the emotional relationship between a mother and daughter is not threatened, since it helps to reduce tensions generated between a mother and daughter, during a period when a girl has to make tremendous adjustments in her way of life.

After the seven days of seclusion, a puberty ceremony was held for Zohra which was attended only by women who had been through the ceremony. This ceremony marked a change in her social status from a girl to a maiden and, as a concrete expression of this change, Zohra was given

(7) The institution of campradrazgo, found in Mediterranean and Latin American cultures, is, to a certain extent, similar to the institution of mwethi amongst the Zanzibaris. According to the institution of campradrazgo ceremonial sponsors, through the ritual of Catholic baptism, are chosen to look after the child throughout life. MINTZ, S.W. and WOLF, E.R. deal comprehensively with the cultural institution of campradrazgo. 1950 : 341. GOODY, E.N. 1971 : 338. It is interesting to note that a few Zanzibaris, who had been to the Catholic mission school in the Bluff area, of their own accord gave me the English equivalent of mwethi as 'godmother'.

a veil at the end of the ceremony by her mwethi to cover her head, which was also used to cover her face in the presence of strangers. Zohra was no longer regarded as a child, but now as a maiden and was referred to as Nimwari Zohra, which means a girl who has adopted the veil. After this ceremony, Zohra was kept indoors in a strict, almost oriental type of purdah, until a further ceremony was held releasing her from seclusion.⁽⁸⁾ Zohra recalls this period of her life in the following manner:

When I was aged up my mwethi teaches me the rules and manners of our people. To respect old people. To greet my parents and elder brothers respectfully every morning. My mwethi also tells me not to put salt in food when I have my period as otherwise men can get sick.

Two years I stayed in the house, hiding and covering my face from the sun and when outside people came to the house. I work hard. Wash, clean the house and cook. I stay pure and did not look at my face in the mirror and did not wear pretty clothes.

Zohra was also warned at this time by her mother and older women in her family that she was to treat her mwethi with great respect. 'A mwethi can scold her nimwari, but she can't say a word. In fact a girl can answer back her mother, but she can't do that to her mwethi. A Nimwari is not supposed to talk to her mwethi and can only send messages to her', Zohra added.⁽⁹⁾ The mwethi-ward relationship is a developing one, but essentially it remains an unequal one, for a ward, besides being submissive towards a mwethi, derives more benefits from the relationship.

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- (8) The period that a girl is secluded is thought to train her how to behave and it is felt that once a girl has been through the seclusion period she will be able to meet the temptations of the outside world.
- (9) This restraint is to a certain extent relaxed when the ward gives birth to a baby boy. However, a few informants stated that in spite of them having children, they had not carried out normal conversations with their mwethi.

Zohra learnt the finer points of cooking during the period that she was secluded and is today still regarded as a good cook. Among the dishes she was taught to prepare by her mother, were the favourite dishes of the Zanzibaris. Zohra learnt to prepare cassava and sweet potato, which were grown in Kings Rest, in a variety of ways. Rice, the staple food of the Zanzibaris, she cooked almost daily, and on special occasions it was cooked in coconut milk.⁽¹⁰⁾ This dish, together with green banana curry and fish curry, were the favourite dishes of her family, as they are of many Zanzibari families.

(b) Proposal of marriage and release from seclusion.

While still in strict seclusion, a proposal of marriage was brought to her parents from the Tinambo family, on behalf of their eldest son. The match was considered suitable by her parents and, merely as a formality, Zohra's mother asked her her views on the proposed marriage. As she says now:

First time I speak to my husband was on the wedding day. There was no love business in those days, our parents wishes were respected. It is the best way. Look at me and my husband, we still together and getting old. Today, young people want nonsense like love business.

Zohra's mwethi was overjoyed that a suitable marriage partner had been found for her ward, for she had constantly advised Zohra to think 'good thoughts' and 'long' for a husband. For Zohra's mwethi had told her that if she was good and 'longed' for a husband, he would come for her.

(10) Cassava is known as matiyonka and sweet potato as Kharaka. Rice cooked in coconut milk is called marmawakole. Coconut is used a great deal in Zanzibari cooking.

Zohra's mwethi was also pleased because now her ward could be released from seclusion. (11)

Zohra's mwethi assisted her in the series of complex rites before she could be released from seclusion. Memories are still fresh in Zohra's mind of these rites which lasted a week. She remembers vividly being taken into the bush in Kings Rest by a group of married women and questioned by them to find out if she was still a virgin and Zohra was also subjected to a physical examination. Zohra recalls this incident in the following words:

If a nimwari was not a virgin, it was a great shame. In the old days women would press the nimwari's ears. Make her carry a heavy stone for fifteen to twenty minutes. Some women would spit, slap and shout at the nimwari and say she was dirty. Sometimes the girl's mother and sisters would encourage the women to scold the nimwari, but girl's mwethi would feel sorry for her and she may quieten the women and give them a few shillings and tell them to stop shouting at her nimwari. But, its changed today and the women are not so strict if a girl is not a virgin. (12)

Zohra also recalls that a marquee was erected behind her house and here the women gathered and held ceremonies shrouded in secrecy, and sang and danced. Zohra was advised on how to conduct herself. There was much drumming and dancing. Stories and jokes with a moral content

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- (11) It appears to have been a customary practice among some Zanzibari families forty or fifty years ago, to release a girl from seclusion only when the girl's parents had accepted a proposal of marriage on her behalf. Thus one informant stated, 'For seven years I stayed inside the house locked up like a fowl, until my husband came to ask my father if he had a girl in the house ready for marriage'.
- (12) A mwethi very often also tries to arrange a suitable marriage for her ward by extolling her ward's virtues to outsiders and acts as her ward's chaperone during the engagement period. See RIVERS, P.H. 1954 : 107 who discusses the institution of godparents in Southern Spain, who may or may not be related to the child. The Catholic godparents in Spain also play a major role in the ward's marriage festivities.

were told. This proceeding, as is the custom, continued throughout the night. On the day Zohra was to be released from her seclusion, she was taken by her mwethi and a few older women to a secluded spot away from the house where she was given a bath by her mwethi,⁽¹³⁾ after which castor oil and sandal wood paste were liberally rubbed into her hair and body. Her old clothes were given away to a widow and she was dressed in beautiful new clothes with beads round her neck, across her chest and around her wrists. Her face was covered with a scarf, and carrying an umbrella, Zohra was escorted by her mwethi, followed in procession by women and initiated girls. The procession swelled as they were joined by other women, some of whom sang a joyful refrain announcing that they were taking the nimwari to her home. A few ululated and some women in the procession did a little solo dance and displayed their happiness. Outside Zohra's house a large group of people awaited the arrival of the procession. Some elderly women started to drum and a few women aroused by the music did a spontaneous dance. Zohra and her mwethi, who were holding hands, did a little dance together. The beat got faster and the pair shook themselves from the hip down and then after two or three minutes, they stopped abruptly.

Zohra, whose face was still covered with a scarf, was led by her mwethi to the doorway of her house where the mwethi laid a grass mat on which she sat with her legs stretched out. Zohra was made to

(13) Zanzibaris think it important that the nimwari should be given the bath away from her home since it is felt that the impurities and 'bad luck' surrounding the nimwari should be removed outside and away from her home.

sit between her mwethi's legs. This posture is considered to be symbolic of the mwethi's role of a protector who shares the pains and pleasures of her ward throughout life. Zohra's parents and her relatives placed money and gifts on Zohra's lap which were gifts for her mwethi, in exchange for the mwethi's services to Zohra, both the practical and the ritual ones. People who wanted to see Zohra's face paid a small silver coin to her mwethi who lifted the veil that covered her face. After formally greeting her parents, Zohra was considered to be free and her seclusion⁽¹⁴⁾ completely over. Zohra was now respectfully referred to as Nimwari Harusi, which means a maiden who is engaged to be married.

Zohra feels that the puberty ceremony should continue to be observed by the Zanzibaris and emphasised the didactic qualities of the ceremony stating that, 'A girl learns our customs and is taught respect'. A few of today's mothers have also felt that their daughters would be severely deprived of a rich and rewarding experience if they were not secluded. Thus, a Zanzibari mother stated, 'I have five daughters. I managed to do the customs for my four daughters. For my last born I had to struggle for money, but last year I put her inside the house, otherwise she might think I have favoured my other daughters'.

(14) Zohra's recollection of her puberty ceremonies tallied with two puberty ceremonies that I attended during the period that I did my field work. Some of Zohra's descriptions on the puberty ceremonies have been supplemented by my own observations. TRIMINGHAM, J.S. notes that among the Swahili people, a girl does not attend an initiation school but is secluded after her menses. A confidential adviser is provided for the girl and the 'unveiling of the novice' takes place after the women give gifts to the girl. Trimmingham also notes that among some Hadimu people there are special dances on the release of the girl and 'women process to the dance place carrying parasols'. (1964 : 13).

It is also thought to be prestigious for a girl to go through the puberty ceremony. Thus, an unemployed father described his anxiety when he stated, 'I have a daughter who is fifteen years going on sixteen. I have to find money to put my daughter inside, otherwise people will laugh at her'.

Four girls who were in seclusion at the time of my field work were interviewed and all four girls considered it 'important' and a 'good thing' to be secluded. One girl in her early twenties and who is now a nurse aide, described the one and a half years that she was secluded as a 'fabulous experience'.

Since moving to Chatsworth, girls who are secluded and have become nimwaris are continuing to attend school and girls are no longer strictly secluded as they were in Kings Rest.⁽¹⁵⁾ I found that girls who walk to school cover their heads and the sides of their faces with a scarf and walk with lowered heads through the streets where the Zanzibaris live. At school the girls do not cover their heads with a scarf. One informant conveniently rationalised this innovation as 'a custom that affects our people and it does not concern outsiders or people in the school'. This comment was fairly representative of some of my other informants feelings on the innovations that have been introduced. But, what was also interesting was that it shed light on the fact that there were distinct norms of behaviour among the Zanzibaris, and the community is 'bounded' by customs; which are important to them.

(15) On the 1st August, 1971 six girls went through the puberty ceremony together. The average age of the girls was fifteen years. All six girls were in school and were continuing to attend. However, after school they were expected to stay indoors and the girls did not attend cinemas, parties or weddings so their social activities were curtailed.

(c) Marriage.

Zohra eventually married when she was seventeen years old and her husband's family, who were also poor, gave her parents R20,00 as Zohra's mahr, which is the 'contract money' required to be paid in terms of the Islamic law to the bride. Zohra observes disapprovingly that 'it is now so expensive for a boy to marry', as the 'contract money' is increasing.⁽¹⁶⁾ But she concedes that money has been devalued today and that the costs of clothes and food have risen sharply.

The 'contract money' was understood to belong to Zohra and some of it was used on her behalf by her mother to buy clothes for her kist which Zohra was to take to her husband's home. Some of Zohra's mahr was also used by her mother to buy jewellery for her:

We poor people, but when I got married I did not wear brass. My mother bought me pure gold earrings and nose ring.⁽¹⁷⁾ Because we not rich she buy me pure silver bangles. In those days all the girls had their noses pierced but today the girls laugh and say it is funny. I even stop putting ring in my nose,

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- (16) Informants have stated that it is an observable fact that if a man is a 'foreigner' the contract money demanded by the girl's father on her behalf is much higher than if the man was a Zanzibari. The reason advanced for this is that the girl's family are taking a risk in giving their daughter to a person whose family they do not know. I calculated from the details recorded in the marriages register of the Zanzibari Imam for the years 6.6.69 to 15.4.72. that the average mahr, or contract money, for fourteen marriages was R50,00. The highest amount was R180,00 and the lowest amount recorded was R10,00 and the woman in this case was a widow. The contract money varies depending on the status of the girl's family, her standard of education or if she has a well paid job. In contrast to these amounts, among Muslim Indians in South Africa, mahr is standardised to R25,50. But, this amount can be increased or decreased by mutual consent.
- (17) I was not able to ascertain whether the wearing of gold jewellery is an Indian cultural trait that has been taken over by the Zanzibaris, but I did find that Zanzibari women like gold jewellery and a bride is given gold jewellery by her parents if they can afford to do so.

pointing to the right side of her nose, ⁽¹⁸⁾ where it has been pierced.

Her family had also saved money to feed the entire Zanzibari community in Kings Rest on her wedding day. Rice and lentils were bought and the women gathered at her home a week or two before the wedding to clean these. A few goats were purchased and slaughtered and the meat, rice and lentils were cooked as biryani, which is an Indian dish that is cooked on special occasions. An Indian Muslim priest, who was a friend of her father's, solemnised her marriage (nikah), which is the Islamic proxy contract in which Zohra was represented by two male witnesses who testified that she was a willing party to the marriage.

Zohra's parting from her parents was full of emotion. She was advised by her mother, in the way she had been constantly advised at all pre-wedding ceremonies, that she should be a dutiful wife and a daughter-in-law, for otherwise, it would be a bad reflection on her upbringing and would bring shame on her mwethi and mother.

Zohra's status was now enhanced and she was treated with respect by her husband's family as well as her own family and even outsiders, and was called Noonoo, which literally means a married woman.

(18) Although I found that a few old women's noses were pierced, there was no one wearing a nose ring in Chatsworth. I was informed by Zohra that the customary practice was abandoned by Zanzibari women before coming to Chatsworth. The Zanzibari women had no facial scarification which shows a change from the early accounts of some of the Makua freed slave women. See above, Chapter I, p.10-11.

(d) Post-marital residence and birth of Zohra's first child.

As was the customary practice in Kings Rest, after her marriage Zohra lived with her husband's family which consisted of her ailing mother-in-law, three brothers-in-law and two sisters-in-law, all of whom were unmarried. Her father-in-law had two other wives, both of whom had their own separate homes, and he seemed to live more with these wives than with Zohra's mother-in-law. One of her sisters-in-law married a 'foreign' Muslim African and lived for a while in Zohra's husband's home. Zohra reminisces about this period in her life and stated that she respected her mother-in-law and had no trouble with her. 'We cook in one pot and eat together', she comments about the domestic arrangement at this period of her life.

Two years after her marriage, (about 1926), her first child, a son, was born and was named after her husband's father. Zohra went for her confinement to her mother's home, as it is the custom among Zanzibaris for a girl to have her first baby at her mother's home. Zohra was now referred to as the 'mother of Raphentha',⁽¹⁹⁾ and the restrictions surrounding her movements in her husband's house, which prevented her entering her mother-in-law's bedroom, were eased, and she could talk with her mother-in-law. After the birth of her son, Zohra's status was considerably enhanced in her husband's household.

Zohra's husband was employed in the Port Captain's Department in

(19) When children are born, Zanzibaris constantly employ teknonymy and a husband and wife refer to each other as 'father' and 'mother', followed by the eldest child's name.

Durban and he decided, after the birth of their child, to get a job on a cargo ship. He voyaged to China, India and Mauritius and she claims that he has remained young because he has 'the winds of many foreign countries in his body'. Since her husband was away for long stretches of time, sometimes for as long as four months, she decided to take up regular employment as a domestic servant for a White family living in the Bluff area.⁽²⁰⁾ She worked from seven in the morning until two in the afternoon and earned R3,00 per month.

During the course of her employment she suffered a severe mishap when she was badly burned and had to stay in Addington Hospital for four months. Her family, she recalls, thought she was dying and some members had even begun to recite the chapter from the Quran at home, which is usually recited when a person is dying.⁽²¹⁾

She robustly recounts that when she got a little better she remonstrated with the nurses and refused to drink the soup given to her at the hospital. 'I kept asking the nurse who killed the fowl in the soup'. As she got no satisfactory answer to her question, and feeling that she might be flaunting the Muslim food taboo by eating meat that was not slaughtered by a Muslim, she firmly refused to eat the hospital food.⁽²²⁾ In fact she informed the hospital staff that, unless her father was allowed to bring food for her from home, she would starve to death.

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- (20) Before taking this job Zohra did casual work of washing and ironing for White families in the Kings Rest area.
- (21) The Addington Hospital was opened in 1861 and admitted mainly African patients. However, by 1904, the hospital had wards for Whites, Africans, Coloureds and Indians. Today, the hospital admits only Whites and Coloureds. See Natal Daily News article by Valentine, P., 31st July 1973.
- (22) This chapter in the Quran is called Surah Yasin.
- (23) According to the law of Islam, all animals allowed as food must be slaughtered in such a manner that blood flows out and when the animal is slaughtered God's name is invoked. See ALI, M. 1950 : 727:731. Lawful meat is called halal and forbidden meat, haram.

Influenced by these threats, the hospital authorities acceded to her request. This hospital episode emphasises the importance attached by Zohra, and I also found this among a number of other Zanzibaris, to the Islamic food taboos. After she was discharged from hospital, she lived with her father and mother for three years as she still felt weak and helpless.

(e) Creation of an independent household

In the early nineteen thirties, Zohra's husband decided to rebuild and improve his existing family house, which was by this time regarded as his, for his mother and father had died and all his brothers and sisters had married and had set up their own homes. Compared to this house, Zohra considers her present home in Chatsworth very small and often contrasts it with her large, rambling, corrugated wood and iron house in Kings Rest. This latter house had three bedrooms, as well as an enclosed porch, which could be used as a sleeping place.

(f) Birth of Zohra's second son and family life.

Her second son, Hassim, was born thirteen years after marriage, in 1934, and this event brought her great happiness. During her pregnancy she remembers that her husband's sisters pampered her and brought all sorts of foods for which she craved.⁽²⁴⁾

When her second son was two and a half years old, Zohra's husband

(24) Efforts are made to try and satisfy a pregnant woman's cravings for certain types of food, since it is commonly believed that if the cravings are not satisfied, the child will be fretful and will salivate excessively.

decided to take a job in Zululand as a painter in a sugar mill. The prospect of her husband earning R44,00 a month and being given accommodation, together with food rations, tempted Zohra to uproot herself from Kings Rest. This decision was made easier for Zohra as her husband's second brother and his Coloured wife, Jennie, agreed to stay in their house at Kings Rest and look after her eldest son, as it was considered best for the child to be brought up among his own people. Zohra was also reassured that her mother would 'keep an eye' on her eldest son who was then about twelve years old. Encouraged by these arrangements, Zohra accompanied her two and a half year old son, and joined her husband in Zululand.

The few friends she made in Zululand were, in the main, Urdu-speaking Indian Muslims and a few Muslim Africans from Mozambique, but these associations were relatively unimportant and transient in her life. Kings Rest was her home and on most weekends and during her husband's holidays, they returned to their home in Kings Rest.

When her second son reached school going age, it was decided that he, too, should remain in Kings Rest. For Zohra was determined that her children should learn to read and write and recite the Quran, which she and her husband cannot do. Her husband's second brother had died by this time and his widow, Jennie, together with Jennie's daughter, Ayesha, stayed in Zohra's home to look after her two sons, as Zohra was still in Zululand. Both of Zohra's sons left school in the fourth standard and her eldest son started work in a garage while the youngest joined a steel firm as a labourer.

(g) Events leading to Zohra's eldest son's marriage.

Subsequently, during the nineteen-fifties, the relationship between Zohra and her eldest son, Raphentha, became strained when he entered into a relationship with a Coloured woman from Durban and had an illegitimate son, Zeid, from her. This child Zohra has adopted and in fact she has registered Zeid with the authorities as her own child. Her family members have stated that Zohra adopted her illegitimate grandson because she wanted him to be brought up in the Zanzibari community. Zohra is very sensitive about Zeid's parentage and states with chilling brevity that he is her 'own blood', and ends further discussion on the matter.

Raphentha, Zohra's eldest son, then entered into an informal relationship with a Zanzibari girl from Kings Rest. It was at Zohra's insistence that this relationship was formalised before a Muslim Imam. Zohra is obliquely critical of her daughter-in-law and is reticent to talk about her son's family. On occasions she has emphasised that today, daughters-in-law are no longer like they were in the days gone by. She illustrates this by stating that when she is sick, her daughter-in-law does not come to help her with the washing and ironing of clothes or the cooking. What Zohra considers especially disrespectful is that her daughter-in-law has never enquired, even as a form of courtesy, whether she could assist Zohra in any way. 'It is the fashion. They all the same, today's modern daughter-in-law, they too independent', she says disapprovingly.

Towards the middle of the fifties she returned to live permanently in her home in Kings Rest and Jennie, her husband's late brother's widow

and their daughter, Ayesha, became part of Zohra's household. 'They looked after my children. I looked after them and helped get Ayesha married to a Zanzibari man in Kings Rest', Zohra stated, thus emphasising the duty to help one's kin amongst Zanzibaris in times of need.

In 1959 her father died. 'It was talking and talking about leaving Kings Rest that kills them off. When we came to Chatsworth, my mother dies, my sister dies, then my brother-in-law and then my brother. Now my heart is still low and sad and my chest pains', she says with deep despair.

4. A special feature of Zohra's life history: Spirit possession.

After Zohra had been seriously burned during the nineteen-thirties, she found that she was constantly feeling weak, her eyes became inflamed and bloodshot and she suffered severe headaches.⁽²⁵⁾ Doctors were consulted, but the medicines they prescribed did not help her. A Zanzibari friend of Zohra's father suggested that she might be possessed by a malevolent spirit, known as pepo⁽²⁶⁾ which he thought might have entered her body and be causing her repeated illness. Zohra's father's Zanzibari friend diagnosed, through divination, that she was indeed possessed by a spirit or 'bad wind' and that she should be initiated into the pepo cult meetings. In this way it was felt that Zohra's

(25) Five of my informants who had been possessed pepo (spirit) all informed me that they were sick before it was discovered that they had pepo. The reported symptoms were similar and were given as body pains, often localised to the neck and shoulders, headaches, insomnia, depression and extreme lassitude.

(26) Zanzibari informants told me that pepo was a 'bad wind' or 'bad spirit' which lived both on land and in the sea and it could even possess a child. These spirits were definitely not ancestral spirits. Pepo is a common Bantu word for 'spirit' or 'wind'. See GRAY, R. 1969 : 169.

pepo or spirit would be recognised, appeased and eventually controlled. For, only in this manner it was thought, would her illness disappear.

A pepo is encouraged to talk⁽²⁷⁾ at the cult meetings, cajoled to reveal its name and questioned on what would keep it 'happy'. Zohra's pepo is called Ismail and she informed me that women are usually possessed by a male pepo and men by female pepos. Zohra often refers to her pepo as her 'husband'.⁽²⁸⁾ According to Zohra, pepo are made 'happy' and they 'quieten down' if they are entertained by their special songs and cathartic dances, food, fruit and sweet meats.⁽²⁹⁾ This food is prepared by the pepo cult members and eaten by them, but it is believed the nourishment from the food is taken over by the pepo.

Zohra does not see any conflict between the belief in Islam and the belief in pepo, which has its origin in pre-Islamic African culture;

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- (27) Some informants told me that pepo talk in 'deep' Makua or Swahili, and sometimes only other people who are possessed by pepo can understand them.
- (28) The Shetani cult among the Segeja of Tanzania described by GRAY, R.F. 1969 : 171-181, is very similar to the spirit possession cult among the Zanzibaris. LEWIS, I.M., who describes the zar spirit club among the Somalis, which has many parallels with the pepo cult among the Zanzibaris, also discusses this cross-sexual element of these spirits. (1966 : 1-12). MESSING, S., discusses the zar cult in Ethiopia which again has many similarities to pepo found among Zanzibaris. (1967 : 285).
- (29) The food that is provided are coconuts, sugar-cane, all types of fruit in season, sweetmeats and eggs, which are eaten raw by the participants. Again, there is a direct parallel with the demands made by the spirits in some of the cults discussed by LEWIS, I.M. and others.
- But, Zanzibaris who are possessed by pepo do not eat chicken with pure white feathers as this type of chicken is used in a pepo ceremony called Zingula. During the ceremony a white feathered chicken is passed seven times by the Fundi (leader of cult meetings) around the head of the person possessed by pepo. The number seven figures prominently in pepo cult meetings.

indeed she sees it is quite compatible with Islam, as it fits in with the Muslim conception of djinn which, according to the Quran, were created by smokeless flames.⁽³⁰⁾ These djinn are thought to be intelligent and imperceptible.

Once a person is possessed by a pepo he cannot expel it completely and Zohra says that she has come to terms with her pepo. When she was younger she sometimes used to suffer mild bouts of hysteria and a pepo cult member had to be summoned hastily to fumigate Zohra's pepo with sandalwood fumes and the pepo would be coaxed into revealing why it was 'unhappy'. 'My pepo, he does not trouble me, as I have pleased him'. By this she means that she has, over the years, taken part in the pepo cult meetings, where there was much dancing, drumming and clapping of hands. Zohra remembers that every year, in Kings Rest, just before the month of fasting (Ramadhan), the pepo cult meetings were closed and they were opened again after the festival of Eid-al-fitr. 'Pepos know that during Ramadhan they have to keep quiet and they don't trouble us', she explains.⁽³¹⁾

Zohra admits that to have a pepo is 'troublesome' but says that through her pepo she has been called upon to help both other people in her community and, in at least one instance, an Indian girl, all of whom were troubled by pepo. So, to a certain extent, the fact that Zohra has a pepo has brought her prestige in her community. The pepo cult meetings are also socially binding, as members interact in an emotionally charged atmosphere and this helps build up yet another 'network' of cross-cutting ties through regular association. Zohra

(30) In contrast to djinn, mankind and angels, according to Muslim belief, were created of clay and light. In Islam the existence of the djinn is accepted, just as there is an acceptance of a possible relationship between them and mankind. See MACDONALD, B.M. 1961 : 90.

(31) TRIMINGHAM, J.S. 1964 : 120 and GRAY, R. 1969 : 175 also note that spirit possession cults are closed during the month of Ramadhan.

also states that when her pepo talks at cult meetings her perception becomes more acute and she has at times revealed certain of her family members' secrets, much to their consternation and embarrassment. Zohra's own mother⁽³²⁾, who also had a pepo, could, Zohra claims, even foretell future events.

Since moving to Chatsworth, Zohra acknowledges that the pepo cult meetings have been disrupted and are not held so often. She explains this change by saying, 'It is not the same in Chatsworth, it is not like our place Kings Rest. Also, people are busy now. They don't have time to-day or money to do the pepo business'. This may mean that, in time, because of the change in their environment, the whole concept of pepo and its cult meetings may alter or perhaps even disappear. It is of note that among Hindu and Muslim Indians there are no spirit possession cults or meetings held.

5. Move to Chatsworth.

Zohra and her husband, together with their son, Hoosen, and grandson, Zeid, left Kings Rest in 1962 to live in one of the Council houses in Chatsworth. As her home in Kings Rest was much bigger than her house in Chatsworth, she had to sell quite a few items of her furniture

(32) Five other informants possessed by pepo all informed me that one of their parents had been possessed by pepo. This may be evidence of a hereditary feature in spirit possession among Zanzibaris. It is also interesting to note that out of eight people whom I established had pepo only one was a man. The high incidence of women possessed by spirits has been commented on by a number of writers on Islamic societies, who feel that this may be linked with their exclusion from dominant positions in other spheres. e.g. SMITH, M. 1954 : 271 found this among the Hausa and their cult of bori spirits. See also, TRIMINGHAM, J.S. 1964 : 131 and LEWIS, I.M. 1966 : 311.

at prices she considers to have been ridiculously low. For instance, her coal stove had to be sold, since the Durban municipality insisted that the lessees of the Council houses install electric stoves in their homes. 'The coal stove I sold, cost fifty two pounds, not Rand' she emphasises, 'it was almost new and I had to sell it for twenty-five Rands'. She misses her coal stove, particularly on cold winter days and insists that food cooked on a coal stove is much tastier than food cooked on an electric stove.

She thinks that the houses in Chatsworth are poorly constructed and gets extremely upset when the Municipal Inspectors make their annual visits to inspect the Council houses and then inform the occupants to do the repairs which they consider to be necessary. Thus, last year Zohra was asked by the Inspector to paint the exterior of her house, put in new doors and have the roof attended to. 'They take us out of our good homes in Kings Rest, trick us and put us into cheap houses. Always Inspectors want us to repair this and that and we poor people always suffer', she says grimly.

Zohra considers the land surrounding her house in Chatsworth to be the size of a 'handkerchief'. She misses the fruit trees that she planted in Kings Rest. For during the avocado season she used to make R60,00 to R80,00 selling the pears to Indian fruit sellers.

Her grandson Zeid, left school in Chatsworth, much to her dismay, in the sixth standard. He was clever in school, where he won a small silver trophy for sports which is displayed in the living room.⁽³³⁾. The reason given for Zeid leaving school was that there was little money

(33) I found that in quite a number of Zanzibari homes silver sport trophies are exhibited in the living rooms. I have been informed by both Indian and Zanzibari informants that Zanzibari children do very well in their school sports.

left over from Zohra and her husband's pensions to buy Zeid a school blazer and clothes. (34)

Almost a year ago Zohra gave shelter to her niece Fatima, daughter of her brother Omar and her illegitimate child, Shireen. Fatima had come in great distress to Zohra, after she had had a 'fall-out' with her brother, Jamal, and his wife. Zohra gave shelter to Fatima and her child, largely because she feared that Fatima would leave Chatsworth and become estranged from the Zanzibari community and would have gone to live in the Wentworth area among Coloureds and there forget her religion.

The sudden increase in Zohra's household led to Zohra sharing a bedroom with her niece, Fatima, and the latter's daughter. The other bedroom is occupied by her son, Hoosen, and her grandson, Zeid. Zohra's husband sleeps in the living room. 'We are old now and it is all right if we sleep separate', she comments about the sleeping arrangements, with a twinkle in her eye.

6. Contemporary aspects of Zohra's household organisation.

(a) Household expenses.

Zohra is assured every month of her own and her husband's pension money and is dependent on her son, Hoosen, her niece, Fatima and now her grandson, Zeid, to give her money to supplement the pension money.

(34) Although Zohra was disappointed that her grandson had decided to leave school, she seemed to understand his reason. 'You can't dress recklessly in school', Zohra explained. I interviewed Zeid and gained the impression that he felt that the time had arrived when he had to fend for himself and that his grandparents' pension money was not sufficient for the household expenses. Zeid had started, at the age of seventeen, working in a factory and was earning R8,00 per week.

Zohra has an approximate total of R62,00 to R65,00⁽³⁵⁾ a month for rent and this amount is made up as follows:

Zohra's pension	R18,00
Zohra's husband's pension	18,00
Money from her son	12,00
Money from her niece Fatima	10,00
Money from her grandson Zeid	4,00
	<u>R62,00</u>

Zohra's household expenses for the month of July 1972 were as follows:

Rent and electricity	R16,50
Money given to her husband for his petty expenses	5,00
Meat and fish	14,00
Vegetables	8,00
Groceries, which include tea, coffee, rice, lentils and cooking oil	12,00
Milk and bread money	5,00
Petty cash for clothes, doctors, bus fare	1,00
Money given to Sarah, her niece, to take her child to the doctor.	2,00
	<u>R63,00</u>

(35) This amount varies as Zohra finds that, although her son agreed to give her R16,00 a month, he often gives her less. Fatima, her niece, had undertaken to give her R15,00 a month but she is also not able to give Zohra the full amount. Her grandson has just started work and cannot give Zohra much money as he has 'many expenses such as buying decent clothes', stated Zohra. Zohra explains the shortfall of money given to her by her son by saying, 'Hoosen, my son, has to pay R12,00 a month on his furniture in the house. Today's children have so many big expenses, clothes, bioscope, bus fare, football and cigarettes'.

In this month, Zohra had to ask her son, Hoosen, for the extra money to make up the shortfall in her household expenses and she informed me that every month she had 'problems' to see that the money she had on hand would stretch to the end of the month.

Fatima, Zohra's niece, who earned R50,00 per month as a maid in a hotel near the beach front, informed me that her expenses were often far in excess of what she earned and stated that nearly every month she had to borrow money from her employer.

Fatima detailed her own expenses as follows:

Contribution to rent account for her late father's home (36)	R8,00
Furniture in her late father's home	11,00
Milk coupons for her child	4,20
Money to Zohra, her aunt	10,00
Groceries and food bought occasionally	3,00
Clothes for herself, child and petty cash for medicines	5,00
Transport	7,00
Money to her sister, Sarah	4,00
	<u>R52,00</u>

Not surprisingly therefore, both Zohra and Fatima were not able to save money.

(36) Fatima continues to pay half the rent of her late father's home, although she does not live there, because she feels responsible for her sister Sarah, who as previously indicated, is mentally retarded. See above, Chapter VI, p.146 and Diagram No. 1.

(b) Routine of work and leisure time activities.

Zohra's day starts early, from about five o'clock every morning. Her 'alarm clock' is her niece's child who wakes up for her milk. Zohra bustles with activity, rouses her son and grandson from their sleep, warms water for them to 'catch a wash' and prepares their breakfast of thick bread and jam with tea. 'I chase them all, Hoosen, Zeid and Fatima, out of the house by six o'clock, otherwise they miss their bus', she adds.

Zohra's husband, who moves more slowly than Zohra, shuffles along and tries to be helpful, but seems to end up sitting on his bed which is pushed along the side of the living room. Zohra's niece, Sarah, (daughter of her brother Omar),⁽³⁷⁾ walks over every day from her home to help her clean the house, and do the washing. Lunch is a light meal, consisting of left-over food from the night before, or of just tea and bread. Zohra then cooks one big meal for supper, which usually comprises rice, accompanied by a meat or fish curry. Sometimes if she has run out of money, she will gather some herbs from the garden, which she cooks as spinach with dried fish.

Usually by half-past ten in the morning, she has completed her housework and sits near the doorway of her home. Conversation is her favourite pastime and it carries on endlessly with men on their way to the mosque, with children on their way to the madressah and with her neighbours, while she occasionally does some crochet of mens' skull caps or simple sewing on her sewing machine.

Since they moved to Chatsworth, Zohra finds it difficult to attend the women's devotional singing which is held on Thursdays and

(37) See Diagram No. 1.

Sundays in a home on Road 542.⁽³⁸⁾ 'This place Chatsworth is all up hill. I find it hard to walk', is her excuse for her irregular attendance. When she does attend, Rabia finds that her participation in the dhikr or devotional chanting a moving experience. The participation of women, who are seated in a circle and who rhythmically sway their bodies and heads to the recitation of certain fixed phrases, usually based on the name or names of God, often induce a state of semi-hypnosis. From the point of view of this thesis, we can also see that this group participation and attendances at these meetings also help to build up contact and links among members of the Zanzibari community⁽³⁹⁾ through this form of regular association.

Zohra follows other tenets of Islam in a somewhat cursory fashion. She says a silent prayer when she hears the muezzian calling Muslims to prayer, but does not say the compulsory five daily prayers enjoined on Muslims. She used to fast during the month of Ramadhan, but now, because of her age, is not able to fast. But Zohra remembers God in her everyday activities and is conscious that her good actions will weigh in her favour on the Last Day of Judgment.

Once a month, Zohra goes to Mobeni, five miles from Chatsworth, to collect her pension. During this monthly excursion out of Chatsworth, she may do some shopping in a nearby shopping centre in Clairwood, at

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- (38) The Moulid Barzanji, a kind of gospel of the nativity of Mohammed is recited by the Zanzibari men and women during their devotional singing of (dhikr). HARRIES, L. notes that the Moulid Barzanji is popular among the Muslims in East Africa. (1962 : 103).
- (39) PADWICK, E.C. (1961 : 15) suggests that the system of dhikr devotion sometimes leads to people being semi-hypnotised by the rhythm of sound and action' and the participants may in this way 'escape the immediate pressures of hard lives'.

at Indian stores.

Otherwise, Zohra does not do much regular visiting in Chatsworth, since she expects her relations and friends to visit her, because she is old. However, she does try to visit her Zanzibari friends and relations when they are ill. In addition, Zohra is much sought after by all the Zanzibaris and is invited to attend and assist on special occasions such as the seven day and forty day birth ceremonies, girl's puberty ceremonies, weddings and funerals. Even if she is not well, Zohra tries to attend these ceremonies for as she stated, 'So long as I got strength in my body I must help our people and keep up our business (i.e. customs)'. Zohra's attendance at the ceremonies maintains her links with her own family members and other Zanzibaris.

Through her late father's job and his ensuing relations with Gujerati Muslim families in Durban, Zohra has intermittent contacts with a number of such families whom she visits during the month of Ramadhan (the Muslim month of fasting) and who give her old clothes food and money as a form of charity. The relationship between Zohra and these families is symbiotic. For Zohra the gain is in the form of tangible material benefits, while for the Gujerati Muslim families, the act of giving charity is thought to bring them spiritual rewards, as it is the fulfillment of one of the injunctions of their religion to give charity. (40)

Since moving to Chatsworth, Zohra has continued to visit these families intermittently. Although she does not maintain sustained social relations with these families, nevertheless, during her visits once or twice a year, she probes and picks up the threads of the activities of all the various members of these families. Zohra's

(40) Muslims are required to give ZAKAAT, an obligatory charity, which is a form of tax on their earnings. They are also required to give certain forms of voluntary charity.

association with some of these families is quite friendly, even if intermittent. Thus, she recalls with pride how one of her Gujerati Muslim friends sent a car for her to Chatsworth, so that she could go to her home to see the clothes her friend had prepared for her son's future bride and also so that Zohra could, at the same time, offer prayers for the success of the marriage.

Zohra sees the similarities in many of the Zanzibari customs and those of the Indian Muslims and this re-inforces her evaluation of Zanzibari custom which she claims must be preserved. Thus, when discussing the Zanzibari customary practice of smearing the bride, before her wedding, with a special mixture combined with tumeric power, which is thought to beautify the bride, she draws attention to the fact that certain Indian families also carry out this practice.

Last year (1972), she considers remarkable, because she then made a long journey by train to Cape Town, where her nephew Cassim, son of her late sister, Rabia, had died and she felt that she had to see for herself whether her nephew's family was well cared for. This unexpected long trip has made her optimistic for she was heard to say, 'Who knows Inshallah (if Allah is willing) and my luck is good, I may even go to Mecca on pilgrimages one day'.⁽⁴¹⁾

Having dealt with certain aspects of Zohra Jamal's life history and with her general contemporary social contacts, I shall in the section to follow use the social network concept, in an attempt to specify more closely Zohra Jamal's social linkages and contact with various

(41) One of the duties imposed on Muslims is that if they can afford it, they should go on pilgrimages to Mecca. The prospect of visiting Mecca one day is a pious hope held by most Zanzibaris but most of them do not have the financial means to carry out this desire. By the end of 1972 three Zanzibari men had been to Mecca on pilgrimages and they were all financed by certain Indian Muslims who were impressed by their piety.

social categories who influence her life. The importance attached to these social linkages will also be seen through Zohra Jamal's involvement in certain incidents that occurred in a two week period of her life.

7. Social network.

(a) Introduction.

Over a two-week period, during July, 1971, I traced Zohra Jamal's activities⁽⁴²⁾ and made a note of the people with whom she interacted, in order to find out the distribution of her contacts and also to establish whom she considered important in her social life. I found, as Barnes and Bott⁽⁴³⁾ found in their studies, that Zohra Jamal's network consisted of ties among kinsmen, friends and neighbours who lived a few doors away from her. In fact, it soon readily emerged, as can be seen from the list of people who visited Zohra, that Zohra's world is a world that revolves around her own kin and, to a lesser extent, her husband's kin.

However, before commenting further on that list, a point that has to be stressed from the outset is that during the two-week period I was merely able to observe Zohra's 'current' network spread and only a few of her 'latent' contacts were activated in that fortnight. It soon became obvious that some of Zohra's contacts, particularly her links with her voluntary associations and other latent sections of her network, were not seen in action during the period of investigation.

(42) I traced these by spending as much time as possible with her. For the time that I was not with her, (which was usually at night, when I was told that very little visiting is done), I got Zohra to recount her previous day's activities to me. Where possible, I checked the information with the person who visited her.

(43) BARNES, J.A. 1954 : 43, BOTT, E. 1957.

Nevertheless the contacts that I recorded do include a considerable part of her network, and therefore I shall briefly review Zohra's activities over the two-week period, paying particular attention to the people who visited her and those whom she visited, and I shall analyse the importance she attached to these relationships. In the text that follows I shall underline the name of each person Zohra contacts the first time that contact is made with that person, and where the person also figures in Zohra's genealogy I give the appropriate number after the name. Table No.11 also lists the contacts in a summary form.

(b) Review of Zohra's activities over a two-week period.

There are a number of people with whom Zohra has regular, even daily, contact; among these are Sarah (D 32), daughter of her late brother, who calls every day to help Zohra with her household chores. Sarah brings with her Shireen (E 51), the daughter of her sister Fatima (D 34), whom Sarah cares for while Fatima works. Zohra's neighbours, who live a few doors away from her house, are also in regular contact with her. A further category of people with whom Zohra maintains lively contact includes a number of children of her own kin, her husband's kin and of her neighbours. Many of these children call to 'greet' Zohra on their way to the madressah and act as carriers of messages to Zohra or take messages from Zohra to their parents.

Apart from such constant daily contacts, two particular incidents

occurred during the period when Zohra's activities were studied which activated other parts of her network. One of them concerned her own kin and the other her husband's kin. The first incident was a dream Zohra had, in which she saw her late mother and father⁽⁴⁴⁾ who appeared sad and troubled, but did not say anything to Zohra. The day before this dream occurred, Zohra had attended the woman's liturgical singing (dhikr) and she had there been careful to remember her parents in her prayers. Zohra therefore felt that the only reason for which her deceased parents could be displeased with her was because her family had failed to erect a tombstone⁽⁴⁵⁾ over the grave of her late sister, Rabia (C 9).

Zohra discussed the dream with her husband and Sarah (D 32), the daughter of her late brother. She also immediately set in motion ways of contacting other relatives to inform them that a tombstone should be ordered for her late sister's grave and that prayers, accompanied by a feast, should be held in memory of the ancestors. Sarah was asked to convey such messages to Zohra's brother, Mohamed, who lives near Sarah's house to come and see Zohra.

That afternoon Mansum (E 46), the daughter of Zulekha (D 29), who

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- (44) I found that among the Zanzibaris, if a person had a dream about an ancestor, it was usually interpreted, as it is in many other societies, as a sign that the ancestors themselves were neglected or that the person had neglected a family duty. Often after such a dream, a visit to the dead person's grave was made, where prayers were offered and flowers placed on the grave.
- (45) Zohra emphasised the importance of holding this ceremony in the following words, 'if the tombstone job is not done the dead person will not have a name. On the Day of Judgment the dead person carries his tombstone on his back, and goes to meet Allah with all his doings on his tombstone. The holding of this ceremony appears to be peculiar to the Zanzibaris since Muslims are not enjoined by religion to hold a special tombstone ceremony.'

TABLE NO. 11

Detailed list of people who interacted with Zohra Jamal over a two-week period during July, 1971.

PEOPLE WHO VISITED ZOHRA				PEOPLE WHO ZOHRA VISITED OR WENT VISITING WITH ZOHRA			
	Zohra's siblings, their children and grandchildren	Zohra's husband's siblings, their spouses and children	Zanzibari neighbours	Indian Friends	Zohra's siblings, their children and grand-children	Zohra's husband's siblings, their spouses and children	Zanzibari neighbours
Fri 1	Sarah(D32); Mansum (E46).		Rookaya.				
Sat 2	Sarah (D32); Mohomed (C17).	Husband's brother's widow.	Rookaya and Mahija.				
Sun 3	Sarah (D32); Suleman(C19); Raphentha (D14); Fatima (D35).	Husband's brother's son.					
Mon 4	Sarah (D32); Zulekha (D29).		Mahija.			Husband's brother's widow.	
Tues 5	Sarah (D32).			Kista.	Fatima(D8); Zubeda(E17) Iman Mohomed(D1);Suleman (C19) -Kings Rest Cemetery		Rookaya and Mahija.
Wed 6	Sarah (D32).	Husband's brother's widow.					Moosa - Kings Rest Cemetery.
Thur 7	Sarah (D32); Joona (D22)						
Fri 8	Sarah (D32); Jamal (D35).		Rookaya.	Kista.			
Sat 9	Sarah (D32); Mohomed (C17).					Husband's sister's daughter saw her spouse in hospital.	Rookaya and Mahija.
Sun 10	Sarah (D32); Ismail (D3).	Husband's brother's son.		Sheik-Mohomed.		Husband's brother's widow.	
Mon 11	Sarah (D32).		Mahija.				
Tue 12	Sarah (D32).	Husband's step-sister.	Mahija and Rookaya.	Kista.			
Wed 13	Sarah (D32); Essop (D20).	Husband's brother's son.					
Thur 14	Sarah (D32).					Husband's brother's widow.	

Children who called to 'greet' Zohra on their way to the madressah have not been included in the list. They were as follows:-

1. Children of Zulekha (D29),
2. Children of Ismail (D3),
3. Son of Sarah (D32),
4. Her neighbour Mahija's grand-children who live with Mahija.
5. Zohra's husband's late brother's children, who live next door to her house visited her 8 times during the fourteen days.
6. Sarah (D32), brought Shireen (E51) daughter of her sister Fatima (D34) to Zohra's house every day, since Sarah cares for the child while Fatima works.

is Sarah's sister, happened to bring some cassava (matiyonka) for Zohra from her mother. Zohra told the child to tell her mother that she should call and see Zohra. The next afternoon Zohra's brother, Mohomed (C 17), visited her in response to her message and Zohra discussed in detail with him the 'big job' she had undertaken. Almost R180,00, it was estimated, would be required, and the family members were to be asked to assist. Mohomed was asked to tell the children of their late sister Rabia (C 10), who lived in Chatsworth, to call and see Zohra.

The next day being Sunday, Zohra's brother Suleman (C 19), who lives in Wentworth, called to see her. Zohra told him to arrange with Moosa, a Zanzibari man who lives in Chatsworth and who makes tombstones, to accompany them on Wednesday⁽⁴⁶⁾ to the Kings Rest cemetery so that Suleman could point out Rabia's grave to Moosa. Zohra's son, Raphentha (D 14), also visited her on this Sunday and so did Fatima (D 34), daughter of Zohra's late brother. Zohra told them of her plans and both of them promised to help her. Fatima had her own problems concerning her conflict with her sister-in-law, which she discussed with Zohra, who showed great concern.

The next day Zohra's niece, Zulekha (D 29), called to see her and she asked Zulekha to write a letter to the children (D 15, D 16 and D 27) of Zohra's late sister, Rabia (C 9), who live in Cape Town. Zohra dictated the letter to her nephews and niece and told them of the 'big job' she had undertaken and requested that they send her money and,

(46) I took Zohra, her brother, Suleman (C 19), and Moosa, in my car to the Kings Rest cemetery.

if possible, that they should try and attend their late mother's tombstone ceremony. Zulekha was also asked to convey a message to Essop (D 20), the son of Zohra's late sister Rabia (C 9), who lives in Chatsworth, to call and see Zohra. Zohra expressed disappointment that Essop had not called sooner to see her, since she had already sent a message with her brother, Mohomed (C 17) and Sarah (D 32), that he should call and see her.

In between all this activity, Zohra found time to visit her late brother's daughter, Fatima (D 8) and Fatima's daughter, Zubeda (E 17), both of whom were going through trying times because their husbands drank excessively. What precisely should be done about their misfortunes, Zohra was not sure, but she assured them that she would give the matter some thought and hoped to help them as soon as she had organised the tombstone project. Zohra also visited her late sister's son Iman Mohomed (D 1), who lives near Fatima's (D 8) house and who was ill. She discussed with him the feast that was to be held in memory of the ancestors.

During the days that followed, two sons of Zohra's late sister, Rabia (C 9), Essop (D 20) and Jooma (D 22), visited her after messages were conveyed to them that Zohra wanted to see them about the tombstone ceremony. The other two relatives who visited Zohra during the two-week period did so of their own volition and they were Ismail (D 3) and Jamal (D 35), both sons of her late brothers. Zohra did not fail to discuss with them her plans and asked her nephews to try and assist her with the work ahead of her, which they agreed to do.

The other incident that occurred concerned not Zohra's own kin, but her affines. Her husband's sister's daughter, Haluwa, who lives in the same street as Zohra, was experiencing considerable difficulties.

The head of the household was ill in hospital, a son had lost a job and one of the daughters was also ill. Zohra visited this family and accompanied Haluwa by bus to the hospital in Chatsworth to visit her sick husband. But Zohra did not make any suggestions or concern herself as to what should be done to assist the family. During the two-week period Haluwa decided to hold a pepah ceremony. (47)

Zohra's husband's deceased brother's widow lives next door to her house and she maintains warm and friendly relations with the household and keeps a watchful eye over her husband's nieces and nephews, as her husband's brother's widow works during the day. The eldest son of the household and, to a lesser extent, Zohra's husband's late brother's widow, visited Zohra and her husband regularly in the two-week period, as can be seen from Table No. 11.

Zohra's contact with her neighbour Moosa, who lives in the same street as she does and who was to make the tombstone, can be regarded as a contractual one, since Zohra did not normally interact with him. For Moosa did not fall in the same category of contacts as those Zohra maintains with two of her other Zanzibari neighbours, who live a few

(47) Pepah is the name of a shrine tree, usually a fruit tree, that is grown in the garden. Mealie meal is sprinkled at the root of the tree, and libations in the form of tea or (if the deceased drank liquor in his lifetime) beer is poured around the base of the tree. Pepah ceremonies re-affirm the solidarity of the family by appealing to the common ancestors to intercede and set matters right. Not all Zanzibari homes have pepah trees, since the custom is definitely African in origin and is considered by some Zanzibaris to be un-Islamic. MITCHELL, J.C. (1959 : 139 - 140) notes that among the Yao, there are special shrine trees known as nsolo. GELFAND, M. (1965 : 110) also notes that the Shona believe that ancestral spirits are thought to reside in trees.

doors away from her house. Both of these female neighbours Rookaya and Mahija, are at least ten or more years younger than her, but Zohra's relationship with them was a warm and friendly one. The proximity of the houses make it possible for these friends to visit Zohra almost every day. These visits varied in duration from a few minutes to as long as an hour. Conversation with these friends included what they were going to cook, gossip in the community, 'children's troubles' and their own jokes. The significance of their relationships was increased by a certain amount of borrowing of food-stuffs between Zohra and her neighbours.

Since Zohra has moved to Chatsworth she has made some new friendships, one of which is with an elderly Indian man, Kista Moodley, a Hindu, who passed her door two or three times a week on his way from the market to his home. Kista stopped to talk to Zohra about his illness, prices he paid in the market for his purchases and items of news that he may have picked up in town.

Another Indian contact, of longer standing, was with the head of a Muslim Indian family, Sheik Mohamed, who had lived with the Zanzibaris in Kings Rest and had moved to Chatsworth. Sheik Mohamed visited Zohra once in the two weeks, under review, to invite her to the wedding of his daughter.

(c) Analysis of Zohra's network.

From the review of Zohra's contacts, it is readily apparent that her personal network is located largely within her own community and the range of it in fact can be narrowed to include relatively few

members of that community. This restriction is not difficult to understand, for it can be seen from her personal history that Zohra is at a stage of her life cycle, when she is no longer very mobile and therefore has less chance of making and maintaining new contacts outside, or even inside, Chatsworth. Thus, it was seen that more people visited Zohra during the two-week period, than she visited herself. Further, on the days Zohra did not leave her house, she made maximum use of her outings and tried to see as many people as possible, including her neighbours.

Zohra's personal network is recruited from various social categories, but her contacts in the period examined were with people of whom virtually all were of the same social background as herself. At the same time, it must be re-emphasised that the network links that have been discussed cannot be regarded as her 'total network', since her links with the voluntary associations, such as the pepo cult meetings and the womans' liturgical singing (dhikr) group, were not brought into action in the two-week period that was discussed.

The two incidents that occurred (Zohra's decision to hold the tombstone ceremony and the misfortune in her husband's sister's daughter's house) can be seen as having precipitated two 'action-sets'. For as Adrian Mayer⁽⁴⁸⁾ notes, it is because of certain peculiar circumstances that particular contacts and links, some of which were previously latent, are activated, so as to ensure the success of the ventures.

It emerges from the material that, for much of the time, Zohra's personal network is a kin-dominated network. The greater interaction

(48) MAYER, A. (1966 : 115-8). BOSWELL, D.M. (1969 : 256), on the other hand, describes those incidents where an individual or a family is made dependant on others, necessitating the mobilisation of networks for assistance, as 'crisis situations'.

and intensity of relationship with her own siblings, their children and grandchildren stands out as the dominant factor. Some of these links with her kin were latent, as three children of her late sister Rabia (C 9) were in Cape Town,⁽⁴⁹⁾ while some of her other kin in Chatsworth, Zohra did not see often. Thus, Essop (D 20) and Jooma (D 22), sons of her late sister Rabia (C 9), live a distance from Zohra's house and do not visit her often. These people had to be contacted and links with them revived. Nevertheless, the manner in which Zohra was able to reach them and transmit information to them, showed that there was a degree of connectedness between her various kin so that they would readily fall within the ambit of what Epstein calls the effective network. For as Epstein notes, 'the effective network consists of clusters of persons fairly closely knitted together.'⁽⁵⁰⁾

Because of the intensity of Zohra's relationship with some of her consanguines, a large part of her social actions and activities were concerned with them. The ready manner in which they responded to Zohra's appeal for co-operation (they did in fact later assist in her venture), shows that Zohra was able to exert her wishes and influence her relatives. For as Bott⁽⁵¹⁾ suggests, within a close-knit network, such as Zohra's kin-dominated network clearly is, members tend to reach a consensus of opinion more easily and are able to bring pressure on each other to conform.

In addition, Zohra's links with her affinal kin can also be

(49) BOTT, E. (1971 : 296) notes that relations with one's kin are most enduring and are maintained even over great distances.

(50) EPSTEIN, A.L. (1961 : 57), describes a network as effective, when it comprises kin and neighbours, whose links with each other display a high degree of connectedness. The extended network, on the other hand, is made up of casual friends and acquaintances, who do not regularly interact with people in the effective network.

(51) BOTT, E. 1971 : 147.

described as part of her effective network, since there is a high degree of connectedness between Zohra's kin and her husband's kin, who know each other and they often meet. But it clearly emerged from my observations, that the type of interaction and contact which Zohra maintained with her husband's kin was more restrained and rather superficial as compared with her involvement with her own relatives. Thus, Zohra emerges as a policy-maker and an initiator of action in her own family. But, clearly out of personal choice, Zohra chose not to become actively involved in the problems of Haluwa, her husband's sister's daughter, which indicated that Zohra considered her affines to be less important in her life. Further, I noticed that Zohra did not expect her husband's relatives to become actively involved or give material assistance⁽⁵²⁾ in the tombstone ceremony that she was busy organising.

Zohra's links with her neighbours, Rookaya and Mahija can also be regarded as being yet another part of her effective network. The contact Zohra maintains with them is important to Zohra, as they share the same outlook, values and aspirations and Zohra can look to them for support when she needs help, just as they can look to her for help in their times of need. Thus, she had discussed the tombstone ceremony with her neighbours and knew she could look to them to assist her with the cooking, for the feast in memory of the ancestors. Hence, there is an element of reciprocity in her relations with her

(52) This difference may, however, also be explained on the basis of descent lines. Zohra's husband's kin belong to a different line and the tombstone ceremony and feast in memory of her ancestors do not concern her affines.

neighbours. Further, both Zohra's neighbours attend the women's liturgical singing (dhikr) group, and one neighbour belongs to the pepo cult group, so that the strands of connectedness between Zohra and her neighbours are multiplex, since she interacts with them in a wide variety of situations. I also noticed that there was a high degree of connectedness between these neighbours and some of Zohra's kin, as well as some of her husband's kin, who all know each other and they often meet. The children who call to visit Zohra on their way to the madressah and on other occasions must also be included as a part of Zohra's effective network. The importance of this form of contact is that it adds interest and acts as a diversion for Zohra from her usual routine of activity. These children can also be seen as extensions of their parents, and through them Zohra's contacts with their parents are reinforced. Although as far as I know, children have not been discussed at all in the literature on network, I feel that children have their own social roles to play and the contacts maintained with them are significant. It is for this reason that I feel that they ought to be included in the effective network.

It is worth noting that Epstein's conception of 'connectedness' as a criteria for what he terms the effective network does not distinguish between the intensity or quality of the relations of the different persons, within the effective network. In fact, Epstein treats them as if they are analytically all equivalent. Mitchell,⁽⁵³⁾ however does discuss ways of measuring intensity of relationships

(53) MITCHELL, J.C. 1969 : 27.

one of which being the extent to which obligations are acknowledged and honoured. From an analysis of Zohra's network of social ties, it was shown that Zohra's own kin, as distinct from her affines did respond and honour obligations, as evidenced in the tombstone ceremony incident. However, Zohra's relationship with her own affines is not intense, since she herself acknowledges and performs only limited obligations to her affines, which was shown in her limited involvement in the crisis situation that her husband's sister, Haluwa found.

Zohra's contact with her Indian friend, Kista, constitutes one portion of her extended network, as the nature of the relationship between him and her is limited. Further, the contact between Kista and Zohra's other contacts are slight. But for Zohra herself, her links with Kista are important to the extent that they give her a wider view of the outside world. However, I did notice that Zohra had not discussed with Kista her involvement with the tombstone ceremony, which was at that time occupying a great deal of her time and energy.

The isolated contact that Zohra had with a member of the Sheikh Mohamed family who visited her, can also be regarded as forming part of her extended network. However, this contact was significant for Zohra, since she has happy memories of her association with Sheikh Mohamed's family in Kings Rest. This incident displays the effects of external factors on a person's network. Removal from an area, such as from Kings Rest to Chatsworth may disrupt familiar and frequent interaction and this could lead to active relationships in a network becoming dormant or latent. (54)

(54) Since moving to Chatsworth, Zohra has felt that some of the members of the Indian family 'look down on the Zanzibaris and have become proud'. The contact with the head of this family and the easy flow of conversation that ensued, restored Zohra's faith in the family and she was heard to grumble 'it is this Chatsworth, cut us all up. We can't visit like before.'

From this examination of Zohra's network, the picture that emerges is of a person who in return for the interest and concern she shows towards certain of her kin, finds that she can rely on them for their support and co-operation and in this way Zohra is able to ensure her own status and prestige among them. The social approval Zohra is able to obtain for her ventures in her own family circle not only builds up her reputation among them, but she also gets more widely known and respected in her own community as an initiator of projects and a policy-maker in her family.

8. Summary and conclusion.

It should be apparent from the events narrated in the life history of Zohra Jamal that individuals are integrated into the Zanzibari community through close participation in its institutions and customs. Zohra's puberty ceremony and the standardised patterns of behaviour expected from her as a married woman all drew her closer into her community. Zohra closely identified herself with the Zanzibari customs and values and the sharing of these values with others had been encouraged to a great extent by the residential stability of the Zanzibaris in Kings Rest which has continued, though in a modified form in Chatsworth.

Zohra's personal attachment to her community was further strengthened in so far as her social relationships are largely confined within her community and are kin-dominated. The 'kin-services' that may be rendered in times of need serve also to draw people closer together even when they are resident outside the main community. Thus, when

Zohra and her husband moved to Zululand, they never really detached themselves from their community, since their home in Kings Rest and later their children were cared for by her and her husband's relatives and eventually these attachments drew them back into the community.

Zohra also drew emotional satisfaction from the voluntary associations such as the women's liturgical singing group (dhikr) and the spirit possession (pepo) meetings with which she was connected. The contacts that are maintained with these groups add new links and sometimes reinforce others within her community and this draws her closer into it.

Although the material presented has been concerned largely with one person, it seems possible to infer from it that similar patterns, though of course, with individual variations, apply to many other Zanzibaris. Thus, there will be a large number of 'networks' centered on many egos within the Zanzibari community. All these networks and their cross-cutting ramifications will constitute a complex and dense set of relationships which serve to demarcate and indeed constitute the Zanzibari community. Of course, there are many contacts in the individual networks that extend outside the community, but the majority of these contacts may be transitory. In the main however, many of the links will cross one another and lead back to one another in such a way that they 'form' part of the community. So the Zanzibari 'community' is the sum of all the networks within it, and Zohra's own network being only one example.

In the next chapter, another example will be presented by considering the life history and social network of Yusuf, whose partial genealogy

has already been discussed, and Zohra's own network being only one example. Yusuf's age and sex difference and the fact that he is relatively well-educated will be shown to be crucial factors in his life history and also in his social network. The material on him will therefore serve as a contrast to the material on Zohra Jamal's life history especially as Yusuf's activities are not so confined to Chatsworth or the Zanzibaris as Zohra's are. However, the recurring features in the community identity of the Zanzibaris will be emphasised there as they have been in this chapter on Zohra Jamal.

CHAPTER VIII

LIFE HISTORY AND SOCIAL NETWORK OF YUSUF

1. Life history of Yusuf

Yusuf is an unmarried Zanzibari man in his early twenties, and because of his youth, I will not put the same emphasis on the life crisis situations, in the presentation of his life history, as I did in Zohra Jamal's life history. Instead, more attention will be given to Yusuf's work problems and frustrations which typify some of those to which I have already referred in more general terms in a previous chapter.⁽¹⁾

Besides the obvious contrasts of sex and age with Zohra Jamal, Yusuf, largely because of his education, represents a different outlook and way of life from those of Zohra Jamal. However, like Zohra Jamal, Yusuf did live in Kings Rest and although only thirteen years of his life were spent there, Yusuf is able to see changes that have taken place in the Zanzibari community life and customs since they have moved to Chatsworth. Where possible these changes will be highlighted in this chapter.

2. Brief sketch of Yusuf's personality.

Yusuf is the eldest son in a family of eight children. He is an

(1) See above, Chapter IV, p. 97.

effervescent person with a vivid smile and talks with ease. Yusuf speaks English in clear, swift sentences and conducts himself with confidence. At the age of twenty-two, he displays tremendous thrust and his ambition is to 'progress'. By 'progress' he means he wants to get a job with 'prospects and better pay'. He wants to further his education, help his people and above all, one day move out of Chatsworth. Although, he is not sure where he would like to go, Yusuf says it must be some place where the houses are not as close as they are in Chatsworth.

Part of his ambitions he has achieved in that he has secured a fairly well-paid job, at least in relation to the jobs held by other young Zanzibaris, but most of his dreams have still to be accomplished. Once when Yusuf was telling me of his plans for the future, a female cousin of his commented laughingly, 'Yusuf is always building castles with his mouth'. This statement does, to a certain extent, accurately describe Yusuf, but I found in his bubbling enthusiasm, a good and accurate informant.

3. Early years in Kings Rest.

Yusuf's 'memories' of Kings Rest are of happy, carefree days spent playing in trees and the wide, open spaces. The only leisure time activities he recollected during this period of his life were playing football and a simple card game with his friends.

Yusuf liked Kings Rest, in spite of certain inconveniences such as helping his sisters every day to fetch water in paraffin tins from the

tap near the mosque which provided water for the whole Zanzibari community. This tap was opened from seven until about ten o'clock in the mornings and then re-opened from three until five o'clock in the afternoon.⁽²⁾

Yusuf's father's home in Kings Rest was a simple, sturdy structure made of corrugated iron. This house was spacious and consisted of a 'sitting room', 'eating room' and a kitchen which was part of the house. The bathroom and toilet were built separate from the house. 'We had three large bedrooms. One for my mother and father, another for the girls and the last bedroom was for us boys', Yusuf reminisces.

Yusuf's late father was one of the important formative influences in his life, since he was a strict disciplinarian and did not hesitate to wield the stick on his children if he thought that they had misbehaved. His father's great ambition in life was to see that his children got 'proper schooling' because he had never been to school himself. His mother, who was at least sixteen years younger than his late father, has been to school and can read and write. Consequently, Yusuf's father made tremendous sacrifices to save money and send his children to school. He also apparently demanded some sacrifices of his children, since in order that Yusuf should not be distracted from his studies, his father did not allow him to play 'serious football' or take part in the rathieb.⁽³⁾ Yusuf attended the Catholic primary school

(2) For a short while the Zanzibaris paid the caretaker, appointed by the Trustees of the Juma Musjid, one cent for three tins of water. This money was used by the Trustees to pay the rates levied on the Kings Rest property.

(3) See Chapter IV, p. 78 footnote No. (12).

for Africans in the Bluff area. The reason for this was that it was the only school near the area and many of the Zanzibaris found it convenient to send their children to this school. Their attendance at this school did not involve conversion to Catholicism, since most of them received instructions in Islam.

4. Madressah or Quranic education.

Even before he started school at the age of five, Yusuf began to attend the madressah attached to the mosque in Kings Rest. The madressah education which comprises learning to 'read' the Quran in Arabic, knowledge of the rudiments of Islam and knowing how to recite the five compulsory daily prayers, is a well established part of Muslim culture. The Zanzibari children who attend a madressah, as with most Muslims in non-Arabic countries, do not learn to speak Arabic. Rather, they are taught to recognise the Arabic alphabet so that they can phonetically string the words together and in this manner 'read' the Quran. Great emphasis is stressed on memorising parts of the Quran and certain prayers, to enable a person to say the ritual prayers and any intelligent understanding of the Quran is merely incidental to the whole system of education.

In Kings Rest a few Zanzibari men who had the ability to recite the Quran with ease, had voluntarily taught the children in the area to read the Quran. Such a person is referred to by the Zanzibaris as a Wosthath (teacher).⁽⁴⁾ Yusuf fondly remembers two of his Wosthath

(4) The word Wosthath is derived from the Arabic word Ustad which means a teacher.

who were foreign Africans from Mozambique who had joined the Zanzibaris in Kings Rest. (5)

Yusuf feels that it is a good thing that the Juma Musjid Trustees employed a Zanzibari since 1963 in Chatsworth, as a full-time Imam of the mosque and Wosthath of the madressah. (6) Yusuf sees little difference in the method of instruction in the madressah in Chatsworth from that of Kings Rest, as it is based on the orthodox madressah system. The Wosthath sits cross-legged on the floor in the middle of the room and the children are divided into three groups, according to the progress they have made. These groups are sexually segregated and the classes are conducted simultaneously, with the Wosthath dividing his attention between the groups and disciplining them with great dexterity. The children sway their bodies with the rhythm of the words they intone. The Wosthath is considered within his rights if he disciplines and punishes a child in the madressah if he has done wrong. Yusuf feels that 'the Wosthath must use his stick in the madressah otherwise the children will not make progress nor will their senses open up'.

Yusuf remembers that when he was ten years old he completed reading

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- (5) Adamjee Cantito and Habib Mtshali were foreign Africans who volunteered to teach Zanzibari children in the madressah. Both these men were arrested by the Police in the late 1950's and deported to Mozambique, as they had entered South Africa illegally. Their former presence at Kings Rest and their role there is yet another indication of the significance of these 'foreign' Africans in the history of the Zanzibari community.
- (6) During 1972 there were 130 children, four of whom were Indian, regularly attending the Madressah conducted by Hafez Suleman in Chatsworth. The ages of the children ranged from four to fifteen years. The Madressah classes are run after school hours from 3 p.m. till nearly 5.30 p.m. on Mondays to Fridays.

Plate 7, 8, and 9 Zanzibari children
attending the madressah.



the thirty chapters of the Quran under the guidance of his Wosthath and, as is the custom, his parents then distributed sweetmeats to the children attending the madressah and gave a present to the Wosthath as a token of their appreciation for his tuition.⁽⁷⁾ Yusuf continued to attend the madressah in Kings Rest for a further year in order that he could practise 'reading' the Quran under the guidance of the Wosthath and can now 'read' the Quran in Arabic in an unhesitatingly smooth drawl.

5. Circumcision.

Circumcision among the Zanzibaris is a transition ritual and Von Gennep's pattern of rites of separation, rites of segregation and rites of integration, is quite clearly discernible in it.

(a) Rites of separation.

The one incident that stands out foremost in Yusuf's mind was that when he was about nine years old, he together with about thirty other boys, ranging in age from nine to fifteen years, were circumcised and secluded for almost two months⁽⁸⁾ in a lodge built a distance from the houses in Kings Rest. 'That was the only time my father allowed me to miss school' he says with a flashing smile.

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- (7) In the old days, I was informed the Wosthath was given a two-yard length of cloth to use as a turban, or kilemba, (kilemba is a Swahili word, see Trimmingham, J.S. 1964 : 184) or sometimes a bag of flour. Today presents such as a shirt or cash varying in amount from R2,00 to R10,00 are given to the Wosthath.
- (8) The Islamic custom of circumcision is regarded as a purification rite and is an individual act which can be performed on a male child who is a few hours old. Among the Zanzibaris the Islamic custom of circumcision has been blended into and forms part of an initiation rite which usually marks the transition from childhood to adulthood.

Thinking back on this period of his life Yusuf remarks that he and the other boys were not explicitly told that they were to be circumcised and no one talked directly about the fact that they were to be segregated for some time.⁽⁹⁾ There was an atmosphere of mystery and excitement and the hair of Yusuf and the other boys was shaved off completely. They were told conflicting stories by the older men that they were to be taken to a foreign country such as India, while others told them that they were to be taken to the bushes for a few days to collect honey and that they had to fill bottles with water to take with them.

Yusuf still remembers vividly that a group of men and initiated boys, accompanied by drummers, went around to the houses of the boys who were to be circumcised and enticed them to join the procession. If the boys hesitated, they were carried on the backs of men. All the boys were taken to one of the houses where a qualified Indian Muslim doctor performed the circumcision. Yusuf remembers that he and the other boys who were to be circumcised were told not to cry out in pain and to bear the pain with the courage of a man.

(b) Rites of segregation.

Straight after being circumcised, Yusuf and his friends were segregated in a lodge and cut off from normal community life. The lodge

(9) One much older man told me that during the 1930's the group of boys that he accompanied when they were circumcised, were secluded for a period close on four months. The reason given for this extended stay in the lodge was because the wounds of some of the boys who had been circumcised had not healed, and the boys could only emerge from seclusion when the wounds of all the boys had healed.

was a simple, three-walled structure with one open side and an improvised roof of corrugated iron. The wind and rain were allowed to blow into the lodge and Yusuf was told that he had to put up with the hardships without complaint for he was to be 'toughened',⁽¹⁰⁾ to be able to withstand the rigours of life. Yusuf and the other boys were attended by their mwethi (ritual guardians),⁽¹¹⁾ who had been chosen for them by their parents. No women were allowed near the lodge, since it was thought that their presence would cause the boys who had been circumcised to fall ill. Yusuf also remembers that for seven days they were not allowed to eat any meat and the food that they ate while in seclusion was saltless.

Yusuf was worried about discussing specific details with me of what he and the other boys did in the lodge.⁽¹²⁾ He stated with genuine apprehension that he and the other boys were warned that if they revealed what they had done or were taught in the lodge, they would be afflicted by illness and they would lose their mental faculties and become 'idiots' and the butt of amusement of people.⁽¹³⁾

He did, however, tell me that he was taught special dances and songs which he and the other boys sang loudly early in the mornings and

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- (10) One older woman told me that when her son was in the lodge her 'heart cried out' for him when it rained, as she knew he had to 'suffer'.
- (11) TEW, M. 1950 : 29, states that among the Makonde of the Mozambique region, boys have a sponsor when they are circumcised and they are kept in the bush for three months under discipline. See below, p.225 for discussion on Yusuf's mwethi.
- (12) My account of this whole sequence is based on information I received from Yusuf and I have checked his information with that of several other male informants. I have, of course, not witnessed a circumcision ceremony.
- (13) Another of my informants stated that he was worried that if he revealed the secrets of the lodge to any one, his mother or father might die or he would be struck by some such grave misfortune.

these songs could be heard in the Kings Rest settlement.⁽¹⁴⁾ Yusuf was also instructed on matters of courtesy, good behaviour and the rudiments of sex education. Great emphasis was placed on the fact that he should be obedient to his parents and should respect his elders and listen to the advice of his mwethi. This respect for authority was inculcated during the period of initiation and was designed to assure the continuity of one of the basic Zanzibari values.

Yusuf also remembers how he and the other boys would emerge late at night, while the Zanzibaris were asleep in their homes, from the lodge, wearing masks and in masquerade they would dance around the homes and sing in a special disguising falsetto, in order to prepare the people that there were 'new young men' who were soon to emerge from the lodge.

Yusuf remembers also that before he and his friends were re-integrated into the community, their mothers gathered at an appointed home where they were locked in by a man who stood guard to see that they did not leave the house. Yusuf and his friends then emerged from the lodge and were sheltered by a canopy-like structure made of cloth, which stood outside the home where their mothers had assembled. One of the men shouted out the names of the mothers, who in turn called their sons by name. Yusuf and his friends then shouted out to their mothers that they had new names,⁽¹⁵⁾ and were no longer known by their 'home' names. Yusuf's new name was 'Big Shot' and that of one of his friends was

(14) One woman stated nostalgically, 'It was so beautiful hearing the boys sing early in the mornings. It made you proud to be a mother and happy that your son was alive and well'. Mothers often got anxious about their sons, since they were cut off completely from the boys in the lodge.

(15) TEW, M. 1950 : 29 notes that among the Makonde of Mozambique, boys who are circumcised also take on new names before returning home.

'Sweet Potato' and another he remembers was called 'Water'. Then, singing one of the songs they had been taught, they returned to the lodge without seeing their mothers. (16)

(c) Rites of re-integration.

The day they left the lodge to return to their families, Yusuf remembers that he and his friends were dressed in new white clothes, they wore turbans and each boy carried a walking stick, and they now assumed the gait and clothes of men. There was much drumming and the boys did a little dance with their mwethi who then sat on the ground and the boys who had been released from seclusion sat on their laps, when relatives and parents of the boys placed money on the boys laps and presents which were given to their mwethi. (17)

After Yusuf returned to his family, he found that he was treated with a new respect by his parents and siblings. He also felt superior to women and uncircumcised boys and felt that there was a definite break with the past, since he was expected to assume the responsible role of a young adult. (18) Yusuf was now allowed to slaughter a chicken for daily use or a sheep or goat during religious festivals. (19) He

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- (16) Once the boys are re-integrated into society these new names are no longer used by their parents. A few mothers told me that when they hear their sons' voices for the first time they are overjoyed as this is the first form of contact they have with them.
- (17) This integration rite is obviously similar to that described above. (See Chapter VII, p.176-7) for the conclusion of a girl's puberty ceremony.
- (18) One woman stated that she had noticed a distinct change in her son for the better, after he came out of seclusion: 'The boys seem more grown up and they are more understanding and clever', she added.
- (19) Those Zanzibaris who can afford it, sacrifice a goat during the Muslim festival of Eid-al Adha. This festival commemorates and re-affirms Allah's compassion for the Prophet Abraham, when a ram was substituted for his son who was ordered by Allah to be sacrificed.

was now able to eat his meals with his father and with any guests his father might be entertaining and they were waited on at table by his mother, who ate later with his sisters and his brothers, who had not yet been circumcised.

Yusuf considers the period he stayed in the lodge as important and states proudly that 'I learnt the customs of my nation', thus emphasising the community identity of the Zanzibaris. Yusuf adds further, 'It is good to learn the rules that make you a man. It is something like going to college and although it was hard, we enjoyed ourselves'.⁽²⁰⁾

(d) Changes since the move to Chatsworth.

Yusuf is therefore sad that since they have moved to Chatsworth, young Zanzibaris are missing the valuable experience of being circumcised and secluded among their own people and that the initiation ceremonies have had to be curtailed: 'There is no land in Chatsworth, no open spaces to build a special house for the boys', he adds. Therefore the Zanzibaris have resorted to a compromise and, since 1962, two batches of boys have been secluded and circumcised⁽²¹⁾ in a room near the Sufi Sahib mosque situated at Riverside, along the North Coast of Durban, some fifteen miles from Chatsworth. This has led to the rites of separation being minimised and the duration of the stay of the boys curtailed, so that eventually circumcision may no longer form part of an initiation

(20) There is no demonstration of feelings of solidarity among the boys who went through the circumcision ceremony together nor are any obligations towards them institutionalised.

(21) This was during July 1966 and July 1970. The circumcision rites are always held during the winter months, since the cool weather is thought to help the wounds heal quickly.

rite among the Zanzibaris, because of the move to Chatsworth. (22)

6. Yusuf's mwethi (guardian) and changes in 'mwethiship' since the move to Chatsworth.

As with girls, a mwethi is appointed by a boy's parents before he has been circumcised to supervise and discipline him. Yusuf's mwethi is his father's eldest brother's son. Sometimes a non-kinsman may be appointed as a boy's mwethi, but it is more usual for a kinsman to be chosen as a boy's mwethi. The kinsman most commonly chosen seem to be a boy's father's father, or his father's brother's son, or his mother's brother. However, as a father's brother is socially identified as a boy's 'father', he is not chosen as his mwethi. The appointment of a kinsman or a non-kinsman as a mwethi effectively re-affirms existing kin ties or forges new ones for the boy and through this institutionalised sharing of the parental role, the mwethi becomes more closely linked with the boy's parents.

A boy's mwethi, like a girl's mwethi, is supposed to take an interest in his ward's affairs and becomes obliged to assist his ward in times of need. A boy shows deference to his mwethi, but Yusuf informed me that he talks to his mwethi, which differs from girls who do not do so with their mwethi. But, Yusuf informed me that when he meets his mwethi, he stands to greet him and does not indulge in chatty conversations with him. (23) Yusuf regrets that the whole institution of

(22) Since moving to Chatsworth family members of the boys who were circumcised find that they are less involved in participating in the initiation rites. The physical 'separation' is more extreme at Chatsworth.

(23) See above, Chapter VII, p173. The fact that boys treat their mwethi with fewer restraints than the attitude adopted by girls towards their mwethi has been explained by a few informants as reflecting the differing status of men and women in Zanzibari society. Girls are taught to be submissive and restrained towards their mwethi, since this is the general social demeanour a girl has to display in life. For even when she is adult and marries, she will be under the control of her husband and mother-in-law.

a boy's mwethi has undergone a change, since the Zanzibaris have moved to Chatsworth. Today, because the boys are circumcised away from Chatsworth, only a few mwethi have the time to attend to the boys and to supervise their behaviour while they are secluded. Because of this change a number of boys share one mwethi and Yusuf stresses that this arrangement is significantly different from the whole concept of intimate association that a boy previously had with his guardian. As a result of the new arrangement, a boy's relations with his mwethi have become more impersonal and the powers of the mwethi have become diffused and not as distinct as they were in former times.

7. Yusuf's experience of the move to Chatsworth.

Yusuf was thirteen years old when the Zanzibaris were moved to Chatsworth and the move brought certain changes in his family life. Yusuf found, and still finds, it difficult to adjust to the physical crowding in their home. He and three of his brothers initially had to use the living room as a bedroom. Yusuf's youngest brother slept with his parents in their room and his three sisters shared the other bedroom.⁽²⁴⁾ Yusuf also finds the houses in Chatsworth to be too close to each other and is often heard to say: 'It is stifling in Chatsworth'. However, he is pleased that their immediate neighbours in Chatsworth are the same as they were in Kings Rest. Thus on one side

(24) The accommodation problem has eased a little since Yusuf's eldest sister has married and since the death of his father. Yusuf and his brother now have a bedroom of their own.

is his father's brother's home, and on the other, lives his mother's sister. But not all the people who were staying near his home in Kings Rest live nearby their home in Chatsworth.

The move to Chatsworth also meant that Yusuf's father, who had retired and was receiving a pension from the Railways, had to take a job, because the family expenses had increased. He got one with a Muslim Indian family to look after their boat, which used to be anchored at the Durban jetty. Yusuf's mother, who had never worked before, found work as a chamber-maid in a beach-front hotel. This extra income was required to contribute to the cost of rent, food, school uniforms and school books.

The Indian schools in Chatsworth that Yusuf and his sisters attended were the 'only worth while things' in Chatsworth, in Yusuf's estimation. He found the Indian teachers and students to be very helpful and friendly. Yusuf, encouraged by his father, worked hard in school and soon became the 'Latin expert', in his class. His sister became her school's best athlete and a number of silver trophies adorn their display cabinet in their home and testify to her athletic prowess. Yusuf does concede that if the Zanzibaris had remained in Kings Rest, many of the young people would have difficulty in gaining admission into secondary schools.

8. Death of Yusuf's father.

During September 1970, Yusuf's father died suddenly and his death affected Yusuf a great deal emotionally and altered his whole pattern of life. Yusuf remembers that he was comforted by his friends and

relatives who emphasised the inevitability of death: 'It is Allah's will, when the Angel of Death comes no one can stop it'. 'It was his time and Allah's will', others said soothingly. He was also comforted by words to the effect that too many tears would make it difficult for the dead person's spirit on its long journey ahead.

Yusuf recalls that their home was emptied of all the furniture. No food was cooked there until after the burial. His father's body was carefully washed and rubbed with incense and laid to rest on the floor in one of the bare rooms of the house. The men attend to the burying of the dead among the Zanzibaris. The body was placed in a bier called jeneza⁽²⁵⁾ which was draped with the best mkhummi⁽²⁶⁾ of Yusuf's mothers and sisters. As there is no cemetery in the whole of Chatsworth, a hearse was hired to take the body to the Kings Rest cemetery.⁽²⁷⁾

The mourning period lasts for forty days⁽²⁸⁾ and during this period the deceased's spirit is thought to hover around the house. Incense was lit near the spot where the body had been laid to rest, special

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- (25) The word jeneza is derived from the Arabic Janaza. See TRIMINGHAM, J.S. 1964 : 183.
- (26) See above, Chapter IV, p. 77 for a description of the mkhummi. The mkhummi which cover the funeral bier are, after the burial, hung for 40 days (See footnote (28) below) on a wire cord across the room near the spot where the deceased was laid to rest. These clothes are thought to be unclean and it is believed that they are dangerous to wear until the forty-day period of mourning is over. This is a Zanzibari custom and not followed by Indian or Malay Muslims in South Africa.
- (27) A bus is usually hired at the cost of R14,00 to take the mourners to the Kings Rest cemetery from Chatsworth.
- (28) The 40-day period of mourning and the 40 days of a mother's ritual impurity after childbirth, are called arbaini among the Zanzibaris as well as among the Swahili speaking peoples. The word is derived from the Arabic arbain, (40). See TRIMINGHAM, J.S. 1964 : 183.

prayers were recited on specific days, the most important of which is the fortieth day, to purge the house and its inmates of pollution. The pre-occupation with the preparation of these rituals and the time spent on them help the close relatives of the deceased to adjust to the loss they have sustained.

Many of the post-funerary rituals that are observed by the Zanzibaris are peculiar to them and are not Islamic. One example which Yusuf recalls is the post-funerary ceremony of the fortieth day that was attended by many of his relatives and friends of his late father. An all-night vigil was kept in Yusuf's house and prayers were chanted, often in chorus, by all those present. Some of the women baked seven round cakes. Humorous stories with a moral content were narrated and the narrator was given ten cents for each story that he told, as a token payment for amusing and keeping the people awake. There was much miming that accompanied the story telling and sometimes a man would dress and impersonate a woman.

Yusuf missed his father a great deal when these stories were related, as his father had a flair for recounting stories which had a moral tone.⁽²⁹⁾ Yusuf remembers one story his father used to tell of a girl refusing the suitors that came for her hand in marriage. Secretly this girl painted her face, wore padded and pointed brassieres and high-heeled shoes and used to make frequent trips to town. She soon got bold and brazen and rumours circulated that she met sailors in town. In time this girl looked ill and ugly and no Zanzibari man would look

(29) See above, Chapter VI, p. 178, footnote No. (43).

at her. Then people began to whisper that she had contracted venereal disease which eventually led to her untimely death. At the end of the story the audience unfailingly showed their appreciation by clapping their hands and quietly chanting the words, 'Nom, nom, nom'.

At about one o'clock in the morning of the ceremony, a special chicken was cooked, but care was taken to see that its bones were not broken. At sunrise, Yusuf and a few close relatives of his late father ate the chicken, but were cautioned to take care not to chew or break any of the bones, since it is thought that if the bones are tampered with, it will cause the deceased pain, as his flesh and bones are in the process of disintegration. The bones of the chicken were carefully buried in a secluded spot and covered with a heavy stone in order to prevent them being dug up by a dog. The bereaved relatives' sorrow multiplied as stories about the deceased were related and tears were shed when the chicken was eaten. Yusuf recalled this emotional experience in the following manner:

It is a very sad moment. You can't hold back the tears when you eat the chicken. You think about the dead person. I could actually feel my father's presence during that time. Even now when I think about that time I get very sad.

A year after the death of his father, Yusuf, his sister and mother had saved enough money to hold a further customary ceremony in memory of his deceased father and attended to the laying of a tombstone on his grave. This ceremony cost R120,00. Three goats were slaughtered and a large number of friends and relatives were fed.

At the time when Yusuf's father died, his sister was the first

Zanzibari to have reached the tenth standard at school and Yusuf, who was then in the ninth standard, had to leave school and find work, since his family had no savings and their mother's income was insufficient to cover the expenses of the family. Yusuf was sad to leave school, especially because his father's wish could not be fulfilled, that he and his sister should get their matriculation certificates. 'Inshallah' (God be willing), one day I shall get my matric. I shall try and do it through a correspondence college', Yusuf still says with optimistic determination.

9. Hunting for a job.

In order to help his family Yusuf, even at the age of ten years and while they were still in Kings Rest, started weeding outside school-hours in the garden of a European family who lived on the Bluff. Yusuf was paid 30 cents a day for this work, almost all of which he gave to his mother. His employer found him to be reliable and responsible for his age and took a liking to him.

His first employer left the Bluff area and Yusuf found a similar job with an Afrikaans family, also on the Bluff. The head of this household, Yusuf stated, 'knows all the top people' and has 'pull' in government departments and it was he who eventually helped Yusuf to get a job in the police force. When the Zanzibaris moved to Chatsworth, Yusuf continued to work for this family on the Bluff and he was paid a little extra to cover his bus expenses. Then about 1964, his first employer bought a tea-room in the Bluff area and offered Yusuf a job

as a salesman and general help during the week ends. The prospect of earning R3,00 during weekends tempted Yusuf to miss his school classes after the Friday mid-afternoon break and to work in the tea-room from then until Sunday afternoons. Sunday evenings were spent doing his school work and trying to catch up with work he had missed in the Friday afternoon classes.

When his father died, his employer offered him full-time employment as a general help at the wage of R45,00 per month. Yusuf gratefully accepted this job as the money was required and he knew the difficulties some of his Zanzibari friends had in finding jobs. But eventually Yusuf became dissatisfied with the job for the hours were long. He left home at six o'clock in the mornings and returned at nine at night and had to work during week-ends. He paid eighteen cents a day bus fare. Also Yusuf soon grasped that his job had few 'prospects'. After four months he therefore gave up his job, much to his mother's consternation, and started to trudge the streets for a job with 'prospects'.

He scanned the newspapers and asked his Zanzibari friends who had well placed jobs to find him a job in their firms. He queued up for jobs in factories, where he was sometimes told that he was 'too highly educated for a non-White'. A 'boy' who had passed the Standard VIII examination was difficult to place in employment, Yusuf soon found. But, undaunted, he continued his search for a job with 'prospects'. One he hoped for a clerical job, but at the interview he was told that the minimum qualification required was a matriculation pass.

At this stage, perhaps his most frustrating and exasperating experiences were when prospective employers looked perplexed and stated

that they had never heard of Zanzibaris before. At one factory, his looks confused the employment manager, who demanded to see his Reference Book. How was it possible, he was asked, that although he looked like an African, he carried no Reference Book. The Zanzibari identity card was something with which the manager was not familiar. Again, one firm where Yusuf had gone to look for work suggested that he was trying to be 'too clever' and that he wanted a higher wage by claiming he was not an African. 'I tried to explain who I was. I thought it might help if I told them I was a Muslim, but that too made no difference', Yusuf commented. Nevertheless he remained determined not to be 'exploited and given dirty work' since he was 'educated'.

Commenting about such reactions, Yusuf informed me that his experiences were not unique or unusual as many Zanzibaris who are looking for jobs find that prospective employers do not know who they are. 'The government has recognised us, but the people in the country don't know us', Yusuf says. He feels that a special government department should be created to assist Zanzibaris with their problems. Eventually in his desperation for a job, Yusuf thought of his former Afrikaans employer and felt sure that this man had sufficient 'pull' to secure him a suitable job. He found the man was indeed sympathetic and felt that the only job he could think of that had 'prospects' was a job in the government service. He suggested that Yusuf join the police force. The idea appealed to Yusuf as he was told that he had to pass various examinations, after which he would be promoted and his pay would be increased. 'It was like going to school and studying again, so I agreed

to try and become a policeman', Yusuf stated.

Through the assistance of his former employer, Yusuf entered the police force as a recruit on probation, and was introduced to the other policemen as 'the first Zanzibari to join the police force'. Yusuf found the European Station Commander very friendly and recently took him an Afrikaans magazine to read which carried a feature article on the Zanzibaris.⁽³⁰⁾ He feels that the article had helped the Station Commander to understand who the Zanzibaris are. Yusuf gets on well with his immediate colleagues in the police force, who are all Indians, and has so far encountered no unpleasantness from them.

Despite all this, Yusuf is still not entirely satisfied with his job.⁽³¹⁾ His mother worries about his safety. She is anxious because of the nature of police work which she feels might make enemies for them among Zanzibaris. She would prefer him to get an office job. Yusuf himself feels frustrated. He would still like to complete his matriculation, even though he now realises that it would not be a guarantee of a good job, as he once believed. The pay he gets, in comparison with what the White policemen receive was 'peanuts' he says. After deductions that are made on his salary, Yusuf brings home R65,00 per month. He secretly worries and feels that people might ridicule and 'laugh' at him and think that he is working for the authorities. He also feels he may get 'hard', listening to other people's problems. But on the other hand, since he works a few nights every week, he gets

(30) MARSHALL, D.L. 1971 : 19-22.

(31) At the time of writing, Yusuf was still with the police force. Since coming out of the police training school he is full of confidence and struts around the area in his uniform, but in private conversation, Yusuf confided to me that he was still looking for a job with 'prospects'.

two or three mornings off every week. During this free time, he is able to see his friends and do the things he likes. But he is still 'scouting around' for a job with better 'prospects' and 'better pay', so that he can improve his style and standard of living and perhaps one day move out of Chatsworth where there is no land. Yusuf would have liked to become a doctor, made a lot of money, saved and in this way earn the respect of his community.

10. Yusuf's leisure time activities and some attitudes on life.

Yusuf enjoys the company of girls and has numerous Coloured or African girl friends whom he meets away from his mother's home and usually at cinemas, football fields or at his girl friends' homes. He considers it would be disrespectful to his mother if he brought these girl friends to his mother's home, since he has no intention of marrying any of them. He sometimes refers to his girl friends as 'dolls' and he likes his 'dolls' to be 'groovy', he says, using the latest slang. Yusuf has not had a Zanzibari girl friend and the reason for this is, as he says, 'once you go out with a Zanzibari girl everyone gets the wrong impression and thinks you are going to get married to her. I am not ready for marriage'. This emphasises that in the small Zanzibari community the multiple ties between persons make it easy for people to get to know about such matters and comments are made on the movements and activities of others. In this way, traditional values are maintained and norms regulating behaviour are re-affirmed. (32)

(32) The importance of gossip and criticism of people offending against traditional values is that they help to maintain these values. Colson, in her study on the Makah Indians shows that gossip among the people is a way of maintaining their distinctive group identity. See COLSON, E. 1953 and also EPSTEIN, A.L. (1969) : 117-127.

At least once a fortnight, usually in the company of one of his girl friends, Yusuf goes to the 'bioscope'. He has been to the cinema in Chatsworth, but prefers going to the cinema in Durban. Yusuf has no difficulty in getting into these cinemas, even though one Indian cinema was not licensed to admit Africans. Some of his Zanzibari friends do have difficulty getting into this cinema, but Yusuf says he knows the attendants at the cinema and they have never refused him admission. 'Sometimes I take an African girl friend to the bioscope and they allow her in, because they think that she is a Zanzibari', he says with a chuckle.

Yusuf plays football for the Chatsworth police force and is an ardent supporter of the Zanzibari professional (part-time) football team, the Chatsworth Rovers. He is extremely disappointed that that team has recently been suspended by the professional soccer federation (S.A.S.P.L.)⁽³³⁾. Although there were a few non-Zanzibari players in the team, the entire Zanzibari community keenly followed its progress and this helped to foster the feeling of community spirit among the Zanzibaris.

Yusuf reads the morning newspaper, The Natal Mercury, at the police station and listens to the news over the radio. He does not get much time now, but he used to enjoy listening to the radio quiz programmes.

(33) The Chatsworth Rovers became called the night-footballers 'after a string of wins from night games and big defeats from day encounters'. See Post, 26th August 1970. In The Natal Mercury of 25th August, 1971, a report appeared stating that the Chatsworth Rovers were fined R500,00 or were to be suspended for three years by the Executive Committee of the S.A.S.F.P.L., after the team was found guilty of obstructing the performance of the game by refusing a penalty to be taken against them. This fine was not paid and at the time of this study, soccer enthusiasts among the Zanzibaris were rather dispirited, at the resulting suspension.

He reads the Readers' Digest and also enjoys reading detective stories. The weekly newspaper, Post, is read with great interest by his family, as it is in a number of Zanzibari homes, and either he or his sister, who is employed as a nurse-aide, buys this paper each week.

Yusuf is not interested in politics in the sense that he does not know what the different White political parties stand for. However, he is deeply conscious of the fact that Blacks in this country are being 'cheated'. Yusuf comments as follows in discussion; 'The White man gets up in the morning, demands his tea from his servant and then pushes him around all day. It is the same in all other places. We just get pushed around', he adds.

Yusuf is not pre-occupied with religion, but is very conscious of the fact that he is a Muslim and he is fairly pious. For him, his religious duties include attending the Friday congregational prayer at the Chatsworth mosque on Road 426. He also attends the mosque for congregational prayers during the festivals of the two Eids and attends prayers in the mosque to mark important events in the Islamic calendar. During the Muslim month of fasting (Ramdhan), Yusuf is very particular about fasting and tries not to miss a single fast: 'Even if I don't get up at night to eat, I still fast the next day', he states with a sense of achievement. Yusuf only eats meat that has been slaughtered by a Muslim. Thus, he emphasises that when a braaivleis was held recently at the police force, Yusuf made sure that the meat was purchased from a Muslim butcher.

Like a number of Zanzibaris, both young and old, Yusuf, in order to ward away the evil eye and guard himself against any evil, wears an amulet

around his neck, which contains a small text from the Quran written on a piece of paper which is encased in sewn cloth and then attached to a cord.

Yusuf is not possessed by a spirit (pepo) and does not even like to talk about pepo. 'It is not a thing to talk about as it can catch anyone', he says seriously. Yusuf believes in the reality of pepo, since his late father, mother and now his eldest sister have pepo. His eldest sister, who is having matrimonial problems, has recently returned to her mother's home and she is of late being troubled by her pepo.⁽³⁴⁾ A new addition in the family and the expenses incurred in holding a pepo cult meeting for his sister have meant that Yusuf has more responsibilities. But he realises that since his father's death, he is required to shoulder the responsibilities of his mother's household and she looks to him more and more to make the decisions in the household affairs. Yusuf sometimes finds these responsibilities irksome, since he finds that his activities outside his family and the Zanzibari community in Chatsworth are being curtailed, and he is being drawn more into his family activities, which will be elucidated in Yusuf's network of social ties.

11. Yusuf's social network.

(a) Introduction.

Tracing Yusuf's network of social relations presented a number of problems for, unlike Zohra Jamal, his contacts were more diverse and

(34) See above, Chapter VII, p 186-9. for discussion on pepo.

drawn from a number of different social categories. Besides Yusuf's contacts being more diverse, his leisure-time activities were largely concentrated outside Chatsworth and the Zanzibari community. Further, Yusuf's work situation and the contacts he made there were a world sealed off to me.

Fortunately, however, Yusuf already kept a diary and he agreed to add to it the names of the people with whom he interacted during a three week period in March 1971. In addition, during this period, I saw Yusuf on an average of three times a week, when I questioned him at length on the people whose names he had entered in his diary,⁽³⁵⁾ in an endeavour to find out what the contacts meant to him and the nature of his interaction with them. Obviously, one of the shortcomings of this method of investigation was that I was, to a great extent, dependent on the reliability of the information given to me by Yusuf on a great portion of his network, since I could not observe him in the course of his daily activities, as I had to a large extent done with Zohra Jamal. Still, whenever Yusuf made contact with Zanzibaris in Chatsworth, I tried, as I had when examining Zohra Jamal's personal network, to cross-check Yusuf's information with these people. Hence, although the material I present is partially incomplete, I am reasonably confident that it is reliable and accurate.

I present Yusuf's contacts for the purposes of analysing his network

(35) Yusuf used to keep a diary to enter the times of his work schedule. I do not reproduce extracts from the diary, since the entries he made were terse and merely mentioned the name of the person whom he met on a particular day. These details of his contacts can be seen in Table No. 11.

of social relations, over a ten-day period during March 1971, since I found that although certain events that occurred during this period were unique, there was nevertheless a range of people with whom Yusuf repeatedly and regularly interacted and to whom he acknowledged certain obligations. Thus, I consider that during this ten-day period a good idea is obtained of the type of contacts Yusuf maintained and, in some instances, deliberately recruited.

As in the examination of Zohra Jamal's social network, I shall analyse the importance Yusuf attached to his contacts. In the text that follows, I shall again underline the name of each person with whom Yusuf interacts the first time it is mentioned and, where the person also figures in Yusuf's genealogy, I give the appropriate number from Diagram No. 2, after the name.

(b) Review of Yusuf's activities over a ten-day period during March, 1971.

Yusuf lives with his widowed mother and his brothers and sisters and interacts with them daily. For this reason I have not listed the people living in Yusuf's household in Table No.12 of this chapter. However, I did notice that Yusuf tried to spend as much of his free time as possible with his friends and regarded his family's demands on him as an invasion of his free time. But the demands of his family were considerable. Thus, Yusuf found that he often came home from work before his mother and sister, Sharifa (D 27, who works as a nurse-aide) and he took it on himself to see that his younger brothers and sisters had been

TABLE NO. 12

People Yusuf interacted with over a ten day period during March 1971

	MATERNAL KIN	PATERNAL KIN	ZANZIBARI MALE FRIENDS	ZANZIBARI NEIGHBOUR	INDIAN FRIENDS	WORK FRIENDS	GIRLFRIENDS
1 Wed	Rookaya; Zarina.		Iman (visited Yusuf at his house.			Serg. John.	
2 Thur	Rookaya; Miriam.	Father's brother and wife.			Gonesella (bus-stop).		Bella (Coloured) - living in Chatsworth.
3 Fri	Rookaya; Zarina; Miriam.	Father's brother and wife.		Mr. & Mrs. Suleman.			Clarabell (in town) after visit to Badsha Pir Shrine.
4 Sat	Rookaya.		Imam and Bingo (on street).				Elizabeth (African) Chesterville - met on bus. Mookie and Priscilla (African)
5 Sun	Rookaya; Zarina. (at football match).		Bingo (at football match); Hanif (bus-stop).		Khan family.		Elizabeth (African) football match.
6 Mon	Maniribo (D20); Rookaya.	Father's brother's son (outside mosque).	Hanif and Imam (outside mosque) Wally and others at street corner			Serg. John.	
7 Tue	Rookaya; Zarina; Miriam.	Father's brother and wife.	Wally and others on street corner				Mavis (African) - at McCord Hospital and cinema.
8 Wed	Rookaya.	Father's brother.				Linga and Steve (at Yusuf's house).	
9 Thur	Rookaya; Miriam; Zarina.						
10 Fri	Rookaya; Miriam; Zarina.	Father's brother and wife.	Imam (outside mosque).	Mr. & Mrs. Suleman.			Doris (Coloured), Greenwood Park

to the madressah or supervised their homework. During the period reviewed, Yusuf was requested by his mother to attend to the payment of a few accounts and to make a few small purchases in town for the household. Further, during this period a letter was received by Yusuf's mother, from his sister, Zaria (D 26), who was married and living in Johannesburg. Zaria informed her mother that her husband was neglecting her and that she wanted her mother to send her ten rand to pay one of her accounts. Yusuf's mother handed the letter to him and asked him whether he thought it advisable to send the money to Zaria. The impression created was that the decision to send the money rested in Yusuf's hands.

During the ten-day period Yusuf, on the insistence of his mother and her eldest sister, Rookaya (C 1), visited the Badsha Pir Shrine⁽³⁶⁾ in Grey Street, Durban, to offer prayers to ward away any evil that might befall him. Yusuf's mother felt that Yusuf's complaints of 'feeling tired' were linked with a dream⁽³⁷⁾ he had some time ago, when he saw demons prancing about in a menacing fashion. This dream was interpreted by Yusuf's mother to mean that some misfortune might

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- (36) Badsha Pir, who is believed to have been an indentured Indian, is regarded by some Indians as a Muslim saint and his tomb is visited by many. Yusuf bought a few yards of poplin to cover the tomb of the saint and also bought some sweetmeats. At the tomb of Badsha Pir, Yusuf told the attendant of his dream and the attendant prayed on Yusuf's behalf to the saint to protect him from misfortune. The attendant then blessed the sweetmeats and waved some peacock feathers over Yusuf to dispel any evil spirits hovering around him. Yusuf left half the sweetmeats with the attendant and the remainder he took home. After this visit Yusuf stated he felt 'happier'. See MEER, F. (1969 : 202) for a discussion on Badsha Pir and his shrine.
- (37) Dreams are often regarded by Zanzibaris as signs or omens. Very often dreams are thought to be a way that ancestors make their wishes known to the living. See above, Chapter VII, p 200, for the interpretation of a dream that Zohra Jamal had.

befall him.

Yusuf's house is situated between the houses of his mother's eldest sister Rookaya (C 1) and of the brother of his late father. Rookaya saw Yusuf almost every day, since she kept a close watch over Yusuf's household affairs because his mother worked during the day. Rookaya always seemed to know whether Yusuf was 'at home', 'at work', or as she said, 'gone to town'. Yusuf also visited regularly the brother of his late father and his wife and treated them with respect. He often, at their request, did small purchases for them in town. Two doors away from Yusuf's house lives his mother's youngest sister, Fidna (C 10), whom Yusuf also saw almost every day, since he was friendly with Fidna's daughter, Zarina (D 46). Yusuf likes exchanging items of news with Zarina and stated 'he liked talking things in general such as bioscopes, records, pop-singers, boy-friends, girl-friends, our problems and the world in general'. Besides the relatives already mentioned, Yusuf saw little of his other relatives, because he stated he could not be 'bothered' with them nor did he have 'time' to see them regularly.

However, Yusuf's mwethi Raphenta, who is the son of the brother of his late father, met Yusuf on one occasion after the evening prayers in the mosque in Chatsworth. At his mother's request Yusuf visited Maniribo (D 20), who is the daughter of his mother's late brother, Osman (C 3), to find out whether she had fully recovered from a recent illness. Maniribo lives a distance away from Yusuf's house.

Next door to the house of Yusuf's mother's youngest sister,

Fidna (C 10), lives the Suleman family. This family had lived near Yusuf's home in Kings Rest and Yusuf's late father was very friendly with them. Yusuf saw Mr. & Mrs. Suleman twice during the period reviewed and on both occasions he visited them while visiting his mother's sister, Fidna.

Yusuf had two 'good' Zanzibari male friends, Imam and Hanif who grew up with him in Kings Rest and went to school with him in Chatsworth. Yusuf met these friends in their homes, outside the mosque or in the streets. Yusuf discussed with his friends, matters such as their work, girl-friends and football. Sometimes they talked about other people in the Zanzibari community or, as he said, 'talked about their problems', which seemed to be a euphemism for gossip. Sometimes Yusuf borrowed newspapers, magazines and records from these friends. Another Zanzibari friend of Yusuf's, who was known as Bingo, accompanied Yusuf and his girl-friend to a football match at the Curries Fountain, in Durban.

Twice in the ten days reviewed, Yusuf joined a group of young men, who usually congregated in the evenings at a street corner not far from his house. Yusuf exchanged anecdotes with these friends and there was much bragging and teasing of each other.

Since leaving school, Yusuf has maintained contact with an Indian Hindu friend, Gonesella, who was studying medicine on a bursary at the Medical School in Durban. Gonesella lives in the same section as Yusuf lives in Chatsworth, and they sometimes visit each other. However, in this period, Yusuf did not visit Gonesella but met him at the bus-stop, where they chatted for over half an hour.

During the period, Yusuf visited a Muslim Indian family, the Khans, who lived in the same street as he did and talked to the son, who was an usher in an Indian cinema and to the daughter who was attending a secretarial course at the Technical College.

Yusuf's work friends were all Indians with whom he got on well. However, in Table No. 12 of this Chapter, only three of his work friends are listed, as his relationship with them extended beyond the work situation. These friends were, Yusuf's superior, Serg. John, a Christian Indian who, Yusuf said, had time for a younger person and treated Yusuf 'like a man' and gave him 'good advice'. Linga and Steve, his other work friends, accompanied Yusuf on one occasion to his house during their lunch break.

Yusuf's girl-friends were all non-Zanzibaris and they lived outside Chatsworth: Bella, a Coloured girl, lived in Clairwood, Elizabeth, an African school-girl, lived in Chesterville, Mavis, an African nurse-aid, worked at the McCord Zulu Hospital, Doris, a Coloured factory-hand, lived in Greenwood Park, Durban. Yusuf met these girls away from his house and saw them either at their homes or their place of work. During the period under review, Yusuf took Elizabeth to a football match and Mavis went with him to the cinema, but paid for her own ticket. Conversation with these girls covered a limited number of topics, their work, the latest movie in town, film stars, pop singers and a sensational criminal case reported in the weekly newspaper, Post.

In addition to these girls, who would be considered part of his network of social relations at the time, Yusuf also encountered other girls whom he had not met before and to whom he had not been formally

introduced. Yusuf met three such girls, Clarabell, Mookie and Priscilla. Two of them he met on a bus, and the third one he met in town. Yusuf engaged in conversation with these girls and in one instance exchanged names and addresses. Yusuf stated that he would 'check' (i.e. contact) this girl and he hoped to take her out.

(c) Analysis of Yusuf's network and a comparison with Zohra Jamal's network.

Analysis of Yusuf's network of social relations soon shows that, unlike Zohra Jamal whose network was more or less completely bounded by her locality, Yusuf constantly made contacts out of Chatsworth, as well as within it. It is particularly noticeable that many of his leisure time activities were not concentrated in Chatsworth and that his contacts were with persons of culturally heterogenous backgrounds. The character of Yusuf's network was obviously much influenced by the fact that he is a man at that stage of his life cycle when he is more adventurous and, of course, more mobile, than an old woman like Zohra Jamal. In fact Yusuf often used to describe himself as being 'fast moving' and 'bit of a wild runner'.

Because not all the people Yusuf knew and met knew each other, the degree of connectedness between many of them was slight. Yusuf's network of social relations may therefore be described, in Bott's terms, as loose-knit.⁽³⁸⁾ However, within Yusuf's overall network, there were portions of it that did overlap. A number of Yusuf's contacts knew

(38) BOTT, E. 1957 : 59.

each other and interacted frequently, not only with him but, independently of him, with each other also. These close-knit sections centered largely around Yusuf's kin, neighbours and his two close Zanzibari male friends, Iman and Hanif. Following Epstein again, since there was a degree of connectedness between these links, it is possible to describe this section of Yusuf's network as his effective network. (39)

But, unlike Zohra Jamal's effective network, that of Yusuf was more restricted in that the range of kin that he regularly saw was small and close at hand. Thus, whereas Zohra Jamal's overall network was kin dominated, Yusuf's was not. However, kin did influence his actions, in spite of the fact that he sometimes resented them and often felt that the ties of kinship imposed irksome obligations on him. For example, Yusuf occupied and played the expected role of an eldest son in a household where the male founder of it is dead. The demands made on him by his widowed mother and siblings, who looked to him as the decision-maker, in the affairs of the household, added to his sense of responsibility.

Yusuf's visit to the Badsha Pir shrine showed again that, although he wanted to spend as little time as possible with his kin, they did influence his actions. Details on what Yusuf was to buy to take to the shrine and what he was to do there were given to him by his mother and eldest sister, Rookaya (C 1). From this incident it emerged that if Yusuf was faced with a crisis situation or any difficulties, the people most likely to help him would be his kin, because of their

(39) EPSTEIN, A.L. 1961 : 57.

concern for him and the close contact he maintained with them.

Yusuf was in no way embarrassed by his visit to the shrine, which is essentially an unorthodox Muslim practice. I, however, found Yusuf's visit to the shrine contradictory and inconsistent with his behaviour of smart talk and facade of bravado. Further, since he is educated I would have expected him to have consulted a doctor about his physical ailments rather than go to the shrine. Yusuf's apparently inconsistent behaviour may be, as Plotnicov⁽⁴⁰⁾ suggests, linked with Yusuf's complex social network which was drawn from different social groups and which had distinct social orientations.

It is also noticeable from the chance meetings Yusuf had with some of his kin, such as his mwethi and his special visit to Maniribo, the daughter of his mother's late brother, that the ties with the kin Yusuf did not often see, could easily be picked up by him, even if they were in abeyance.

While Yusuf's Zanzibari male friends, Iman and Hanif, have been counted as part of his effective network, his other male and female friends⁽⁴¹⁾ fall into his extended network as defined by Epstein. The reason for so classifying them was that not all of these people had face-to-face relations with each other independently of Yusuf. Further, Yusuf's relationship with each of the friends who are included within

(40) PLOTNICOV, L. 1967 : 8, 12. Plotnicov analyses adjustments individuals make to modern conditions of urban development in Nigeria, by tracing their movements through their fields of social relations.

(41) These friends include his Indian friend Gonesella, the Indian family he visited, and his street corner friends. Yusuf did not identify himself closely with his street corner friends. This was largely because he felt that it did not become a policeman to stand around street corners and be 'too friendly with passers-by'.

his extended network was a single-stranded one, as it did not extend beyond a particular social sphere and he did not maintain sustained social relations with any of them.

Similarly, Yusuf's work friends fell into his extended network. In spite of the fact that Yusuf interacted with them frequently it clearly emerged, as Mitchell notes, that a 'high frequency of contact does not necessarily imply a high intensity of social relationship.' Thus, I discovered that, although Yusuf's work friends, Linga and Steve, had visited his home, Yusuf had not visited them in their homes and in fact rarely interacted with them outside their work situation. Yusuf's interaction with his work friend, Serg John, was even more limited and constrained as he was Yusuf's superior at work and Yusuf could not treat him as his social equal. (43)

It is also worth noting that Yusuf's friendship with his Zanzibari friends, Iman and Hanif, will probably be more enduring since it is likely that they will occupy the same social and physical space in Chatsworth as Yusuf for some time to come. But on the other hand, Yusuf's work friends are probably transient friends, because they will be stationed in different areas from time to time, as indeed may happen also to Yusuf .

Yusuf's contacts with his girl-friends were also likely to be transient. Yusuf was still in his early twenties and single and he repeatedly stated that he was not 'serious' about any one of his girl-

(42) MITCHELL, J.C. 1969 : 29.

(43) EPSTEIN, A.L. 1969 : 111 notes that in the extended network 'the likelihood of some status differentiation being recognised is much greater because of the different social categories from which the network is recruited'.

friends, nor did he had any intention of marrying one of them. Unlike Yusuf's kin, whom he had no hand in choosing, Yusuf's friends, particularly his girl-friends were obviously selected by him. Moreover they, particularly the girl-friends, took Yusuf out of his community, both spatially and culturally.

The fact that Yusuf deliberately kept his girl-friends away from his kin and the larger Zanzibari community living in Chatsworth, showed that Yusuf was aware that his actions would be evaluated by his fellow Zanzibaris. He also knew that if it was found that he had deviated from the expected patterns, he would be criticised.⁽⁴⁴⁾ The resulting compartmentalisation of his social activities and social relations were, of course, made possible largely because he was able to be so mobile.

Yusuf's interaction with most of his friends was limited to particular activities. The main links Yusuf maintained with these friends were formed in pursuit of pleasure and these links were not strong, since they did not have the binding effect of multiplex links which are based upon reciprocal obligations. So, in spite of the fact that some of Yusuf's actions took him out of his community, the demands of his close kin and his obligations towards them brought him back into the community. It is also reasonable to infer that a crucial factor in Yusuf's future network patterning will depend on his choice of a marriage partner. If Yusuf marries a Zanzibari girl, then all his kin links will be largely concentrated in Chatsworth and it is predictable that the main contacts in Yusuf's effective network will then steadily

(44) See EPSTEIN, A.L. 1969 : 117-127 on Gossip, Norms and Social network.

take precedence over his links in his extended network.

12. Summary and conclusion.

From Yusuf's life history it has been seen that there was a different emphasis on the socialisation of boys among the Zanzibaris, compared with Zohra Jamal's life history. Thus, for instance less restrictions were imposed on a boy's movements whose sex role allows him to be more assertive than a woman. It is, however equally noticeable that, although there was a considerable difference in time between Zohra Jamal's early years and those of Yusuf the mechanism of socialisation in the Zanzibari community was still reasonably effective in Yusuf's childhood.

The concept of community identity has been touched upon in Yusuf's life history and was emphasised by certain incidents which illuminated the importance of participation in community activities. Thus Yusuf's participation in the circumcision ritual clearly reinforced his identification with his people. It will be recalled that Yusuf referred to the various customs surrounding the circumcision ritual as being part of the customs of his 'nation'. The clear implication of this statement was that Yusuf thought of his people being defined and 'bounded' by their customs.

The importance of Yusuf's madressah education cannot be overlooked. Not only did it introduce him to a form of pre-school discipline, but it also made him conscious that he belonged to part of a larger Muslim community and he identified himself with other Muslims, particularly

Indian Muslims with whom he came in contact. Yusuf's participation in some of the religious duties enjoined on Muslims has undoubtedly helped sustain his feelings of identification with the Zanzibaris.

Since Yusuf holds a Zanzibari identity card, this legal identity imposed on him and other members of the Zanzibari community by the authorities has also helped to promote feelings of a common identity. The common experiences of differentiation shared by Zanzibaris, as exemplified in Yusuf's work-seekings, and other such encounters with outsiders, have made Yusuf feel part of the larger Zanzibari community.

Yusuf has also remained rooted in the Zanzibari community of his obligations to the members of his household, which have increased since the death of his father. It is true that Yusuf's network patterning differed from that of Zohra Jamal especially as there were links with a greater number of people who were not related to him. However, the quality of his contact with these people was not intense and they fell mostly within the ambit of a constantly fluctuating extended network, rather than in the more stable effective.

It is reasonable to infer that there will be a number of similar 'networks' of other young men in Yusuf's age. Therefore any attempt to define the 'boundary' of the Zanzibari community in terms of these networks alone would cause it to be drawn differently from a consideration of the collective 'networks' of only older people such as Zohra Jamal. But it would still be theoretically possible to determine such a 'boundary' based upon the networks of younger people, even if a great many of the links extended outside the community. Further, if one takes into consideration the 'networks' of all the adults, young and old, the

configuration and form of the community and its boundaries yet will differ again, but there will still be a central area of the 'collective' network, where the links or contacts will be dense and will cross with each other and meet. This central part of the 'collective' networks will be the 'core' of the Zanzibari community from which its cohesion, continuity and identity derive, and from which many less close-knit ties lead out into the wider society.

The discussion of Yusuf's network has shown that among these ties outside the community were those he had with Indians, whom he met since moving to Chatsworth. Such contacts with Indians are understandable since the Zanzibaris now live in an Indian area. But Zanzibari contacts with Indians were also evident when they lived in Kings Rest, since the Zanzibaris acted there as host community to a few Indian families who were given permission by the Trustees to reside on the Trust lands in Kings Rest. However, in 1962 when the Zanzibaris were moved to Chatsworth, they found that they were now a very small minority group among a very large Indian majority, which now in turn acted as a kind of host community to them. Some of the consequences of these changes brought about by the move to Chatsworth were discussed in relation to Yusuf's life history and to the extended part of his network.

In the next chapter Indo-Zanzibari relations in Chatsworth will be discussed in more general terms, since it is obvious that the relations between the two groups are of fundamental importance to the Zanzibaris present and future situation in the Indian area of Chatsworth.

CHAPTER IX

INDO-ZANZIBARI RELATIONS IN CHATSWORTH

1. Indo-Zanzibari contact prior to the Zanzibaris being resettled in Chatsworth.

Before looking at the contemporary picture of Indo-Zanzibari relations in Chatsworth, it is relevant to review the type of contact the Zanzibaris had with Indians before their resettlement in Chatsworth. I have shown in earlier chapters that Indo-Zanzibari contact dates right back to the arrival of the freed slaves in Durban, when they were placed under the care and administration of the Protector of Indian Immigrants, and when their status as Indentured labourers was in many respects similar to that of Indian labourers at that time. I have also shown in previous chapters that these tenuous administrative links with Indians were converted into more formal institutional ties by the Trustees of the Juma Musjid, when they purchased land in Kings Rest for the settlement of the Muslim freed slaves. At the Kings Rest settlement, the Zanzibaris acted as host community to a few indigent Indian Muslim families, who had been given permission by the Trustees to live there. The Zanzibaris lived in apparent amity with these Indian families and there was considerable interaction between the two groups, who visited each other and invited each other to their weddings and other social functions.⁽¹⁾

(1) The information on this section was gathered during the course of my field work, when informants were asked to recount their associations with Indians.

Contact was also maintained by the Zanzibaris with a number of other Muslim Indians living elsewhere in the Kings Rest and Bluff areas, since a number of these people worshipped with the Zanzibaris at their mosque in Kings Rest, which was built by the Juma Musjid Trust. Some of these Indians also buried their dead in the Kings Rest cemetery. A particularly important occasion of contact with Indians was the annual celebrations that were held by the Zanzibaris to commemorate the birthday of the Prophet Mohamed. Muslim Indians from the surrounding areas of Durban attended these celebrations which were held on a lavish scale. Money was collected from Indian businessmen in the Kings Rest area and in Durban and over the years many of these people become regular donors.⁽²⁾ A tent was erected in the mosque yard for the mass feeding of all those who attended the celebrations. Zanzibari men and women chanted their devotional songs (dhikr) and the men gave an exhibition of their rathieb. On a few occasions the Muslim Youth Brigade from Durban responded to the invitations of the Zanzibaris and also entertained the people.

Zanzibari contacts with Indian Muslims through their common faith were not confined only to those people living in the Bluff area, but were more widespread extending into Durban itself. A focal point of Indo-Zanzibari contact there was the Grey Street mosque, where some Zanzibaris, since the days of their early forebears, attended the Friday congregational prayer. The act of worshipping together,

(2) In some instances bags of rice and bales of cloth were donated by Indians. The cloth was distributed to the women who chanted the dhikr, so that they would be dressed in a uniform dress during the celebrations.

standing shoulder to shoulder and performing the various prescribed postures of prayers in unison, had the effect of creating and strengthening friendships.⁽³⁾ The regular attendance of such Zanzibaris at this mosque led to many of them being invited to the homes of Indians to eat the traditional Friday lunch consisting of dhal (lentil soup) and rice. A few Zanzibaris were also invited by some Gujerati Muslim families to join them for the Thursday post-funerary evening prayers and supper, after any death in their family. Largely through this form of contact individual patron-client relationships were established and in a few cases Zanzibaris, both men and women, were actually given employment by Muslim families. In addition, more diffuse patron-client relationships were established during the month of fasting (Ramdhan), when many Zanzibari men and women visited the homes and shops of Indian Muslims, in the hope that they would be given alms, which are compulsorily enjoined on Muslims who can afford them. In this way, a number of Indians came to include Zanzibaris in their regular charitable giving. This type of relationship was not, however, only of benefit to the Zanzibaris, since the Indian donors were also able to believe that by giving this charity, their munificence would be rewarded in the hereafter.

However, it must not be thought that Zanzibari contact was confined only to Muslim Indians, since a number of Hindu families also lived on the Bluff, particularly near the Kings Rest railway station

(3) The Friday mid-afternoon prayer (juma) is a communal prayer and from the early days this form of prayer was not performed in the Kings Rest mosque, so that any Zanzibaris wishing to participate in it had to go to such mosques as the one in Grey Street.

and many Zanzibaris were friendly with them. These Hindus were often called 'Temple Indians' by the Zanzibaris and I gained the impression from a few informants that, because these Indians shared the same low standard of living as the Zanzibaris, the interpersonal relations with them were less formal and more free and easy, than with the more prosperous Muslims. Thus, one Zanzibari informant stated that she and her family 'shared all kinds of foods with the Temple Indians on happy occasions like weddings, entertainments and parties'. Many Zanzibari families still remember the Hindu midwife who unflinchingly came when called to the Kings Rest settlement to deliver babies for a token fee. 'Sometimes we just gave her money to buy soap to wash her hands and she was happy', remembers a grateful informant.

In addition, Zanzibaris and Indians, like all Blacks in South Africa, shared many of the same public amenities, such as transport and hospital services. Another public sphere of contact with Indians for some Zanzibari children was the Indian schools which they attended while still living in Kings Rest.

Yet another, though perhaps more ambiguous sort of interaction arose from the widespread Indian belief that Zanzibaris were to be respected and even feared since they dabbled in black magic.⁽⁴⁾ To some extent these beliefs may have generated tendencies in some Indians to limit contacts with Zanzibaris, tendencies which were fostered by gossip and hearsay stories that were repeated over and over again. But

(4) KUPER, H. 1960 : 29 notes that the Zanzibaris 'are regarded with fear by non-Muslim Indians because of their reputed knowledge of black-magic.'

on the other hand, there were other Indians who were sufficiently impressed by the prophetic powers of Zanzibari diviners and the healing powers of their herbalists to make special trips to consult them at Kings Rest. In such cases, it was the Indians who were in the role of clients to the Zanzibaris whose services they sought.

The combined strength of these long-established Indo-Zanzibari relations were dramatically put to the test during the Indo-African riots of 1949. Hysterical Indian families, shaken by the horror of violence of the riots, were given refuge by the Zanzibaris in their homes. The Zanzibaris protected these Indians during a very tense and fluid period of the riots, knowing full well that they risked incurring the wrath of Africans living in the neighbourhood. Thus, a Zanzibari informant remembered, 'we sometimes hid Indians under our beds when Africans with their sticks passed near our houses'.

From the brief review of earlier Indo-Zanzibari relations it can be seen that Zanzibaris lived comparatively peacefully side by side with Indians in the Kings Rest area and were also quite often involved in varied relationships of dependence with other Indians, both Muslim and non-Muslim. With this background in mind, it is easier to understand why the Zanzibaris were officially classified as 'Other Asiatics', and why the Durban City Council, who were much encouraged by the Trustees of the Juma Musjid, decided to settle them in the Indian area of Chatsworth. However, this decision to resettle the Zanzibaris in an Indian Group Area was regarded as unusual by some Indians, who thought that the resettlement was incompatible with the government's policy of racial segregation. To appreciate fully the

complex issues involved in this decision, it is therefore necessary to look, broadly and briefly, at the complex pattern of residential segregation in South Africa.

2. Separate development and residential segregation in South Africa.

The well-known policy of the present South African government is to promote the separate development of the different races and 'ethnic' groups in their own area, on the grounds that the Black people are racially and 'ethnically' heterogeneous and they should be encouraged to maintain their separate identities. The Nationalist government further holds out to its electorate and to the outside world that the only way to prevent racial conflict between the different peoples of South Africa is to encourage social distance between them by enforcing residential segregation. In accordance with this policy, the Africans are being divided and dispersed in eight 'homelands', where they are promised eventual independence and there is a drive to perpetuate their language and culture. Africans living in the so called 'White areas' are, of course, more difficult to separate 'ethnically', but even there some attempt is made in the bigger townships at least, to divide them on 'ethnic' lines.

Clearly this whole policy was devised mainly to deal with the African population, and its application to other groups, such as the Indians and Coloureds, has presented many problems of implementation and administration. In particular, the existence of numerous cultural or 'racial' sub-groups within both the Indian and other Coloured

populations would have meant an exceedingly complex form of segregation, in terms of the declared government policy. In practice, only a limited number of these sub-groups are given separate areas. Thus, for example, the Malays are in terms of the Group Areas Act, settled with the Coloureds.⁽⁵⁾

To have given entirely separate recognition to such small sub-groups as the Zanzibaris would presumably have meant a further multiplication of administrative regulations and personnel to the point at which the whole policy would have become even more cumbersome and expensive than it already is. It therefore seems as if the authorities compromised by giving official recognition to the identity of the Zanzibaris, while at the same time combining them for administrative and residential purposes with the much larger group of Indians. In this way the transfer of people who are largely African in appearance, to an Indian Group Area is made to appear not completely incompatible with the policy of Separate Development. As I have previously shown, this 'solution' of the problem was certainly encouraged by some Indians who had been associated with the Zanzibaris through the Juma Masjid Trust or in other ways. However, not all Indians welcomed the solution and in order to understand their attitudes it is necessary to say something about the general position of Indians in Durban.

(5) In Durban, members of the Malay group, who one might have supposed are culturally closer to Indians than are Zanzibaris, have been settled in Coloured areas such as Sparks Estate and Wentworth. WHISSON, M.G. 1973 : 221-222 notes that the 'various legal Coloured sub-groups are treated as one group for some purposes, but distinctions made between for others'.

3. Indians in Durban.

The largest single concentration of Indians anywhere in South Africa is planned to be in Chatsworth which eventually is to accommodate some 250,000 Indians, out of a total Indian population of 600,000 Indians in South Africa. To the casual outside observer this large group of Indians might appear to be relatively homogenous, but they are in fact, divided on the basis of historical origins, of language and of religion. Other social barriers, derived principally from the heritage of caste taboos, are being steadily eroded by contacts made in educational institutions, work situations, sport and welfare or political associations. This erosion may conceivably be hastened by putting together so many people in Chatsworth without concern for language or religious differences. At the same time it may well have the effect of increasing the exclusiveness of which Indians in South Africa (and elsewhere on the continent) have often been accused. Such exclusiveness is, of course, partly a reflection of their position as a visible, vulnerable minority group which has its roots in their historical experience in South Africa. For soon after their arrival in the country, they became the target of anti-Indian legislation which soon cast its constrictive net over their activities and impeded their enterprise, since they were regarded as a potential threat to the White monopolies, especially in trade. Indians, in their turn, organised themselves to challenge such legislation and in doing so maintained political exclusiveness from the other Black groups, since the legislation they challenged was

directed specifically against Indians.

To some extent, this trend to political exclusiveness changed in the nineteen-forties, when some Indian leaders saw their struggles as concerning 'Non-Europeans'.⁽⁶⁾ The need for unity of the Black peoples was brought home more sharply to many Indians through the racial conflict that occurred during the Indo-African riots of 1949. Since then there has been a conscious effort on the part of some Indians to realign themselves with other Blacks. In fact, one of the paradoxical consequences of the apartheid policy was to stimulate considerable change of racial attitudes in the direction of closer Black co-operation.⁽⁷⁾ Such changes and realignments among some Indians and their leaders involving a rejection of racialism, may have been one reason why there was little or no initial opposition to the settlement of Zanzibaris among Indians in 1962.⁽⁸⁾

But more recently, the continuing implementation of racial separation and living in a situation where the authorities foster group attitudes may well have encouraged a revival of exclusiveness among some sections of the Indians in Durban. Criticism of the settlement of the Zanzibaris among Indians appeared in late 1969 and early 1970

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- (6) For example, a formal co-operation pact was signed in 1946 by Doctors Dadoo, Naicker and Xuma.
- (7) KUPER, L. 1965 : 48-50 discusses this paradox and the movement which favours integration on a non-racial basis.
- (8) The Chatsworth Housing Welfare Society, now known as the Chatsworth Civic Association, did write to the Durban City Council on 10th October, 1962, questioning the wisdom of the Council's decision to settle Zanzibaris in Chatsworth - letter attached to Memorandum mentioned in footnote (15) of this chapter.

and took the form of letters in the local and Indian press and press statements made by certain members of the Chatsworth Civic Association and the Southern Local Affairs Committee. These anti-Zanzibari sentiments from Indians and reactions to them by Indian leaders and by ordinary Indians will now be considered, since they are part of the contemporary situation of the Zanzibaris and directly affect their position in Chatsworth.

4. Indian criticism of the Zanzibari presence in Chatsworth.

The first general report that appeared in the newspapers expressing Indian dissatisfaction at the settlement of Zanzibaris in Chatsworth was in the Daily News of 4th October 1969. In this report it was alleged that 'some Indians living in Chatsworth say that they do not want to live with the Zanzibaris as they are not Asiatics'. This report went on to state, 'an Indian spokesman said that an inquiry should be held as to why and how a foreign tribe is settled in an Indian township'. This report was followed by a few letters in the press in the same vein.⁽⁹⁾ Thus one writer noted, 'that Zanzibaris social mores and physical appearance made them incompatible

(9) The chief protagonist in this campaign was an Indian, a Mr. Douglas, who lives almost 30 miles from Chatsworth. Mr. Douglas was reported in the press to have stated as follows: 'I shall not rest until Zanzibaris are re-settled in African zones as they are not Indians'. The Natal Mercury 30th March, 1970. Mr. Douglas' interest in the Zanzibaris may be because it is one way of his gaining publicity, and it also casts him in a favourable light with the authorities, since he is strengthening their case that the races in South Africa should be separated.

neighbours.'⁽¹⁰⁾ Another writer noted in a letter to the press that the 'Zanzibaris have very strong social ties with the Bantu whom they resemble'. This writer further noted that 'a large number of Zanzibari Africans do not work and one wonders how they make a living'.⁽¹¹⁾ Another writer noted that 'more and more Bantu would be introduced into an Indian area.'⁽¹²⁾ This latter theme was taken up by a further writer who signed herself as 'A worried mother of Chatsworth', who noted that 'Africans were penetrating and residing in Chatsworth with the help of Zanzibari Africans'. This writer also noted that she wanted her children to grow up as 'South African Indians and at the same time preserve their language and culture', and was concerned that 'Zanzibari children did not have their own separate school facilities.'⁽¹³⁾

A further point made by some of these writers was that the settlement of Zanzibaris in Chatsworth was 'not in keeping with the policy of separate development since South Africa has a policy which gives self-determination to each racial group within its own area'.⁽¹⁴⁾

Using some of the same arguments contained in these letters to the press, the Chatsworth Civic Association, claiming to represent approximately 120,000 Indian people, presented in 1970 a Memorandum to the South African Indian Council.⁽¹⁵⁾ The Council was asked in

(10) Letter in the Graphic dated 16th January, 1970.

(11) Letter in the Graphic dated 16th January, 1970.

(12) Letter in the Graphic dated 16th January, 1970.

(13) Daily News 6th January, 1970.

(14) Graphic 16th January, 1970.

(15) I was given a copy of this Memorandum by a former member of the South African Indian Council, which is an advisory statutory body with nominated members from the Cape, Transvaal and Natal.

the Memorandum to approach the government to remove the Zanzibaris from Chatsworth.

Another reaction to the presence of the Zanzibaris in Chatsworth came a little later from a member of the Southern Durban Indian Local Affairs Committee. His reaction was clearly inspired by political considerations because it was expressed in connection with the elections of this Committee. Thus, he was reported in one newspaper as saying of the Zanzibaris, 'they are Africans in appearance, and they should not be allowed to register as voters as the elections concern Indians only.'⁽¹⁶⁾

Hence most of the objections to the Zanzibari settlement in Chatsworth focussed on their physical difference from Indians, their interaction with Africans which supposedly led to the introduction of Africans into Chatsworth, on the alleged indolence of Zanzibaris and on the argument that the settlement of the Zanzibaris in an Indian area was incompatible with the government policy of Separate Development. Although there was no reaction from the Zanzibaris themselves to these press statements, these objections did not pass unchallenged in the Indian community and indeed there was reaction to them from a number of prominent Indians.

5. Indian reactions in support of the settlement of the Zanzibaris in Chatsworth.

An early statement in defence of the Zanzibaris by an Indian

(16) The Natal Mercury 20th March, 1971. Some Zanzibaris did take part in the election, but many other householders did not even register as voters because they stated that they were not aware of their rights. A report in the Daily News of 6th October, 1971 noted 'that this was the first time Zanzibaris were exercising their right to vote in South Africa'.

newspaper columnist significantly emphasised their religious ties to the Indian community. Thus it was noted that, 'Zanzibaris are close to Indians in their common religion of Islam'.⁽¹⁷⁾ A broader defence took the form of an appeal, made by Dr. M.B. Naidoo, an Indian educationalist, who called on 'our race conscious protestors to be more charitable in their outlook towards a defenceless group struggling for self-expression in a vast Indian housing complex'.⁽¹⁸⁾ A later letter to another newspaper emphasised the strong historical ties between the two communities: 'the Siddies (Zanzibaris) have been part and parcel of the Indian community for years'.⁽¹⁹⁾

Subsequent writers stressed the argument that Indians should not manifest the same kind of racial prejudice of which they themselves were the victims. Thus, a writer wrote to the press, 'Have we sunk so low that we who have been discriminated against for over 100 years can discriminate against an even more unfortunate group'.⁽²⁰⁾ Dr. A.D. Lazarus, another Indian educationalist, was also reported as saying that 'some Indians were aping the White man'.⁽²¹⁾

In the meantime, the Executive Committee of the South African Indian Council at its meeting in Durban on the 26th January, 1970 had discussed the controversy over the Zanzibaris in Chatsworth and they decided that no action should be taken against the Zanzibaris. One of the Council members was reported to have said that he would 'fight

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- (17) Graphic 12th December, 1969.
(18) Graphic 19th December, 1969.
(19) Daily News 16th January, 1970.
(20) Graphic 16th March, 1970.
(21) Graphic 23rd October, 1970.

tooth and nail against moves to oust the Zanzibaris from Chatsworth'.⁽²²⁾

The importance of such sympathy for the Zanzibaris shown in the Indian press and by some Indian leaders during this period cannot be underestimated, since it effectively dampened anti-Zanzibari sentiments which could so easily have got out of hand. Nevertheless at the time one could not be sure how general were the sentiments that had been expressed for and against the Zanzibaris. As it happened, the arguments that had been publicly expressed on both sides came largely from non-residents of Chatsworth who seemed not to have had much, or indeed any, contact with Zanzibaris. Therefore, in the next section I discuss the material collected on Indo-Zanzibari relations actually in Chatsworth itself, taking particular note of what Indians living near Zanzibaris thought of being part of a Zanzibari neighbourhood in an Indian area.

6. Survey of Indo-Zanzibari relations in Chatsworth during 1970-1972.

(a) Introduction.

A survey on Indo-Zanzibari relations was undertaken during January and February 1970.⁽²³⁾ The object of this study was to get some idea on the composition, standard of living and education of the two communities, and to assess the nature and extent of relations obtaining between them. Thirty-three Zanzibaris and twenty-seven Indian heads of households were interviewed. The respondents lived in the area where

(22) Daily News 26th January, 1970.

(23) See Introduction for more details on how this survey came to be made and on the way in which it was conducted.

the Zanzibaris have been settled, that is Section 20, Roads 402, 425, 426, 442 and 423. There are in all 200 houses in this area and of these 86 are occupied by Indians. The study in 1970 covered just a little under a third of the families of each of the two communities.

During the period that I did my field work I also interviewed on this subject thirty-five Indian heads of households, some of whom had already been interviewed in the earlier study. However, the people I interviewed were all living on Roads 402, 425 and 426 and were therefore concentrated in a smaller area than the earlier study. Six of these respondents were males. But, women made better informants because they spent more time at home, since compared to the Zanzibari women, fewer Indian women were employed, and they therefore had more opportunities for contact with the Zanzibaris. Thirty-three Zanzibari responses about their relationships with Indians in Chatsworth will be examined. Every third or fourth Zanzibari house was chosen, if there happened to be Indian houses in-between Zanzibari houses.

I found it useful to compare and check the responses I obtained with the earlier study which was done during the height of the Zanzibari controversy and in some instances when feelings were strained and I felt that this controversy could have masked or distorted true feelings. However, I found that the responses of my informants on Indo-Zanzibari relations were in almost all instances similar to those of the earlier study.

I did not use any standardised schedule because it inhibited

respondents and, in any case, ascertaining inter-group relations and attitudes through standardised schedules has its limitations. I found that unstructured interviews, which did include certain standard questions, with respondents who were at ease, gave more information and a better insight into inter-group relations and activities. Ambivalent feelings could also be discussed in depth during unstructured interviews which normally would not be properly conveyed in one-word answers to standard questions.

(b) Review of Indian responses.

Of the Indian informants, fourteen had houses which were flanked by Zanzibari neighbours on either side and then had a Zanzibari neighbour on one side. Nine of these twenty-four informants were not originally from Kings Rest and were living in these houses because the former Zanzibari occupants had been ejected by the Durban City Council for non-payment of their rent. The responses of these twenty-four informants will be dealt with separately from the other eleven informants who had no immediate Zanzibari neighbours. Certain set questions were put to these informants and these, together with the responses are presented in Table No. 13.

TABLE NO. 13

<u>TWENTY-FOUR INDIAN RESPONSES.</u>			
QUESTIONS	YES	NO	TOTAL
Do you visit your neighbours?	17	7	24
Do you borrow from your neighbours?	13	11	24
Do you have any trouble with your neighbours?	0	24	24
Do you have any complaints about the Zanzibaris?	6	18	24
Do you want the Zanzibaris moved from Chatsworth?	0	24	24

The women who said that they did not visit their Zanzibari neighbours did not speak of having had trouble with them. One woman said she 'was not used' to her neighbours, and the other that she was 'not in the habit of visiting'. However, there was no evidence of deliberate avoidance of contact and the women said that they spoke to their neighbours over the fence and when they met them on the road. Three women claimed that their children spoke fluent 'Zanzibari language' and one woman added that her daughter knew all the songs that the Zanzibari women sing during a girl's puberty ceremony.

The women who did not borrow from their neighbours stated that they did not do so, because their neighbours were poor. One woman stated that if she borrowed from her neighbours, she was sure that they would 'pester her for things all the time'.

However, the areas of interaction were many and varied between some neighbours for besides visiting and borrowing, women spoke of their Zanzibari neighbours looking after their homes and children during their absence. Sometimes neighbours went shopping together or made purchases for each other when they went to town. Another informant stated that when there was a death in her family, her Zanzibari neighbour took over the responsibility of arranging the funeral. One Indian family regularly used to send food and groceries to their Zanzibari neighbour, when the head of the family was ill and unemployed.

Complaints in only two instances were directed against immediate neighbours, but they were not made by the informants who stated that they did not visit their neighbours. The one complaint against an

immediate neighbour was that they were noisy and that when they had parties they kept her and her family awake all night. The other complaint was that a neighbour's husband drank and fought with his wife and that they made a noise. Complaints were also made about children 'playing in the streets', 'getting out of hand and the elders not saying anything to them'. One woman said that Africans were coming into the neighbourhood through the Zanzibaris and felt that this would be bad for the area and for the Zanzibaris, who would become 'mixed-up with them'. A male informant commenting on the Zanzibari interaction with Africans stated that they would 'take them out of Islam'.

The eleven other respondents' answers to set questions are presented in Table No. 14.

TABLE NO. 14

<u>ELEVEN INDIAN RESPONSES</u>			
<u>QUESTIONS</u>	<u>YES</u>	<u>NO</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
Do you visit Zanzibaris?	6	5	11
Do you borrow from Zanzibaris?	5	6	11
Do you have any complaints about the Zanzibaris?	7	4	11
Do you want them to be moved from Chatsworth?	0	11	11

Again in this sample I found that, with the exception of one person, even if informants did not visit Zanzibaris, they still had contact or knew some Zanzibaris with whom they were friendly. Points of interaction were varied and ranged from visiting, borrowing, exchanging wedding and other invitations, to praying together. One Indian woman

had organised classes for Muslim women in the neighbourhood for religious instruction. A number of Zanzibari women attended these classes. Zanzibari children regularly congregated and played outside this house since this women sold sweets and icecreams. One woman regularly was asked to assist at Zanzibari weddings. The mother of this woman was heard to say that the Zanzibaris could not do without her daughter since she 'displays and arranges all the wedding clothes for them'.

A few women stated that they felt quite safe in their area and they were not afraid to walk at night in the streets. There were no incidents reported of women being interfered with by Zanzibari men.

Comments were made that Indians and Zanzibaris were alike: 'they eat like us, they like rice'; 'they use ginger and garlic like us'; 'they have their troubles like us, children's problems, cost of living'; 'their ways are the same', were some of the comments recorded.

Comments were also made about the religious fervour of the Zanzibaris. 'They are very holy'; 'they keep all their fast'; 'all nonsense is stopped in Ramdhan (month of fasting), even young children fast'.

Some of the complaints that were recorded were as follows: 'Zanzibari children are naughty'; 'they make noise'; 'too much loud music from the homes'; 'Zanzibari girls are getting spoilt'; 'too many illegitimate children'; 'too many children on the streets who should be at school'; 'they are marrying Africans'.

One woman expressed particularly negative attitudes towards Zanzibaris. She did not 'trust them', 'they could trick people'. When pressed she stated that she thought Zanzibaris were capable of bewitching people. This woman felt that she was ostracised by the Zanzibaris. However, in spite of her negative attitudes towards Zanzibaris, she did not want them to be moved out of Chatsworth, but she herself had applied to be transferred to another area in Chatsworth. There were no great differences recorded between the attitudes of those householders who had immediate Zanzibari neighbours and those who did not have them. The reason for this may be that the eleven Indian householders who did not have immediate Zanzibari neighbours nevertheless lived near them and the physical proximity did create opportunities for contact.

(c) Review of Zanzibari responses.

The following responses were obtained from thirty-three informants to a few set questions.

TABLE NO. 15

<u>THIRTY-THREE ZANZIBARI RESPONSES</u>			
QUESTIONS	YES	NO	TOTAL
Do you visit Indians in the neighbourhood?	26	7	33
Do you borrow from Indians?	18	15	33
Do you think Indians want you to leave Chatsworth?	20	13	33
Have you had trouble with any Indians?	5	28	33
Do you like Chatsworth?	26	7	33

From Table No. 14 it can be seen that most Zanzibaris had positive inter-group relations in terms of visiting and borrowing. Zanzibaris were apparently rather more ready to visit Indians than the latter were to visit them, and responded readily to Indian invitations to social functions. A few went shopping and to an occasional movie with Indian friends. A few Zanzibaris did remark that some Indians were 'proud' and did not like to visit their 'poor' houses. A few Zanzibaris who did not have fridges used to keep their perishable foodstuffs in fridges belonging to Indians. One Zanzibari informant spoke of the more personal service from her Indian neighbour in 'giving sense' to her husband when he was drunk and in a belligerent mood.

Zanzibaris often complained that it was their physical appearance to which Indians objected. 'It is our hair'; said one informant, 'they don't like our crinkly hair', but what can we do, Allah made us like this' said another informant.

Some Zanzibaris made unsolicited comments that they were no different from Indians, 'Our grandmothers all come on a ship to work under the girumit (24), 'We eat the same food and the ladies wear sarries like Indians'; 'we are also Muslims. Where can we stay'; 'we can't stay in Umlazi, how can we keep Islam in KwaMashu or Umlazi, there is no mosque there'.

A few Zanzibaris admitted that some of their people had married Africans, but stated that these Africans had become Muslims. 'What about those Indians who have married African nurses and live with them

(24) See above, Chapter 1, p. 14.

in Chatsworth. No one complains about them' another commented.

An additional factor during 1970 that may have been affecting attitudes when the survey was undertaken, was that most Zanzibaris had very strong feelings about the mosque which had been built on Road 402.⁽²⁵⁾ At that time the Juma Masjid Trust had not replaced the dilapidated tin-shanty on Road 426, which was known as the 'Zanzibari mosque'. Despite an assurance that had been given by the Trustees to the Zanzibaris that this mosque would eventually be replaced with something better, some Zanzibaris felt that this assurance would now be reversed on the grounds that there was already a substantial well-built mosque on Road 402. Zanzibaris also felt that the new mosque was dividing Indians and Zanzibaris. 'There is now colour-bar in the mosques', some commented. 'They stare at us when we go to their mosque', another Zanzibari said. However I did notice that some Indians continued to worship in the 'Zanzibari mosque'.

The feelings about the 'Indian mosque', I noticed, have subsided to a marked degree, now that an impressive mosque has been built for the Zanzibaris by the Juma Trust. The Zanzibaris take great pride in it and it has to a large degree, caused the early controversy on the 'Indian mosque' to recede into the background.

Most Zanzibaris felt that the anti-Zanzibari campaign in the press had been organised by 'outsiders' or non-residents of Chatsworth. Some informants felt that these Indians were 'jealous' of them and wanted their houses. Others felt that it was the Hindu or 'Temple Indian' who

(25) One of the reasons that has been mentioned to me by some Indians for having built the mosque on Road 402 is because of the differences in prayer ritual between the Zanzibaris and Indians. See above, Chapter IV, p. 79.

was antagonistic towards them. A few Zanzibaris from Kings Rest stated that the Indians from Kings Rest had changed since moving to Chatsworth. 'Now they prefer the company of Indians', 'they have become proud', 'they look down on us and think we are now different', 'they practice colour-bar', 'they are snakes in the grass', were some of the comments.

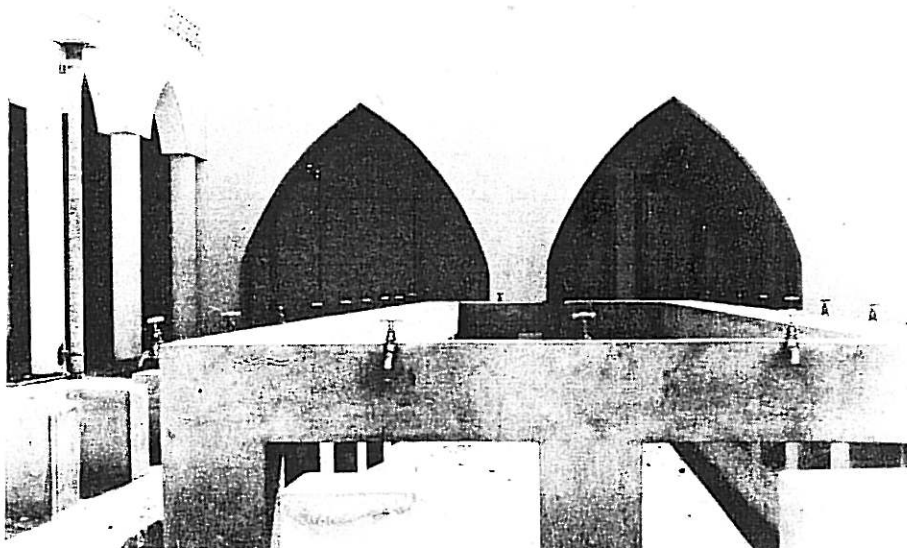
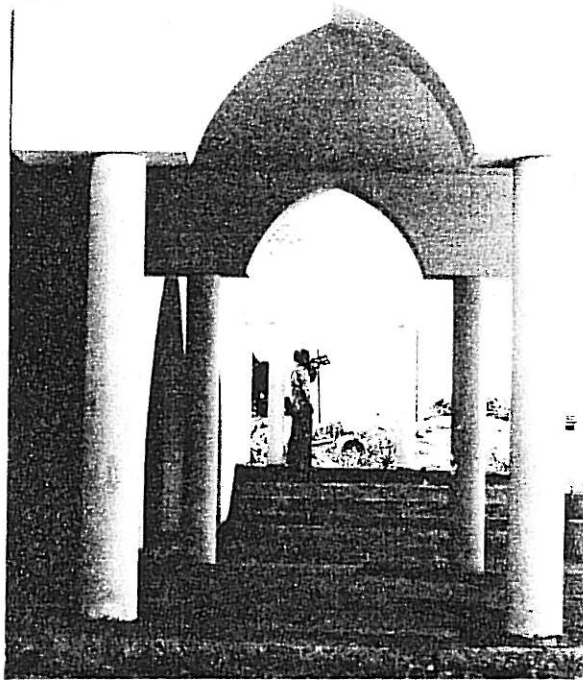
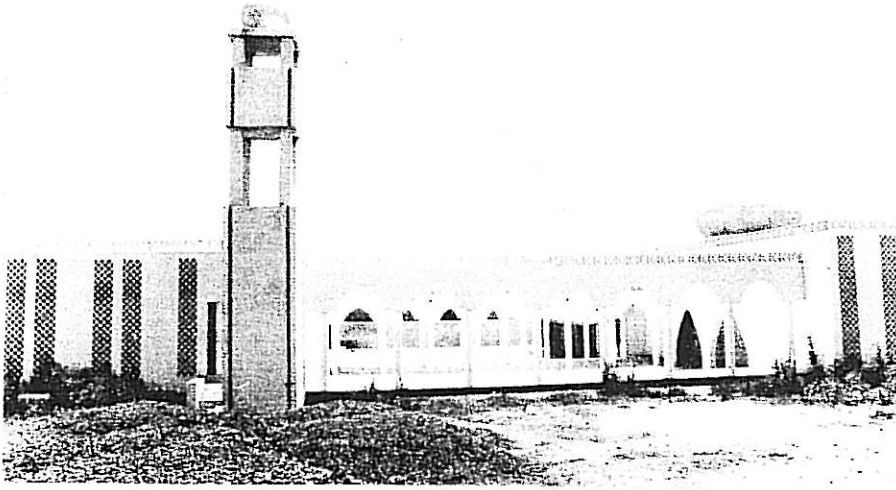
7. Summary and Conclusion.

In this section I summarise the Indian and Zanzibari responses that have been reviewed and supplement them with actual observations of behaviour made by me. I shall also draw conclusions from these responses, comparing them with an earlier local neighbourhood inter-ethnic study and where relevant comparing them with studies undertaken in England. From a survey of the Indian and Zanzibari responses it clearly emerges that there were many points of contact between the two groups and little evidence of any outright hostility between them. This result is not very surprising since some of the Indian respondents reported that they had been living with the Zanzibaris for generations in Kings Rest and shared a fund of memories with them of the 'old days'.⁽²⁶⁾ It is interesting to note that many of the Indian families living in the Zanzibari area are dependent on them for company since they have few or no kinship ties in the area. The loneliness pressed particularly on the Indian housewife leads for greater interaction with Zanzibari neighbours.⁽²⁷⁾ Moreover, because most households are not

(26) These Indians were very conscious that it was only because they were former residents of Kings Rest that they were allocated houses in Chatsworth. They consider themselves to be very lucky in view of the chronic shortage of houses among Indians.

(27) In a little over a ten-year span that the Zanzibaris have been moved to Chatsworth one Zanzibari from the 'minority' section, a divorcee, has married an elderly unmarried Indian mother. No other Indo-Zanzibari marriages have occurred since the Zanzibaris have moved to Chatsworth.

Plate 10, 11 and 12 Juma Masjid Chatsworth



entirely self-sufficient for services and material needs, and because of the absence of domestic servants in every home⁽²⁸⁾, there is a considerable dependence of housewives on each other and numerous instances of deliberate acts of service to neighbours were recorded. However, it did appear from the survey that Zanzibaris tended to borrow more from their Indian neighbours. Even so, many of the relationships between Zanzibaris and Indians were not merely utilitarian, but were based on friendly associations.

Besides these types of interaction between Indian and Zanzibari neighbours, which have been discussed in the review of responses, there were also other points of contact and association in Chatsworth. In general terms, Indians and Zanzibaris now share, even more than they did in Kings Rest, the same bus and train service, hospital and clinics, schools, cinemas, shops, hotels⁽²⁹⁾ and other recreational facilities.

Bonds between Zanzibaris and Indians are also forged in their shared experience of common political and economic deprivation from which there is no immediate escape.⁽³⁰⁾ Most Zanzibaris and Indians are employed in a similar range of jobs and there are therefore no sharp economic cleavages between the two groups. There was no actual economic competition reported between the two groups though some Zanzibaris did complain that

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- (28) Under the Group Areas Act, Indians in Chatsworth are not permitted to employ African domestic servants, unless special authority is granted. See HORRELL, M. 1969 : 112. In any case, most households in this part of Chatsworth could probably not afford to employ full-time servants.
- (29) A few Zanzibaris informed me that together with their partners, they regularly attended the Saturday afternoon dance sessions at a local Chatsworth hotel. No unpleasant incidents involving Zanzibaris and Indians have ever occurred at these sessions.
- (30) Both peoples share what Oscar Lewis calls the 'culture of poverty'. - See LEWIS, G. 1968 : 56 and 57.

Indians were paid more by employers, who thought that the Zanzibaris should be paid wages that were paid to Africans.

One index of the similar life styles shared by the Indians in the area and the Zanzibaris was their houses. Sometimes Indians had improved their houses structurally, while Zanzibaris tended not to do so, and a few Zanzibari houses, unlike most Indian houses, were very poorly furnished and generally displayed inadequate living conditions, probably reflecting the fact that some Zanzibari families were poorer than Indian ones in the area. But on the whole most Indian and Zanzibari homes were similar in their choice of furniture, wall hangings and the interior of an Indian home could not easily be distinguished from that of a Zanzibari home.

These observable similarities in the life styles were frequently commented on by Zanzibaris themselves. Thus I was repeatedly told by Zanzibari informants that there were no differences between Indians and Zanzibaris in the 'way they lived or eat'. More broadly speaking, no great conflict in norms of conduct was observed between the two groups, though some Indian informants did comment that the Zanzibari norms relating to sex were more lax than their own.

Indian complaints that Zanzibari adults were noisy may be true, since they appear to be more outgoing and uninhibited than most Indians. But, it is worth noting that this alleged exuberance does not seem to have led to open disputes with Indians, since I was informed by a social welfare worker and by a municipal nurse who worked in the area that they have had no complaints from Indians or Zanzibaris about each other. An employee of the Durban municipality who dealt with the complaints of residents in the

Council houses informed me that he had to settle numerous quarrels between Indian neighbours in different areas in Chatsworth, but he had no complaints from Indians or Zanzibaris against each other.

The complaints made by some Indians against Zanzibari children were partly explicable in terms of the over-crowding of most Zanzibari homes in which there are many young children. Most of the children are unsupervised during the day and they play in the streets, since the plot assigned as a playing field in the area has not been levelled or cleared of bush. However, I did notice that some Indian children play with Zanzibari children on the streets, though they are not so conspicuous because of their small numbers.

Indian complaints of Zanzibaris bringing Africans into the area, which some felt would make it 'rowdy' and 'unsafe' seemed to contradict the opinion repeatedly voiced by many Indians that their area was peaceful and that there were no instances of robbery, assaults, murder or gang-warfare, which sometimes occur in other areas in Chatsworth.

The allegation made that Zanzibaris were associated with Africans may be because of the physical resemblance between the two peoples, of which the Zanzibaris themselves are quite aware. I found that many Zanzibaris were conscious of and indeed pre-occupied with the physical differences between themselves and Indians. This was a feature that reoccurred in a number of letters to the press during the anti-Zanzibari campaign. Although there is no great difference in pigmentation between some Indians and Zanzibaris, these people felt that it was their 'crinkly hair' (31)

(31) I did find that most elderly women covered their hair with scarfs and the men wore skull caps. However, I was not able to ascertain whether this practice was linked with a religious observation or whether it was an attempt to conceal their hair. Most young Zanzibari girls straightened their hair or wore wigs.

that was the distinguishing feature between them and Indians. The pre-occupation with their physical characteristics is not surprising, since in South Africa, people are very conscious of physical traits and use them to classify their fellow beings in a race hierarchy.

All these respondents, including the one respondent who had very negative attitudes towards Zanzibaris, did not want them to be moved from the area. An important factor that has helped to bridge any cultural gaps between the two groups and which acts as a powerful integrative mechanism is that the Indians living in the Zanzibari complex are Muslims who share similar religious practices with the Zanzibaris. A factor that also weighed heavily in favour of the Zanzibaris was that many Indian respondents were greatly struck by their religious zeal and fervour. A few respondents even stated that they preferred Zanzibaris as neighbours to non-Muslim Indians. Religion does play a significant role in the attitudes of some of these Indian Muslims who told me that it would be wrong and sinful of them to want the Zanzibaris moved from Chatsworth. Such Indian respondents may have accordingly modified any antipathy they may have had towards Zanzibaris, because of the great emphasis in Islam on human equality and brotherhood.

Despite these religious associations, no secular organisations between Indians and Zanzibaris have been formed. One reason for this may be that people who are burdened with problems usually do not have the initiative or are often too tired after work to develop social interests. However, the government policy of allowing some self-expression purely on a local level, may eventually mobilise Indians and Zanzibaris who have the right

to vote in these elections, to work together.

From the survey of Indo-Zanzibari relations a few comparisons can be drawn with Margo Russell's local study of a mixed European, Indian and Coloured neighbourhood in Durban before the implementation of the Group Areas Act. Russell found that those few Whites who did associate with Indians and Coloured neighbours did so furtively, since they felt that they were violating their group norms which were based on superiority of the Whites. Constant pressures from the wider White community effectively kept friendliness with Indian and Coloured neighbours at a minimum.⁽³²⁾ Even so, Russell found that some Whites did tend to borrow from and sought other assistance from Indians, who hardly ever expected or asked Whites to help them in return. In my study I found no evidence that Indians feared that they would be rejected by other Indians, in and outside Chatsworth, because of their association with Zanzibaris. Nor was there any evidence that Indians thought that the presence of the Zanzibaris in their area had lowered its tone. Although the Indians were in the majority in Chatsworth, I did find, as Russell had done, that the Indians gave more in the form of goods to their non-Indian neighbours than they received from them. In both studies therefore it would appear that the Indians give more than they receive. However, a significant different feature in Russell's study is that Whites who get goods and services from their Indian neighbours are in South Africa regarded as nominally superior to Indians. It is interesting that these Whites had nevertheless placed themselves in a position of dependence on Indians as have some Zanzibaris in Chatsworth and earlier in Kings Rest.

(32) RUSSELL, M. 1961 : 188.

Some Zanzibaris did express the belief that the 'anti-Zanzibari' campaign in the press originated because some Indians wanted their homes. Although the Indian housing shortage was not explicitly mentioned in any of the letters to the press, I have already, in another chapter, discussed in general terms the shortage of houses among Indians which could quite easily be a contributing factor in the agitation by non-residents of Chatsworth for the Zanzibaris to be moved from that area. This factor is also stressed in the study by John Rex and Robert Moore⁽³³⁾ who found that in Birmingham one of the major causes of tension between the Coloured and English communities there was the shortage of dwellings in relation to the number of families waiting for them.

From both the surveys on Indo-Zanzibari relations, it clearly emerged that people who had most contact with Zanzibaris and lived near them had largely favourable attitudes towards them. This finding contradicts those of writers such as Sheila Patterson who found in her study on the West Indians in Brixton, England, 'that attitudes and relations became more focussed and more critical with increasing proximity'.⁽³⁴⁾ My findings on the Zanzibaris are more in accordance with those of Margo Russell who found that proximity promotes contact and more favourable beliefs and attitudes.⁽³⁵⁾ Russell further noted that 'White people holding highly unfavourable attitudes live further from Indians than people with more favourable attitudes'.⁽³⁶⁾

(33) REX, J. & MOORE, R. 1967 : 20.

(34) PATTERSON, S. 1965 : 180.

(35) In our first survey, the two Indians who expressed negative attitudes towards Zanzibaris had had no contact with them. One of them, a Tamil-speaking Hindu, described Zanzibaris as a 'rowdy, mixed-up lot' and wanted them to be moved from the area. I was also told by an Indian shop-keeper in Section 20, whose shop is situated some distance from the Zanzibari area, that he would feel unsafe to walk even during the day in the area where the Zanzibaris lived. When pressed to substantiate his feelings, he said 'Why must I tell lies, I have not heard anything bad about them'.

(36) RUSSELL, M. 1961 : 99.

Against this background of the findings and comparisons, I may venture some comments on whether it was wise to have settled the Zanzibaris in one block in Chatsworth or whether they should have been scattered or dispersed as individual families, as has happened to the Catholic Zanzibaris. Placing the Zanzibaris in one section of Chatsworth undoubtedly eased for them the process of adjustment and adaption to a new and unfamiliar environment. The dispersal of individual families in different areas would almost certainly have meant that a number of people would have suffered distress and even demoralisation. (37)

The dangers of group settlement are, of course, that it may perpetuate minority group values and thereby retard ultimate integration and assimilation resulting in prejudice and even persecution by the majority group. But in Chatsworth, it is quite likely that assimilation will not be retarded because of the enforced social proximity between the peoples there. Certainly I have shown that there is little evidence of continuing prejudice and none of persecution.

Furthermore, the settlement of Zanzibaris with Indians and their race classification as 'Other Asiatics' may have raised their status in the South African race hierarchy and thus afforded them further opportunities for advancement. In contrast, Catholic descendants of the freed slaves have been dispersed and are living today in African townships with all the accompanying disadvantages and hardships of being classified as Africans in South Africa. These particular advantages to the Chatsworth Zanzibaris therefore raise questions about the notion that South Africa is a rigid 'colour-caste' society and in the next final chapter I discuss some of these more general questions in the light of the detailed material I have presented in the body of the thesis.

(37) The one Zanzibari family living in Section 30 has experienced serious problems of adjustment in the area. See above, Chapter VI, p.159. Banton, notes that 'the dispersal policy would allow the person to be seen as an individual instead of as a representative of a stereotyped category'. (BANTON, M. 1972 - 167).

CHAPTER X

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

I have traced in the first chapter the events which led in 1873, to the freed slaves arriving in Durban. These events showed clearly that the freed slaves came here involuntarily. I have further shown in Chapter Two that the freed slaves were accorded a special protected status by the Natal administration which meant they were treated by the Natal administration differently from the local Africans. The Muslim freed slaves, who later came to be known as the Zanzibaris, survived as a distinct community, not only because of the intervention of the European administration, but largely because of the activities of certain Indian Muslims, particularly the Juma Musjid Trust which helped to sustain the Zanzibaris adherence to the Muslim faith and made them feel part of a larger Muslim community. Even more importantly, Zanzibaris were able to establish and maintain links with certain Indian Muslims.

Largely because of these links the Zanzibaris were encouraged in the view that they were different from the local Africans and this emphasis on their difference was reinforced by the real advantages that they could gain from an acceptance of it by the authorities. This official acceptance finally came when they were classified as 'Other Asiatics', a sub-group of the larger Coloured group, a classification which has of course, been imposed on them by the South African government. Both the early and the more recent history of the Zanzibaris therefore show repeatedly that they are a people whose separate existence has been to a great extent moulded and shaped by outsiders, rather than by their own initiatives.

This constant theme and other features of Zanzibari history suggest further more general considerations about certain features of South African society: namely, the relevance of the Zanzibari case to the new common sociological notion of South Africa as a 'colour-caste hierarchy'.

The present classification of the Zanzibaris imposes on them a legal group identity which is clearly politically inspired. Whisson, for instance, notes that:

the categorisation of people as Coloureds is made by the state for political and socio-economic purposes.....for the prime benefit of these classified as 'White'..... The legitimacy of the grouping thus depends solely on the power of the state to enforce its will upon its unenfranchised subjects. (1)

The view stated by Whisson implies in turn a hierarchial ordering of racially classified groups. Some authors on social stratification in South Africa such as Van den Berghe⁽²⁾, Kinloch⁽³⁾ and West⁽⁴⁾, make this implication quite clear and specific by ascertaining that there is a distinct 'colour-caste' structure in the country. For example, Van den Berghe summarised and generalised this view by noting that the South African 'population is divided into four rigid colour -castes (i.e. Whites, Coloureds, Indians and Africans)..... which are clearly in a hierarchy of power, wealth and prestige'.⁽⁵⁾ West uses this same notion in his field-study of Port Nolloth, where there are no Indians, and perceives a three-tiered colour-caste structure there, with the Whites occupying the top tier, the Coloureds the middle and the Africans the bottom one. West does note that there was economic integration amongst all the three 'castes', but that social mobility from the lower castes to the White caste was impossible, largely because it

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- (1) WHISSON, M.G. 1973 : 226.
 - (2) VAN DEN BERGE, P.L.1969 : 324.
 - (3) KINLOCH, G.C. 1972 : 49.
 - (4) WEST, M. 1972 : 12, 113 and 98.
 - (5) VAN DEN BERGHE, P.L. 1969 : 324.

was prevented through coercive legislation imposed by the Whites, who jealously guarded their positions. Van den Berghe had also noted that there could be some mobility between the Black castes, but that the 'caste-line between Whites and non-Whites is even more impermeable than that between the three non-White castes'.⁽⁶⁾

Despite their unanimity about the rigidity of the barriers between the Black and White peoples of South Africa, Van den Berghe claims, perhaps going beyond his evidence as far as the Blacks are concerned, 'that all four racial groups may be regarded as virtually endogamous'.⁽⁷⁾ West notes that within the castes class-systems operate and that among the lower two castes a certain amount of social integration occurs particularly between the 'lower classes' of each of them.⁽⁸⁾

As might be expected, my study of the Zanzibaris confirms that there is little social interaction between Whites and Zanzibaris, except in their relationships as employers and employees. However, much of my material suggests that the notion of 'caste' in relation to interaction between the various Black groups is over-simplified, if not misleading.

For example, it clearly emerges from the genealogies presented in Chapter Six, that the Zanzibaris were not a self-perpetuating group, and that they recruited outsiders to their group by either marrying or mating with people from all the major Black groups in South Africa, as well as with Muslim foreign Africans and even the occasional White. Because of this considerable range of ancestry among the present Zanzibaris, there are no clear-cut 'racial' line of descent. Accordingly, 'purity of descent', which is usually supposed to be a criteria of caste, hardly applies in the case of the Zanzibaris.

6. VAN DEN BERGHE, P.L. 1969 : 325 and 326.

6.(a) WEST, M. 1972 : 113 and 114.

We can generalise more broadly from the Zanzibaris case, or at least to the extent of saying that rigid 'caste' endogamy among all Black peoples of South Africa cannot be so firmly posited, as Van den Berghe does since marriage or mating do occur between the different Black races. Legally there are not impediments to prevent such marriages or matings since the Mixed Marriage Act and the Immorality Act apply only to unions between Blacks and Whites in South Africa and not to those between the different Black races in South Africa. My material on the Zanzibaris strongly suggests that detailed genealogical investigations among the different Black groups would show that they, too, are not as endogamous as the quotation from Van den Berghe claims. It is perhaps only the absence of such detailed information which enabled him to make such a confident assertion.

My material on the legal classification of Zanzibari individuals is also not easily reconcilable with a 'caste' model of South African society. For the classification of parents and children and even full siblings, into different racial categories, which has occurred amongst them, is inconceivable in a 'caste' system, in which one could not have members of one family being in different 'castes'.

Certainly I would find it very difficult to allocate the Zanzibaris to any specific 'colour-caste', especially since I do not think that they themselves are conscious of a rigid caste-stratification among the Black peoples. Accordingly, I would suggest, that the whole conceptual framework in which the Black peoples of South Africa are seen as forming rigid caste-groups is sociologically incorrect. I further suggest that more empirical research, such as I have done on the Zanzibaris might show that there is .

in fact much group-boundary crossing among all Black peoples, including the relatively educated and wealthy Coloured peoples of South Africa whom West claims are generally immune from it. It is possible that the present situation in South Africa may even encourage such boundary-crossing because many Blacks realise that they can never gain entry into the White group and are therefore denied upward mobility into the highest stratum of society. But the barriers to mobility within the Black groups are less rigid, even though they do exist, and so a good many Blacks may be willing to cross them when the opportunity occurs. Further, I suggest, that among the more radical Coloureds, there is today a rejection of the whole categorisation of the 'Coloured' group in South Africa and a movement towards closer co-operation with the other Black peoples in the country.

Having then argued that the 'colour-caste' model is not fully applicable to the Black peoples of South Africa and more particularly to the Zanzibaris it seems appropriate to mention at least one other alternative view of the composition of South African society. This involves the consideration whether the Zanzibaris can be regarded as one 'ethnic' community, amongst a number of such communities, the complex relationship within and between which go to make up the total South African structure.

This consideration immediately raises problems of definition, since, as Bell and Newby note in their book on Community Studies, the concept of community has been used by writers to incorporate any number of 'contradictory values' which each saw fit to include.⁽⁷⁾ It is therefore not surprising that Hillery⁽⁸⁾ has been able to compile ninety-four different

(7) BELL, C. and NEWBY, H. 1971 : 7.

(8) HILLERY, G.A. 1965 : 111.

definitions of community by sociologists. However, in narrowing down the elements contained in these definitions Hillery found that almost three-quarters of them agreed in effect that community includes social interaction, common ties and the sharing of a defined area. From my material on the Zanzibaris, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Zanzibaris do share these elements which constitute a community. However, I feel that these definitional points of agreement do not take one much further, since they do not in themselves explain why a community with a distinct boundary survives, particularly when there are other alternative identities available to members of the community.

This very question of the persistence of the Zanzibari identity and ethnic boundary, especially when it is recalled that in Chapter Two, I showed that the freed slave community was quite early on divided into a Catholic and a Muslim group. The Catholic freed slaves were permitted by the White missionaries to settle on the Bluff mission lands, but were also encouraged to assimilate with the local Africans. In fact, some at least of these freed slaves and their descendants were deliberately dispersed by the Catholic missionaries to their other mission areas in an endeavour to spread their faith among the local Africans. It would appear that as a result no links of any consequence were maintained by the Catholic freed slaves with non-Africans. In fact there appears to have been little or no incentive among the Catholic freed slaves for sustaining or maintaining their ethnic group identity.

The Muslim Zanzibaris, on the other hand, found their patrons in the Juma Musjid Trust and certain Indian businessmen and through them formal links with a wider Muslim community were initiated. This patronage,

together with the settlement of the Muslim Zanzibaris in relative geographical and social isolation, did undoubtedly help sustain their cultural distinctiveness. It was not long before some of them realised that there were indeed positive advantages in maintaining their own identity in their inter-ethnic relations with outsiders and more particularly with both the Muslim Indians and the European authorities.

The Muslim religion assisted the Zanzibaris greatly in maintaining their cultural distinctiveness. Many of the day to day activities and essential values of the Zanzibaris revolve around the practice of Islam. The observation of the prayer ritual, the Muslim calendarical festivals, fasting during the month of Ramadhan, regulations with regard to the type of foods that might be eaten, which are enjoined on all Muslims, impinge directly on their way of life and day to day activity. Distinct modes of behaviour have also developed out of their religion which require women to conduct themselves with considerable decorum and encourage male autonomy.

The observation of these religious injunctions made some of the Zanzibaris appear particularly pious and this encouraged the Juma Musjid Trust and certain Indian Muslims to continue to protect and provide material benefits for the Zanzibaris. It is obvious from my material that an important contributory factor in ~~this~~ upward mobility of the Zanzibaris has been their religion. Srinivas⁽⁹⁾ has noted that in India it is through the process of 'Sanskritization' that lower castes raise their status within the caste hierarchy. Although I reject the caste concept as applied to the Black peoples of South Africa, there is a parallel here in that the Zanzibaris

(9) SRINIVAS, M.N. 1967 : 17.

can be said to have enhanced their status through a process of 'Islamisation'. For it was largely because of their religion, and their distinctive way of life associated with it that eventually persuaded the authorities to classify the Zanzibaris as legally being part of the larger Coloured group in South Africa. One might suggest again that further research could reveal other examples of the role of religion in encouraging boundary crossing amongst the Blacks in South Africa.

Zanzibari ethnicity is also maintained through their various social organisations. Most of the Zanzibari organisational activities are connected with religion, such as men's rathieb group, the men and women's liturgical singing groups. Important interactional links are also created by the esoteric spirit possession (pepo) groups and the more popular soccer teams.

In, a similar, if perhaps less obvious way, other 'cultural' characteristics of the Zanzibaris were worth preserving as symbols of a separate identity. Thus, the fact they speak a language of their own, and that they have their own customary ceremonies, such as birth, death, puberty and circumcision enables them to assert a formal status equivalent to that of much larger groups. Thus, it will be recalled that when detailing Yusuf's life-history I recorded how he said with pride that the circumcision ritual was important, because it formed part of the custom of his 'Nation'. These customary practices do encourage and provide the Zanzibaris with a self-image and an awareness that they are a distinct community. (10)

The Zanzibari case therefore shows again that ethnic boundaries among the

(10) Frederik Barth, the Norwegian anthropologist, in discussing the concept of ethnic boundaries notes 'To the extent that actors use ethnic identities to categorize themselves and others for purposes of introduction, they form ethnic groups in the organizational sense'. (BARTH, F. 1969 : 13-14).

Coloured peoples of South Africa, which divide them into a number of 'communities' will continue to be maintained in the country for the reasons which Dr. Dubb⁽¹¹⁾ has outlined in a recent article. He notes there that this 'group exists largely because of the limitations placed upon it from outsiders with regard to the roles its members may or may not play in the society at large'. It is therefore predictable that the ethnic boundaries among the Zanzibaris will persist in spite of the inter-ethnic relations and the high degree of acculturation which they are being subjected to in Chatsworth, because of the positive advantages of being thought of as Zanzibaris in both public and private spheres.

Having rejected the 'colour-caste' theory as being applicable as a total society model in South Africa, I feel that the notion of community might be more intensely studied. Although my study of the Zanzibaris represents a small and rather special community, it may emerge, particularly in areas like the Cape Province and Natal, that other distinct ethnic communities may indeed form part of a complex heterogenous society.

(11) DUBB, A.A. 1973 : 247.

This Contract OF APPRENTICESHIP of *Mabruke*

Mabruke

Mabruke

a destitute child and liberated African Slave, introduced into this Colony under the provisions of Law No. 13, 1859, from Zanzibar, pursuant to the Imperial SLAVE TRADE ACTS and in particular to the "SLAVE TRADE PROHIBITION (ZANZIBAR ACT, 1869)," WITNESSETH that ~~Mabruke~~ *Mabruke* Justice of the Peace, Protector of Indian Immigrants and being an Officer appointed by the Governor to attest and make Contracts of Apprenticeship of such liberated slave children, pursuant to the Ordinance No. 2, 1850, in that case made and provided, does by these presents apprentice the said

Mabruke
aged *11* years, or thereabouts, to *H. E. Stainton*

with him to dwell and serve as an apprentice *until he attains his*

eighteenth year

during all which time the said apprentice shall faithfully and honestly serve and obey his master; and the said

H. E. Stainton for himself his heirs and executors does hereby covenant and agree with the said ~~Mabruke~~ *Mabruke* and on behalf of the said *Mabruke*

H. E. Stainton that he the said shall teach and instruct, or cause to be taught and instructed the said

Mabruke in the *duties of a domestic*

servant in the best manner that he can, during the said term, and shall also duly provide or cause due provision to be made for the education and religious instruction of the said *Mabruke*

to the best of his ability; and shall during the said term provide the said apprentice with suitable and sufficient food, clothing, lodging, and all other things necessary and fit for such apprentice; and shall also pay, as wages, to the said apprentice ~~the sum of~~ *after he shall have attained his*

twelfth year (conformably with Foot Notice 230 of 1873) the sum of three shillings per month for the first year - increasing at the rate of one shilling per annum thereafter

and also that the said *H. E. Stainton* shall not assign or transfer the said apprentice to any other person during the said term, without the consent in writing, first had and obtained, of the Protector of Indian Immigrants, or other proper Officer having power and authority to give such consent.

In Witness Whereof, we the said *J. Murdoch McLeod* and *H. E. Stainton*

have set our hands at Durban, on this the *26* day of *August*, 1876
in presence of *J. H. Mason* and

Witnesses:

J. H. Mason

J. Murdoch McLeod
H. E. Stainton

APPENDIX B

ZANZIBARI KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

<u>DESCRIPTION OF KIN</u>	<u>ZANZIBARI TERMS OF ADDRESS</u>
<u>Great-grand Parents</u>	
3rd father's father's father	bwabu
Ascending mother's father's father	bwabu
Generation father's father's mother	bibi
mother's father's mother	bibi
<u>Grand-parents</u>	
2nd father's father	bwabu
Ascending mother's father	bwabu
Generation father's mother	bibi
mother's mother	bibi
<u>1st Ascending Generation</u>	
father	papa or apapah
father-in-law	amweyaka
father's elder brother	kakha mulpale
father's eldest brother's wife	mathi
father's younger brother	kakha mwankane
father's younger brother's wife	mathi
father's sister	mathi
father's sister's husband	halu
mother	mama
mother-in-law	appiyamhano
mother's brother	halu
mother's brother's wife	mathi
mother's eldest sister	khulu
mother's sister's husband	kaka

APPENDIX B (continued)

DESCRIPTION OF KIN

ZANZIBARI TERMS OF ADDRESS

1st Descending Generation

Parents addressing children -

boys

by christian name

Married sons

Pappa, followed by Christian name

girls

by Christian name

over puberty

nimware followed by Christian name

married daughters

mamma, followed by Christian name

children of other kinsman

same as own children

2nd Descending Generation

grandchildren

azulwaka

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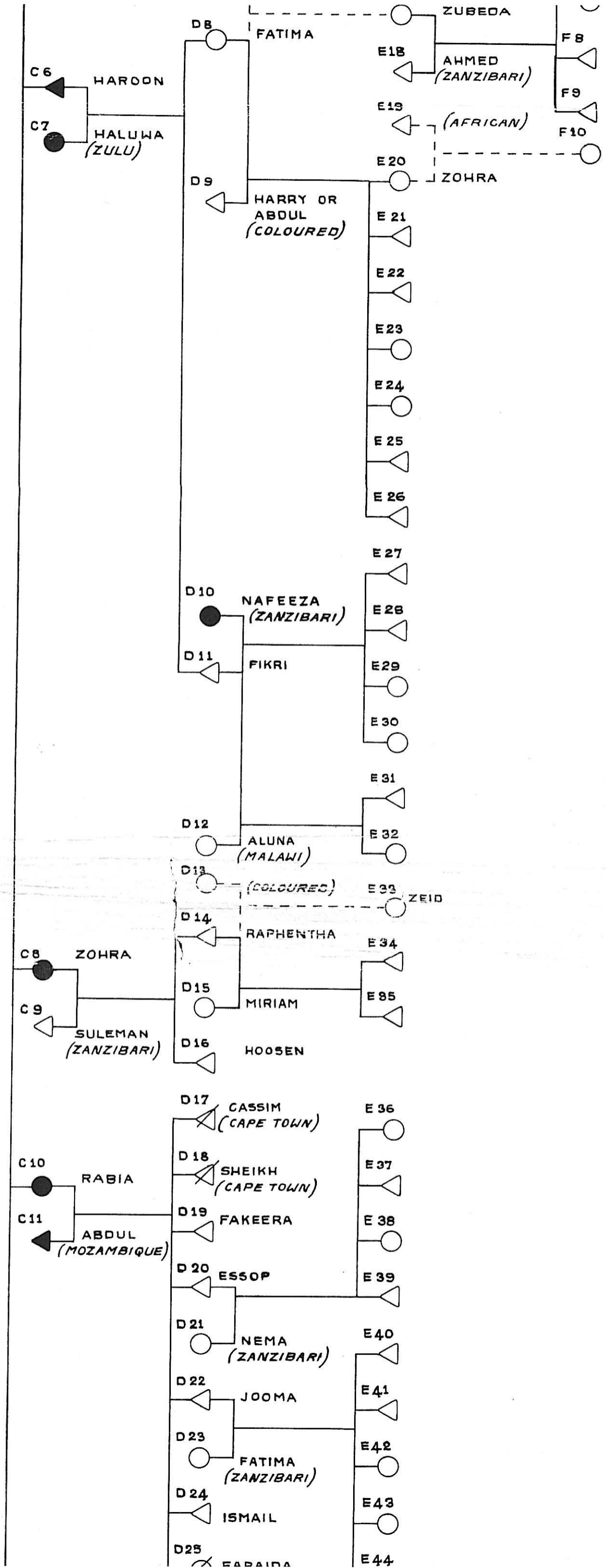
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DIAGRAM 1
 PARTIAL GENEALOGY
 OF
 ZOHRA JAMAL



KEY

◁ MALE

○ FEMALE

◄ DECEASED MALE

● DECEASED FEMALE

◄ MALE WHO HAS LEFT THE ZANZIBARI COMMUNITY

○ FEMALE WHO HAS LEFT THE ZANZIBARI COMMUNITY

— MARRIAGE

- - - ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN

< TWINS

● ZOHRA - EGO

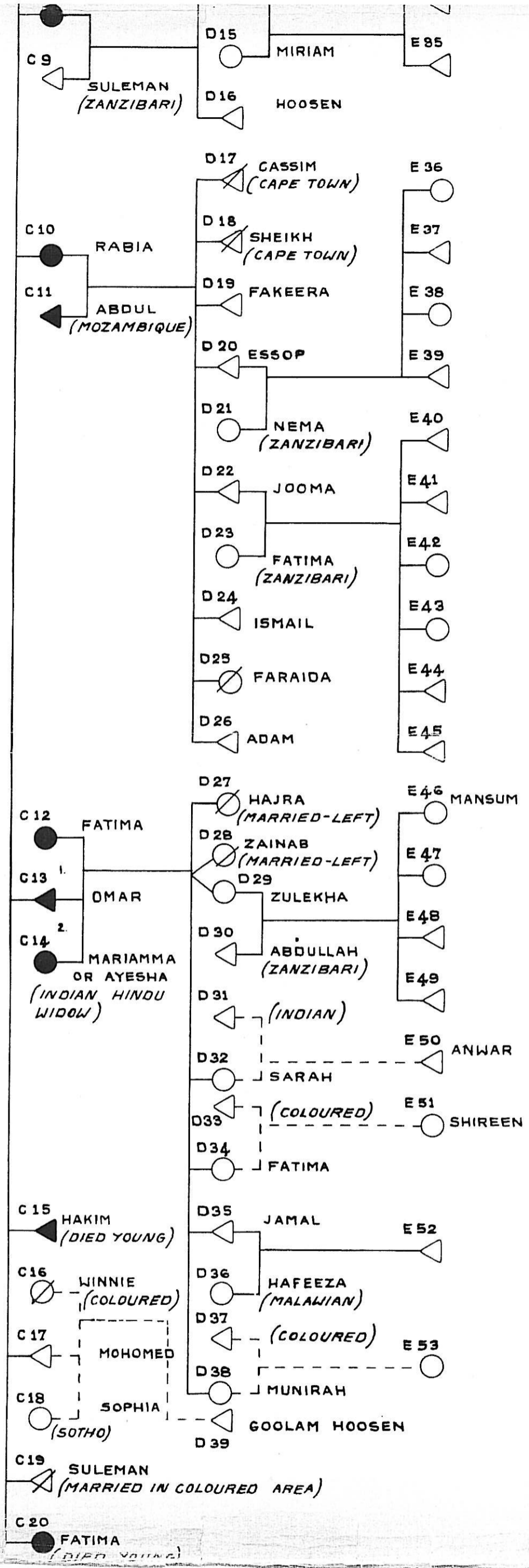
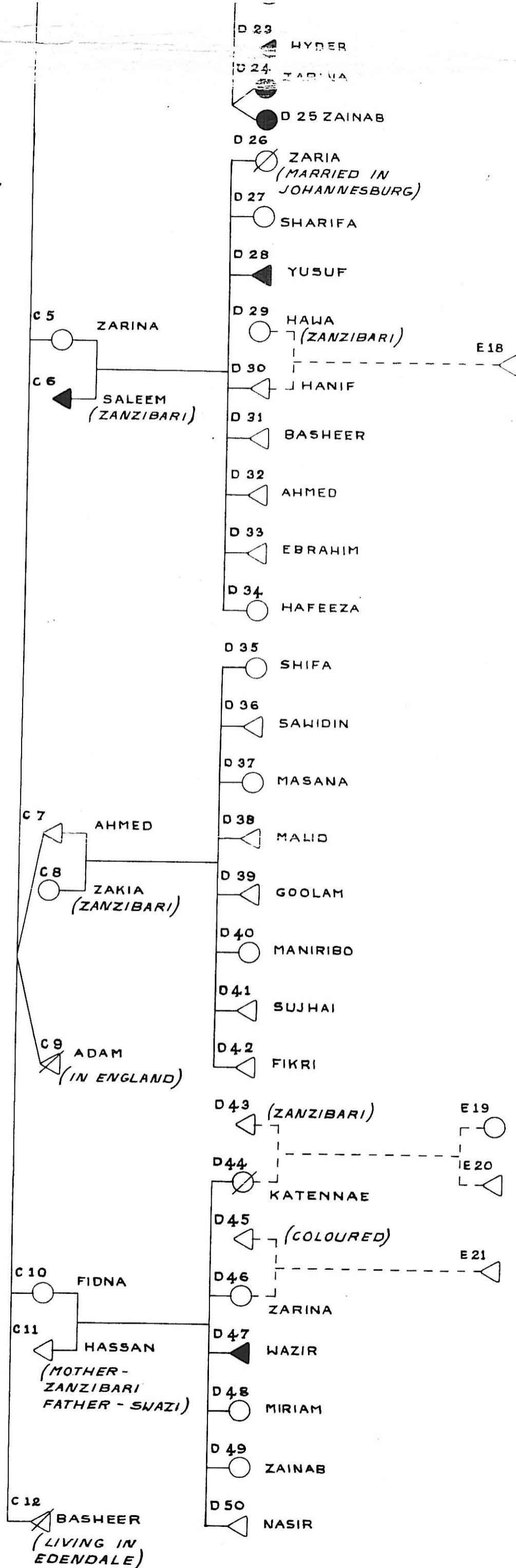


DIAGRAM 2

PARTIAL GENEALOGY OF YUSUF

KEY

- ◁ MALE
- FEMALE
- ◼ DECEASED MALE
- DECEASED FEMALE
- ◁ MALE WHO HAS LEFT THE ZANZIBARI COMMUNITY
- FEMALE WHO HAS LEFT THE ZANZIBARI COMMUNITY
- ⌈ MARRIAGE
- ⌈ ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN
- ⌈ TWINS
- ◼ YUSUF - EGO



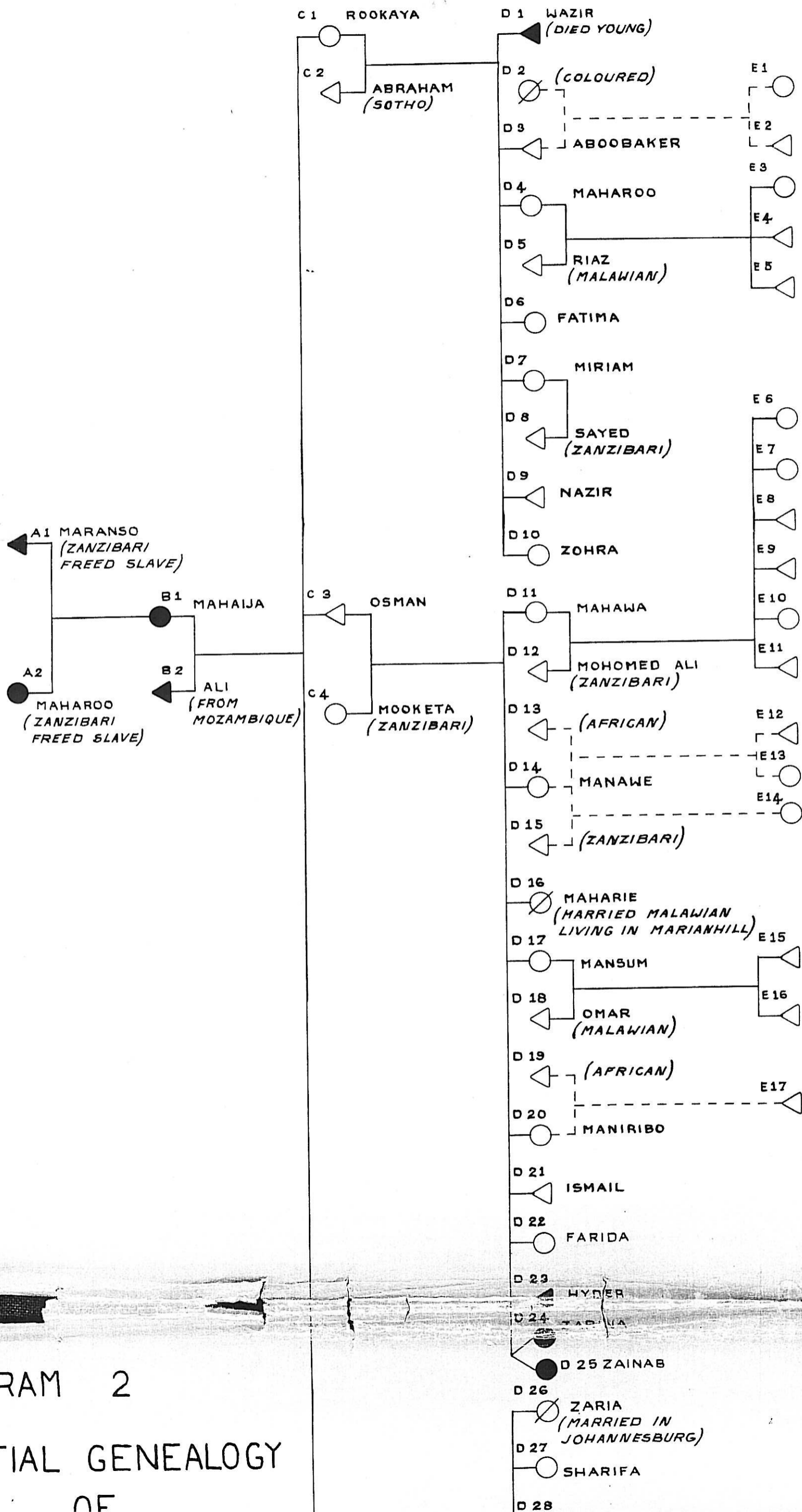


DIAGRAM 2

PARTIAL GENEALOGY

OF

