


CHILDREN OF CROSSROADS. AN ETHNOGRAPHIC  
STUDY OF COGNITION AMONG SEVEN-YEAR-OLD  
XHOSA CHILDREN IN AN URBAN ENVIRONMENT

---

Pamela F Reynolds

A Dissertation Submitted to the  
University of Cape Town in  
Fulfillment of the Regulations  
Governing the Degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy.

Cape Town 1983



The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

## ABSTRACT

Children of Crossroads. An Ethnographic Study of Cognition Among Seven-Year-Old Xhosa Children in an Urban Environment

Pamela F Reynolds

University of Cape Town, 1983.

It is an anthropological study that describes and analyses all aspects of life experienced by children of a particular age. As the subjects were children, certain constraints have been imposed and demands made upon the research, in particular the need to extend the analytic tools of the anthropologist to include some borrowed from the psychologist.

Emphasis has been placed on the relationship between society and children's cognitive development. It is hoped that an intensive study combining both systematic observations and psychological testing may contribute to an empirical scheme for the collection of data on child thinking processes.

Research was conducted between August, 1979, and January, 1981, in the Crossroads squatter settlement, situated on the Cape Flats twenty kilometres from the centre of Cape Town. In order to describe the quality of life of the children, focus was placed on the lives of relatively few informants. The lives of fourteen children, ten of whom were attending school, were studied in detail. Eight were girls.

The sample was compared with a control group of twenty-five seven-year-olds on a series of Piagetian tasks which included tests of conservation, relational, classificatory and spatial concepts. Statistical analysis of the results suggest that the sample can be accepted as representative of their age group.

Use was made of the systematic observation and participation techniques traditional in anthropology, and of a variety of tests devised by psychologists. These included the Piagetian tasks mentioned above and his Three Mountain experiment (a test of perspective), his Seriation Test, and his Dream and

Kinship interviews; Erik Erikson's Play Scene; E Koppitz's Human Figure Drawing analysis. The Purdue Perceptual-Motor Survey; kinship tests devised by R Levine and D Price-Williams, and S Haviland and E Clark; and others that I devised. Investigations focused on the children's notions of time, order, space, kinship and dreams.

The study demonstrates the complexity entailed in compiling an ethnographic report of just one year of childhood. It emphasises the need for careful analysis of context and situation in relation to cognitive processes in cross-cultural work if inaccurate comparisons or diagnoses are to be avoided. It documents the impact of socio-political reality on the children's lives.

DECLARATION

I declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of Cape Town. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Pamela F Reynolds

30 April, 1983.

In memory of a child, Lindiwe Gayiza,  
who shared her life with me, and a  
woman, Monica Wilson, who shared her  
knowledge.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

	Page
PREFACE	
INTRODUCTION	1
SECTION I	54
CHAPTER 1: THE CHILD'S HERITAGE	55
CHAPTER 2: REMEMBRANCES OF THE PAST	107
CHAPTER 3: THE PLAY AND SONGS OF CHILDREN IN CROSSROADS	142
SECTION II	193
CHAPTER 4: THE CHILD IN TIME	194
CHAPTER 5: THE CHILD AND ORDER	<u>250</u>
CHAPTER 6: THE CHILD AND SPACE	368
CHAPTER 7: THE CHILD AND KINSHIP	<u>422</u>
CHAPTER 8: THE CHILD AND DREAMS	<u>460</u>
CONCLUSION	481
APPENDICES	
APPENDIX A: CROSSROADS CHRONOLOGY	497
APPENDIX B: THE LAW REGULATING MOVEMENT TO TOWN	513
APPENDIX C: CROSSROADS FROM THE INSIDE	517
APPENDIX D: CROSSROADS - THE STATISTICAL PICTURE	524
APPENDIX E: CHRONOLOGY OF AN EDUCATIONAL CRISIS	528
APPENDIX F: SCORING MANUAL FOR THIRTY DEVELOPMENTAL ITEMS ON HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS OF CHILDREN	536
APPENDIX G: EXPECTED AND EXCEPTIONAL ITEMS ON HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS OF BOYS AND GIRLS AGE FIVE TO TWELVE	539

	Page
APPENDIX II: SCORING MANUAL FOR THIRTY EMOTIONAL INDICATORS ON HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS OF CHILDREN	540
APPENDIX I: LIST OF EMOTIONAL INDICATORS ON HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS OF CHILDREN	543
APPENDIX J: PONDOLAND HERDBOYS' COMMENTS ON LEARNING THE NAMES OF THINGS	545
SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY	550

## PREFACE

The fieldwork was supported by the H M Chadwick and Smuts Memorial Funds, Cambridge University. A University of Cape Town Postgraduate Research Scholarship and a Human Sciences Research Council Bursary-enabled me to analyse the data and write up the thesis.

I wish to express my appreciation to the Departments of Social Anthropology of Cambridge University and of the University of Cape Town for offering me both encouragement and the freedom to pursue novel forms of fieldwork. I have been particularly fortunate in having had the guidance of three excellent supervisors. Professor Monica Wilson was unfailingly supportive throughout the period of preparation, research and analysis. Dr Esther Goody tutored me from 1978 to 1980 and Professor Martin West from 1981 to 1983.

My debt to the people, particularly the children, of Crossroads is enormous. And my thanks are due to my husband Norman and our children, Talitha, Portia, Sabaa and Abigail for enabling me to do the study.

The photographs were taken for me by Sandra Burman, Peter Templeton and Norman Reynolds. My thanks.

## LIST OF TABLES

	Page
INTRODUCTION	
1. The Percentage of Each Race Group Who Were Urban Dwellers in South Africa in 1970 and 1980.	24
2. Black Poverty in South Africa : 1980	27
3. Growth of Urban Population.	27
4. African Population Residing Legally in Cape Town.	34
CHAPTER 1:	
1. Family Data	64
CHAPTER 2:	
1. Data on Thirty-Five Women	117
CHAPTER 5:	
1. Results of a Variety of Counting Tasks	294
2. Results of Test on Perceptual-Motor Co-ordination.	303
3. Height and Weight of the Sample Children	304
4. Results of Three Seriation Tasks	321
5a. Scores on Developmental Items on HFDs Administered to the Sample Children on Three Occasions.	335
5b. Summary of Table 5a.	336
6a. Scores on Emotional Indicators on HFDs Administered to the Same Children on Three Occasions	343
6b. Summary of Table 6a.	344
6c. Summary of Table 6a.	344

	Page
7a. Scores on School Achievement Indicators on IIFDs Administered to the Sample Children on Three Occasions	348
7b. Summary of Table 7a.	349
7c. Summary of Table 7a.	349
8. Ranks of Sample Children on a Variety of Tasks Scored During the Year.	353
 CHAPTER 6:	
1. Scores on the Felt Map Task	390
2. Results of the Three Mountain Task	396
 CHAPTER 7:	
1. Results on Piaget's Kinship Test	433
2. Household Membership	439
3. Use of Kin Terms in Address	450
4. Puppet Play and the Use of Kin Terms	451
 CONCLUSION	
1. Children Living With or Without Their Parents in 1980 and 1982.	495

## LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

	Page
MAPS	
1. The Position of Crossroads on the Cape Peninsula.	2
2. Approximate Location of the Homes of the Sample Children in Crossroads.	14
FIGURES	
INTRODUCTION	
1. Percentage of Urban Children in Each Region in Relation to Total World Urban Population, 1975-2000.	23
CHAPTER 1:	
1. Kinship Ties in the Qasana Family	83
2. Number of Occupants of Three Houses Recorded Thrice During a Year	97
CHAPTER 3:	
1. House in the Sand - Number One	147
2. House in the Sand - Number Two	148
3. House in the Sand - Number Three	148
4. House in the Sand - Number Four	149
5. House in the Sand - Number Five	149
6. House in the Sand - Number Six	150
7. A Road Network in the Sand	151
8. Car Design - Number One	152
9. Car Design - Number Two	152
10. Car on the Assembly Line	154
11. Car Designs - Numbers Three to Six	156
12. Car Designs - Numbers Seven to Twelve	157

	Page
13. Drawings in the Sand for <u>Uggaphu</u>	158
14. Sketch of Children Playing <u>Stenana</u>	159
15. A Gun Made from a Spring	161
16. Examples of Items Created by Children for Play	163
 CHAPTER 5:	
1. Results of Seven Piagetian Tests Administered to the Sample and Control Groups in June, 1980	263
2. Results of Two Piagetian Tests Administered Thrice to the Sample of Ten and Once to the Control Group of Twenty-Five	264
3. Results of Two Piagetian Tests Administered Thrice to the Sample of Fourteen and Once to the Control Group of Twenty-Five	265
 CHAPTER 6:	
1. Estimations of the Size of Feet	371
2. Lungiswa's Felt Map of Crossroads	387
3. Saliswa's Felt Map of Crossroads	387
4. Sketch of Three Mountains Model	395
5a. Tozama's Scene of a House in Claremont	414
5b. Tozama's Scene of a Police Raid in Crossroads.	414
6a. Gwali's Scene of the Town, Suburb and Countryside.	415
6b. Gwali's Scene of an Accident	416
7. Lungiswa's Scene of a Furnished House and a Police Raid	416
8. Mlawu's Scene of a Raid and a Riot	417

	Page
9. Hintsu's Scene of the Overturned Car	418
10. Yameka's Scene of the Students of Black Power	419
11. Saliswa's Scene of a House in Crossroads	420
CHAPTER 3:	
1. Tozama's Drawing of the Ritual with the Goat	466
PHOTOGRAPHS	
1. A View of a School, Some Shacks and the Table Mountain Range in the Distance	11
2. Children Playing in My Room	13
3. My Room at the Back of a Shack	16
4. A Woman Sweeping Her Yard	18
5. A Shack in Crossroads	29
6. Salvaging Zincs after a Fire	51
7. A Mother and Child at the Entrance to Their Yard	55
8. A Woman Dancing	108
9. Women Singing	120
10. A Woman Telling an <u>Intsomi</u>	121
11. Children on Swings	146
12. The Start of a Rally	155
13. A Girl with a White Doll	160
14. A Boy with the Catapult that He Made	162
15. A Girl with Her Charge	166
16. Boys Gambling on the Street	167
17. Boys Washing Grass with which to feed Cows	170

	Page
18. A Mother and Child Selling Chicken Legs	170
19. A Cart	171
20. A Fifteen-Year-Old Boy in Charge of His Father's Shop	171
21. Playing with Number	293
22. Playing with Asymmetrical Number on Dominoes	297
23. The One Street Sign in Crossroads	384
24. Playing with Puppets	448

#### ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Line Copies of a Selection of the Sample Children's Human Figure Drawings	329
2. Line Copies of a Selection of the Sample Children's Human Figure Drawings	330
3. A Collage of Paintings by the Children	353
4. A Collage of Paintings by the Children	354
5. A Collage of Painting by the Children	355

## INTRODUCTION

"... my own observations show that we have rated the powers of children too low and that there is no knowing what they cannot be given credit for."

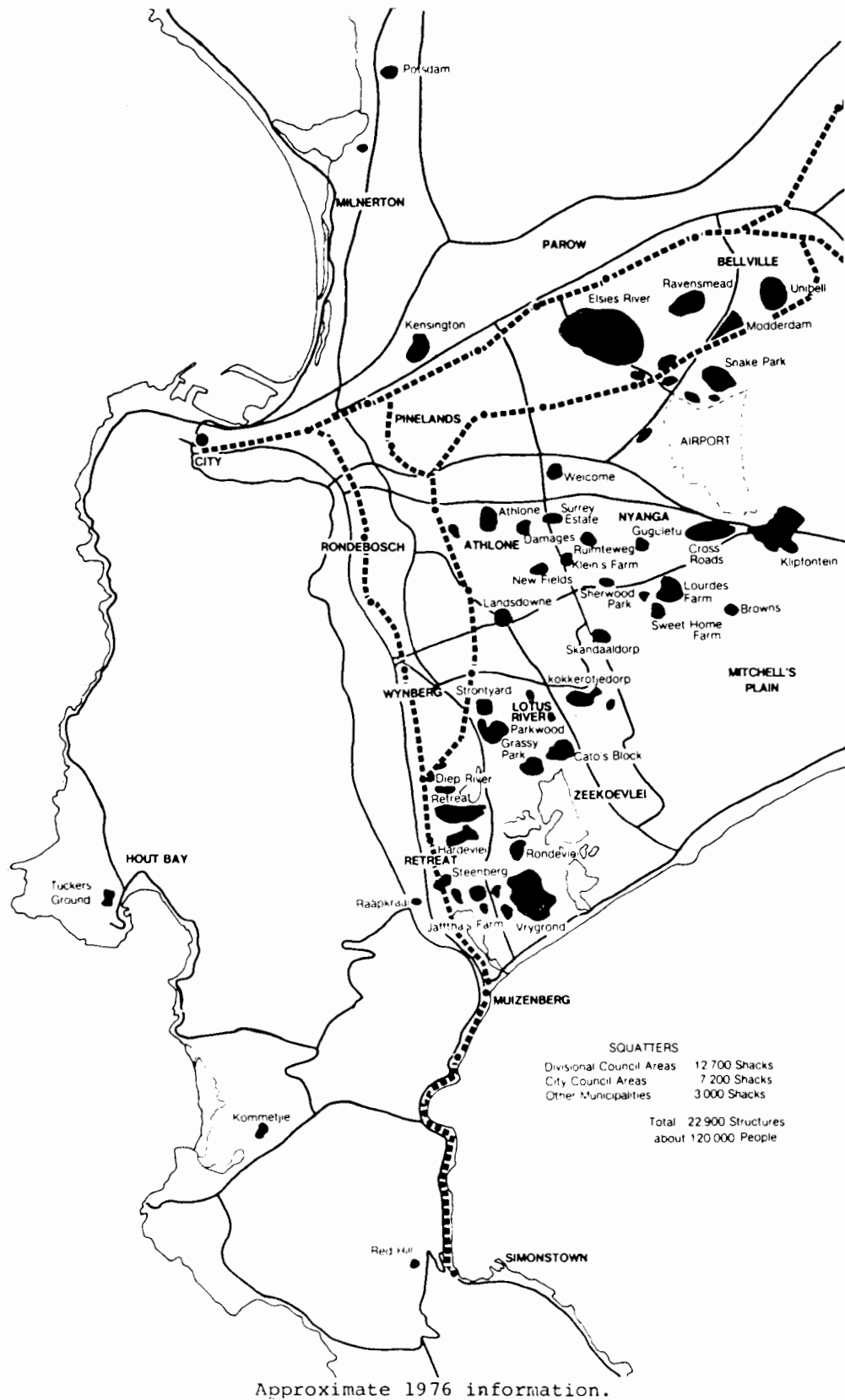
(S Freud, 1918:584)

The thesis is an ethnographic study of seven-year-old children in a South African squatter settlement. The aim of the work is primarily anthropological in that it describes and analyses all aspects of life as experienced by children of a particular age. In as much as the subjects of the study were children, certain constraints have been imposed and demands made upon the research. The most far-reaching demand has been the need to extend the analytic tools of the anthropologist to include some borrowed from the psychologist.

Within the study, emphasis has been placed upon children's cognitive development. An intensive study combining both systematic observations and psychological testing may contribute to an empirical scheme for the collection of data on child-thinking processes. Research was conducted for eighteen months, from August, 1979, to January, 1981, in the Crossroads squatter settlement, situated on the Cape Flats about twenty kilometres from the centre of Cape Town, South Africa (see Map 1).

The study depends upon ethnographic data gathered by other anthropologists on the Xhosa culture, in particular on the work of Monica Wilson (nee Hunter). Aspects of Xhosa existence, including ritual patterns and child-rearing norms, are not elaborated upon except as they relate to the life experiences of the children in the study.

In response to a challenge from psychologists and anthropologists I applied anthropological methods to explain and describe childhood and to clarify assumptions about cognition in relation to cognitive development. In taking up the challenge, I determined



Source: G Ellis et al. (1977). The Squatter Problem in the Western Cape. Some Courses and Remedies. Johannesburg : SAIRR, p. vi.

Map 1: The Position of Crossroads on the Cape Peninsula

to draw on the techniques of psychologists on the assumption that they had developed dependable tools to describe child cognition. Richards (1970) refers to an early interest in this area among anthropologists and then neglect. Much of anthropological writing on childhood generalizes about all children and leaves one curious as to the nature and range of their experience. Malinowski (1931) described the child as "the appropriately moulded organism," a statement that brings to mind Lorenz's goslings rather than children. In ethnographic literature about African peoples reference is frequently made to "the African child" as if such a composite creature exists. There are obvious reasons why this is so. Children, unlike adults, do not have sets of belief patterns, rituals, symbols, artifacts or economic activities that are clearly articulated and representative of common actions, values or thoughts. Children merge with, contribute to and are integrated into the cultural whole, but the culture does not directly represent them. Therefore, one's information about the way in which children experience the world must derive in large measure from the children's own behaviour and expression. Children grow and their testimony alters more rapidly than the adults'.

To describe the life of a seven-year-old Xhosa child in a South African squatter settlement in 1980, it was necessary to focus in detail on the lives of relatively few informants. The question of the extent to which the microcosm represents the macrocosm bedevils anthropologists. Hsu, for example, was never convinced that local variation was more important than overall pattern. Hsu (1978:152) said: "In my view the principal justification for village studies in a large society is how the local facts will illuminate the national picture." On the other hand, Crapanzano (1977:20) calls for "a proper theory of the relationship between particular and universal."

Although I have not resolved the quandry, I have addressed myself to an imbalance within it : that is, to the particular in the form of the individual. As Mary Douglas (1978:5) says,

"The first source of (our) troubles as cultural anthropologists is that we have no adequate conception of the individual." She believes that the solution is to ensure a better account of social context. A similar theme can be identified within psychology. For example, Greenbaum and Kugelmass (1980:142) observe that cross-cultural researchers have not "adequately depicted the mechanisms by which culture may affect individuals." I studied closely the lives of fourteen children for a year in order to accumulate sufficient data upon which to consider links between society and the individual.

If some account was to be made of the experiences of children in an urban squatter camp clinging to the fringes of a large industrial city, then the problem of how to record aspects of social change had to be faced. Wilson (1977:28) believes that social change is manifest in "minute particulars" (a phrase borrowed from William Blake, 1804) and that it can be recorded if attention is paid to social process. I paid attention to the minute particulars of children's maturation and their experience of major socio-economic upheavals.

A strong, though sometimes dormant, theme within anthropological writing has to do with the manner in which people negotiate their claims and construct their culture. Creativity at the cultural level emerges from the experience of individuals during childhood and adulthood. Ideally, a researcher would like to know how children negotiate their claims and construct their culture. Children in South Africa have paid dearly, too often with their lives, for their attempts to assume the right to do just that. In presenting the details of some children's lives, I hope to contribute to the understanding of the lives of other Xhosa children. We need to begin to make connections between individual creativity and the renewal of social institutions.

I am interested in people's construction of their culture and in each person's construction of self. So was Joyce (1937:183), who wrote:

"As we, or Mother Dana, weave and unweave our bodies, Stephen said, from day to day so does the artist weave and unweave his image. As the mole on my right breast is where it was when I was born, though all my body has been woven of new stuff time after time, so through the ghost of the unquiet father the unliving son looks forth. In the intense instant of the imagination when the mind, Shelley says, is a fading coal, that which I was is that which I am, and that which in possibility I may come to be."

In the children's accounts of their experiences, in their descriptions of their families, their views of Crossroads, their paintings, their stories, their clay modeling, their puppet play, their games and songs, I sought signs of their conceptions of self and indications of changes in those conceptions, particularly in relation to socio-political occurrences. In my opinion, this theme of re-creation underlies Piaget's theoretical formulations. For him the main problem of genetic epistemology was "the explanation of the construction of novelties in the development of knowledge." (Piaget, 1970a:77) His notion that each child re-creates knowledge has fertilized the search for explanations of the re-creation. A number of Piaget's tests were administered to children in this study and an analysis of their use in a third world situation is given in Section Two.

Thus far, I have mentioned two themes that run through the study : the relationship between individual and society, and change as a continuous individual and social occurrence. A third theme describes and analyses situation and context specific to the nature of cognitive processes. Cole (1978:629) argues that, "We need, in effect, an ethnography of cognitive activities, where the nature of each activity is probed by a variety of observations, including experimentally contrived ones." The same author (1978:630) observes that,

"Traditional anthropological analysis provides no easy answer for these problems. There is precious little in the anthropological literature to guide anyone convinced that real life situations as well as experiments must be included in the science of culture and cognition. Neither analysis of belief systems nor sophisticated contrastive analyses of folk taxonomies are likely to carry us far. What we need is ethnography that analyses cognition as specific acts of activities engaged in on specifiable occasions. Whether the resulting research is called anthropology or psychology will then not depend upon objects or methods of observation but on the theoretical objectives of the researcher."

Many psychologists interested in cross-cultural research have reiterated the call for attention to be paid to the situation and context in which cognitive processes are observed or measured. To anthropologists the call is a little puzzling as they have always attempted to ensure the provision of "concrete specificness and circumstantiality" with any field data (Geertz, 1973:23). Richards (1970) reminds us that for anthropologists, in the British tradition at least, "meanings are deeply embedded and context bound," and Wilson (1948:11) suggests that one of anthropology's major contributions to social studies is "the insistence of synthesis." Douglas (1980:54) believes that in Evans-Pritchard's writings about the Azande he demonstrates that,

"the work that thought does is social. After this study was published, it should not have been possible to make philosophical statements about thought without recognizing that thought makes cuts and connections between actions. Questions about rationality should be questions about the coherence of particular actions within articulate institutions."

Evans-Pritchard was upholding the anthropologists' belief in the interrelations of different aspects of society. It is not a belief exclusive to the discipline. Marx, for example, thought the very definition of a problem depends on the experience of a particular way of living; and Mao said that, "It is man's social being that determines his thinking." (Starr, 1979:46)

What is new in the psychologists' call is their invitation to anthropologists to join them in actively seeking to invent alternatives to existing theory and assumptions within the arena of cognitive development. (Warren, 1972:353)

Psychologists are aware of the need to combine laboratory testing with detailed knowledge of the culture in which the

Finally, Bruner (1981:261) warns against placing too much weight on social ecology and its role in the shaping of cognition : he identifies the need to examine the complex processes whereby this shaping takes place.

#### METHOD

My intention in this study was simple : its execution complex. I was suspicious, and not alone in being so, of the results of many psychological tests that demonstrate the inferiority of children in non-Western countries to those in the West. It has at various times been held that children in "other" cultures are less intelligent or that their development is arrested in early adulthood or that they are culturally "deprived". I resolved to look closely at the expressions of thought of some young children to examine the validity of such points of view. To do so, I immersed myself in the anthropological enterprise. Only, it seemed to me, if I could establish a relationship of trust with children and could work with them in the context of their lives could I begin to recognise the quality of their development. The thesis is a methodological search for ways in which we can improve the study of children and, therefore, the analysis of cognitive development.

In order to prepare myself to work with children, I studied anthropology, psychology and education at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland, and the Universities of Cape Town, Harvard, New Delhi and Cambridge. I have been fortunate in having had many fine teachers including Monica Wilson, Erik Erikson, Paulo Freire, Beatrice Whiting and Veena Das.

There is a gap in ethnographic studies in southern Africa - there are no full studies of childhood. Most monographs contain small sections on children and there are substantial sections in some on initiation (the most comprehensive of which is Richard's study of a girl's initiation among the Bemba (1956). Blacking's book, Black Background. The Childhood of a South African Girl (1964), is a poor contribution. No

serious attempts have been made to write an ethnography using children as informants or to study cognitive development in the full context of living and growing in South Africa. Recent writing about the San (see Lee and DeVore, 1976 especially articles by Biesele, Draper, Katz, Konner, Shostak, and Yellen and Lee; Draper, 1973; Goldberg, 1977; Konner, 1972, 1973 and 1977; and Marshall 1976) offers carefully documented descriptions of children's lives and details the extent of the knowledge that they have to acquire before adulthood. Read's classic, Children of Their Fathers. Growing up Among the Ngoni of Malawi (1968), makes a sound descriptive beginning, and Gelfand (1979) has compiled descriptions of toys and games among the Shona. An obvious reason as to why there are no studies of the kind I have outlined is that the study of children is difficult. Besides the course has not been charted.

Children aged seven were selected for study because age seven is a pivotal age in status for many Xhosa; age seven is also an important age in Piaget's scheme of intellectual development. Besides, it is the age at which black children in South Africa begin to attend school. Many Xhosa see it as an age at which a child emerges from the first period of childhood, to a time when, traditionally, a boy was capable of herding cattle and a girl of doing many household tasks and caring responsibly for younger siblings. Van Tromp (1948) observes that from the age of seven a boy has an enhanced social status. He is considered to have more experience and better judgement. Although responsibilities increase, his legal status remains that of a child. Adult opinion in Crossroads supported this attitude towards both boys and girls aged seven. A similar change in status at that age has been recorded elsewhere in Africa, for example by Read (1968) among the Ngoni of Malawi.

Jean Piaget considers seven a crucial age in a child's cognitive development. He believes that up to about seven years there is little chance that even societies that value logico-mathematical thinking can have much effect on the preparatory phases of the child's intellectual development.

He speaks of the: "thin veneer" of such influences. (Piaget, 1967:b) He says of the child of six or seven that "... the child's reasoning is beginning to go beyond the initial prelogical level" and that only then, "... when the child's intuitive evaluations have become mobile and he has therefore reached the level of the reversible operation, ... (does) he become capable of inclusions, seriation and counting." (Piaget, 1941:184) Piaget explains that, "From seven to eight years, the child is capable of logical reasoning processes but only to the extent of applying particular operations to concrete objects or events in the immediate present : in other words, the operatory form of the reasoning process, at this level, is still subordinate to the concrete content that makes up the real world." (Piaget, 1972c:1-2) I used a number of Piaget's tests to describe the level of skill among the Crossroads' sample and to compare the level of ability of the sample children with a control group.

As I was compiling an ethnography of seven-year-old children, any child of that age in the community qualified as an informant. Indeed, I observed, listened to, played with and recorded the songs of many children of all ages. However, as I intended to record the details of children's individual experiences and cognitive growth, I had to select a sample. I had to know each child well. I had to work with each across time and in many situations. I had to devise exercises to draw out their thoughts. I had to win their trust that they might offer me their fears and their dreams. I had to test them on a range of tasks to assess their ability. I estimated that I would be able to follow closely the lives of ten children. The rights of the people in the community to work and live with their children in Cape Town were not secure and it seemed likely that children would fairly often be sent from town to country and back or shift among kin. Therefore, I began with fifteen children, hoping that only a third might leave the area during the period of study. As it turned out, only one child left on an extended visit to the Transkei soon after I had begun to work with him.

I selected ten children who were attending school and five who were not. I hoped to gauge roughly the influence of schooling on the children's patterns of play and work and test behaviour. Formal schooling for blacks in South Africa begins at age seven. The school-going children were chosen from the first grade at two large schools. Each school had two classes in the first grade and at least two children, a boy and a girl, were chosen from each class. Five were selected from each school. The method of selection was as follows: The name and shack number of each child (who either said he or she was seven or who was thought by the teacher to be seven) in the four classes was listed. The house numbers that were located in two of the four wards of Crossroads were selected. It would save a fair amount of trudging across dunes if the children in the sample lived in two specific areas and it would mean that the children might know each other and their networks of friendship or enmity might be followed. By taking children from four classes in two schools and from different wards, I hoped to ensure against some bias.



1: A View of a School, Some Shacks and the Table Mountain Range in the Distance.

From the resulting list, ten names were chosen at random and a visit was made to each of their homes. It was a time consuming task : introducing myself, explaining my business, seeking information all in accordance with the pattern of polite discourse which frowns upon haste and relishes exchange. I confirmed that each child was or would be seven for some months in 1980. Only one family was openly suspicious of me; nevertheless, they agreed to allow me to work with their son, and I did.

It took much longer to find children who did not attend school. Some parents appeared to be ashamed to admit that their children were not going to school. Some said that they were registered and were awaiting places in township schools, some that they were waiting for money with which to buy suitable school clothes, some that their children were ill and others that the children were returning to the country. It was only through the contacts made with the neighbours and kin of families with whom I was working that I came to know children who were not going to school. As their families became accustomed to me and understood my intentions, I found five children with whom to work. These five children were not randomly selected. Three were girls and two were boys and one of the boys returned to the Transkei. The final sample of fourteen children was composed then of eight girls and six boys. The non-school-going children are called abangufundiyo (those who do not attend school) and are sometimes referred to in the text as the "Abas," for short. No remuneration was offered to either the parents or the children. Only on completion of the study did I give the children gifts and contribute to the cost of their school fees and uniforms.

A control group of twenty-five seven-year olds was selected at random from the list of school children. A series of Piagetian tests were administered to the sample and the control group in order to give some idea of the extent to which the sample group could be accepted as representative of the Crossroads seven-year old population. The results are discussed in Chapter Five.



2: Children Playing in My Room

The approximate location of the sample children's homes is shown on Map 2. The actual location and the names of the children and family members have been changed.

The selection was made during the first three months of research while I was working with three to six-year olds. During this time, I observed and played with small children so that I could understand something of the nature of the experiences that shape children living in a squatter settlement. I spent most of the time at one or another of eight creches attended by 600 children. As the community leaders seemed to expect me to contribute directly to the people's welfare, I provided the creche children with crayons and paper and then from their drawings I produced Christmas cards for sale. The proceeds from the card sales provided enough nutritionally fortified soup for each child to have a bowlful every day for six months. A small amount of money was given to the leaders. Friends kindly took over the card production and the proceeds have increased dramatically.



○ THE SAMPLE CHILDREN'S HOMES. (GEDJA LIVED <sup>HERE</sup> IN THIS ONE)

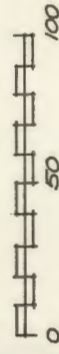
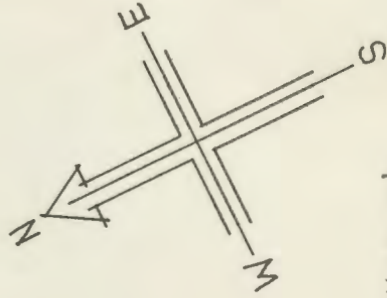
● COMMUNITY CENTRES (CHURCHES, SCHOOLS e t c.)

SOURCE: BASE MAP COMPILED BY LIPRU FROM INFORMATION PROVIDED BY THE

MUNICIPALITY OF CAPE TOWN, 1978

MAP 2. APPROXIMATE LOCATION OF THE SAMPLE CHILDREN'S

HOMES IN CROSSROADS



I learnt a great deal about the workings of the community through the women who ran the creches. Most of the women were prominent in local politics and I had to learn to steer my way through the tides of political antagonism. The women made a bid to control my work and it was with some difficulty that I slid free. Some months later young Committee members who had been assigned to work with the same women came to me and said, "We have heard that you withstood the power of those women. Can you teach us how to do it?"

During the same period, I explored the community and introduced myself to prominent residents. I sought and received permission from the Crossroads Committee to build a room on to a resident's shack. The Committee selected the resident who was a woman of strong and forceful character; as a community leader she had both admirers and detractors. It was with some trepidation that I became her tenant. A local builder and I built my room, she acted as my guide in sifting sheets of zinc from among the stacks in demolition yards, in begging for off-cuts from factories, in sharing the loot and constructing the building. It was an instructive process : I was amazed by the ingenuity and determination that residents displayed in creating homes out of very little and by the resilience with which they dealt with discrimination.

Mary Mmango was my assistant and she worked with me for all of 1980. Her lovely nature, her gentleness with children, her intelligence contributed greatly to the study. She is a resident of Crossroads and a literacy tutor in the community and was studying at night school for her school matriculation certificate. All of our conversations with the children were conducted in Xhosa. None of the children spoke English. I studied Xhosa at university and although I could understand the children, I could not speak to them fluently therefore Mary translated for me. I could follow and thus guide the way in which she asked questions and gave instructions.



3: My Room at the Back of a Shack

Test sessions and many other occasions were taped and the transcriptions were used to ensure accuracy in reporting on the use of language.\*

I used two kinds of methodology in working with the children. One was derived from the systematic observation and participation techniques traditional in anthropology; the other involved a variety of tests devised by psychologists. Apart from playing, talking, walking, eating and working with children both in their homes and outside, I invited each child to my room for fifteen formal sessions during the year. Each session lasted for about two and a half hours. Mary and I had formal working sessions with each child for about thirty-eight hours.

The school headmistresses and teachers generously allowed me to call the children out from their classes. There was a loose pattern to each session. We would begin by talking

---

\*My grateful thanks are due to Gerry Zondo of the University of Zimbabwe for expert help with the transcriptions.

about matters of interest to the child then about family occurrences such as visits and moves, and community affairs such as riots, accidents, fights, weddings, school outings and friendship networks. Some of these discussions were recorded on tape. Then we would move on to formal testing which almost always involved the child in an activity such as playing with cards or dice or moulding clay or in going through a series of physical exercises. Finally, we would play a game together or draw or play with a family of puppets. The session ended in our having a glass of juice together. For the most part the children seemed to enjoy the sessions and only a few occasionally resisted. Sometimes the children came in groups to dance or sing or paint. Each day some of them would bring their friends and ask to borrow crayons or footballs or marbles with which they played in the yard. Thus I came to know many children aged seven or eight.

The children and I grew to know each other well. If the formality of the test situations seems to dominate the text it is because these are easier to report on than are more casual encounters. Participation in and observation of their activities was vital to the description and interpretation of the test results. There was an overall plan that guided my involvement with the children. I wanted to find out about their notions of time, order, space, kinship and dreams. These topics would inform me about much of their cognitive understanding of their world. Within these five areas, I selected tasks or exercises that seemed likely to serve my interest. I behaved rather like Lévi-Strauss's bricoleur in assembling from amongst the psychologists' tool bag that which seemed to suit my purpose.

Whatever the task at hand, a bricoleur uses a particular repertoire because there is nothing else at his disposal. In explaining the concept, Lévi-Strauss (1966:17)\* says,

---

\*Lévi-Strauss, C. (1966). The Savage Mind. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

"The bricoleur is adept at performing a large number of diverse tasks; but, unlike the engineer, he does not subordinate each of them to the availability of raw materials and tools conceived and procured for the purpose of the project. His universe of instruments is closed and the rules of his game are always to make do with 'whatever is at hand,' that is to say with a set of tools and materials which is always finite and is also heterogeneous because what it contains bears no relation to the current project, or indeed to any particular project, but is the contingent result of all the occasions there have been to renew or enrich the stock or to maintain it with the remains of previous constructions or destructions. The set of the bricoleur's means cannot therefore be defined in terms of a project.... It is to be defined only by its potential use or, putting this another way and in the language of the bricoleur himself, because the elements are collected or retained on the principle that 'they may always come in handy.' Such elements are specialized up to a point, sufficiently for the bricoleur not to need the equipment and knowledge of all trades and professions, but not enough for each of them to have only one definite and determinate use. They each represent a set of actual and possible relations; they are 'operators' but they can be used for any operations of the same type."

As a bricoleur, I selected tests that suited particular purposes. I state those purposes in describing each test, see, for example, pages 319, 331, 368, 394 and 405-6. There was no guarantee that I would succeed in drawing from the children sufficient material with which to compile an ethnography. Since children's knowledge is implicit, that is, not immediately available as self-conscious, self-referential and explicit discourse, interpretations of their behaviour and products (play scenes, drawings, self-constructed toys, etc.), and artificial elicitation techniques had to be used. I selected and invented techniques that seemed likely to inform me about children's concepts of and place in time, space, order, kinship and dreams.

In the context of the children's lives in Crossroads, I criticize some of the methodology and conclusions of cross-cultural psychology. Some psychologists may query the validity of these criticisms: my hope is that they will consider carefully the criticisms. I trust the reader to realize my admiration for and debt to Piaget and Erikson far exceed the criticisms I level against some of their exercises.

Since my intention was neither to validate nor expand psychological tests, I determined that there was no need for pilot testing. The criticisms that I make of the tests used, particularly those originated by Piaget and Erikson, are founded on intimate knowledge of adults and children in a particular context. The knowledge was accumulated slowly over time through constant personal contact. The results from the tests contributed to that stock. Pilot testing could serve no purpose until the requisite understanding had been acquired. The work itself is a pilot study.

To pre-empt some of the inevitable quarrels that psychologists will have with my methodology, I emphasize that I used tests, especially Piagetian tests, in their original forms because these forms have become common currency whereas the full implications of adaptations have not yet been teased out.

During the eighteen months I spent in Crossroads, I worked with the fourteen children for twelve months. I had fifteen formal sessions with each child in my room during which I administered tests and set the child tasks. In any one session a child would be asked to do no more than one test and one task. Some of the tests could be accomplished in less than five minutes. Each test was administered once I judged that the child was relaxed. During our time together we played and talked and shared a variety of activities.

I made an effort to probe the children's ideas on a topic from many angles and across time. For example, in studying their use of kinship terms, I used three different interview formats that had been devised by psychologists; throughout the year I also taped discussions with the children during which they used kinship terms while talking about their families; I recorded the way in which they used the terms in their homes and in play; and I used a family of puppets to elicit use of a set of kinship terms that were not ego centered.

I lay no claim to present test results that are conclusive. I examine them as they highlight, illuminate, inform me about the reality of individual lives within a carefully documented social context. The exercise is original. The risks are, therefore, real.

I present brief sketches of the lives of the fourteen children in the final chapter of the thesis.

Above all else, my purpose is to compile an ethnographic report of seven-year-old-children in a South African squatter settlement. My aim is to describe not prescribe. Rather than validating or expanding tests, I hope to borrow from, to lean on a century of insight and effort in the discipline of psychology to highlight interest in the discipline of anthropology.

There are two sections in the text. Section One has three chapters that provide a backdrop against which the details of the children's lives can be placed. They should not be read as attempting to do more than that. Chapter One gives profiles of the lives of the children's parents or guardians.



#### 4: A Woman Sweeping Her Yard

I conducted three formal interviews with each child's mother (or mother substitute) and one with each father (or father substitute). I visited their homes often. I knew the women better than the men because most of the men worked outside the community. I hoped to observe the relationship between children and adults at home in order to find out about the nature and quality of their interaction and, in particular,

the extent to which children listened in on adult conversation. However, I was too obvious an intrusion and an object of curiosity to be able to do that systematically. Instead, Mathilda Gqiba observed and recorded the activities and conversations of each child and his or her family at home between the hours of 5:00 and 8:00 p.m. every evening for a week. Her records have been invaluable to me.

Goodnow (1972:194) has identified an area concerned with the ideas that people hold about the development of useful intellectual skills as one where more work is needed. She says we ought to find ways of determining how people define intelligence and how they relate their ideas about it to age, measurement and prediction. Serpell (1980) argues that, "... studies of human behaviour in a Third World society should pay more attention than has often been the practice in the past to the perspectives from which subjects view their own behaviour and that of those with whom they live." From a very different perspective Foucault (1980:82) makes a similar plea to scholars to examine what he calls "subjugated knowledges" which are blocks of historical knowledge present but disguised within the body of functionalist and systematising theory. He explains that they are,

"... a whole set of knowledges that have been disqualified as inadequate to their task or insufficiently elaborated: naive knowledges, located low down on the hierarchy, beneath the required level of cognition or scientificity ... it is through the emergence of these low-ranking knowledges, these unqualified, even directly disqualified knowledges (such as that of the psychiatric patient, of the ill person, of the nurse, of the doctor - parallel and marginal as they are to the knowledge of medicine - that of the delinquent etc.) , and which involve what I would call a popular knowledge (le savoir de gens) though it is far from being a general commonsense knowledge, but is on the contrary a particular, local, regional knowledge, a differential knowledge incapable of unanimity and which owes its force only to the harshness with which it is opposed by everything

surrounding it - that is through the re-appearance of this knowledge, of these local popular knowledges, these disqualified knowledges, that criticism performs its work." (Foucault, 1980;82)

In searching for the local knowledge of intelligence of Crossroads residents, I gathered life histories and held unstructured interviews with many of the residents. I also held meetings with groups of literacy tutors, school teachers, creche leaders and young executives of the Crossroads Committee. While I lived in India, I had studied group processes for two years under a psycho-analyst of the Vienna school and it occurred to me that the dynamics of group interaction might offer a fertile source for information about women's attitudes and relationships. Therefore, in Crossroads, I met with a group of women for four hours once a week over a period of six months. Each of the thirteen women was a student at the literacy training centre. Each agreed to explore with me in a group situation their lives, especially their memories of childhood. The women called our meetings Inkumbulo Yakwantu which means the remembrance of things past. Out of their memories and their accounts of the present, I sought to weave the cloth upon which the pattern of the seven-year olds might stand in relief. It is not a method of gathering information that has been widely used in ethnographic research. The group attained a remarkable level of cohesion and directed much of its own course. The sessions are reported on in Chapter Two.

Chapter Three describes the play of children in Crossroads.

Section Two has five chapters. Chapter Four places the children in time - their own time, from birth to the age of seven. The following four chapters report on the children's conceptions of their world in terms of order, space, kinship and dreams.

An obvious corollary to a study of children in an urban area in South Africa is a study of children in the countryside. Had I the time, I should have liked to have done such a comparison. My supervisors, Monica Wilson and initially, Esther Goody, and other anthropologists, including Meyer Fortes and Audrey Richards, pressed me to work for at least some time in the rural areas. I resisted largely because the central point of my work is to attempt to demonstrate the complexity of child thought and its

relations to society and thereby make a plea for greater caution and deeper understanding in drawing conclusions from cross-cultural examinations of child cognition. My intention was to take the deficit theory from the shoulders of the children and place it on the shoulders of the researchers. Therefore, I was reluctant to visit a rural area, glance around, administer a few quick tests and leave with a body of conclusions in my suitcase. However, like a good student, I submitted to the general will and went to the Transkei for a few weeks. I went largely to experience a little of the other world that the Crossroads children share.

In January, 1981, Nozizwe Nyakaza came with me from Crossroads as my assistant. We drove some 3000 kilometres altogether. I decided to look at children in Pondoland, taking Monica Hunter's study of the area in the 1930s as background on traditional beliefs. From our base near Port St. John's we foraged out each day into the countryside taking with us a good supply of bread and jam and cool drink. Once in the countryside, we would walk into the hills and settle beneath a tree and wait. Some children would gather around and we would talk and play games and explore the countryside together as well as share the bread and drink. In that way, we met many herd boys. We also went into small villages and talked to adults and children. We travelled widely around Eastern Pondoland and interviewed ninety children between the ages of five and twelve.

Pondoland is beautiful. Swimming in the sea, collecting mussels, eating oysters, fishing, hunting weasels, making clay models, dancing, singing, walking along the beaches and over mountains with children was satisfying and fitted much more the image of the anthropologist at ease beneath the shady tree than did the urban study. The loveliness of the hills and the fun we had did not hide the poverty. A rural ghetto is almost worse than an urban one. The dependency of the rural area on earnings in the towns and cities is clear; so too is the destruction of family life by migratory labour patterns. I confirmed a few hunches and learnt as much as I could in a short time. To have learnt more, an in-depth study would have been necessary.

A word of caution must be sounded. It was not by design that I had two children in the sample whose mothers were

amaggira\*. However, I did consciously seek to discover the conceptions of childhood of amaggira and, in consequence, there may be a bias in my data towards the representation of traditional attitudes and beliefs. I was surprised by the resilience of these and fascinated by the manner in which they were entwined with modern views.

Clifford Geertz (1973:346) expressed the opinion that, "All ethnography is part philosophy, and a good deal of the rest is confession." It is in vogue for researchers to place themselves into the written account of their field endeavours. Popper (1976) reminds us that, "... there is no such thing as an unprejudiced observation." To leave self out of the report on field work is, according to Crapanzano (1980:ix-x), a blind spot in the anthropological gaze. He calls the ethnographic encounter "... a complex negotiation in which the parties to the encounter acquiesce to a certain reality," and says that there is an "... inevitable jockeying for power that occurs within such negotiations." He believes that we as anthropologists, "... have a responsibility to the people we study, if not to our readers, to recognize the ethical and political implications of our disciplines. Every interpretive strategy, including those implicit within description itself, involves choice and falls thereby, into the domain of ethics and politics." He adds that, "Definitions whether of self or other, are always dialectical." (Crapanzano, 1980:51).

Children are particularly vulnerable to misrepresentation and children in Africa, I suspect, have frequently been unfairly described or measured in reports on cross-cultural research. In the text that follows, I have endeavoured to account, at least in part, for my contributions to the Crossroads encounters. Some readers may dismiss my account of cognitive understanding of the children because, they may say, the children's understanding was shaped and altered by their year long relationship with me. There is no simple rebuttal. Their skills on a series of Piagetian tests were compared with a control group half way through the year. If so few hours can alter a child's understanding, then the educational system is under indictment.

---

\*Amaggira - traditional healers. Singular -igqira.

## URBAN SQUATTING

A UNICEF policy specialist (Donohue, 1982:24-25) has estimated that as of 1980 369 million children and youth below fifteen years of age lived in the urban areas of less developed regions of the world, including, for these purposes, South Africa. Of this number, 129 million were in the 0-5 age group. Within the next eighteen years the number of children under fifteen years of age is projected to grow to 666 million, with 232 million under five years of age. Figure 1 shows the percentage of urban children in each region in relation to the total world urban child population. It illustrates the phenomenal rate of increase in sub-Saharan Africa as against all other regions of the developing world.

2000									
6.3%	15.8%	21.2%	16.5%	2.6%	8.2%	23.0%	4.0%	2.2%	0.2%
1975									
5.1%	8.4%	24.1%	23.2%	3.4%	8.4%	22.1%	3.0%	2.2%	0.1%
Northern Africa	Sub-Saharan Africa	Latin America	China	Other East Asia	Eastern South Asia	Middle South Asia	Western South Asia	Cyprus, Turkey Israel	Melanesia- Micronesia- Polynesia

Source: United Nations Population Division as assessed in 1980 (computer print-out)

Figure 1: Percentage of Urban Children in Each Region in Relation to Total World Urban Population, 1975-2000

In 1975, sub-Saharan Africa was 21 per cent urban, by the year 2000, it is expected to be 38 per cent urban. In that twenty-five year period the urban population is projected to grow from 66 million to 252 million in absolute terms. This means a fourfold increase of 186 million people. By the year 2000, it is estimated that 59 per cent of all population increase will be taking place in urban areas, and that urban areas will grow two and a half times faster than rural areas (5,36 urban versus 2,09 rural growth). (Donohue, 1982:27)

In South Africa, however, despite a percentage increase in the overall number of blacks who were urban residents (see Table 1), the period 1970-1980 has seen a major population

shift of Africans away from the urban areas to the homelands.\* While the number of Africans in white areas increased by 13 per cent in the last ten years, the homelands population increased by 59 per cent in the same period. The figures represent an opposite to the established trend in all other developing countries. It must be born in mind, however, that calculations are problematic as there is a hidden illegal population in the cities. The black population of Cape Town is said to be close to double the official figure. (F Wilson, 1975:175). One possible explanation for the high population growth of the homelands is the inclusion within their borders of large African townships. Another explanation is that migrant workers are defined as residents of homelands rather than of urban areas despite the fact that migrants spend an average of eleven out of twelve months at their places of work. (Gordon, 1981:68)

Table 1 : The Percentage of Each Race Group Who Were Urban Dwellers in South Africa in 1970 and 1980

	<u>Urban Dwellers - %</u>	
	1970	1980
White	86,8	88,9
Coloured	74,1	77,3
Asian	83,7	91,3
African	33,1	37,8

Source: Gordon, L, ed. Survey of Race Relations in South Africa 1980, Johannesburg. The South African Institute of Race Relations, 1981, p.68.

For West (1980:128), the picture is clear:

"... the majority of the African population lives outside the so-called homelands, outnumbering Whites in all 'White areas' by at least two

---

\*Homelands are areas set aside by the South African Government in which blacks are supposed to live and from which they derive or will derive their only citizenship rights. The use and misuse of words in South African politics is a terminological minefield. For convenience I shall use terms such as "homelands" but do not mean thereby to endorse their legitimacy.

to one. The six million or more urban Africans at present outnumber White urban-dwellers by nearly three million, and based on current projections will increase to fifteen million by the year 2000, compared with the estimated White urban population at that time of just over five million."

Basing his calculations on two assumptions,\* Simkin, (1982) anticipates for the rest of the century that in South Africa either there will be continued demographic pressure on the homelands which have experienced a great deal of it already over the past quarter-century, or that pressure will be put on the metropolitan areas which are better able to deal with it from an economic point of view. Simkins (1982:11) comments that

"Of course, immigration of 4,0 million Africans over the remaining years to 2000 implies a great deal else : nothing less than a fundamental realignment of political forces in the South African arena."

Further, Simkins (1982:6-7) points out that whichever of the two assumptions he uses in his calculations, in the year 2000 the proportion of blacks living in the homelands would still be slightly higher than it was in 1950. The masculinity

---

\*In establishing a framework for projecting African migration, and therefore population distribution, to the year 2000 Simkins (1982:1) puts forward two projections based on the following alternative assumptions: (i) migration in the periods 1980-1990 and 1990-2000 will follow the same pattern as that between 1970 and 1980; (ii) migration in the periods 1980-1990 and 1990-2000 will be such as to achieve the levels of urbanisation projected in his study entitled "Structural Change and Urbanisation in the South African Economy 1950-2000" where the gap between South African urbanisation and an international standard based on population size and per capita income is assumed to halve by the year 2000.

ratio and the proportion of people between 15 and 64 would be much the same in 2000 as it was in 1980 implying a continued imbalance between men and women and between people in the dependent and income earning age ranges. At the end of the century, he predicts that there would still be a substantial part of the metropolitan population living on a non-family basis.

In South Africa the existence of black urban "squatting" has been an official problem from the days of the earliest white settlement. Jan van Riebeeck wrote in his journal on the 10th February, 1655,

"Only last night it happened that about 50 of these natives wanted to put up their huts close to the banks of the moat of our fortress, and when told in a friendly manner by our men to go a little further away, they declared boldly that this was not our land but theirs and they would place their huts wherever they chose."

As quoted in Davenport and Hunt, 1974:11

The artificial dichotomy over land and the lack of freedom to settle and sell one's labour that characterizes the South African condition has led to such distortions of wealth, of access to resources and services and of employment that urban squatting has become an economic necessity for many blacks.

Table 2 illustrates the enormous concentration of black poverty in the countryside, on white farms and, particularly, in the homelands. Eighty-five per cent of the world's poor live in the countryside. Using the Poverty Datum Line of R200.00 per month for South Africa, Reynolds has shown that 93,7 per cent of South Africa's poor are in the countryside.\* Simkins (1981b) has calculated the divergence between predicted urban growth according to GNP per capita and South Africa's actual growth (Table 3). The divergence has grown from

---

\*In March, 1983, R1.10 equals US\$1.00

Table 2 : Black Poverty in South Africa: 1980<sup>1</sup>

a.	<u>No. of Blacks</u>	<u>No. of Families</u>	(5.5 persons to a family)
Urban	5,320,418	967,349	
White farm areas	4,323,545	786,099	
Homelands	11,338,308	2,061,511	
	<u>20,982,271</u>	<u>3,814,959</u>	
b.	Taking Poverty Datum Line at R200 p.m. per family:		%
	25% of urban families average shortfall R50 p.m.	= R 12.0m	6.5
	50% of rural families average shortfall R80 p.m.	= R 31.4m	13.6
	75% of homelands families average shortfall R120 p.m.	= R185.5m	80.1
		<u>R228.9m</u>	
		or R2.747 billion per year	

1. The table was compiled by N Reynolds (1981:7) and the figures were taken from C E W Simkins, The Distribution of Personal Income, DSRG Working Paper No. 9 Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal, 1979.

Table 3 : Growth of Urban Population<sup>1</sup>

	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
Actual	46.7	47.8	47.3
Predicted <sup>2</sup>	49.6	55.3	56.7

1. Drawn from C E W Simkins, The Economic Implications of African Resettlement, SALDRU, Cape Town, 1981.
2. Based on a model by Chenery and Syrquin, Patterns of Development, 1950-1970.

1,9 per cent in 1960 to a staggering 13,4 per cent in 1980. The figures show the relative stagnation of urban growth, a testimony to the growing panoply of racial legislation which, over the last two decades, has prevented the natural movement of rural blacks to town. In another work, Simkins (1981a) has shown that the proportion of blacks in the homelands has grown dramatically over the same period, from 40 per cent in 1960 to 54 per cent in 1980. Read together, the tables illustrate the pressure to move to town. It can be analysed in terms of economic necessity but it incorporates vital moral elements.

The first shacks in a settlement that came to be known as Crossroads were erected in February, 1975, on the sands of the Cape Flats. By 1979, when I began to study children there, some 20 000 people were living in about 3 000 shacks. Appendix A gives a chronology of events in Crossroads from February, 1975, to March, 1981. The story of the people's struggle to establish their homes and secure the right to live and work in the Cape Peninsula is complicated and can only be told as part of an analysis of the political and economic reality of South Africa. The full story has still to be written. It is beyond the scope of this study.

Desmond Tutu (1980), an Anglican Bishop and General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, says that, "Basically, the South African crisis is one that hinges on political power for it is this, if you have it, which commands access to other kinds of power - economic well-being, social amenities and facilities." Almost every squatter in Crossroads was Xhosa. That they had to build shacks of zinc and scraps in the sand dunes among the wattle trees, and that they should be classified as squatters and be vulnerable to imprisonment, expulsion from the area and loss of their homes arises out of their political powerlessness. A government that does not represent them controls their movements through legislation to do with race classification, migrant labour and Group Areas. For the purpose of this study, one needs to know that in South Africa most of the 3 780 000 Xhosa people are



5: A Shack in Crossroads

citizens\* of the so-called independent states of Transkei and, since 1981, Ciskei, and that their rights to work and live in other areas are controlled by a battery of legislation strictly

---

\*The Bantu Homelands Citizenship Act of 1970 provided,

"... that every African who was not a citizen of a self-governing territory was to become a citizen of a territorial authority area. Such persons would retain South African citizenship only in terms of international relations, and would still be required to hold South African reference books (passes). The new citizens of the territorial authority areas were to be given certificates of citizenship issued either by their authority or by the South African government acting on its behalf. This was the beginning of the implementation of the Nationalist policy for making all urban Africans citizens of homelands." (West 1980:135)

West notes that the South African government's definition of a Transkeian is very broad, and includes birth, residence, linguistic, kinship and cultural criteria in determining who may be deemed a Transkei citizen, in terms of the Status of Transkei Act of 1976 (West, 1982a) He observes that

"When the Ciskei gained 'independence' in December 1981, virtually every Black person in Cape Town became a technical foreigner. The implications are clear : nearly 100 000 people are subject to instant deportation in the Cape Peninsula, without even the minimal recourse to the law which exists in terms of other influx control legislation."

enforced. One body of legislation, known as the Pass Laws, is based on the principle enunciated by the Stallard Commission of 1921:

"The native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister. (Transvaal Province of 1922)."

Quoted by Murray, C, 1979.

The law as it applies to blacks is embodied in the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No. 25 of 1945) as amended. A key amendment, the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952, extended influx control to all urban areas, included women in its provisions, extended the power of the state to remove people deemed to be undesirable, and introduced a concession allowing blacks to visit a prescribed urban area for up to 72 hours before having to gain official permission. The section of the main act which limits rights of urban residence is contained in Section 10(1), which reads as follows:

"No Bantu shall remain for more than seventy-two hours in a prescribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed that -

- a) he has, since birth, resided continuously in such area; or
- b) he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years, and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding five hundred rand or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months;

- c) such Black is the wife, the unmarried daughter, or the son under the age of eighteen years, of any Black mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this subsection and, after lawful entry into such prescribed area, ordinarily resides with that Black in such area; or
- d) in the case of any other Black, permission so to remain has been granted by an officer appointed to manage a labour bureau ... due regard being had to the availability of accommodation in a Black residential area." (Horrell, 1978:35ff, and West, 1982a)

Under Section 11 of the Act, men may be prosecuted for illegally harbouring their wives and children. Some Crossroads residents were prosecuted in terms of this section in May, 1975.

Inspectors of the local Administration Boards\* have the right to arrest summarily any person whose documents are not in order, or who is unable to produce documents. The Bantu (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act of 1952 stipulated that any black was required to produce a reference book (pass) on request by an official at any time. West (1982a:468-9) notes that

"The legislation did not stipulate that a pass was to be produced on demand, but this was assumed by arresting officials who do not normally allow time to fetch documents, even if they are nearby. Raids are often conducted

---

\*In 1972-73, control over African urban areas passed from local authorities to a system of twenty-two Bantu Affairs Administration Boards, whose members are appointed by and directly responsible to the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development (Survey of Race Relations, 1976:181-82). Inspectors of the Boards can enter premises without warrants on suspicion of an offence being committed and they have the power to make arrests. (West, 1982a:468)

in the early hours of the morning, when illegal residents are deemed to be more easily apprehended ...."

"Those caught in the net include legal residents, minors, the sick, the handicapped, and women with babies." (West, 1982a:492)

The Urban Areas Act places the onus on the individual to prove innocence rather than the state to prove guilt, the latter being the norm in South African criminal law. (West, 1982a)

Since 1968 blacks from the homelands could only come to Cape Town on one year contracts without their wives, children or any other dependents. Most contract labourers are housed in single Bachelor Quarters and some in other registered accommodation in townships set aside for black occupation. In Cape Town, there are three townships for blacks : Gugulethu, Nyanga and Langa.

Selvan points out that whereas contract workers technically live singly, in actual fact there are no single quarters in any township which do not have women and children in them. He estimates the ratio of men to women as ten to one. The contract workers often bring some of their young children with them from the countryside, although these children will not qualify for permanent residence in the urban area in terms of Section 10(1)(a) or (b) unless they were actually born in the urban areas, or can be registered as a member of a legal household and can then build up the necessary years to earn 10(1)(b) status. Under influx control legislation, the onus is on the individual to prove qualification, and "continuous" residence or employment is strictly interpreted. For example, children born in Cape Town who spend some years with relatives elsewhere, or people who take an extended holiday outside the Cape Town area, lose their qualification under Section 10.

Migrant labourers on contracts, all of which specify an annual return to a place of origin outside the area, are deemed not to be working or residing continuously in the

prescribed area and therefore are ineligible for 10(1)(b) rights. In fact, West (1982a:466) points out that 10(1)(b) status has not been earned by anyone in Cape Town for many years.\*

Black people in the Western Cape are at a disadvantage when compared to the rest of the country. In 1954, the responsible cabinet minister announced that workers classified as Coloured were to be given preference in the Western Cape, and that as a result the black population would be controlled (see West, 1982a and 1980:134). A line (known as the Eiselen line) demarcates an area of the Cape Province within which "Coloured Labour Preference" holds sway. West (1982a:463-5) believes that the Government's reasoning behind the policy includes concern over the mixing of people classified as Coloured and African which would, in the Government's opinion, result in the disappearance of social and cultural differences.

The implementation of the Coloured Labour Preference policy involved a freeze on the erection of black family housing, the stringent implementation of influx control regulations (the Western Cape was the first place in South Africa where black women were required to carry passes), and a shift to the use of migrant labour to meet new demands. Implementation of the policy did not reverse the flow of black people to the Western Cape, and the Government no longer speaks of removing all black people from the area. (West, 1982a:464)

At the end of 1974 there were 33,093 black children living legally in Cape Town (see Table 4). The official estimation of the African population residing legally in Cape Town was distributed between the different areas as indicated in Table 4. (Graaff and Maree, 1977:3)

---

\*In May, 1982, the Supreme Court of the Western Province set a precedence in allowing that a contract worker may qualify for 10(1)(b) status. Seven similar cases are before the Appellate Court Division. It is feared that even if the Court upholds the rights of contract workers to qualify for 10(1)(b) status, new legislation will be tabled to nullify it.

Table 4 : African Population Residing Legally in Cape Town

	Langa <sup>(1)</sup>	Nyanga <sup>(1)</sup>	Gugulethu <sup>(1)</sup>	Other <sup>(2)</sup>	Total
Men	24 977	10 275	16 082	12 510	63 844
Women	2 350	2 942	12 422	-	17 714
Children <sup>(3)</sup>	3 705	3 823	25 565	-	33 093
Total	31 032	17 040	54 069	12 510	114 651
Men in Single Quarters	23 622	8 019	4 691	12 510	48 842

Sources: Hansard, No. 5, 4 March, 1975, Questions Columns 352-3.  
David Selvan (1976), pp. 9-10, Table 5.

(1) Statistics at 31.12.1974

(2) "Other" includes the S.A. Railways and Harbours compounds in the docks and bordering on Langa and other licenced premises such as the Hout Bay compound and building sites. The figures in this column are for 1976.

(3) Children are below 16 years of age.

Official provision in 1976 allowed for only one in every 4,7 workers to live with their families. (Ellis et al., 1977:19) Seventy-nine per cent of black workers are housed without their families : 37,000 women are to live in the homelands without their men. (Ellis et al., 1977:53)

In 1981, Dr P Koornhof, the Minister of Co-operation and Development, quoted the de facto black population of Cape Town as being 199 600 and the de jure black population as 114 164. Thus over 84 000 or approximately 42 per cent of the black population in Cape Town is there without permits (Hansard No. 4, August, 1981 Col. 231). (SAIRR, 1982:11)

Unless a black person has qualified to live and work in a prescribed area or has a permit as a contract labourer allowing him or her to be in the area for a specific period, or permission granted for medical reasons, his length of stay in areas designated white is strictly limited. See Appendix B for a brief history of the law regulating movement to town. In a 1978 article on blacks in Cape Town, Versveld (1978) wrote:

"On top of restrictive and discriminatory legislation which hampers all so-called 'Population Groups' in South Africa, such as the Group Areas and the Mixed Marriages and the Immorality Acts (all rooted in the divisive ground of the Population Registration Act of 1950 as amended), our black compatriots are now sloughed off as citizens of Homelands which many of them do not know or acknowledge. The freedom to sell their labour on the open market and to live with their families within reach of their work has been increasingly curtailed down the years with every amendment to the Black Urban Areas Consolidation Act, also with the Bantu Labour Act and Regulations, the Transkei Status and Citizenship Acts, being crucial in this area."

With the "independence" of the Ciskei in December, 1981, almost all of Cape Town's black population is now made up of "foreigners" and only those with Section 10 rights under the Urban Areas Act have any security at all. Only a permanent qualified resident may have his wife to live with him and only if there is suitable accommodation. Shortage of housing serves as grounds for the total refusal of entries from rural areas and extremely limited granting of transfers to wives from other prescribed areas.

Two cardinal principles of urban black policy are that municipalities and employers are made responsible for housing blacks and that blacks are not allowed to acquire an interest in land from a non-African owner without the President's consent. The effect is that Africans may not legally reside outside the locations, villages or hostels which are specially set aside for them, unless they are domestic servants living on their employer's premises or are residents in specially licenced accommodation. The provision of housing has been made the responsibility of local authorities. (SAIRR, 1954)

In 1966, the government made a policy decision to freeze the building of African family housing even though the natural increase of blacks residing legally in Cape Town alone demanded that at least 200 houses should be built annually. (Maree, 1978) In its annual report for 1981-1982, the SAIRR observes that housing in the Cape Western Region is a major problem even for those blacks who qualify to be in the area. Apart from the conversion of single quarters into 900 family units, there has been no significant building programme for ten years. There are 2 500 families on the official waiting list and the 209 houses built in New Crossroads has given no relief to the housing backlog.

During 1980, when much of the field work for the thesis was done, 8 113 black women and 7 747 black men were arrested in the Cape Peninsula on charges under influx control legislation. The arrests were carried out by officials of the Administration Board (formerly called BAAB) which falls under the Department of Co-operation and Development. In 1980, the South African Police arrested 467 blacks for the same "offence" in the same area of the Cape Peninsula. (SAIRR, 1979-80:20) I have kept the figures of arrests separate to highlight the role that the Department of Co-operation and Development fills. Charges are laid in the Commissioner's Court in Langa and those who are arrested are detained in police cells and frequently sentenced to R60,00 or sixty days for being in the area illegally, and R10,00 or ten days for failure to produce a pass. According to West (1982a:473) the "normal" fine of R70,00 represents approximately two to three weeks' wages for unskilled workers. (For evidence of unskilled black wages in the Cape Peninsula, see Simkins, 1978:7-8; Graaff and Maree, 1977:13-15; and Maree and Cornell, 1978:11).

Savage has calculated that there were nearly six million pass law prosecutions in the decade 1965-75, and estimated in 1979 that the annual costs to the state were in the region of R32 million, with those arrested losing about 12 million productive man-hours which he valued at just under R8 million

(West, 1982a:466-7). The number of women arrested in the Western Cape has increased dramatically to a state where 30 per cent of all arrests of women in the major centres takes place in the Cape Peninsula. It is the only area in the country where more women than men are arrested under the pass laws (West, 1982a:467-8). In the same paper, West observes that

"There is no demographic disproportion of this sort (in fact the reverse is true as males outnumber females by three to one in the legal population) and it is clear that there is a special assault against women in the area in line with government policy of preventing Black family life from taking further root in the Cape Peninsula."

He calculates that roughly 10-11 per cent of the total de facto adult population of the Cape Peninsula is likely to be arrested in any given year, and, he presumes, the odds are very much higher for those who are actually in the area illegally. He adds,

"Arrest is therefore an occupational hazard, and ... given the chronic lack of employment and low wage rates in the rural areas it is still to a person's advantage to seek even part-time work in the Cape Peninsula, even if he or she is fined or imprisoned fairly regularly."

Lange has estimated that workers can come to an urban area from a homeland and end up better off even if they spend nine months of every year in prison; less imprisonment than that could result in living standards several hundred per cent better than had they remained in a rural area (Financial Mail, 12 October, 1979, referred to by West, 1982a:465).

West calculates that 30-40 per cent of those people arrested are compelled to serve a prison sentence as they are unable to pay their fines. He cites 1981 as an example, when 13 694 arrests resulted in R283 576 in fines and about 250 000 days in jail - some 684 years of imprisonment. And the offenders were not guilty of any criminal offence. For the first time, on 19 August, 1981, the Admissions of Persons to the Republic Regulation Act 59 of 1972 was used to circumvent the courts completely and well over 3 000 people were deported while on bail awaiting trial (SAIRR, 1982).

In June, 1982, Dr Koornhof introduced the "Orderly Movement and Settlement of Black Persons Bill" in Parliament. Along with other legislation, this bill seeks to regulate the presence of blacks in urban areas on the basis of accommodation and employment; there is a clause that forbids any unauthorised black person from being present in an urban area between 10:00 p.m. and 5:00 a.m. Although the bill could initially lead to an expansion of the number of urban blacks who qualify for permanent residence, thereafter the numbers who qualify will steadily decrease because of the "foreignisation" of millions of blacks through homeland independence. (Pottinger, 1982)

The proposed legislation is referred to here to underline the point that squatting in South Africa will continue and present indications are that attempts to crush it will increase. Two proclamations in the Government Gazette that appeared in April and May, 1982, re-inforce the impression that government's intention is to further curtail blacks' rights of movement and access to employment and to add to the difficulties of those struggling to live and work in the Western Cape. West (1982b:171) describes the proclamations thus

"The first excluded the Western Cape from those areas in which qualified black workers might transfer automatically, from one to another, provided employment and housing was available. Transfer may now be refused on any of nine grounds, and may now be regarded as nearly

impossible. The second proclamation withdrew the right of an employer to house a bona fide domestic worker without having to obtain permission, licences and pay certain fees."

The people of Crossroads have been granted permission to work and live as families in their own homes (held under lease from the authorities). However, there are millions of Xhosa people who must seek work in the cities and who need to live together as families and who cannot secure suitable accommodation. Some of them will squat.

In 1977 the number of black squatters in the Cape Peninsula was estimated to be 30 000 and there were said to be 120 000 "Coloured" squatters. Groups of shanties were distributed roughly in a semi-circle around the city centre and suburbs. Official policy towards squatters is one of clearance. Control over their dwellings has been institutionalized since the early 1960's. A decision was made to "freeze" the squatter population as it stood on 15 November, 1974. It was resolved that the shanties already in existence would be allowed to stand. They would be recorded and numbered, and de facto recognition given to their existence. A service charge in return for refuse disposal, night soil removal and water supply would be levied. The population of the officially recognised shanties would be rehoused as vacancies occurred in the housing stock. Strict control would prevent any new families from moving into squatter dwellings. Specifically, (i) any new shanties would be demolished; and (ii) any new extensions to existing shacks would be demolished; and (iii) when a squatter family vacates a shack (on being rehoused, or for any other reason) the vacant shack would be demolished. Squatters whose homes were demolished were, in the case of those who had permission to work in the area, sent back to their authorised accommodation, or if they were illegally in the Peninsula, they were charged and "repatriated" to the

homelands. In this way, the squatter population would be controlled and gradually eliminated. (Ellis et al., 1977) .

Prior to the institution of this policy, shacks had been demolished but the numbers of demolitions increased after 1974. (Budow, 1976) For example, the Divisional Council demolished 1 133 unauthorised shacks between June, 1976, and February, 1977. The cost of the control was considerable; before 1977 in the City Council area it was about R114 000 a year. (Ellis et al., 1977:37)

The policy failed to prevent new shanties from being erected as the very existence of Crossroads demonstrates. In February, 1975, shanties were erected among the dunes of the Cape Flats and soon the settlement had become the largest squatter camp in Cape Town.

The Crossroads settlement was scheduled for destruction by the South African authorities. Dr Koornhof, the newly appointed Minister of Bantu Administration, visited the area, and in one of his first official acts forestalled the demolition. After protracted negotiations, a decision was made to build a new African township in Cape Town to house Crossroads' families whose breadwinners either were legal Cape Town residents or could show that they were gainfully employed (West, 1980:150). The government, was, in effect, condoning illegal residence and employment. However, the decision was specific to Crossroads and was made under considerable internal and international pressure. The government simultaneously announced its intention to tighten up influx control regulations to prevent a recurrence of such a situation. Some of the measures adopted against people who squatted on the fringes of Crossroads at the Nyanga Site in 1981, have already been noted.

## CROSSROADS

Crossroads is situated south of D F Malan Airport in an extension of Nyanga township and is bounded by Klipfontein Road, Landsowne Road and Mahobe Drive (see Map 1). Initially the land was owned by the Cape Divisional Council and later it came under the charge of the Bantu Affairs Administration Board (hereafter called BAAB). In 1978, it was said to house 25 per cent of the black families in Cape Town. (Platzky, 1978:1)

The area is triangular with a perimeter of some 3,3 kilometres. It undulates across the dunes. Depending upon the time of day or the season, Crossroads alters its mood. It can be harsh and vibrant on a summer's day or eerie and silent in the thick soup of a CapeFlats' fog.

Three thousand shacks jostle for room and yard boundaries fight with public pathways for the right to exist. The dunes have been tamed and the terrain is rather like the surface of a peach pip. Sand permeates everything and on a windy day a pen carves grooves through the grains in order to write. There are few trees apart from the odd brave Jackson Willow and the blue gums that stand sentry on two sides of the triangle. The third side is bordered by an unsettled area that fills with pools of water in the wet season: places where young boys dare each other to venture. The Philippi Industrial Area, a Boys' Rehabilitation Centre, administrative buildings and the black township of Nyanga East border the rest of the settlement.

In 1978-80 the few remaining open spaces were claimed by children at play, footballers and hawkers. There were three hubs of activity that focused on two of the schools and on the string of hawkers' stands that lined the track between the settlement and Nyanga East. The University of Cape Town's urban problems research unit estimated that in 1980, 10 per cent of households in Crossroads were surviving on money earned from trading and production; and that there were more than 100 small businesses in the market place on the fringes

of Crossroads (West 1982b:174).\* There were three schools, two of which were used as community centres and came to be identified with different political groups. Shelters were erected for the mobile clinics of the Divisional Council that visited twice weekly. The University of Cape Town's student health service held clinics twice a week in one of the school buildings. The Roman Catholic Church housed the adult literacy centre and other church structures also served the community in a variety of ways. At the end of 1979, there were eight creches catering to the needs of some 600 children under the age of seven. By mid 1980, the Empilisweni South African Leadership Assembly Clinic had been established to meet the primary medical and health needs of the Crossroads community.

There were innumerable small shops usually attached to peoples' homes and other businesses - car repairing, watch-making, tailoring - that formed a lively informal sector. Shebeens (places where illegal liquor is sold) varied in size and quality: one, that I knew, was owned by an ex-convict and it boasted a fine view of the peninsula's mountains, a comfortable lounge suite and a television; another offered no more than a smoke-blackened parlour lined with barrels of beer.

The struggle to secure the right of the people to stay in Crossroads was long and harsh. The chronology of events in Appendix A gives some idea of the nature of the struggle. Appendix C adds detail to the picture; it is an affidavit signed by a resident in 1976 as part of a reply to the Divisional Council Application for a Court Order to demolish the shacks and remove the people. Despite constant threats of removal, many pass raids, shack demolitions and other forms of harassment the people refused to leave Crossroads.

---

\*In October, 1982, officials of the Western Cape Administration Board demolished more than 100 of the stores that supplied vegetables, meat, clothing and building materials to the squatter community. Business was later resumed and a monthly rental was imposed on stall-owners.

By the end of 1979, the people of Crossroads had been assured that their houses would not be demolished unless they vacated them for some reason or if they fell into arrears with their rent. They were to be housed in a new township, the only drawback of which was that relatively high rents would be charged. The township is called New Crossroads and it borders Nyanga East. Movement to New Crossroads began in November, 1980 and as each shack was vacated, it was demolished. However, that no change in official policy towards squatters had taken place was illustrated by the draconian measures that were used against blacks who sought to establish another settlement between Nyanga and Crossroads in mid-1981. (West, 1982a)

#### A Brief History of Crossroads

The settlement arose during February, March and April of 1975, largely at the instigation of Divisional Council inspectors who advised those living in other squatter camps on the fringes of Greater Cape Town to move there. An attempt by BAAB was made in March to clear Crossroads. Groups of residents went to the Athlone Advice Office for help and their cases were recorded. In April, incidents of harassment of residents by officials were reported and in May, 142 people were arrested. The women were most frequently charged in terms of Section 10 of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act as amended (being in the area for more than 72 hours without permits) and the men, most of whom had permission to work in Cape Town, were either charged under Section 11 with "introducing" or "harbouring" their wives, or under Section 9(9)(a) for staying without permission in a place other than a location set aside for them.

In June of that year, BAAB began to demolish shacks in Crossroads. Residents continued to be persecuted and some cases brought before the courts resulted in successful interdicts on their behalf restraining BAAB from demolishing their homes. However, when a person was convicted in terms

of Section 10(4) of the Act, a removal order under Section 14 would be made by the court, empowering inspectors to put that person physically on a train after two weeks. The shack thus emptied would be demolished.

In February, 1976, the Supreme Court upheld Mrs Lilian Peter's appeal against an eviction and demolition order. BAAB had failed to establish its ownership of the land on which Crossroads was situated.

Draft legislation was published in March setting out new measures to prevent illegal squatting. (It became law in August 1977 and is known as the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act no. 72 of 1977). It lays down heavy penalties for both squatters and owners of the land on which shanties are built (see Appendix A). There is no mention in the Act of the need to find alternative accommodation for families whose houses are destroyed. In terms of the Act, residents in squatter areas no longer have legal redress or any power to stop the demolition of their shanties.

Raids at night and in the early mornings by BAAB officials to arrest residents continued and in May, the Divisional Council of the Cape made a court application for the Crossroads area to be demolished on health hazard grounds. The application was opposed by Mr Johnson Ndayi, a leader of the Crossroads community. In a signed affidavit he provided a summary of the way many residents viewed the situation, and urged that Crossroads be declared an emergency camp (see Appendix C where the affidavit is reproduced). The Court refused the Council's application and in June, the Council declared Crossroads an emergency camp. Piped water, refuse removal and night soil sanitation service was planned and soon implemented. Shanties were not to be enlarged, or change hands, or stay vacant and contravention of the rules would result in demolition of the structures involved. Initially a R10 per month levy for emergency services was set. (This was reduced to R7 per month in August, 1977).

Before the Divisional Council declared the settlement to be an emergency camp, their workers demolished Sisamile,

the community built school. The Council admitted its error and re-built it. In June, another school, Noxolo, with two teachers and twenty pupils opened.

Residents now had temporary security of tenure and a period of building and progress in a variety of self-help schemes followed. Unrest and disturbances swept the rest of the Cape in the wake of the Soweto upheavals. Some repercussions were felt by the residents of the settlement particularly when fights between township householders and migrant workers spilt over into the area.

In September, the Health Department of the Divisional Council began to provide basic health services. Mobile clinics began to visit twice a week. By December, Noxolo school had 300 pupils, the staff had increased, adult and pre-secondary classes had begun to operate and a day and night literacy centre was established.

Progress within the community continued during 1977. Small shops, stalls and home industries flourished. In June, the Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organisation began a medical clinic run by doctors and students in the Anglican Church of Crossroads. The Urban Problems Research Unit re-built Sisamile School using the voluntary labour of residents. In November, the Noxolo Community Centre was officially opened. It was built by residents assisted by the Urban Problems Research Unit, the Urban Foundation, and officials of the Divisional Council.

Despite progress within the settlement, the residents continued to feel insecure. In August, Modderdam, a squatter settlement that housed 15 000 people, was demolished. In January, 1978, about 20 000 people in the settlement at Unibell were left homeless when their shacks were demolished. Rumours of the immanent demolition of Crossroads circulated and, in February, Brigadier J H van der Westhuizen, Chairman of the Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board, said that the future of the settlement had not yet been decided upon. Insecurity was fed by press statements made by Government officials throughout the year (see Appendix A). Arrests continued for alleged contravention of the Blacks (Urban Areas)

Consolidation Act : in June, at least 65 residents of Crossroads were arrested of whom 36 were charged. In a dawn raid on 14 September, Sindele Ndlela was killed by a policeman.

In April, 1979, a new dispensation was given to the residents allowing them to stay in the Peninsula. The statement issued on 5 April by Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Manpower and Development (later renamed Co-operation and Development), became known as the "Koornhof Deal". It promised the residents a new town.

At the end of 1979, faction fighting within Crossroads culminated in a murder and, thereafter, at least until December, 1980, the group in power dominated local politics. A three-tiered system of local government, with the main committee in overall control of Social and Civic Affairs was in operation. In April, 1980, the settlement was declared to be a township and fell under BAAB's purvey.

Some demolition of shacks continued in early 1980 for service levy arrears and extensions. My assistant was forced to demolish her structure in April and mine was threatened but the Crossroads Committee secured it a reprieve.

In May, unrest in the Peninsula to do with school and university protests began and the Crossroads' schools were ordered to join the boycott in June. In the same month, a bus boycott began and a boycott of red meat (which had begun in May) continued. The three boycotts caused widespread inconvenience in Crossroads. Riots escalated and on "Black Tuesday" (17 May) at least thirty-four people died in the Peninsula.

On 11 August, after a conflict in a neighbouring township between police, students and commuters, trouble arose in Crossroads and two motorists were killed as they passed the settlement. Another man was killed on the following day and two seriously injured. After a week, the area was once again quiet. Arrests were made and some young Crossroads residents are still, in early 1983, awaiting the outcome of legal procedures against them.

There was almost no teaching in the schools for the rest of the year. The community was torn over the issue of the move to the new township but in November the first of 5 000 families moved into brick houses in New Crossroads. In early 1983, both townships are still in existence and, as Government funds for building more houses are not available, it is likely that the original settlement will continue to survive for some years. New squatters, temporarily housed in tents, have grafted themselves onto Crossroads and are battling to secure rights just as the Crossroads' residents did.

### Population

In December, 1977, Maree and Cornell (1978) conducted a sample survey in Crossroads that included 288 houses and 1 785 residents, 8,5 to 10 per cent of the population. Their findings have been incorporated in diagrams that are reproduced from South African Outlook, February, 1978, in Appendix D. They found that there were 6,2 persons per household of which 3,2 were adults and 3,0 children. Seventy-seven per cent of the houses were occupied by one family and 22 per cent by two families; very few by single boarders. One hundred per cent of the sample was black. The average size of families living in the settlement was five. Fifty per cent of the household heads were qualified to live in the Cape Peninsula, of which 44 per cent fell under Section 10(1)(b). This group represented 22,1 per cent of all household heads. As qualifications under Section 10(1)(b) require that a person must have worked for ten years continuously for the same employer or reside in the area for fifteen years continuously before 1968, it is probable that they had each lived in the Cape Town region for at least nineteen years. The other 50 per cent of household heads were probably in the area illegally.

Of the spouses, 9,3 per cent were qualified and 90,7 per cent were not qualified or failed to specify their status. A large proportion, 21,8 per cent, of children above the age of sixteen years were born in the area. This partly reflects

the fact that many of the spouses, 17,9 per cent, have been in the Cape Town Region for more than sixteen years. Not all of these children necessarily have the status granted to those born in the area.

#### Former Residence and Length of Stay in Cape Town

Two per cent of household heads and 17 per cent of spouses came directly to Crossroads from outside the Cape Town Region, that is the magisterial districts of Bellville, Cape Town, Simonstown and Wynberg. Fifty-four per cent and 39 per cent, respectively, came from black townships; and 30 per cent and 31 per cent, respectively, came from other squatter settlements. Sixty-five per cent of household heads who had lived in squatter areas before had lived in one squatter area; 27 per cent in two; 6 per cent in three; 2 per cent in four, before moving to Crossroads. The average length of time in the region spent by household heads before moving to Crossroads was 15,8 years : 57 per cent of that time was spent in black townships and 18 per cent in other squatter areas.

Of the 203 spouses who gave information, 46 per cent had lived in one other residential area; 26 per cent in two, 20 per cent in three; 7 per cent in four to six before Crossroads. They had spent between 6,0 to 20,8 years in the region which yields an average length of stay of 9,3 years. The evidence contradicts the official view that there had been no squatting before Easter of 1975 when people began to move into Crossroads. If the years spent in Crossroads are included, then the average length of time that a household head had spent in the Cape Town region in December, 1977 was 18,2 years and for spouses 11,7 years. Even without permission, most of the residents had lived in the area for a long time.

#### Origin of the Squatters

The majority of the residents came from the Transkei : 67 per cent of household heads and 70 per cent of the spouses. Twenty per cent and 13,7, per cent respectively, came from the Eastern and Western Cape. Not all of them came from a homeland.

## Employment and Income

The survey showed that 81 per cent of household heads in the labour force worked in the formal sector and 11,2 per cent in the informal; 1,8 per cent were in both and 6 per cent were unemployed. The informal sector included the people who sold fruit, vegetables and clothes; tailors; car mechanics and travel agents. If the informal sector is omitted, then 17,2 per cent were unemployed. Those in the formal sector earned an average of R24,30 per week and those in the informal sector, R28,30 per week. Spouses earned only R9,50 on average per week. The average weekly income of all adults in the sample was R21,30. This figure is derived from an analysis of 44 per cent of the adults in the sample and the authors warn against possible bias as all income from the informal sector was probably not accounted for. The total weekly income of a family with 1,2 breadwinners was on average R24,10.

## Past Demolition Experiences

Of those in the sample, 34 per cent had experienced the demolition of their homes : 13,9 per cent had had one house demolished; 9,6 per cent two; 8,2 per cent three and the rest had had four or more houses demolished. Some 54 per cent had not yet had the experience. If their homes in Crossroads were demolished, 72 per cent intended to build again in the Cape Town Region. Only 2,3 per cent of household heads said that they would send their wives and children to the countryside and 0,6 per cent said that the whole family would go. Those who either gave no answer or did not know what they would do make up 15,6 per cent of the sample.

The authors conclude their analysis with the following statement:

"The employment and income situation demonstrates why the Crossroads residents are in the Cape Town Region in the first place, namely to earn money and make a living. No less than 94 per cent of the heads of household are employed with the informal sector making an important

contribution to both employment and the income of families. This needs to be contrasted to Transkei where most of the families come from and where the opportunities for formal and informal sector activities are virtually nil. It is thus sheer economic necessity that drives Africans from the Transkei and other rural areas to the Cape Town Region where opportunities do exist for making a living. It is in the light of this that the intention of the overwhelming majority of families to remain in Cape Town in the event of their houses being demolished has to be seen. For the same reason the demolition of African squatter housing will not solve any problems. It will merely displace most of the residents from the demolished squatter area to other residential areas and put an added strain on already overcrowded accommodation." (Maree and Cornell, 1978:7)

Most of the dwellings are made of sheets of zinc (corrugated iron) on a timber frame, lined with plastic, cardboard and paper, and with a wood or cardboard floor. Some are well furnished and decorated inside. Walls are often neatly papered with rejects from shops or factories and one is frequently startled by the incongruity that they present - magazine covers of the British Royal Family, posters calling for the protection of "Our Beautiful Cape" - in relation to the immediate environment. Space is often very cramped and there is not always adequate protection against the wet and cold in winter, and the heat, wind and sand in summer. Apart from the supply of water, the major preoccupations of day-to-day-living are transport to work; access to schools, hospitals and shops; creches, because they enable the mother

to work; and the problems of heating, cooking and lighting. Fires are a serious hazard because paraffin stoves are often used for cooking and paraffin lamps or candles for lighting. As one resident said "We sleep on our graves."



6: Salvaging Zincs after a Fire

#### Research in Crossroads

There were a number of reasons why I chose to study in Crossroads. On principle, I did not want to ask the South African Government for permission to work among Xhosa children. In 1979, I would have had to have sought permission to enter those urban areas that were set aside for black people. Crossroads was, and still is, a squatter settlement and in 1979 it had not yet been branded a particular colour and therefore did not fall under legislation that controlled entry on the basis of people's race classification. Although Crossroads was declared a black township in April, 1980, and whites had, theoretically, to obtain permission to enter the area, the law was not enforced.

Another advantage of working within the Crossroads community was that a significant amount of data collection and analysis had been done by researchers in a variety of disciplinary areas. Given the nature of the intimate and intensive study that I had planned to do among a small sample of children, I needed access to data of a different order, the sort that anthropologists have frequently collected themselves.

As I was interested in documenting the lives of some Xhosa children in 1980, I was concerned to study those whose families were struggling against the political and economic forces that tear so many black families apart. Those blacks who have the right to live with their families in Cape Town form a minority. The people who created the squatter settlement at Crossroads represent the majority who do not have that right. The legislation that controls the rights of blacks to live, work, purchase property, be with their families or travel at will is complex and throttling. It would take a Solzhenetsin to trace the laws' effect upon them. As Joan Robinson (1960) said, "With most problems nowadays the economic answers are only political questions," and, likewise, there can be no analysis of childhood and cognitive development in South Africa that does not raise political questions. Ibsen's (1880) caution that, "One is never completely relieved of responsibility and complicity vis-à-vis the society to which one belongs" is pertinent for field workers in the South African context.

Let me introduce the children. Among the girls there is Tozama who is lively, confident and articulate; Peliswe who is fragile and exquisitely polite; Zuziwe who is gay and quick; Yameka who is quiet and observant; Saliswa who is considerate and sensitive; Nomvula who is solid; Lungiswa who is worldly-wise; and Gedja who is gregarious and fun-loving.

Among the boys is Mlawu who is conscientious, gentle and sure; Cebo who is a charming, naughty clown; Togu who is shy and warm; Gwali who is a bumbling, laughing big-hearted fellow; Hintsa who is vulnerable and retiring; and Nukwa who is a sea-anemone - he blossoms and retreats.

## SECTION ONE

The chapters in the first section of the thesis provide a backdrop to the world in which the children in the sample live. The first chapter, The Child's Heritage, gives profiles of the parents' and guardians' lives. Many issues of theoretical interest to anthropologists arise in the process but I have not elaborated on them because they are not the focus of this study.

The second chapter, Remembrances of the Past, is a selection from the accounts of the experiences of women in Crossroads. It supplements Chapter One in detailing the context of childhood in present day South Africa.

Chapter Three, The Play and Songs of Children in Crossroads, focuses on the society of children in the squatter settlement.

## CHAPTER 1: THE CHILD'S HERITAGE

In this chapter, I shall offer a profile of the children's lives in order to set them in the context of time - who were their forebears? what is their present like? what can they realistically expect in the future? As an iggira in Crossroads explained, in order to understand a child, one needs to know his origin or roots, the customs of his people, their language and their actions.



7: A Mother and Child at the Entrance to their Yard

In placing the children in time, I shall sketch facets of the life histories of their parents or guardians. My intention is not so much to document those lives but to fill in the backdrop to the children's existence. The data were gathered in formal interviews with each parent or guardian and through our association during the fifteen months of fieldwork. I saw the women more often than the men. Only Nomvula's father worked at home; the other men left for work early and returned late unless they were unemployed as was Togu's father for six months in 1980, and Yameka's mother's brother for shorter spells.

In order to interview the men, I had to be in Crossroads at night or during the weekend. They were hard to catch on Saturdays or Sundays so most interviews occurred in the evening after 7:00 p.m. I had hoped to have my assistant gather basic data and leave me free to probe deeper into the men's memories of childhood. However, she declared herself to be afraid of going out alone at night in Crossroads despite the fact that she was a resident. Besides, her husband would not allow it. It fell to me to brave the spirits and skollies\* of the dark. It was the insults, mostly sexual, thrown under the cloak of night by the young men that I minded most.

Often the man whom I had arranged to interview was not at home. It did not matter much as there were always other things to do. However, I was glad when I had only two more formal interviews to accomplish. On one evening, I had arranged to meet first Mlawu's father, Sipho Anta, and then Cebo's father, Kobe Jwara. I knew the latter well but the former hardly at all. I had missed him many times: he often returned home only after 9:00 p.m. On the evening in question Mary was with me. We walked through Crossroads towards the Anta's home. As we approached it, I stopped to watch an elderly man who was a little drunk bow low as, with exquisite politeness, he yielded the right of way to a bemused dog.

---

\*Rascals.

Mary went ahead to see if Mr Anta was home. He was. I walked up to his door smiling at the incident and proceeded to commit a series of blunders.

As Mary had announced our arrival. I went into the house without formally waiting outside. I entered as Mr Anta, who is a short, stocky man with a pronounced limp, was heading for a chair placed at an empty table in the middle of the room. In his eyes, the meeting was to be formal, and I had violated his sense of formality because I had entered before he had assumed his seat. We exchanged greetings and he invited me to sit opposite him. Mary sat in one of a number of chairs placed against the walls. Two women and a man were seated beside her. As we talked two other men entered and quietly joined them. The scene was set as if for a court hearing. What follows is from my diary:

"I was feeling slightly light-headed - glad that we had found him home at last, glad that this would be the last time I should be obliged to run the gauntlet of drunken remarks and youthful importunities. In consequence I dropped my formal manners a little and relaxed into an assumed rapport with Sipho Anta.

"We talked with some laughter. He was clearly testing me. I said that I was sorry that Mlawu had gone (he and his mother had just left for the Transkei) and that I admired the child. Mr Anta, as his wife had done, asked if I worked for the Government. He probed a little further then laughingly said, 'We are talking politics. We had better choose another subject to be safe.' We talked a little more and I explained that I should like to hear about his childhood. Suddenly, he turned to Mary and spoke rapidly. He was angry. He complained that he was the boss of Mlawu and no one should say when he should be sent to the Transkei;

that I had no right to keep looking for him while he was at work and that I had better leave immediately. Mary reminded him that we had initially sought and received his permission to work with the child. He said that he was not prepared to argue and that I was in danger. I must leave at once. His face was stoney and his bloodshot, yellow eyes wild. His fury seemed tangible. I calmly apologized for having upset him and left. No one in the room moved.

"I was, I presume, a victim of his frustration and oppression. As a woman I was not too keen to be the butt of his anger but, heigh-ho, I shall fight that one another day. Mary was grey with fright. We went on to Kobe's home where he was awaiting us. He was a relief. He talked lightly of his life and laughed about his 'old model,' Mrs Jwara, with warmth. They have a relationship more open in sparring affection than any I have seen in Crossroads. He asked if I made my fire outside and kept the chimney inside. I thought 'Oh dear, he is going to behave oddly too' but it was a riddle and he was asking if I would like a cigarette.

"In reply to my question as to whose childhood was richer, more admirable - his in the Transkei, or his son's in town - he said, 'These boys are plastic copies made in Japan.'

"Mary was still upset by Mr Anta and we talked of the incident. The Jwaras were calm and sorry. They said, 'It is to be expected. It cannot be predicted. The Chairman (of the Crossroads Committee) behaves similarly sometimes and the results are good for us in Crossroads. At other times he behaves in the same way and the results are bad.

Some weeks later, I returned to Sipho Anta's home during the day and found him in. I was cheerful and he embarrassed. I enquired about his family and he replied politely. He even answered some more of my queries. We parted on a sweet note but I had found out nothing about his childhood.

I have quoted the incident at length because it encapsulates certain problems that are, perhaps, to be expected in research of this nature. I was at fault on many counts: my breezy arrival, my lapse in formal manners, my presumptuous enquiries about his child. Vilikazi (1965:24) vividly describes the concept of home as a man's castle:

"Not even a chief," said headman Manqoba,  
"can violate the umuzi of a umnumzane."

If a chief, or some particular dignitary, wishes to enter the kraal of a tribesman, he sends an inceku, i.e. one of his attendants, to find out if he may enter.

If he is refused permission to enter, which does happen, he passes on. But should he be invited in, then he sheds his garment of authority and enters the kraal like an ordinary commoner, i.e.

umfokazana, and must salute the head of the kraal (akhuleke kumnumzane). It is

only when he has been received and shown into a hut that the umnumzane reinstates

the chief to his dignified position by saluting him (ayikhulekele). Only then

can the chief take charge of the situation in the hut in which he is and give orders,

although he must still treat the head of the kraal with dignity and respect.

Similarly, when the chief leaves, he reverts to the position of a commoner and "asks the

way" (acele indlela), i.e. asks permission to leave, for he is again under the

protection of the umnumzane. The head of

the kraal duly gives the necessary permission and the chief leaves, followed by his minions. It is only when he is outside the kraal and on the road that he becomes a chief again."

Usually I had a quieter demeanour and I was an expert at the waiting game. On one other occasion I transgressed. Bhuqa Hleke had agreed to meet me on a Friday evening. I duly arrived and we met outside his room which had a separate entrance from the two rooms that his wife and children occupied. His wife was seeking a legal divorce from him and he was contesting it. After exchanging pleasantries, I asked where we should talk. He said firmly, "In my house" and led me into his wife's section. He was asserting his rights as master of the establishment for my benefit, although he was aware of my frequent visits, my work with Zuziwe, his daughter, and my close friendship with his wife and therefore my knowledge of the separation and tension within their marriage. I greeted his wife Pumza, who was preparing the evening meal, and she signalled that it was all right to meet there. We sat in her room, I at the table in the centre near the one lamp, Mary on the couch against the wall and Bhuqa chose to sit to the right and a little behind me. I had to turn from my notes to look him in the eye.

We began amicably. Pumza filled in certain details. He talked just a shade warily. As did many of the men, he offered me a slightly romanticized and pruned version of his past. I determined to probe a little behind the facade. He spoke about his marriage and his children, leaving out his first wife and their progeny. I asked him how many children he had. He was furious, knowing that I knew his family in Crossroads well and that I must, therefore, be referring to his first wife's children. The atmosphere was charged; Pumza and Mary kept deadly still. Bhuqa said that he would answer no more questions and declared it all to be a trap. He meant that I must be in cahoots with his wife and her lawyer in seeking a divorce. He was a bit drunk and I

knew that he sometimes evicted his wife's visitors somewhat violently from the house. I closed my book and chose to interpret his suspicions as political rather than to do with his wife's divorce proceedings. I said that he was, in this society, perfectly right to be suspicious and that he was under no obligation to answer anything. I apologized and asked to be forgiven if I had put questions out of turn. His anger cooled. "I am like," he said "a springbok that is frightened even by a child. I am unhappy in life." I was chastened by his naked despair: the stricken deer. He requested other meetings saying that we should talk in Afrikaans and that he would take time off work. He wanted us, now, to be friends.

Those, then, were my blunders. Other interviews went smoothly though they were seldom conducted in private.

#### PARENTS AND GUARDIANS

Every parent or guardian of the fourteen children was Xhosa except Gedja's father who was Mpondo and Togu's father who was Mfengu. Ten of the children lived with both their parents. Of the other four, Lungiswa lived with her mother and mother's brother and his family; Nukwa lived with his mother and father's brother and family; Gedja with her mother and either her maternal grandparents in Nyanga East or her mother's sister and family in Crossroads; and Yameka lived with her mother's brother, his wife and child. The data that I have on the fathers and the one mother who did not live in Crossroads are derived from their wives and kinsmen.

Lungiswa's father had separated from her mother in 1976; Nukwa's father had died in 1975; Gedja's father had left her mother when she was a toddler; and Yameka's mother had taken her away from her father's home when she was a baby because he had failed to fulfil his lobola\* obligations. In 1979,

---

\*uku-lobola - to give cattle to the group of a girl taken in marriage.

Yameka was brought by her uncle to live in Crossroads and to help care for their baby. I have no data on Yameka's father. Her mother's brother jealously claimed the child as his and either knew very little about her father or chose not to tell me. In what follows, he and his wife will, in many instances, be treated as her parents.

In 1980, the fourteen men had sixty-nine children alive, an average of 4,9 each, and the women had sixty-four, an average of 4,6. Together these fourteen men and women (the parents of the sample children) had fifty-six children alive, an average of 4,0. The women had borne thirteen other children who had been either still born or had died before they were two years old. Among them they had had three miscarriages. Three women intended having more children. Two women were grandmothers, Nozolile and Bukelwa, and had been sterilized.

#### GRANDPARENTS

When the children's mothers were asked for the names of their four grandparents, surprisingly few could remember them. No one could give a coherent account of the names and links of their forebears. Of the children's grandparents, eight maternal and eight paternal grandmothers were alive in 1980, as were five maternal and eight paternal grandfathers. Only the maternal grandparents of Gwali and Gedja, whose mothers were sisters, lived in Cape Town and Lungiswa's paternal grandfather. The latter was an igqira of wide repute. I do not know whether Yameka's paternal grandparents were alive.

Of the grandparents, four out of twenty-seven couples were alive. Zuziwe's last living grandparent, her mother's mother, died in August, 1979. Zuziwe's mother, Pumza, was annoyed with her brother's wife for burying her mother according to the practice of the Seventh Day Adventist Church to which she, the sister-in-law, belonged. Pumza travelled to the Transkei to perform traditional rites after the funeral. Pumza was a staunch member of the Church of the Province of South Africa. Gedja was the only child who had all four grandparents alive.

She lived most of her life with her mother's parents but, in early 1981, she was sent to live with her father's parents in the Transkei. The move was interesting because her father was not married to her mother and he did not maintain the child.

Mlawu had only his paternal grandfather alive and he died in October, 1980, whereupon Mlawu's father dispatched his wife and children to the Transkei to take care of the family land on an irrigation scheme in Cofimvaba. Mlawu had never seen his grandfather and he had never been to the Transkei.

Eighteen grandparents played a prominent role in nine of the children's lives. The figure does not include Saliswa's paternal grandmother with whom she went to live in January, 1981, nor Gedja's paternal grandparents. By 1980, eight of the children had lived with a grandparent for at least a year, and seven of them for between three and a half and seven years each, often with mother there too. The child whose life was most closely bound to that of her grandparents was Gedja. With her mother "sleeping-in" as a maid in a white suburb and coming home only at weekends, grandparents were vital in Gedja's life. She was a happy, well-cared for child and took great delight in being a part of her mother's large family.

#### FATHERS' CHILDHOOD

Table 1 charts some of the basic data on the children's parents. Thirteen of the fathers were born in the Transkei and the other one on a white man's farm in the Ciskei. They all grew up in the country. Of the men on whose childhood I have reliable information, every one spent much of it caring for cattle. It is possible that they exaggerated the number of animals that their father's owned and romanticized the pleasures of being a herdboys.

As a young man, Thiso Bhurhu's grandfather left his land in the Transkei and went to work on a farm near Eliot. He was neither a Christian nor educated and he refused to wear anything but a skin. His son, Thiso's father, was a ploughman.

Table 1 : Family Data

	FAMILY SURNAME:						HLEKE	JWARA	KETSHE	LUSIZINI	MAQOMA	NTINDE*	PAYA	QASANA
	ANTA	BHURHU	CIRA	DYANI	FENI	GONYA								
<b>MOTHER:</b>														
age	39	38	40	40	30	32	34	37	46	35	32	24	24	40
education (standard)	6	4	5	8	0	1	4	3	6	7	6	3	5	0
marital status	married	married	married	separated	widow	married	married	married	married	married	married	unmarried	married	separated: current union not formalized
children alive (dead)	5	4 [2]**	4 (1)	7	3 (1)	5 (1)	4 [4](1)	5 (1)	6 [9](2)	4	2 (1)	2	1 (1)	4 [6](4)
<b>FATHER:</b>														
age	45	58	50	52	?	33	48	42	52	43	41	32	30	48
education	6	0	3	3	0	5	0	6	6	0	5	5	2	5
number of wives	1	2nd (1st deserted him)	1	1 (separated)	1	1	2	1	2	1	1	0	1	as above
<b>MOVE TO CAPE TOWN:</b>														
mother	1970	1962	1963	1966	1979	1976	1966	1972	1959	1964	Born in CT	Born in CT	1975	1960
father	1957	1945	1950	1952	-	1963	1953	1957	1950	1961	1959	-	1968	1954
<b>MOVE TO CROSSROADS:</b>														
mother	1975	1976	1976	1975	1979	1976	1975	1976	1975	1975	1975	1978	1976	1975
father	1975	1976	1977	-	-	1976	1975	1976	1975	1975	1975	-	1975	1975
<b>PASS STATUS:<sup>⊕</sup></b>														
mother	+	+	+	+	none	+	+	+	+	+	10(1)(a)	10(1)(a)	none	+
father	+	10(1)(b)	10(1)(b)	10(1)(b)	-	+	10(1)(b)	+	10(1)(b)	contract	+	contract	none	+
<b>HOUSE:</b>														
own	/	/		/			/		/	/	/			/
relative's lodging			/		/		/	/				/		/

**KEY:**

\* Ntinde is Gedja's mother's family name. Gedja's father is called Ndlambe.

\*\*[] Children by either partner from another union.

⊕ + represents a Crossroads' Pass (see text p.89). Table continues p.65.

Table 1 : Family Data (continued)

	FAMILY SURNAME:													
	ANTA	BHURHU	CIRA	DYANI	FENI	GONYA	HLEKE	JWARA	KETSHE	LUSIZINI	MAQOMA	NTINDE*	PAYA	QASANA
<b>CHURCH MEMBERSHIP:</b>														
mother	Wesleyan Methodist	Dutch Reformed	Anglican	Roman Catholic	None	Apostolic Faith Mission	Anglican	United Presbyterian	Roman Catholic	Baptist	Seventh Day Adventist	Zion	Roman Catholic	None
father	Wesleyan Methodist	Dutch Reformed	Anglican	Roman Catholic	-	Apostolic Faith Mission	Anglican	United Presbyterian	Roman Catholic	Baptist	Seventh Day Adventist	-	None	Methodist
<b>SIZE OF FAMILY LIVING IN HOUSE:</b>														
adults	2	3	3	3	3	7	6	3	3	5	5	5	2	2
children	5	4	2	5	7	14	7	3	9	4	4	4	2	7
total	7	7	5	8	10	21	13	6	12	9	9	9	4	9
<b>IF OWNED, NUMBER OF LODGERS:</b>														
adults	3													2
children	3													3
total	6													5
<b>IF LODGING, NUMBER OF OTHER INHABITANTS:</b>														
adults			3		2			2					11	
children			3		1			2					9	
total			6		3			4					20	
<b>TOTAL NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN HOUSE:</b>														
adults	5	3	6	3	5	7	6	5	3	5	5	5	13	4
children	8	4	5	5	8	14	7	5	9	4	4	4	11	10
total	13	7	11	8	13	21	13	10	12	9	9	9	24	14
<b>FAMILY INCOME, PER WEEK:</b>														
mother	-	R10.00	-	R20.00	R4.00	-	R25.00	R15.00	R25.00	R12.00	R12.00	R14.00	-	R25.00
father	R38.00	R35.00	(After May) - R15.00	-	Deceased husband's brother earns R35.00 for 3 families	R35.00	R36.00	R30.00	R50.00	R32.00	R30.00	-	R25.00	R36.00
total	R38.00	R45.00	R15.00	R20.00		R35.00	R61.00	R45.00	R75.00	R44.00	R42.00	R14.00	R25.00	R61.00

"It was," Thiso told me, "a very good life for a child on the farm. I used to lead the cattle while father ploughed. I was about ten then. Before that, I just played. We used to play on top of a hill and slide down using zincs as cars. When father was ploughing we used to take his food to him." Neither of his parents were Christian nor did they have any education. Both were very strict.

Dakada Cira began to herd at the age of six. His father had about fifty cattle. He said that on a normal day, he would "rise early, milk the cows in the kraal then take them to the land, go to school; collect the cattle after school and return home; milk them and let them out for the afternoon; collect them for the night. There was little time for play. Mother taught us to count to 100 before we went to school so that we may know how many animals there were. We used to play cricket with sticks and mealie cobs and swim in the Tsomo River."

Bhuqa Hleke began to herd when he was seven years old. His parents were neither educated nor were they Christians. He told of the punishment that children earned for not performing well as herdboys. If they failed to keep the animals from eating the crops, they would, when young, be beaten with a belt. As teenagers, they would have to lie on a table with their pants off and a sheepskin over their backs to receive six cuts with a stick. Kobe Jwara's memories were happier: he recalls how his father, who was away working in Cape Town for most of his childhood except for brief spells, taught him to milk and how to count and the minutely graded differences in the names of colours by which cattle were differentiated. He was taught, too, the names of each animal. All this before he went to school.

As a young boy, Faku Ketshe would be out with the cattle all day until 5:00 p.m. He would have nothing to eat except milk from the cows, which was allowed, and, in summer, mealies from the fields which the herdboys roasted. Sometimes they stole them and sometimes they begged a few from women in the fields. It was 7:00 p.m. before they had driven the cattle

home, milked them and shut them into the kraals. Jali Qasana took care of his father's cattle from the age of seven. He liked the work because it was for his father. At 6:00 a.m. he would milk the cows and at 7:00 take them out into the veld. While herding, he and others would make clay cars and cows and houses. They would learn stick fighting from the older boys and hold competitions. Fights would occur between rival groups and they would disperse rapidly if elders approached. They would carry nothing to eat but would catch the cows by the tails and suck milk. Their fathers would beat them if they found out: older boys would tell. They would, too, hunt for jackals, rock rabbits and birds and cook them over dung and grass. Matches would be stolen from home. Sometimes older boys would bully them. They would have to fight it out as, if they reported such incidents, their parents would say, "you are telling lies. He did nothing to you." It was a happy time, said Jali. I observed and recorded similar patterns among some boys in the Transkei.

Khanda Lusizini's parents died when he was nine years old and he and a younger sister were cared for by an older, unmarried brother under the authority of their father's eldest brother. Khanda had to care for the sheep of two uncles and was unable to keep the flocks separate for which he was frequently punished. He was treated so harshly that he ran away at age eleven and worked on a white man's farm at Dordrecht where he cared for the calves and earned sixty cents a month and his keep. His family traced him only when he was fifteen. As he and I talked, an old man entered the room and was introduced as one of the uncles who had owned the recalcitrant sheep. He confirmed Khanda's story and said that the other brother had "eaten" his sheep and had taken control of all the land.

Six of the children of these men were the boys in my sample, four of them had lived for at least a year each in the Transkei with grandparents, and three of them remember herding cattle. Nukwa often expressed the desire to return to care for the animals; he thought that life in the country was much superior to that in town. Gwali, who was born and brought up

in Cape Town, was sent in 1978 to spend a year in Engcobo with his father's mother. He said, about caring for their animals, "I liked it. Another boy milked the cows while I looked after them. There were many (he held up five fingers)." Yet he did not enjoy living there. He described it thus : "It was quiet. Nothing was happening. There were sheep and goats. I did not like it because there was no food. I ate dry stamped mealies with no beans or fat or salt; sometimes with sour milk. Sometimes we went to sleep with nothing to eat. We were there for a long time then we came back."\*

Cebo, like Nukwa, longed to return to the countryside. He has lived there for long periods of his life and his last stay was from February, 1979, to January, 1980. His mother said, "He likes best to be in the Transkei. He likes Xhosa things: cattle, sheep. While living with his Granny he would say to her, 'It is raining today.' Together they would look up at the sky and agree that he need not go to school whatever the weather. They were happy. I had to bring him to Cape Town to see that he attended school."

All the children and most of the adults called the Transkei and the Ciskei EmaXhoseni which means the place of the Xhosa people. I do not know to what extent it was, on the part of the adults, a political statement rejecting the artificial boundaries of South Africa's homelands. Fathers differed in their opinions as to whether it was better for the children to grow up in the city or the country. Dakada Cira, for example, said, "My children's life in the city is all right as long as they can attend school. They loose nothing if they can return to the Transkei for holidays." While Jali Qasana thought that, "Childhood in the city is wrong because children know nothing about cattle, sheep, goats. There is nothing good in this life for them. Living is difficult."

---

\*For material on the decline in the quality of life in the Transkei since the childhood of the fathers, see Bundy (1979), Maree and De Vos (1975), Palmer and Parsons, eds. (1977), Simkins (1979) and Wilson, F (1971).

I have data on the fathers of ten of the men and of them, five died while their sons were young, three spent much of their son's childhood working away from home and two were farm labourers.

None of the men had education above Standard Six: three had Standard Six; four Standard Five; two Standard Three; one Standard Two, and four men had no formal education. In 1980, Thiso Bhurhu was attending his second year of night school and said that he was in Sub A. The men seemed to have attended school for many years and to have passed few standards. Kobe Jwara passed Standard Six after ten years schooling; Dakada Cira Standard Five after eleven years; Jali Qasana Standard Five after eleven years, and Duma Paya Standard Three after five years. Obvious reasons such as poverty, herding duties and poor educational facilities do not seem to warrant so many years to achieve so little. On average they had 3,3 standards of schooling and there was no difference in the amount of education achieved by the men over forty-four years of age and those under forty-four.

Except for Khanda, who left home at age eleven, the men left in search of wage employment between the ages of sixteen and twenty-four. Thenceforward, they would return for spells varying from three to twelve weeks a year, occasionally for longer periods in order to be circumcised or married or to build a house or if they could not find contract work or other employment in the cities.

Half the men began as wage-earners on the mines. Among the Xhosa, work on the mines was often seen as part of a young man's initiation into manhood. The attitude was reported by Hunter (1936).

Among some, that attitude held at least up until the 1960s. Kobe Jwara said, "The old people believed that you must start in the mines so that you could learn many skills and how to work hard. I took the ideas of the old people. I believe now that they were right as I can manage any kind of job. I am still in refrigeration which I learnt on the mines." At the age of twenty-one, he began to work on the copper mines of

Namaqualand, 600 km. from Cape Town. He was, in turn, a boiler attendant, a fitter, a refrigeration mechanic, a miner, a First Aid orderly, a blasting expert and a mechanic in charge of the brakes on the hoist. "Besides," he added, "I learnt to play golf." He earned no trade ticket for any of his skills. At age eighteen, Vukubi Maqoma went on contract to a mine in Johannesburg about which he said, "I was happy to be underground as it was warm and Johannesburg was very cold in winter. The work was all right but the pay was small. Khanda Lusizini went to a mine in Boksburg at age twenty-one; he said, "I never saw the town, just the mine. It was difficult work. I was afraid. We had to dig lying on our sides. We were not treated well and I earned very little." After a year he returned to the Transkei and took a contract as a farm labourer in Malmesbury, Cape. In 1945, at age nineteen, Faku Ketshe began to work on a mine at Nigel in the Transvaal for £3.12.6 a month (about R7,50). He spent five years on the mines and was trained as a hospital orderly and a mine policeman. In 1950 he left for Cape Town where wages were reportedly higher.

Thiso Bhurhu and Duma Paya began work as farm labourers; Bhuqu Hleke, as a labourer in the city, Jali Qasana as an attendant at a Sunshine Home in the Cape and Dakada Cira as a gardener in East London. The latter was paid R1,50 a week to work from 8:00 a.m. to 4:00 p.m. It was in the late 1940s. It took him an hour to walk back to his lodging in the township. He returned home after nine months as he was longing for his mother, who had spent most of the years since her husband's death, when Dakada was four years old, working in East London for £5.00 a month (about R10,00). She had been her husband's junior wife and although he was wealthy she was left with little. Dakada said, "I grew up on her earnings. It was difficult. A bag of mealies cost £1.0.0 (R2,00). Father's brother helped."

The fathers ages ranged from thirty to fifty-eight: four were in their fifties; six in their forties and three in their

thirties. Mr Feni died in 1975 and his wife did not know his age. Their average age was forty-four years. Twelve of the men on whom I have reliable data for birth and movement to town had, by 1980, spent an average of 56,5 per cent of their years in a city or mine in the so-called white man's territory, with an average of 52 per cent of their years in Cape Town. This was so despite the fact that two of the men were in their early thirties. The four men in their fifties had, on average, spent 62 per cent of their lives in a city or mine and 58 per cent in Cape Town.

After 540 man-years in a city or mine, twelve men had no claims on that territory and owned nothing there except some rights in a shack on the sand dunes of the Cape Flats. The land and stock they owned in the Transkei could not yield sufficient income to sustain their families. None of them fit the Government's notion of men living in the countryside with occasional forays into the cities to earn supplementary monies.

Let us leave, for the moment, the men working in the white man's world and turn to the background of the women who became their wives or partners and the mothers of their children. Amongst these women, I shall include Yameka's mother's brother's wife, who looked after her.

#### MOTHERS

Eleven of the women in question were born in the Transkei, one on a farm in the Ciskei, one on a farm in Stellenbosch near Cape Town, and another in Cape Town. In 1980, their ages ranged from twenty-four to forty-six years: four of them were in their forties, eight in their thirties and two in their twenties. Their average age was thirty-five years, nine years younger than the average age of the men. They had, on average 6,9 siblings which is higher than the figure for their husbands. They had, on average, passed 4,1 standards in school compared to 3,3 for the men. Two were illiterate : Thandi Feni and Nozolile Qasana. Three had passed Standard Six; one Standard Seven and two Standard eight. The seven eldest women, with an average age of forty, had passed an average

of 4,6 standards while the seven youngest with an average age of 30,1, had passed an average of only 3,7 standards. Is this another symptom of South Africa's growing poverty? In 1980, the older group earned an average of R4,00 more a week.

By 1980, the women had spent an average of 14,5 years living in Cape Town. If the figure is representative of a wider group, as other data collected in Crossroads suggest (see the Introduction) then it belies official belief that squatters are recent immigrants to the city. For most of their years in town, the women did not have passes. Only the "Cape Borners" were invulnerable to arrests, fines or deportations for being in the city without official permission. In 1980, ten of them had Crossroad passes, two had 10(1)(a) passes, and two, Thandi and Noncumbe, had none. As a consequence of pass offences, six women had been to prison at least once. Between 1966 and 1980, Pumza Hleke had been to prison many times. She was twenty when she first arrived in the city. She described the arrests.

"I was not afraid except for the first time.

I was just fed up. In the sixties they treated us very badly. They (the police) would wake us as we slept in our lodgings at midnight and ask, 'Where is your pass?' and take us away from our husbands. We had to stay with our babies in the large police van, umgqomo, until it was full of people. If we arrived at the police station and there was no one waiting with money for bail, the police would put us in a cell.

"The black policemen used to drink at the houses where we lodged and the owners would inform against you if they wanted you to leave the lodging or if you had had a quarrel.

Sometimes the police would be sorry for us being arrested twice in a week and would let us go. Then my husband would say, 'You are in love with a policeman. He has released you.'

"Once a policeman was in the room having arrested me. I said, 'You must leave me while I dress. After all, you are not my husband.' He left. The house was surrounded by police knocking at the windows. A white policeman said, 'Ah! Shame. This woman is young and has a small baby. Let her go.' He told me to pack, leave my husband and return to the Transkei. Then my husband understood that the police can be kind. "The last time I was arrested was in 1975. I was taken to the Langa court. Zuziwe began to cry and the Inspectors told me to wait outside the gate and we left. The Inspectors were being kind."

When Saliswa was one year old, her mother was arrested but, as she commented wryly, "The child was my bail." In the early days of Crossroads, there were many raids for passes as the officials attempted to prevent the camp from growing. Often with babies on their back women used to run to hid in the bushes and dunes. Bukelwa Ketshe refused to run. She would sit solidly in a chair in her front yard. Once she wrapped Tozama in a blanket and threw her out of a window to a neighbour and she then took up her post to face the inspectors on her home ground. She was never arrested, perhaps because her husband was prominent in the politics of the community's negotiations with Government. I shall shortly discuss the impact of such experiences on the children. I know that four of the fathers had been to prison for pass offences: however, I did not ask all of them if they had been to prison.

#### MARRIAGES

We have followed the men and women into the cities but have not mentioned their marriages. Marriage was the subject most likely to provoke them to fabricate. Five men and two women had had spouses other than the one with whom they were living

in Crossroads in 1980. Only one of them, Thiso Bhurhu, told me in a matter of fact manner that he had been married before. Both his wives had grown up on the same farm as he. His first, he said, had deserted him. Only Faku Ketshe still had two wives and he told me about both of them, but he wove a tissue of untruths around his relationship with and the date and place of his marriage to the one with whom he lived in Crossroads. She, in turn, denied an earlier union from which she had borne three children. She told the same story as he: clearly prefabricated. The Qasanas claimed to be formally married to each other, but were not. He already had a wife and one child and she a husband and five children before they met. Their stories, too, matched but the details had been less carefully elaborated. Dakada Cira never mentioned his first wife and Bhuqa was enraged when I hinted at the existence of his.

Jane Ntinde was unmarried. However, she said that she was married and, for my benefit, she invented details of lobola payment, the wedding date, the church ceremony and her place of residence after it. She said that her husband had left her when Gedja was a toddler and that the next child was conceived during an attempted reconciliation.

Jane's and Jali's fabrications were, I think, made in a spirit of light mockery. Others made theirs in all earnestness. Some of the reasons were obvious for they had to do with Government legislation that controls where black people live and with whom, the major consequence of which has been the destruction of family life. Men and women, particularly in squatter camps, were asserting their rights to live as families and did not wish to endanger their claims either by bringing attention to the illegality of the current union or to the failures of past ones. Another reason may have been the need to claim respectability in the light of Christian values or city norms. Perhaps, for some, it was a symptom of their rejection of marriages arranged for them in their youth by their elders. An adequate analysis is beyond the scope of this study.

Of the fourteen couples, ten were married, including Yameka's guardians; one couple were unmarried but lived as husband and wife; one woman was single and lived with her family; one woman was separated from her husband and lived with her brother and his family; and one woman was a widow. Of the twelve married couples, including the widow, the woman who was separated from her husband and Yameka's guardians, all had married according to customary rites (that is to say, their families had received ikhazi for them), five had married in church and three before a Magistrate. Four had married only according to customary rites.

Four case studies follow as illustrations of the complexity of this area. The first is an example of marriage by force (ukuthwala) and the later efforts by the woman to secure a divorce through the courts. The second shows how an adulterer is handled in an urban setting and the complications that can ensue from claims on lobola in split families. The third case is of a Roman Catholic congregation refusing to allow a polygynist to marry in church, and the fourth illustrates the claim that a woman's brother may have on her child if she is born in the woman's natal family.

#### Case 1

Traditionally, the following form of marriage was acceptable - the description is taken from Hunter's book on the Mpondo (1936:187-88).

"Sometimes instead of approaching her father, a young man may carry off (ukuthwala), or cause to be carried off by some of his young friends, the girl he wishes to marry. She is seized when walking abroad, hustled along with much shouting and some blows, and taken to the groom's kraal. It is seemly that she should make a great show of resistance, even though she is pleased to marry the man who has taken her, and sometimes girls lie down and are dragged along the ground, getting their limbs grazed, before they will submit to going with their captors. Some boy from the

groom's kraal is sent to the girl's people to tell them where she is. The father consults his kinsmen, and if he and they agree that it is a suitable match, men are sent to the groom's home to arrange about ikhazi\*, the ritual killing marking a marriage is performed, and the marriage consummated.

"Sometimes the girl's father is privy to the plot to carry off his daughter, and even may let the groom know privately that he is sending his daughter to such and such a place on such and such a day, and that he may take her. The reasons given for the girl being carried off when her father had already been consulted are 'that her parents do not like to hear their daughter cry.'

When a girl leaves her home to be married she is obliged by custom to weep and make a fuss about going. Or 'Her father may want her to marry that man and her mother disagree.'

A case was cited in which the groom and some friends had come three times to fetch his bride. She wept and struggled, and each time her mother and sisters and the other women of the umzi had rescued her. Eventually her father told the groom to take her when he found her going to the shop on Monday. He did so ....

"If the father and kinsmen of a girl who has been carried off ... disapproves of an alliance with the family to which the young man belongs, they may demand the return of the girl, together

---

\* i-khazi, pl. ama- cattle given by groom's group to bride's group on the occasion of marriage.

with a fine of one beast, called ibopha (from ukubopha, to bind up). Or if the relatives of the man who has brought the girl disapprove of her or her family, and forbid him to marry her, or refuse to help him with cattle for ikhazi, a beast must be sent back with the girl.

"To carry off a girl to marry her is considered quite respectable. There is no shame in such a marriage to either bride or groom ... Always when she is married she should weep and protest; not to do so is immodest."

Pumza Hleke, the mother of Zuziwe, was married in the manner described above. Pumza was born in 1946 in a village in the Transkei. Her father had three wives. Although the first wife he took was Pumza's mother, the family of the second wife concluded the marriage transactions first and he was recognised as the senior wife. Her father died when Pumza was two years old: she was the fourth of her mother's five children. Her mother was left very poor as the senior wife held the home and land in trust for her son. Pumza's mother lived for many years with her natal family.

At the age of thirteen when Pumza was in Standard 1, a lady teacher lodged with her mother during the school terms. The teacher came from a well-schooled family in which three of the children were teachers, one a nurse and another an advocate. She took Pumza to live with her and work for her out of school hours. Her husband owned cattle and a plot of land near a small town some distance from the village school. Pumza stayed with them for seven years. The work was hard but she was able to continue with her schooling.

In early 1966, Pumza had just obtained a first class pass in Standard Seven and was preparing to return to school. She was a tall and beautiful girl. While she was walking with friends in the town, a man twenty years her senior, whom she knew only by sight as coming from the same area as did her sister's husband, forced her with the help of some men

friends into a car and drove her to a strange umzi. She called to a passer-by to inform the police and she begged the driver to tell the family with whom she lived where she was, but to no avail. She slept that night in a strange place and in the morning three elderly women told her that she must accept her lot as she could no longer return to school having slept away from home for the night. They said, "You must accept it. This is the way of marriage." Pumza knew that children laughed at girls who returned to school after such an experience. They would say that such a girl is married and cannot be a school girl. Pumza looking back, accused herself of having been young and foolish because she did not fight against the opinion of the elders.

In the morning, she was taken by car to Cape Town. There followed protracted negotiations by mail between the man, Pumza's mother in the Transkei and her brother in Johannesburg. Pumza learnt that she had a kinsman (her father's brother) in Cape Town and went to him pleading that he help her to avoid this marriage. He supported her especially as he disapproved of the man and discovered that he already had a wife and that he was illiterate. However, a telegram arrived from Pumza's mother saying that she had "seen the faces" of the promised cattle and that the number for the ikhazi had been agreed upon. Soon thereafter her brother wrote agreeing to the marriage. He was content with the number of cattle and, he wrote, "We can never trust these girls. She has been with him for a month and she may be pregnant." Pumza was taken to a doctor and found to be with child.

She bore him five children one of whom died and they had a stormy relationship for the next sixteen years. They married before a magistrate in 1975. She acquiesced to this despite her unhappiness with the union because she felt it secured her rights to the house that they had built in the Transkei. He had repudiated his first wife and she feared being similarly spurned and left homeless.

In March, 1979, she initiated divorce proceedings which her husband contested. She was granted a divorce in September,

1981. The process took a long time and family turmoil in the interim was severe.

Several points are of interest in Pumza's account of her marriage in relation to changing attitudes. One was her own scorn for her foolishness and ignorance as a young girl. She said that she had not thought that she could challenge the authority of those older than she. She said that her daughter of fourteen would not bow to such treatment. Besides, she bitterly resented her family's refusal to support her attempts to leave her husband when the marriage had failed. Her brother said that she could not leave him as the cattle from the ikhazi had gone and there was nothing to return to her husband. Pumza's response was, "He will not get the cattle back. Nor will he keep the children. I am not responsible for the cattle because he did not give them to me. That's not my problem. But I need to see the cattle now." She told her mother, "I need to see the faces of the cattle now. Nothing is being done for me with lobola. Who used my lobola? I need it. I have nothing to feed my children."

Traditionally, if a wife left her husband he could claim the return of his cattle. One beast was left for "the services of the girl," and one for each child she had borne. (Hunter, 1936:210). Children, unless still small, were left at the husband's home. Most informants said that it is now most unusual for cattle to be returned.

Another facet of their torn relationship was Pumza's husband's attitude towards her work. As she reported in 1976, he was maintaining neither her nor the children and when challenged by her kin as to why he did not, he replied that Pumza had money. "She gets permission from me to work and the money she earns belongs to me. She uses my time instead of being in the home. Having money, she is proud and thinks that she can do as she likes. Let her maintain the children with that money."

A final facet of their quarrel will be mentioned. Following the discovery in 1975 that their second child had cancer of the eye, it was necessary that Pumza live with the child in Cape

Town to be near the hospital at which she was being treated. Pumza was trying to live apart from her husband and she and the children were staying with her father's brother. In order to force her to return to him, her husband used to inform the police that a woman who had no pass was staying at house number such and such. The police would arrest her and take her to the police station where she would find her husband waiting with money to pay her bail. A bizarre use of a bizarre set of laws.

The above is her side of the story. His version emerged during the divorce hearing and her behaviour was seen not as exemplary. What is of interest is the way in which conflict is expressed when traditional patterns clash with new opportunities and the demands of an illiterate man are not complied with by an educated wife.

While in the Transkei in 1981, in the same town from which Pumza came, I met a young girl who was fighting to escape a marriage by ukuthwala. The girl, whom I shall call Notizi, lived with her mother's parents. Her mother worked in Umtata and her step-father was away. She was still attending school. On Christmas Day of 1980, three young men accosted her as she was leaving a store near her home and dragged her away. Her grandparents saw her being taken across the veldt but did not intervene despite the girl's resistance. The next morning the young men came to inform the family that they had the child and the family agreed to negotiate a marriage settlement. Later in the day Notizi returned home saying that she refused to stay with that man. The young men took her back. Before New Year, the suitor's family sent two cows to the grandparents' home as reparation: one for having taken the girl without the family's consent and one for his having had intercourse with her. They promised eight cattle as ikhazi. After a few days the girl returned home. This time her mother's brother took her back. Her mother came from Umtata but did nothing to stop the marriage. The girl told her, "I am not in love with the man. He is ugly. I do not wish to be married." Her mother replied, "I have seen him. He is not ugly."

When I met Notizi in mid-January, she had once again left the man's home. No one could say what would happen to her. There was no recourse to headmen or councillors against the will of the family. The girl was planning to go to her mother in Umtata. I later heard that she did and her family stopped trying to enforce the marriage.

#### Case 2

Jali Qasana had had two children, one of whom had died, by a wife who later deserted him. He had lived with Saliswa's mother, Nozolile, since 1969, in various squatter camps. They had had five children together, one of whom had died. Nozolile was married when Jali met her and had borne nine children, four of whom had died. She is an interesting woman; lean and young in appearance, reticent but forceful. She had, when I knew her, been a qualified iggira for ten years. Her rimless glasses and fine bone-structure lent her a professional air. Her husband was a drunkard and for much of the 1960s, lived in a shebeen in the K.T.C.\* shacks. Nozolile and Jali set up home in a shack in the same camp in 1969, leaving her husband to his drunken devices. The husband's parents captured Jali one day, beat him and tied him in chains and placed him in the corner of their shack. It was not an unusual way of handling adulterers in the city. He would not be released until he promised to pay damages. Nozolile, I was told, handled the situation cleverly. Instead of pleading for his release she said to her parents-in-law, "You married me to your son. He does not feed his children. This man feeds those children yet you beat and tie him up." They were shamed and let him go free.

While I was working with their daughter, Saliswa, Nozolile's eldest sons by her husband came from the Transkei to take their

---

\*K.T.C. which was sometimes known as Dutch Location is a site situated in Nyanga that had been proclaimed an Emergency Camp for temporary occupation for blacks legally qualified to be in the Cape Peninsula. The initials are said to be those of a store in the area.

two sisters to their father's home because the girls were almost of marriageable age. Even though Nozolile and Jali had cared for them for ten years, their father and brothers were ensuring that they should receive the lobola payments.

Nozolile was reputed to earn more, as an iggira, than did Jali. Their relationship was a stormy one and talk of separation was in the air. One Saturday in Crossroads, I had attended a ritual led by an iggira friend of mine who was invoking the ancestors to cast favour on a new business venture. Soon after I had left, when the ritual had been performed and dancing and drinking were well under way, Jali arrived rather drunk and uninvited. During the dancing, he took the drum from the iggira's wife, who was also a qualified diviner, and placed his foot on her leg as she knelt. She asked him to move it as it was dirtying her white clothes. He ignored her. A short while later, he approached her while they were dancing and went "pah!" in her face. She pushed him away saying, "No." He repeated the gesture. She stood still and then slowly began to sing and clap with increasing speed and intensity until she stopped abruptly and said, "This man is calling me underneath (anus) by making that gesture." She threw off her blanket and went in search of her sjambok (whip) which she found in her room. Her husband, who had not witnessed the scene, returned with her. The guests fled to lock themselves in another room or away from the shack. She whipped Jali. Her husband chased him outside. Even the owner of the house said, "You must go, M-." (He used his clan name.) People came out when it was quiet and left because they were afraid. Only amaggira remained.

Mary, my assistant, reported the above and a kinswoman of Jali told me that which follows. She met him as he left the house, wild with drink and anger. She accompanied him home. Nozolile saw his mood as he approached and hid beneath the bed in the children's room. Jali was crying, "How can the wife beat me like that. I will go back even if they kill me." His relative calmed him saying, "You were uninvited." As a result, custom was against him and tolerance for transgression lower. Later, when his wife emerged from under the bed, Jali

confronted her angrily as she tried to slip into bed, asking, "Where have you been? Why did you hide?" He beat her but not too seriously as others were there, including Saliswa. There is a moral to do with women and sjamboks here. My informants explained that his real transgression had been to tease another man's wife. A man may only tease his girlfriend. And since she was an iggira, the woman dealt out the punishment herself.

The above illustrates the strains in the relationship between Jali and Nozolile. The question is: who should receive lobola payments at the marriage of their daughters should the couple separate. Below is a sketch of current (1980) family ties.

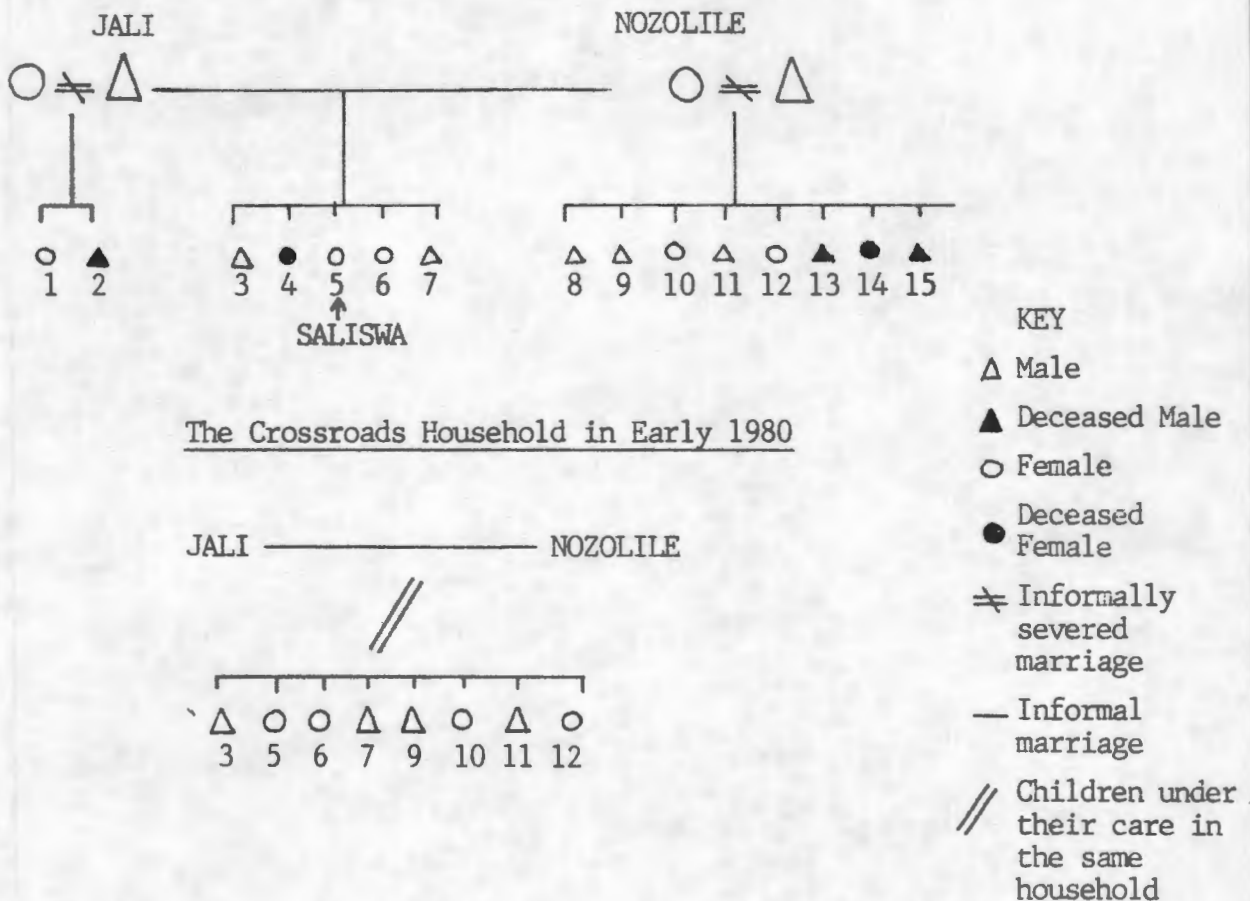


Figure 1: Kinship Ties in the Qasana Family

Towards the end of 1980, Nozolile's daughters 10 and 12 were taken away by their father. At the end of the year, Jali took his son 3 and daughter 5 to live with his mother and daughter 1, by his wife in the Transkei. He left the children there against Nozolile's wishes. While I was doing fieldwork in the Transkei in January, 1981, I went to his home and came upon Saliswa sitting on the doorstep of a locked house with a toddler lying in her lap. Both of them were crying. It was midday and very hot. They had only had tea early in the morning. Saliswa had a bad cough and was covered with a nasty rash. Her grandmother was ill and in hospital and her step-sister, 1, had gone to see her, leaving Saliswa in charge of her young son. They had been left in the care of a neighbour but a church group gathered in the house and the children left because they were afraid of all the strangers and the noise. It was sad to see the usually merry girl sick and miserable. She remained at her grandmother's home until October, 1981, when she returned to her mother in Crossroads suffering from pellagra, a condition that results from vitamin deficiency. In April, 1982, she was sent back to the Transkei.

#### Marriage Transactions

The mark of a marriage is the passage of cattle from the groom's group to that of the bride and it is called ukulobola; the cattle which pass are collectively known as ikhazi. The passage of cattle determines the group to which the child shall belong. Hunter (1936:190) quotes a proverb, Walandela umntwana amabeka. (The child followed the ikhazi). Once the passage of cattle has legalized the marriage, children of the union belong to the father's group. Without ukulobola the children belong to the mother's natal family and may be claimed by them at any time. A widow who has returned to her own home, a woman who has permanently left her husband, and a girl who has never married but had children at home are in the position of unmarried daughters. That is, their offspring belong to their natal families unless a substantial fine in cattle is paid by the father who then claims the child.

Having paid ikhazi, Nozolile's husband had the right to claim any cattle passed in the marriage of their daughters. However, Jali had not paid ikhazi and his claims had not been established over his own daughters' marriage cattle.

Some women in Crossroads were bitter about having brought up their girls alone only to have them claimed by their husbands once they were of marriageable age or could work and earn income that would go to their fathers.

Among the fathers of the children in the sample, four had been deserted by or were separated from their first wives. None, to my knowledge, had recouped any of the ikhazi. It seemed that the passage of cattle had ceased to perform one of its traditional functions, that is, to offer the women security within her natal family should her marriage break up. All my informants said "the cattle have long been eaten," meaning that poverty had consumed their assets. I recorded the number of cattle given in ikhazi by each man for his wife; the average was nine and the range was from seven to eleven. In a study such as mine, there is no way of checking such data except in a few instances. The data's worth lie more in that they suggest a current norm of status value. No man denied having given ikhazi although two admitted to not having completed the payment, and no man questioned the right of their wives' families to demand it.

One of the grandfathers of a child (Lungiswa) in the sample admitted to having changed his view on the rights of a father to select his daughter's spouse and to receive lobola. He was an igqira, old in 1980, but he had enjoyed a wide reputation. He had had thirteen children, the first of whom held a top position in the Crossroads community and the second of whom was Lungiswa's mother. He married these two daughters to older men who could pay sizable ikhazi. Neither husband was educated whereas his daughters had some secondary schooling. Neither marriage had lasted. Each daughter was left with a number of children to support. The old man said that he would not force husbands on his younger daughters no matter what amount was offered.

On the other hand, as I shall document in Chapter Two, even widows, who were unable to secure wage incomes, struggled to meet the ukulobola demands of the families into which their sons sought to marry. Ikhazi is still given though more often in money than cattle. The essence of its meaning has altered. Its function as a guarantee of a woman's security has largely fallen away.\*

I have already referred a number of times to drink. If I have given the impression of a community wallowing in alcohol, it is a wrong impression. Drink played a role on highdays and holidays and it was an obvious means to obliterate some of life's frustrations. Some families were devastated by it and I knew two babies that died because of their mother's addiction to alcohol. Poverty leaves indelible images on one's mind and for me one is of a large shebeen near my room in Crossroads. I visited it at 11:00 a.m. one day with a nutrition worker who was concerned about the life chances of a small child in the household. The child was about fifteen months old and very beautiful. She sat absolutely still upon her mother's lap in the "parlour" of the shebeen. The mother, too, was good looking and young but quite stupid with the effects of drink. The child had not yet been fed that morning and although the woman was receiving supplementary food for her, she was unable to mix it properly. The shebeen was well frequented and the clients laughed at her stupidity in response to the nutrition worker's attempts to demonstrate yet again how to prepare the food. The woman soon thereafter returned with the child to the Transkei. Within a few months the child was dead.

In most families, however, drink did not seem to be a severe problem. Only Bhuqa Hleke drank in excess among the families with whom I worked and in his family there were quarrels

---

\*For further reading, see Brandel, 1958; Chigwedere, 1982; Krige, 1936; Kuper, 1982; Lugg, 1945; Marwick, 1978; Mathewson, 1959 and Preston-Whyte, 1971b, 1974 and 1978.

at weekends that quite often led to violence. His daughter, who was one of the children in the sample, Zuziwe, seemed to be more affected by the fighting than did the other children in the family. She would hide her face in the bedclothes or run off and spend the night at a neighbour's home. She was the least fond of her father and would not go out with him as did her sisters. Bhuqa's drinking habits could not have greatly affected his work as he had held the same job for seventeen years.

### Case 3

Let us consider the Ketshe's story. Faku Ketshe was born in 1928 near Engcobo in the Transkei. His father, who was illiterate had been a mine policeman. His father and mother were strict parents. They had sufficient land, cattle and sheep to make his childhood comfortable but hard working. Faku began school at a nearby mission at the age of ten or eleven and reached Standard Six in 1945. His parents died and he had to leave school. He went to work on a mine in the Transvaal where he earned £3.12.6 (about R7.50) a month. While employed on the mines, he was trained as an orderly and a policeman. In 1950 he moved to Cape Town and worked at a variety of jobs, ranging from milk delivery to time-keeping. In 1955, he was married to a woman chosen by his uncle (father's brother). He gave eight cattle as ikazi. Faku told me that he had already selected his own wife: the one with whom he lived at Crossroads. Both he and she, on different occasions, gave me elaborate details about their courtship, elopement to East London, marriage in 1955, and years apart. None of which was true according to Mrs Ketshe's mother (whom I met in the Transkei), other kin and Crossroads residents. They had each had children, he six and she three, before they met at Walvis Bay sometime between 1959 and 1961. They then lived together and begat six children and became early residents of Crossroads in 1975. Both are members of the Roman Catholic Church and they sought to have a church wedding but it was foiled by the congregation who said that it was not possible as Mr Ketshe had

a wife. To his chagrin, they even considered rejecting him as a member of the congregation. The couple were married in a civil ceremony in 1978. Both were prominent members of the community.

Their fabrication is interesting in its detail. I did not confront them with the alternative story partly because I was often embarrassed at having to probe into people's lives when issues were delicate and the truth possibly injurious to their best interests. Also, I must admit, because Bukelwa was a formidable lady, her power belied by a dimpled gentleness. On a number of occasions I was scolded by her for minor misdemeanors, once for suggesting to her daughter that babies were not bought from hospitals. She did not deny the existence of the other wife and, indeed, was amusing when describing their relationship, but she laid firm claim to her husband's first love and long term devotion. It was not worthy of me to challenge that.

#### Case 4

Yameka's mother lived with a man in the Transkei and fell pregnant by him. As no lobola was sent to her family, they recalled her and claimed the child that was born in their home in 1972. Seven years later, Yameka was brought to Crossroads by her mother's younger brother, to care for his young child. I questioned closely Yameka's uncle, Duma Paya, about his feelings and plans for his niece. He said that she would always live with him. In response to my needling on the issue of her own mother's possible affection and need for her child he, somewhat exasperatedly, said, "She belongs to me. I want her. Her mother has nothing to do with her as she was born in my house. I am a child of the house. She belongs to me."

#### IN THE CITIES

Prior to their move to Crossroads, the families had lived as lodgers in the townships, or the Bachelor Quarters, or squatter camps such as at K.T.C., Modderdam, Browns or the Airport.

All of the men and the women, except Thandi Feni were living in Cape Town prior to the creation of Crossroads in 1975. The women gave a variety of reasons for having come to town: three came to their husbands to conceive a baby; two to be with their husbands; two to work; two because of ill health; one to visit a kinsman; another because she had been kidnapped from the Transkei and brought to the city by the man who intended marrying her and the last because she and her family had been sent off a white farm. The reasons why women come to the cities are complex. They come because they and their children are hungry in the countryside; they come to work as there are few opportunities to earn money outside the cities; they come to be with their men; they come to share with the men the rearing of their children and the men's earnings; they come because the cities are hard but interesting. A closer look at the issue will be taken in the next chapter.

#### Passes

In the Introduction, reference was made to the laws that regulate the movements of black people and curtail their rights to seek work and live where they choose. Blacks are subject to being charged or repatriated unless they can satisfy authorities that they have permission according to the terms of the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No. 25 of 1945) as amended, to be in areas outside the territory that is assigned to them by Government. (See the Introduction). Xhosa people need passes to work and live in South African cities including Cape Town. A Crossroads pass refers to special permission that was granted to all registered residents of the settlement allowing them to live and work in the Peninsula. The pass is similar to a 10(1)(d) and was gained as part of the struggle for urban rights in the "Koornhof deal" (see the Introduction).

Although all of the fathers or guardians of the fourteen children had lived in a city for more than ten years, only five of them had 10(1)(b) passes - Thiso Bhurhu, Bhuqa Hleke, Dakada Cira, Ngalweni Dyani and Faku Ketshe. Of the five,

Thiso Bhurhu had worked for the same firm for over thirty years; Bhuqa Hleke and Dakada Cira for seventeen years each. The five eldest had full passes, that is, rights of domicile 10(1)(a) - "full pass" was a term used by people in the settlement. Siphon Anta had had a full pass but had lost it. He and four others had Crossroads passes. Two men, Khanda Lusizini and Matshanda Ndlambe (Gedja's father), were working in Cape Town on contracts and Nukwa's father had worked on contract with a Johannesburg mine before he died. Duma Paya had no pass of any sort. Duma had left his home at Lady Frere in the Transkei at the age of eighteen (1968) on a contract. He was sent to work as a labourer on a farm in Franschoek near Cape Town. He described the job as follows:

"It was bad. The owner was not a good man: he beat us so much that we ran, eight of us, from his farm. We came to work in Cape Town without passes. The inspectors caught us and jailed us. About eight times, I was caught and imprisoned. Each time I paid a fine of R20.00. I could find work but I would lose the job because of the arrests. It lasted about ten months then I returned to the Transkei. After fourteen months I returned to Cape Town without a permit. There was no contract work. It was eight months before the arrests (which were many) drove me back to the Transkei. Now the fine was R50.00 a time and I could not afford it. The last ten years have been like that with short spells in the Transkei and long spells in Cape Town."

Duma came to live in Crossroads in 1975 where he shared the building and ownership of a shack with a friend. At the time of the first survey of Crossroads dwellers in 1976, he was away working in Melkbos, on the coast. While he was away, his friend did him out of his share in the house. He, the friend,

decided to return to the Transkei and informed the Divisional Council that he no longer wished to keep the house. They demolished it and gave him a free train ticket home. Having no house and not having been recorded during the survey, Duma had no claim on a Crossroads pass. He did have the original rent card but a Committee member who had promised to place his name on the list of residents lost it. Towards the end of 1980 I wrote a letter, on his behalf, to the Crossroads Committee, that had been authorized to investigate such cases. Upon reading the letter, a Committee member said, "Yho! what does Pamela know? She is a newcomer." Duma was insulted on my behalf but I was amused to have been rejected simply as a newcomer, rather than as an alien. The extraordinary part of the story is that despite years of harassment, arrests and fines, Duma still set up home in the city with a wife and then their child. And he brought his sister's child, Yameka, from the Transkei to join them. (During 1982 he secured a pass and the right to a brick house in New Crossroads.)

#### Arrival at Crossroads

All but two of the families came to live in Crossroads in 1975 or 1976. Thandi Feni came from the Transkei to consult city doctors in 1979 and Jane Ntinde came to live with her elder sister in 1978 because her mother's home in the township was overcrowded. All but one of those who owned their own shacks arrived and built in 1975.

It was, in 1980, important in terms of permission to remain in town and possible future house ownership for Crossroads' people to establish and prove early residence in the squatter camp. Some of the families may have pre-dated their arrival by a year but not more. The women gave different reasons for their moves to Crossroads from those given for their move to Cape Town: four families were sent by Cape Divisional Council officials from other squatter camps (Brown's, Retreat, K.T.C. and The Airport); three other families said that they had come seeking a place to live as a family; three came because they were tired of lodging; one came because the price of fines in

the townships was too high; and the last couple came to find their own home as they had been living in Nyanga East with the woman's parents and that, she explained, is against Xhosa custom. In effect, all but the widow and the unmarried woman sought homes in which to live as families.

#### Kin and Other Networks

Only one couple, the Payas, did not have relatives living in Crossroads. Kin connections were important to new arrivals at the camp, because they helped them to establish and build a home and, later, to handle community fines or disagreements. Clan membership and "home-people" groups served similar functions. The latter is well illustrated in an incident described in Chapter 2 where a single woman in trouble was given aid and counsel by the men who came from her home territory. I often heard sympathy expressed for a person who had neither kin nor "home-people" living nearby. Kin or fellow clan members or "home-people" were particularly useful in preventing excess extortion by either Council officials, or Crossroads Committee members. I documented a number of such cases but their record is not pertinent to this piece of work.

Nozolile Qasana's arrival in Crossroads illustrates the part kinship often played in helping another re-establish a base. In 1975, her home in another squatter camp had been demolished, her possessions had been railed to the Transkei and she had been placed on a "homeward" bound train with a free ticket. She disembarked at Worcester, a town not far from Cape Town, telephoned Jali's mother, instructing her to receive her goods, and returned to Cape Town. Her husband's half-sister met her walking down a path in Crossroads, penniless and homeless. She suggested that Nozolile build a shack beside hers in a new part of Crossroads. Those early days were difficult because the houses had not been numbered in that section and thus did not have official sanction to exist, and consequently the inspectors harassed the women frequently.

Kin, clan and home connections were important, yet there were many instances in which help was extended to someone who had no such tie. Pumza Hleke met a woman younger than herself while both were living in the Bachelor Quarters in the late 1960s. The young woman, Mimi, had grown up on a white farm, was unmarried but had had a series of lovers from whom she had had four children. The children were sent to her father on the farm. In early 1980, her father died and the family was evicted from the farm. The children, now teenagers, made their way to Cape Town, found their mother and said, "You are our mother. You must be responsible for us." Mimi could no longer remain in the Bachelor Quarters and so went to Crossroads looking for lodging. She had no job. Pumza met her and took the whole family into her two rooms which already housed herself, her four children, her sister's child and, occasionally, her two sisters. Mimi and her children stayed with her for eight months. Pumza shared her home and her money and received in return little except for some help in the house, some care for her children while she was at work, and some protection from her estranged husband's weekend violence. By early 1981, Mimi and her children had found lodging elsewhere in the camp and two or three of them were working. Through them, I had many glimpses of the casual labour market for women: tales of a Moslem woman who paid the teenage girl R15,00 a month and gave her only two days off a month; of a market gardener who stood over his female labourers with a whip and would not allow them time off to urinate; of a madam who, on her return from work, would run her finger along a windowsill to collect dust and then ask the char, "What have you done all day?"

Pumza Hleke's husband ceased to maintain his children in early 1980. She fed and clothed and paid for the schooling of all four plus her sister's son. Sometimes she housed and fed her irresponsible sisters too. One would find it hard to trace exactly how many people her R100,00 a month sustained over a year.

## Moves

During the fifteen months of my field research, four of the children and their families changed residence, three within Crossroads. In September, 1979, when first I knew her, Pumza, her four children and her sister's son were sharing a house with three other women. Pumza was seeking a legal divorce from her husband and had recently left their home. However, the Crossroads Committee advised her to return as the house would become hers once a divorce was granted only if she was an occupant of it.\* She returned to a, literally, divided house. Mother and the five children and various others occupied two rooms; father and his sister lived in another room with a separate entrance and no internal access; and a fourth room was occupied by a relative of the father and his family.

In January, 1980, Nukwa's mother and her two sons were living with her deceased husband's brother and his large family. All of them were lodgers. In June, Nukwa's father's brother, according to his account, asked Vuyokazi Phontsi, a woman who lived alone with her children, to take his sister-in-law into her home as her misconduct was causing trouble in the house. However, Thandi, Nukwa's mother, said that she had moved because the house was too crowded and she wanted to make beer with Vuyokazi. Towards the end of the year, Thandi's brother-in-law gave her three days to pack and leave for the Transkei. She said that she did not know why she was being sent back at such short notice; she supposed that there must be trouble at home. I shall describe later how Nukwa came to stay on in Crossroads with his father's brother once his mother had gone.

---

\*They were wrong. Despite having secured a divorce in 1981, Pumza and her children could not move to a house in New Crossroads because her husband refused to give the officials permission to demolish the shack.

In October, Togu's family moved. The trauma of the move will be discussed shortly. While her mother "slept-in" as a domestic during the week, Gedja would alternate between living with her mother's eldest sister in Crossroads and her mother's parents in Nyanga East, the township that bordered Crossroads. It was more troublesome for me to find her in the township but, apart from that, it did not affect our work.

I had anticipated more movement among the children between the town and the countryside. As it happened, only Mlawu left Cape Town for the Transkei during the year, and then only in November. It is possible that my working with them prevented some movement. It certainly did in Nukwa's case. The supposition is supported by the fact that by early 1981, Gedja, Mlawu, Cebo, Nomvula and Saliswa were living with relatives in the Transkei, although the long school boycott in Cape Schools had much to do with the change. Part of my intention in this chapter is to describe mobility among parents and children. A cherished fiction among those in power is that black men come from the countryside (or the homelands - that is another fiction) to the cities in order to earn a supplementary income, while leaving their wives and children at home. The fiction is the foundation of much of the structure of apartheid.

#### Residence

Eight of the families owned their own houses. That is to say, they held the rent card and were responsible for paying the R7,00 a month rent. Government had undertaken, as part of the Crossroads settlement package, to provide brick houses for every family registered under the surveys of 1976 and 1980, whether the residents were house owners or lodgers. Neither group was supposed to move residence within Crossroads. Many complications ensued. The manner in which the Payas lost their rights to a shack, see earlier in this chapter, is a case in point. Another example of what could and did happen is illustrated by the experience of the Ciras. They built their own room onto an existing house in 1976. In October, 1980,

relations between the residents had deteriorated. The house owners wanted the Ciras to leave as they wished to expand and extensions were, officially, not allowed. The Ciras refused to go. The owner claimed back a window that he had given them and removed it on the day that Mrs Cira returned from hospital where she had had an operation. Togu was upset that they had to sleep on a cool night with a large hole in the wall when his mother was not strong. They moved: they built a room onto a clan member's house. Dakada Cira spent many hours raising R30.00 with which to pay the area's headman to turn a blind eye to the extension.

Rent for a Crossroads house was R7,00 a month and lodgers paid R2,50 or R3,50 per family per month depending upon the amount of space they occupied. Two or three families would often pay the full rent in rotation. The Paya family of four, including Yameka, shared a 4 x 3 metre room with another woman. Mr Paya and the woman each paid R3,50 a month to the house owner. The room held two beds, a rough dresser, a small table piled with kitchen utensils, a primus stove and a bucket. The walls were papered with tin covers, newspapers and reject studio photographs of white children. The six roomed house was occupied by nine women, four men and eleven children. It was located in an area in the middle of Crossroads that was wryly dubbed "the inner city slum."

In contrast, in the Bhurhu's house seven people shared four rooms. The house was immaculately kept with cactii in pots on the shelves and lace covers on the tables, fresh curtains at the windows and a fine kitchen with a Dover stove. It was set in a spacious yard which had an orange metal arch over the gateway.

Among the sample families, an average of 12,4 people lived in a house with an average of four rooms; the range was from seven to twenty-four people in three to six roomed houses. On average, there were 5,4 adults per household and 7,0 children. I did not count short-term visitors. The composition of households fluctuated during the year, sometimes by as many as eight people, more or less. In three houses, I recorded the number of occupants thrice during the year and found the following:

		<u>Occupants on occasion:</u>		
		i	ii	iii
<u>House number:-</u>	I	13	7	13
	II	16	19	15
	III	15	14	18

Figure 2: Number of Occupants of Three Houses Recorded Thrice During a Year

### Employment

In 1980, six of the fathers were labourers and one each was occupied as one of the following: tailor, driver, time-keeper, scaffolding builder, electrician, and messenger. The eleven fathers of the sample children earned on average R37,50 per week, the range being from R25 to R66. Until he lost his job in May, Dakada Cira had earned R66,00 a week as a driver after seventeen years with the same company. For the rest of the year he lived on unemployment pay of R15,00 a week, and the average income per week of the eleven fathers was then R32,90. I remember his shame when I asked if I might record Togu's diet over a week: he said, "But I have no money. I am ashamed that you should see him eat white bread and tea." He told me that he had lost his job because his employers wanted to pay only R28,00 a week as there were now many young, unemployed drivers available. While discussing with Togu his life history, I asked him where his father worked. In reply he said, "My father is not working. He was with the Cotton Mills. He was driving. He was not expelled from work. The people he worked with used to steal the material. It was discovered that the stock was getting less and my father decided to stop working as it was being stolen quite often." He had clearly listened to his father's troubles and had pieced an explanation together to his own satisfaction. Whatever the truth, Dakada took six months to find another job and then only as a night watchman.

Long service did not seem to be rewarded. Mr Bhurhu earned only R35,00 a week after thirty-five years of service to the same company. His firm deducted R1,50 a week from his salary

in order to pay the Divisional Council for his Bachelor Quarters rent despite the fact that he had not lived there for over five years, and despite official legislation that exempted Crossroads residents from having to pay double rents. At my request, a social worker spoke to his employers about the matter and the latter confirmed both his long service and low salary. "He is lucky," they said, "to have a job. He is only a labourer." So much for in-service training and care of their work force by one of the Cape's largest construction companies.

Khanda Lusizini also had rent for the Bachelor Quarters deducted from his salary of R32,00 a month. I confirmed with the Commissioners that the rent should not be deducted and I offered to send Khanda's employer, for whom he had worked for eleven years, a letter explaining the official position on rent. "It will do no good" said Khanda, "unless the letter is official he will throw it in the dustbin. He is a good man, though."

The structure of employment kept these men outside of the avenues that might have led to training and/or productivity. They were unable to get on a track that would elevate them in position, skill or responsibility. The Coloured labour preference system in the Cape formed a barrier that kept blacks competing for lowly jobs. Employers did not "invest" in the black labour force partly because of a widespread belief that blacks were temporarily committed to town life. Poverty itself is a destabilizer in the lives and productivity of workers: the long hours away from home, the wearisome journeys to and from work and poor nutrition. Struggles by the people to improve their lot takes its toll on individual stamina and tolerance.

South Africa appears to have entered an historical phase in which the labour class and labour movements are in the forefront of support for change. During 1980 in the Cape Peninsula there were three major boycotts: a meat boycott that was instituted in support of worker's protests against their lack of representation and the conditions of work at the abattoir; a school boycott and a boycott of the state

sanctioned monopoly bus service. Cumulatively, the effect of the three boycotts on the people in Crossroads was marked. A chronology of the schools' boycott is given in Appendix E and the occurrence in time of the other two is given in Appendix A.

Figures derived from data collected from the parents or guardians of the twenty-five children in the control group, are very similar to those given above. Twenty-one of the children in the control group lived with their fathers, all of whom were employed, earning from R15,00 to R64,00 a week, with an average of R34,00. Thirteen of the children's mothers were employed, some part time and almost all as domestics; ten were unemployed and one was self-employed. One child lived with her father's sister. The earnings of the thirteen women who were employed ranged from R5,00 (as daily char) to R30,00 (as a cleaner in a hotel) per week, with an average of R12,00.

Four children had no father living with them; one child only saw her father at weekends; and of the other twenty, father was away from home for an average of 12,5 hours every working day.

Thirteen children did not have the daily care of their mothers. Two of the working mothers returned home only at weekends and a third returned for only one weekend every month. The others were away from home an average of 9,4 hours every working day.

The social costs of the system reverberated down on the children. A sentence written by Lawrence Durrell in Justine comes to mind: "It is the city which should be judged though we, its children, must pay the price."

Among the mothers of the children in the sample of fourteen, four of them did not work, and two of them were not healthy; Zanele Cira had a bad hernia and Makaziwe Gonya had serious diabetes. The latter helped her husband to sew when she was well enough. Noncumbe Paya hawked occasionally and fried fish which Yameka sold. The other ten women earned an average of R16,20 a week or, if we exclude Thandi Feni whose earnings of R4,00 a week brewing beer could not be checked, the average

was R17,50. The highest earnings were R25,00 a week which is what Pumza earned, as a nutrition research worker, and the amount the two amaggira said they brought in. Kin and neighbours said the latter earned more but I have no data with which to dispute their figures. Income among amaggira varied in Crossroads depending upon individual reputation; the figures quoted most often were R10,00 to "open the bag" that is, begin discussion and R50,00 for a full cure.

Three women were full-time maids in the homes of whites; two earned R12,00 and R14,00 for a five-day week plus bus fare. Three others were chars: one worked four days a week, another twice and the third, once. They earned R5,00 a day plus bus fare. One of them also earned R10,00 a week as a literacy tutor in Crossroads. Her fortunes fluctuated with the changes in the literacy scheme. During 1980, the eight literacy tutors were trained in secretarial and accountancy skills prior to the demise of the scheme at the end of the year. During the year, one woman stopped working as a domestic servant in October and hawked clothes far afield. Another only began to work in September.

The wage income of the fourteen families averaged R48,20 per week (or R44,20 when Dakada Cira was drawing unemployment pay), ranging from R25,00 to R75,00. These figures hide a great deal of variation within the families and between families. Economies were achieved by sharing houses or by renting space to lodgers. Elasticity in sharing arrangements enabled families to help members in times of need. Sharing among kin, neighbours and clan members was a system of mutual insurance. Some of the elasticity that conditions in a squatter settlement allow, will be lost once a permanent township has been created.\*

---

\*The average income of the sample families was higher than the average found by Maree and Cornell (see the Introduction) who recorded an average income for men of R24,30 per week (sample - R32,90); for spouses R9,50 per week (sample - R11,60)

## Remittances

Nine couples had fourteen children who were living in the Transkei, and another who lived in Gugulethu, for whom they were financially responsible. All of the children were staying with relatives: four with mother's mother; three with father's mother; and seven with brothers or sisters of their parents. All of them were attending school except a teenage daughter of Bukelwa Ketshe who served in her mother's brother's shop. Coincidentally, on our visit to the Transkei in January, 1981, my assistant and I stopped at their home town for a drink and exchanged pleasantries with the attendant who turned out to be Mrs Ketshe's daughter. We spent an interesting day with her and the family. Mrs Ketshe's brother owns a shop and a bus and the family is comfortably off and, as the girl was earning her keep, there was no need for her to send money home. Nor did the widow, Thandi Feni, send money to her daughter who was living with her deceased husband's eldest brother. She had no money to send although she said that she sent R1,00 sometimes.

Seven families sent money to support children in the countryside and two families sent money to support their parents. The nine families sent an average of R35,00 a month to kin in the countryside. Four men sent money to their mothers and one man sent money to his sister, while three women sent money to their mothers, one to her brother and one to her sister. That is, ten women and one man living in the countryside received some money from their kin in Cape Town each month. I did not record occasional monies sent nor money spent on the upkeep of land or homes in the countryside. I recorded nothing which suggested that regular contributions were sent from rural to urban family members.

An incident occurred between Nukwa's guardians and me that was suggestive of the ease with which children are expected to handle change in caring figures. I have mentioned that Nukwa's uncle (father's brother) had ordered his mother to return to the Transkei within a few days. In that this change affected

the last six weeks of my work with the child, work for which I had obtained his permission, I visited him to enquire as to his reasons. It emerged that Nukwa's mother was being sent away for having dishonoured the family by her behaviour, for "going up and down" with men, as the locals put it.

Mr Feni understood my disappointment at the prospect of losing Nukwa and suggested that the child should remain in Crossroads with his family. I thanked him but said no, I did not wish to be the cause of a separation between a mother and her child. He was amazed. He called his wife, who is the full sister of Nukwa's mother, to persuade me out of such a point of view. She said, "But I am his mother's sister. I am his mother. Already his older brother lives with me." Still I declined, much to her surprise. As it turned out, Nukwa's mother was dispatched and he remained. He was a small, thin child and he weighed below the Boston 3rd percentile. The doctor at the Crossroads clinic was of the opinion that, had he returned to the Transkei, his chances of survival would have been slim. The doctor, Ivan Tom, arranged to supplement the diet of Nukwa and three other children in the sample who were underweight for four months in an attempt to boost their health. He began at the end of 1980. Nukwa gained weight, not very dramatically, and neighbours remarked upon his increased vigour. In December, 1980, Nukwa moved with his father's brother's family to a brick house in New Crossroads and Nukwa, who had stopped going to school in July, 1980, returned to school in the new year. His mother remained in the Transkei.

#### CHURCH

The parents of the children attended many different churches. Attendance, interest, involvement and devotion varied greatly. As the children's concepts of God and church had not yet taken coherent shape, I did not pursue family ties with the church; they were too various and the topic too complex to delve into lightly. Three adults said that they were not Christians: one was Thandi Feni, another Duma Paya, although his wife was a Roman Catholic, and the third was Nozolile Qasana who said

that as an igqira it was against the ancestors to go to church. The other igqira, Bukelwa Ketshe, was a staunch Roman Catholic. Six families attended church in the townships.

#### HEALTH

The most common complaints from the women to do with their health was that they suffered from nerves. The complaint took five of them to the doctor in 1980. Pumza was under psychiatric treatment as an out patient at a major Cape Town hospital and had been taking two or three Valium pills a day for about eighteen months. She said that when her divorce came through she would do without the pills. Zanele Cira had suffered bad nerves from childhood. When very young, she had been sent to live with her father's mother to be her companion and to care for her as the old woman's daughters-in-law were not very loving. While living with her, Zanele remembers shaking so much when the inspector came to the school that she could not write. Nonyishi Bhurhu's nerves worried her because just "keeping a family and a home together was so difficult and money was so scarce." And no wonder as four of her homes had been demolished by officials and her present home threatened. She said, "I could write a book about Cape Town. My husband tells me to keep quiet; God may do something."

Nomi Kobe began to suffer from nervous complaints when three of her small children had fallen seriously ill at once in 1978. Her symptoms included a cold feeling at the top of her head, body shivers, anxiety and a fear of seeing blood. "And the money business causes it," she said. Nozolile Qasana, an igqira, suffered from nerves increasingly during the year, and she complained also of asthma, rheumatism and heart trouble. She used to visit a private doctor to get injections which she was not given at the clinic. She saw no contradiction between the services that an igqira and a Western trained doctor might offer. The other igqira, Bukelwa Ketshe, suffered only the illness that led her to be a doctor. She first had ukuthwasa, a calling through ill-health, in 1949, at the age of 15.

## SUMMARY

Each of the parents or guardians of the fourteen children were Xhosa speakers with roots in the Transkei. None could give a full account of the names and links of their forebears yet each maintained ties, if only through kin, with the countryside. Grandparents played an important part in the children's lives although only three of them lived in Cape Town. All the men and most of the women grew up in the country. Some had seen little of their own fathers as they had been migrants and had come home briefly or infrequently. Migrancy for many of the children's fathers is not a first generation phenomenon. The men were older than their wives but had less formal education. They had spent over half of their lives working in the cities and had accumulated few claims or rights there. They were not occasional migrants supplementing adequate incomes obtained in the countryside.

Women have less access than men to wage employment and, thereby, are denied permission to live in the cities. The children's mothers, however, had spent an average of 14,5 years in Cape Town. They were not recent immigrants to the city.

Restrictive legislation, lack of qualifications or skills, denial of access to capital, and shortage of housing combine to direct and constrain the lives of men and women as individuals and as members of family units. The case studies serve to illustrate the complexities of relationships that are subjected to the enforcement of social rules in modern communities in South Africa.

The reasons why men leave the countryside and come to town are clear : they have no choice for only in town can they earn an income. The reasons why women come are more complex : many come to find work to support dependants - parents, siblings, children; many come to escape the poverty and despair of life in the homelands; many come to be with their husbands, to claim him (and his earnings) from other women, to conceive children and to share with him their care and rearing. Many of the men and women build shacks in the sand in order to create homes in which to live as families. However, that is

not the only reason for squatting in Cape Town. Economic necessity, the housing shortage, police harassment and the disruption of family life force some people to seek alternatives to living as nuclear family units. There is fluidity among husbands and wives and other kin in the care of children and administrative attempts to define the family unit that is most deserving of housing security may not serve the best interests of the children.

Networks among kin and people from the same country area are important aids to city survival (see, for example, Wilson and Mafeje, 1963, for a description of such networks in a city). When legislators curtail the movement of children among people in town or country, they increase the burden of poverty.\*

In considering the lives of children in a South African squatter settlement, it is necessary to bear in mind the reasons behind the existence of given conditions. The South African economic and political realities create turmoil within families forcing adults to fight for the right to live with whom and where they choose and that children's rights - to uninterrupted schooling, access to books and lights, need for privacy - are subsumed under these. Men in Crossroads spend, on average, 12,5 hours every working day away from their families; their children may not live with them near their places of work unless Government sees fit to grant them temporary rights hedged with conditions.

---

\*West (1982b:1971) in a press survey of harassment of black people in the Western Cape observes that

"The Urban Areas Act, under which people are charged with illegal presence in a prescribed area does not discriminate on grounds of age. In August, 1982, reports appeared of young children being held in police cells, and of 16 year olds being fined (and presumably imprisoned if unable to pay their fines)."

The Argus (18.8.82) reports a spokesman for the Commissioner's Court of the Department of Co-operation and Development as saying that in terms of the Children's Act, a police cell is regarded as a place of "safekeeping" for children.

A Xhosa child is born of a man and a woman whose movements are constrained by official prohibitions. They may not live together near the man's work place; each must seek and receive permission to work in prescribed areas; the man must live in officially registered accommodation; he may not bring his children to live with him without official sanction; he may not live in an area that suits his notion of economy or convenience; he may not move at will from job to job nor town to town (at least in the Western Cape, see West, 1982b:171); he may seek training only in certain skills; he may not eat in certain public places; he may not participate in certain public leisure activities; he may not enroll his children in the public school of his choice. There are other constraints to an adult Xhosa's range of choice that have to do with traditional marital patterns and kin responsibilities.

We need to understand the nature of social, economic and political constraints in South Africa before we can analyse with any accuracy the nature of relationships between adult and child. These relationships shape and nurture cognitive development and an analysis of intellectual growth must needs take into account the character of the adult-child relationships.

There is a large and, in many instances, fine body of literature that describes and analyses the impact of State control over the lives of blacks. There is no reason to plead ignorance of their condition in South Africa. Reference is made to some of the literature in the text : it provides essential background to the presentation of these profiles of Xhosa men and women. However, there is almost no literature on black childhood.

## CHAPTER 2: REMEMBRANCES OF THE PAST

During the eighteen months of research in Crossroads I worked closely with thirty-five women. They included the mothers of the children in the sample, the tutors and some of the students of a community literacy programme. With the students I formed a club which met for four hours, once a week for six months. The women called the club Inkumbulo Yakwanta - "remembrances of the past." We met to discuss their memories of childhood, of growing up, of marriage, of childbirth and child rearing, of life in the countryside and their moves to town, their views of their present existence and their expectations for their children's future. In essence, I wanted to know how they viewed their past in relation to their present and how they combined traditional with modern attitudes and beliefs. I pursued such matters in a group because I hoped that they would stimulate each other into discussion, through corroboration or refutation, that would create a picture coloured with greater vibrancy and less conceit than individual interviews often yield. The harvest was rich.

Once a week, the thirteen women, Mary (my assistant) and I sat on the floor of my small room and as we threaded beads or sewed patches into garments we talked laughed and acted and danced and sang, only breaking off to share tea and biscuits. The little tin shack resounded with noise and many faces peered in at the windows to see what was going on. The sessions were intense. The women assumed much of the leadership and a cohesion formed and found expression in the support, advice and sometimes disapproval of individual's handling of life's experiences. Once we painted together and somebody drew me with long fingers and toes "dripping with tiredness". It was an emotionally demanding experience and a humbling one - that women could be so vital, so warm, so generous, so funny within the context of the oppression that they suffered.



8: A Woman Dancing

It is from the tape transcriptions of twenty-five sessions that covered some 130 hours that much of this section draws.\* The material is supplementary to my intention - to give an ethnographic report of seven-year olds - and I present it in

---

\*My thanks are due to Dorothea Russell and Nozizwe Nyakaza for organizing the first meeting and to Monica Wilson for presiding at one of our parties and to the following people who came to stimulate discussion on a variety of topics : Mary Roberts on health; June Hare on psycho-drama; Nomtobeko Muletsane on R Peteni's novel on the Ciskei, The Hill of Fools, (Cape Town; David Philip, 1976) and Norman Reynolds on money.

order to link childhood to womanhood: to women's past and to their present. I do not mean to imply that men are less important in the lives of children. While I interviewed many men in the community and came to know much about the lives of some, in particular an iggira and a shebeen owner, I did not have the same experience with a group of men.

The hazards of comparing samples directly are well documented in the social sciences although the warnings are not always heeded. Instead of attempting to link the children's experiences in town and country by studying another sample in the Transkei, it seemed possible that the link could be profitably made through the experiences of their parents' generation. It is the brew of old and new as realized in the lives of the children's elders that informs the children's inheritance.

The description of a black person in town and in the country as someone of two worlds is fairly widely represented in anthropological literature [see, for example, Houghton (1960) and Leatt (1982)]. Sharp and West (1982:65) say that the description implies a view of South African history "... as the simple endurance of cultural differentiation through time...." They add (64):

"At the heart of the dualist perspective is an assumption that South Africa consists of two kinds of societies, two social and cognitive worlds. These are conceptualized as being fundamentally discrete although links of various kinds - principally through the market place - are recognized to exist."

The authors (68) call for a definition of culture by social anthropologists that enables us to place historical perspective on contemporary research issues and that takes into account the fact that individuals actively construct "meaning" in the course of social interaction using whatever range of tradition is available to them.

A concern with this caricature (men of two worlds) and a desire to look closely at people's formulations of their ideas about the world, was a strong underlying theme in my research

interest. I worked with the women hoping to gain some insights. At the end of our association, I read the following entry in Virginia Woolf's diary (Monday, 27 April, 1925). It seemed to articulate what I had found.

"But my present reflection is that people have any number of states of consciousness: and I should like to investigate the party consciousness, the frock consciousness etc. The fashion world at the Becks - Mrs Garland was there superintending a display - is certainly one; where people secrete an envelope which connects them and protects them from others, like myself, who are outside the envelope, foreign bodies.

"These states are very difficult (obviously I grope for words) but I'm always coming back to it. The party consciousness for example : Sybil's consciousness. You must not break it. It is something real. You must keep it up; conspire together. Still I cannot get at what I mean. Then I meant to dash off Graves before I forget him." (Bell, 1980)

It is the phrase "people have any number of states of consciousness" that could be held to describe the Xhosa person in town and country. He or she has many states of consciousness. As do we all. That obviates the insinuation that the Xhosa leap from world to world, or see-saw worlds in their minds, while we firmly and rationally grasp one world, and replaces it with a complexity common to us all. The complexity need not defy broad description yet it reminds us of that which we hold in common.

The existence of states of consciousness in our minds preoccupies other writers - Herskovits (Spindler, 1978:480) talks about "socialized ambivalence"; Gluckman (1936:550) calls it "selective interest" and Evans-Pritchard (1981:129) uses the phrase "situational selection" to describe the fact that "Things may be thought of in different ways in different contexts."

In working with the women, I sought some idea of the range of their states of consciousness. I tried to record how they remembered their childhood and how they traced their own histories through and beyond that time; whether they still paid due attention to ritual demands and with what seriousness they imbued them; how they conceived of socially defined roles - as daughters-in-law, wives, mothers - in both town and country; how they manipulated and suffered under the system that denies them the right to live and work where they please. This chapter presumes to do no more than present snippets from the women's accounts of their world in order to illustrate how closely woven with strands of old and new is the fabric of their experience. Joubert's (1980) history of Poppie Nogen records admirably the design of one woman's life history. Cole and Hallowell (1980) record the lives of women in the U.S.A. and LeVine (1979) in East Africa.

Nadine Gordimer (1982), in reviewing an autobiography, reminds us that "It is not always possible to find the child again," and Anthony Burgess (1981:276) cautions that "... there is a sense in which all reminiscence is fiction..." In dealing with the women's memories of their past, the above cautions should be kept in mind - it is difficult to conjure childhood out of the past and difficult to tell what has been re-ordered in the process. Piaget (1972:43), in an uncharacteristic aside, phrases the same concern thus:

"The affective present is well determined, as Freud shows, by the individual's past, but the past itself is constantly restructured by the present. This is profoundly true of the cognitive systems, and that is why awareness is always not only an expression or an evocation but also partly a reorganization."

It is a consideration that possibly deserves more attention from anthropologists.

Basic data on the thirty-five women will be given first and then brief discussions and case studies drawn from the

accounts of the tutors and students will be presented. I did not work with the eight tutors as a group apart from a few sessions but I knew them well and worked with each, either on matters to do with my research or community concerns. Their experience offers a counterfoil to that of the illiterate women.

In order to unravel the threads of control that bind children's lives, one must unravel those that direct women's lives. One must know what power is crystallized in the state apparatus and the formulation of the law and in the relations among people. For,

"power is not an institution, and not a structure, neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society." (Foucault, 1976:92)

It is the strategical situation in which women in South Africa find themselves that needs more careful analysis. Foucault (1976:94) supposes that the manifold relationships of force that take shape and come into play in the machinery of production, in families, limited groups and institutions are the basis for wide ranging effects of cleavage that run through the social body as a whole. The need, he feels, is to "decipher power mechanisms on the basis of a strategy that is immanent in force relationships." The women talked a lot about power: the control wielded by parents, the authority of husbands, the force of the law and the pressure of social mores. It is a theme that ran through most of our discussions.

Another theme that emerged was the elemental link between mother and child and its importance. From an analysis of household composition and marriage in a Witwatersrand African Township, Marwick (1978:46) concluded that,

"If we give due attention to the 71 per cent of Township households approximating types commonly found in modern communities ... the essentially modern character of Township

household composition becomes clear. The changes revealed by the survey and by comparative reading of Nguni ethnography may be summarized by saying that the shift in the social composition of the domestic group has been from an extended family defined by patrilineal descent, patrilocal residence and polygyny to complete and incomplete forms of the nuclear family, along with a somewhat larger than normal proportion of extended families, among a few of which traditional principles of social organisation have been superseded by the more elemental link between mother and child."

He found, too, that marriage shows an interesting mixture of emerging new trends and surviving but changed traditional features. (1978:52). Both themes - the changes in patterns of domestic organization and marriage - were evident in Crossroads.

In 1968, Simons (1968:9) observed that, "African customary law reflects the old society and has been poorly adapted to the changes in social conditions and human relations. "The discrepancy between the old rules and new facts is greatest where women are concerned, and is most harmful to their interests. They are worse off, in terms of the customary law, than they were before industrialization set in. This is so partly because the courts have interpreted the law to the disadvantage of their sex. But the main reason for the unfavourable trend is that women have outgrown the status assigned to them in the traditional society."

Whatever ones opinion may be on the traditional status of women and whether they have outgrown it, it remains true in the nineteen eighties that black women are particularly disadvantaged under the South African law.

In the Foreword to The African Woman's Handbook on the Law, Cooper and Ensor (1980) point out that black women have to cope not only with laws discriminating against them because of their race but also with law that discriminates against them on the grounds of their sex.

In The Rights of African Women: Some Suggested Reforms Horrell (1975:15ff.) notes that women under tribal law were always subject to a man's guardianship and adds that conditions and attitudes are changing:

"Left to themselves, African courts of law would no doubt have adjusted themselves to developing attitudes and circumstances, as they are doing in other parts of the continent. But in South Africa, white administrators and judicial officers have institutionalised native law, thus preventing flexibility. The subordinant position of women has been maintained in many aspects of life, to their material disadvantage. Inequitable and distressing situations arise. The stereotype applied in courts of law may operate against women more harshly than tribal law did.

"Uncertainties arise because of conflicting provisions of native law and the common law, and in numbers of respects the exact legal status of an African woman may be in doubt."

Laws that affect marriage, divorce, property ownership, citizenship and child custody each contain discriminations against black women. The issues involved are far too complex to be fairly represented here. The two pamphlets just cited are particularly useful as guides through the maze of legislation as it affects black women.

Burman (forthcoming) surveys the current legislation as it affects the position of divorced women in town and West (1982a) analyses data gathered from women who, in 1981, attempted to

wrest similar rights to live and work in Cape Town as the Crossroads' residents had won. Walker (1982) traces women's involvement in twentieth century political struggles in South Africa. My intention here is simply to present a picture of their lives drawn from their own accounts.

#### DATA ON THIRTY-FIVE WOMEN

The three groups of women - the students of the literacy programme, their tutors and the mothers of the children in my sample are similar in average age; the age at which they married, and in their pass status. On average, they lived with nine or more people and they had lived for at least eight and a half years in Cape Town. (See Table 1.)

However, they differ in education, marital status, type of marriage, numbers of children and in house ownership. Those with the most education, the tutors, had not secured jobs that earned them more than could be earned in domestic service. Their part-time jobs teaching literacy was due to the combined efforts of the Anglican and Catholic Churches in creating a literacy centre in Crossroads. During 1980, the women taught part time and received training in accountancy and secretarial skills. In 1981, many of them found jobs within the community in service centres which paid R120,00 a month or more. The tutors and the school teachers contributed a great deal to the well-being of the community. They fought courageously for the right to remain a community and played valuable roles of liaison between the people and the services offered from outside.

An organised community able to co-ordinate outside support for services normally provided by either the state or communities themselves can provide members with relatively good jobs that carry status and contribute to the general welfare. Crossroads was an exception among poorer communities in South Africa because it was able to provide such jobs. Overall, state negligence denies thousands of opportunities of this nature to individuals and communities.

It is startling that only 54 per cent of all the women were currently married because in this society marriage is traditionally

valued and opportunities for women to earn a wage income are severely circumscribed. The group with the highest level of education had the least number of members currently married: over one third of them were single (although only one did not have any children) and another third were divorced or separated from their husbands. Almost a third of the illiterate women were divorced or separated and almost a quarter of them were widows. The average ages of single, married, widowed and divorced women in the whole sample was 27, 33, 40 and 46 years, respectively. Can one predict a fair proportion of divorces among the married women (whose average age was thirty-three) or, given that the women now have permission to live with their husbands and work in town, will divorce occur less frequently? The single women declared that they had no intention of marrying.

The women's groups differed in the type of marriage contract they had entered. Ninety-two per cent of the students had married according to customary law only while 33,3 per cent of the mothers of the sample children and 20 per cent of the tutors had. Eight per cent of the students had later contracted a civil marriage whereas 80 per cent of the tutors and 66,6 per cent of the mothers of the sample children had.

The average number of live births for all the women was high : 5,4. The tutors had had 4,5, the students 6,0 and the mothers of the sample children 5,5. The last group had lost 16,4 per cent of their children compared to a loss of 33,3 per cent for the tutors and 35 per cent for the students. It seems likely that the integrity of the nuclear family unit ensured the life chances of children and that the educational qualifications of the mothers has no impact. It is a matter that needs further research.

Black women face more obstacles than do black men in establishing rights to housing in Cape Town largely because it is more difficult (impossible, if they come from outside Cape Town) for women to find employment and to secure the relevant permission to live in the area. Traditional attitudes towards women and property further hinder their acquisition of

Table 1 : Data on Thirty-Five Women

	13 Students of the Literacy Programme	8 Tutors of the same Programme	14 mothers of the Sample Children	The Three Groups Combined
Average age	38	36	35	36
Av no of Siblings	3,5	3,8	6,9	4,9
Av Education (Stds)	(2 years of literacy training)	8,5	4,1	3,6
Husbands' Av Education	1,0	4,0	3,3	
Marital Status:				
Married	46%	25%	79%	54%
Single	0%	38%	7%	11%
Widowed	23%	0%	7%	11%
Divorced	31%	38%	7%	23%
Av age at Marriage	20	19	21	20,5
Type of Marriage:				
Customary only	92%	20%	33,3%	48,4%
Customary and Civil	8%	80%	66,6%	51,5%
Av no of Children:				
Livebirths	6,0	4,5	5,5	5,4
Alive	4,0	3,0	4,6	4,0
Dead	2,1	1,5	0,9	1,5
Deaths as % of Births	35%	33,3%	16,4%	27,8%
House Owners	62%	50%	57%	57,1%
Lodgers	38%	50%	43%	42,9%
Household Composition (Av)	9,0	9,0	12,4	10,2
Pass Status:				
10(1)(a)	8%	0%	14%	9%
Crossroads	85%	100%	71%	83%
None	8%	0%	14%	9%
Years in Cape Town:				
Average no	13,5	8,5	14,5	12,8
Range	1 - 43	2 - 20	1 - 32	
Wage Income (per week)	0	R10,00	R17,50	R9,30

rights to housing. Only nine per cent of the women had permission to work and reside in Cape Town prior to their receipt of Crossroads residence permits. Nevertheless, 57 per cent of them owned their own shacks (and had been promised brick houses in New Crossroads). Ninety per cent of the women without men (widows, divorcees and single women) owned their own shacks.

The rest of the chapter refers only to the experiences as recounted by the students and tutors as the life histories of the third group have been given in Chapter One.

#### CHILDHOOD

All but two of the twenty-one women grew up in the countryside. Eighteen of them were Xhosa, one was Bhaca, one Mfengu and one Mpondo. Their memories of childhood are similar and most emphasized the hard work, the pleasure that they found in play and the strictness of adults. Many of them remember that serious work began for children at age six or seven and that the tasks included collecting of wood and grass, fetching of water, grinding or stamping of maize, smearing of floors, making of dung cakes, preparing food, washing of dishes and caring for children and animals. A surprising number of the women spent much of their youth herding and milking cattle, goats and sheep. The death rate amongst children seemed high - one woman lost six out of twelve siblings, another five out of eight and a third five out of six - and boys were more likely to be sent to school, leaving the traditionally male role of animal care to the girls. One woman recalls playing a game of chance with her siblings; they used blades of grass and drops of water in order to select the child who would herd that day. Others remember receiving thrashings when the animals strayed into maize fields or for stealing cobs.

Luceka was born in Cala in 1938 and she was the fourth child in a family of eight children, five of whom died in childhood. Her father owned twenty-five head of cattle and

she helped to care for them from the age of seven. She recalled one incident when she was eight or nine years old and she failed to secure the kraal in which the animals had been enclosed for the night. After supper, it was noticed that some cattle were missing and Luceka was sent in search of them. She stayed out on the veldt all night. The cattle were found and her mother prevented her father from beating her. It taught her, she said, to fasten the gate carefully.

The women said that they had played the same games in the veldt that boys did, including stick fighting; but a code bound boys not to hit girls too hard. They also played with dolls made from maize cobs; made things from clay; had frog races; opened crabs in search of money in their "purses"; sought a particular species of insects in the river which, if squeezed on the breasts, would ensure that they grew large; collected wild plants; danced and composed songs. Nokoyo, who was born in Cape Town, remembers a song that she used to sing while chasing birds from the fields in the Transkei where she lived with relatives after her mother's death:

Ndandisebenza nzima.

Lingatshoni ilanga,

Ndiyatsha, ndiyatsha.

Mama, ndiyemka elizwe

Mama, ndiyatsha, ndiyatsha.

[I have been working hard.

The sun does not set,

I am burnt, I am burnt.

Mother, I am going away from your country

Mother, I am burnt, I am burnt.]

It was moving when she sang it in a gentle, sad voice. As adults, the women had a sizeable repertoire of songs and dance steps that they all knew and each of our meetings began and ended with song and dance. Their early training in song and dance had provided each woman with the ability and confidence to participate in groups. No one hesitated about participating except the one Bhaca woman, who was large, ungainly and shy and barely tolerated by the others.



### 9: Women Singing

They also learnt riddles (rairai) as children and would test one another. A few examples follow:

There is a woman that dies with clothes on : a broom.

There is a lady who wants to cross the river. Before she could, she was across : eyes.

Two amaggira dancing on a red lawn : a baby's teeth.

I have got a person who cries while going but on return is quiet : a bucket.

I have got a lady wearing a long white dress with a brown hat : a match.

I have got a field with a big pumpkin : the sky.

I have got a person who is restless in a closed room : a tongue.

I have got a person who says, "Catch me, I will produce something" : a nose.

There was a convention amongst youths whereby a boy would ask a girl a difficult, perhaps impossible riddle and if she failed to answer it, she would have to be his girlfriend, some even said, his bride. Tears were of no use and the boy might assume the right to be forceful. Two such riddles were :

How can you make a needle with six holes in it?  
(none of the women knew the answer).

I want a doek (headscarf) with five sides : a hand.

The women said that they had learnt the riddles from their grandparents. None of the women had taught them to their children.

As children, they had most often heard stories from elderly women. Scheub (1975) has written a fascinating book about Xhosa stories - iintsomi - in which he describes how a child learns the art of story telling and in which he shows that the art still thrives in the countryside.

The iintsomi told by the women were often macabre and their impact was similar to that made by Kafka's tales. Nokoyo and Vuyokazi held the group spellbound when they performed. Like songs, dances and riddles, the form was a shared one: the women could anticipate and participate in a variety of expected responses and thus the form acted as a cohesive force within the group.

10: A Woman Telling  
an Iintsomi



Many of the women had lived in a traditional homestead that was largely self-sufficient. One even recalled making fire with flintstone and sticks. As children, some wore nothing but a string or skirt of skin or beads and skin blankets. Parents are remembered as being very strict. Notyhefu's father would lash the children for committing serious misdemeanours with a strong shoelace that was part of his policeman's equipment. Thenjiwe's mother died when she was three months old and her mother's sister cared for her. She worked hard helping to brew beer for sale and running errands for her brother who owned a shop. Her brother would spit on the floor and she would run fast so that she would return before the saliva dried. When she grew up, she ran away to her father. He married her to a man whom she did not love.

As small children they were taught to fear things such as bad spirits in the night in order, they said, to instil obedience in them. The women agreed that without fear a child would grow up with antisocial traits.

Many of the women grew up with their fathers away working in the cities for much of the time. The tutors told of the sacrifices made to send them to school. Sally's father died when she was ten years old and her mother left her six children with their grandmother and went to Cape Town to earn money to keep the eldest two, Sally and her brother, in school. After three years she returned when one child fell ill and she remained because the children were not well cared for. Sally had to leave school in her Junior Certificate year.

Mandy's father died when she was three years old. She was sent to school and spent three years in the first class not understanding what the teacher was saying. She began to play truant and would hide in the maize fields. One day her mother followed her and whipped her. She was sent back to school and began to take notice. She passed Standard Nine and a year's teaching course.

Nolizo, too, had no father while growing up and her mother was forced to leave Cape Town, where she had lived for many years, and return to Queenstown. She could not earn money

there to support her three children, one of whom was blind, and so had to seek employment in Cape Town. Once she left her two daughters, aged fifteen and thirteen, alone in a two-roomed brick house in the Queenstown location while she went to Cape Town to sell clothes and medicine. She could only send R10,00 worth of groceries a month and Nolizo remembers that they lived on maize meal often without salt. After two years, her mother returned when Nolizo's sister had fallen pregnant. Nolizo eventually passed Standard Seven.

As the girls grew into young women, they began to wear long skirts and to attend the dances of the men. As Notyhefu expressed it, they were protected as the "flowers of the family." It seems to have been a time in which they took pride in their competence as housekeepers and had fun with friends, especially during rites of initiation. Many spoke of their own initiation\* usually held when their breasts were "pushing out." They spoke eloquently about the ritual eating of curdled milk, the slaughter of a cow, their concealment behind the mats, the holding of feasts, the collecting of food from neighbours and the dancing. (See Hunter, 1936:165ff. for a full description of the ritual).

One woman told how she and other young girls would find older girls alone in the forest with their boyfriends and how they would exact payments from them to keep quiet about their leaving the group. Another told of how the senior girls would police relationships among couples at the gatherings. They remember regretting the passing of a stage of life but welcoming their new status as women.

Monica Wilson raises questions and suggests possible lines of investigation into the reasons for the resilience and obliteration of ritual. She suggests that,

---

\*in-tonjani, pl. iin- girl being initiated.

"One test case of selection in survival is that of boy's circumcision and girl's initiation rituals. Circumcision rituals have been dropped within historical times by Zulu and retained by Xhosa. Why? And why, amongst most Xhosa - speakers should the initiation ritual for young men be retained and that for girls be dropped...?"

"Girl's initiation (intonjane), still generally practised in Pondoland in 1932, has largely been dropped by Xhosa - speakers, and it has recently been argued, very cogently (Whooley, 1975:257-80), that the time of transformation for a girl was not the weeks of seclusion at initiation but the year or more spent as a bride working under the supervision of her mother-in-law, and this living with her husband's parents survives as an obligatory introduction to married life."  
(Wilson, 1978:160-61)

The women's accounts of the intonjane and of their experience as brides upholds Whooley's argument. The former period was one of carefree fun, sensuality and comradeship. The latter, one of adaptation and hard work. The women's accounts of it will be given shortly. The attitude of a widow on the circumcision of her son and the training of his future wife similarly support the argument.

Carol's son, aged twenty-two, had impregnated a young woman and her parents claimed five cows as compensation for the damage caused. As Carol had brought up the boy she was held responsible and she accepted the responsibility. She paid "one cow and a half" (that is the R150,00 the currently accepted value of one and a half beasts which is normally not at market price) and had promised the rest. She resolved to have the boy circumcised despite the considerable cost involved, at least one cow, because he would be made a man and would have to pay his own debts. If he made another woman

pregnant, he would, she said, have to stand on his feet. The money she had paid out and had promised was a fine not a marriage payment. The couple could marry if they chose to and then the fine would be seen as part payment of the ikhazi (bridewealth). She said that she would only contribute to a full marriage payment if he brought the girl home to live with her.

The widow, Carol, was prepared to pay for her son's initiation and he was prepared to take two months leave from his job with a building contractor to spend it in the bush near Brown's Farm in Cape Town, so that he would be seen by society to be a man responsible for his own affairs and so that he would accept that responsibility. Carol, who had four sons and no husband, wanted to ensure that each should be seen to assume adult status and not be a constant drain on her resources. Further, she was not prepared to contribute to her son's lobola payments unless he brought his wife home and she could ensure that the young woman was properly trained as a member of the family and mother of their progeny.

#### VIRGINITY

It used to be the task of older women to check on the young girls' virginity. Joanne gave the following account of one such occasion:

One day early on a cloudless morning my mother told me to go to the kitchen, take a dish of water and wash my lower half. I was thirteen years old and did not know why I was being instructed so. I asked why and mother was cross: she said, "Do it." She placed a mat near the doorway saying, "Lie here." I said, "Why?" and she replied "No, lie here, I know what I am going to do." I lay down. She said, "Open your legs." My legs were shivering because I was frightened. Mother said, "I want to know if you are still a good girl. If you are not a good girl, I shall know right now." I relaxed. She said, "Do not worry, there is nothing wrong. I just had to make sure. Stand up now."

"Mother," I asked, "how do you know that I am still a good girl?" She replied, "It is none of your business. I am finished now. Call your sister then wash and go to school." We had begun to have boyfriends and we would reject their advances, saying, "No. Mother will be cross."

## MARRIAGE

Of the twenty-one women, 86 per cent were or had been married. In 1980, 38 per cent of them still lived with their husbands; 33 per cent had been divorced or separated and 14 per cent were widows. Including the unmarried women, 62 per cent lived without a husband.

One third of the women who had been married had either not been told of their impending marriage until the ceremony had begun or were married by force - ukuthwala (see Chapter One). Either way, the experience remained a bitter memory whether or not the marriage lasted and most of the women said that they would never allow their children to be married in the same way. It seems curious to me that a society should institutionalize subterfuge and impose such a dramatic trauma on many of its daughters without allowing for them to adjust to enforced change. It is more curious that the custom has survived. Burman (forthcoming) suggests that an ukuthwala marriage enables the bride's family to avoid considerable expense : that can be only a partial answer. Some of the women suggested that it continued to occur as parents became more concerned by their inability to impose authority on their children: a fait accompli had to be organised. The issue warrants closer study.

Nomqakatho had a traditional childhood in the Transkei and her parents were strict disciplinarians. She left her homestead only with their permission. When she was about eighteen years old her parents made arrangements for her marriage, without consulting her: they demanded ten cows as ikhazi. One day, on returning from the river, she was flanked by three men who dragged her screaming and crying

away. She understood what was happening as she had seen other girls being taken thus. She was taken to a new village and led into the groom's homestead by a circuitous route indicating that she was a bride. The groom's mother gave her long dresses to wear. On the same day a sheep was slaughtered. There was nothing that Nomqakatho could do as her parents had completed the marriage negotiations. Had she run home, she would have been forced to return.

Thenjiwe, too, was taken by force and Notyhefu was told to accompany an elderly woman to brew beer in another village and on arrival, she found that it was her marriage ceremony. Vuyokazi returned from working in the fields one day to find that her parents had prepared a fine meal and that there were visitors. Her mother took her before her father who said, "Today, my girl, I'm marrying you to the Gheke family." She cried but was taken by two men to her new home. Once there, they sat outside the umzi (homestead) as the sun set. She was still crying. The men were asked where they were going and they replied, "We are just resting. We have far to go. Can you give us a place to sleep?" They were given a kitchen in which to sleep and tea and bread which Vuyokazi refused to eat. Beer and goat meat were brought. Next morning she was told that this was her new home. She was covered with a blanket and taken to meet the elders. The women inspected her and her father-in-law chose a new name for her. She was given instructions and advice on how to behave. She was shown her husband who was a man that she had seen before and had not liked.

The women recounted their experiences as makoti (brides). It was a time of adjustment and hard work. It was seen as a period that marked the end of personal freedom because the bride's movements and friends were carefully monitored. They were forbidden to talk to unmarried girls and to go anywhere unaccompanied. They were given a set of rules to obey which included the paths they might follow around the homestead and they were forbidden to drink milk or sour milk or even to touch the calabash (compare Hunter, 1936:35-45). They had to avoid using their father-in-law's or husband's names and were given hlonipha terms to use instead. If they committed errors or

failed to maintain a modest, self-effacing demeanour, aspersions were cast on their families for not having reared them properly.

Nomqakatho says that she was corrected by family members each time she failed to avoid a name. It was the duty of the elder daughter of the family to correct her. Occasionally new brides were sent back to their natal families in order to receive further instruction on a particular issue. This happened to Nomqakatho after she had been a bride for three months. She was sent home accompanied by two other brides from her husband's large homestead. They had to ensure that her mistakes were discussed by her family elders. Once at her father's homestead, she had to explain why she had been sent. Her father had to offer a sheep. Her natal family was humiliated and annoyed at the cost. Upon return to their husbands' homestead, each bride had to bring one or two rand. Soon afterwards, the hlonipha demands were dropped. Nomqakatho lived in the homestead until the last of her six children was twelve years old.

One of the younger women said the purpose of hlonipha was to ensure that one submitted to the yoke of marriage. All of the women who stayed in the countryside after marrying lived at their husbands' parents' homestead. They usually saw their husbands for only two or three weeks a year.

#### CHILDBIRTH

A young bride's status in her new home improves with the birth of a child. The women recalled with embarrassment the probing looks and questions of the other women in the homestead as they sought to discover whether they were pregnant: their calves would be pinched, their faces searched for change and their eyes for brightness. Once pregnancy was ascertained, the women were told how to behave and what to avoid. For example, they must not eat food left over by others or food cooked on the previous day or their labour would be prolonged. Their accounts of birth differed only in detail from those gathered by Hunter among the Mpondo in the 1930s. Few of the women knew what to expect as most had been told that

babies came from the knee, or from the store. Many recounted their bewilderment and fear of the pain. Ritual demands were carefully observed. Only the younger women gave birth in hospital. Most of them saw no need to enlighten their daughters about the facts of life but admitted that their daughters knew them. The thirty-five women gave accounts that could be placed along the length of a continuum running from traditional childbirth practice with elaborate care of due ritual process to the casual disregard of all tradition by young women who gave birth in hospitals.

While in Pondoland, I witnessed a charming scene in which the daughter of a homestead emerged from ten days of seclusion with her new-born child and was greeted with effusive joy by the young children.

Traditionally after the birth of a child a woman was forbidden to have sexual relations with her husband until the child had been weaned. Some of the women said that they had abstained. They knew that their husbands went with other women but did not object until the child was weaned. If an infant had diarrhoea, the woman's parents-in-law might accuse her and her husband of wantonly endangering the child's life by having sexual relations too soon.

#### DEATH

As children the women were not told about death. They were not allowed to see a corpse and were forbidden to talk about death or play dead. Children learnt to fear the dead - doors that rattled in the night were thought to be touched by corpses raised by witches. A falling stone in the veldt is a sign from a family corpse that there is danger coming from other corpses. Many of the women have seen such signs; some remember hiding and then throwing stones near adults and laughing as they ran away in fear. They were beaten if caught.

I was told by a number of witnesses of an incident in Crossroads in which the corpse of a dead child had been seen in the nearby forest. A leader in the Zion church told the

child's parents to hold a church service and sing for a long time and the child would come among them. The service was held but the child did not come. The leader said that it was because the parents told the others the reason for the service. The parents then said that they did not believe him.

#### DIVORCE

The law in South Africa as it applies to marriage and its dissolution is complex. A brief outline of the law follows.

In section 35 of the Bantu Administration Act a distinction is made between a marriage and a customary union. A marriage is defined as a union of one man with one woman, in accordance with any relevant law. It is stated that a marriage does not include a customary union. The latter is defined as the association of a man and a woman in a conjugal relationship according to native law and custom, where neither the man nor the woman is party to a subsisting marriage. It is not stated that in a marriage neither the man nor the woman must be party to a subsisting customary union. (Horrell, 1975:6-7)

There are three types of civil law marriage for blacks in South Africa: marriage out of community of property; marriage in community of property and marriage out of community of property with an antenuptial contract. Unless otherwise specified, the marriage falls into the first category. The common law governs the proprietary rights of Africans whose marriage is out of community. The wife is the owner of her property and the husband retains his property, but he administers both estates by reason of his marital power. On divorce, the woman is allowed to keep only her property. (Horrell, 1975:9)

When a man who is party to a customary union subsequently contracts a civil marriage, the customary union is, in effect, dissolved. The movable property of their joint household remains vested in him, and he may dispose of it to the extent allowed by tribal law. He retains guardianship of the children and their custody except in cases where they are allowed to remain with their mothers during their early years. The wife of the customary union may use the property allotted

to her house only as long as she submits to her ex-husband's authority and lives at a place that he nominates. If a customary union is not registered, it is considered to be dissolved if a husband publicly repudiates his wife, or if the lobola paid on behalf of the wife is returned. Horrell (8) comments, "The position of discarded customary union wives is, thus, insecure and humiliating."

Under common law, a widow who married according to civil rites is the guardian of her minor children and is entitled to their custody. In terms of native law, "property" rights in them are inherited by the father's heir: he would receive the lobola paid for daughters.

Guardianship and custody of minor children is, in principle, awarded by the courts in ruling for divorce or judicial separation in accordance with the child's best interests. However, property rights in children cloud the issue particularly in the special native divorce courts (established in terms of Section 10 of Act 9 of 1929 as amended). (Horrell, 1975:15ff.)

The position of women who are widowed, deserted or divorced and who live in a city may be precarious. Unless they are registered to work and have an officially sanctioned place to stay, they may be endorsed out of the city. Their position as it affects rights to housing is clearly described by Cooper and Ensor (1980:b). These authors and Horrell outline the guardianship and custody of minor children. Burman (forthcoming) is publishing the first of a series of articles on women and divorce in South Africa.

The above outline depicts the insecurity that women who divorce face, especially those who married according to customary law and who then live apart from the traditional family support system. Nokoyo's account of her divorce raises some of the issues. Unlike the other women, she married a man with much more education than herself: she has no formal school qualifications and he has Standard Nine: Nokoyo has a talent for laughing at herself which is evident in the story. Her tale illustrates the importance of family and peer group

support for a woman. Nokoyo was born in the Transkei in 1931 and six years later she came with her parents to live in Cape Town. She did not attend school. Her mother was an iggira and she, too, had been called but refused to heed the call because she feared both the illness that is said to accompany the call and the responsibility involved in being a healer. She is a great actress with a deep voice that she rasps up and down to good effect. She has small eyes and was nicknamed the mole. Her account follows:

"Unfortunately I am not educated. My husband has Standard Nine. He is a Christian. I am grown up now and at the side of my husband, I am going to take a walk in a white, pretty dress. My husband paid R200,00 for me and he requested a church ceremony and a marriage certificate. My parents were not sympathetic to the idea of a church ceremony and insisted on holding a traditional ritual at which a goat was slaughtered, before I was allowed to go to my husband's place.

The wedding was held and I was now a married woman. I was told 'You are not going to be a girl anymore. You are going to be a housewife. Your husband will lead you in everything.' I was left alone in my husband's house. The others went away. I had no where to go. I belonged to a new family. We stayed together and I gave birth to children. My husband did not want to buy clothes for me or the children. Nor did he allow me to visit my parents. As he was a powerful man, I was afraid of him. All I could do was work and rest.

"During my third pregnancy, I could not attend the clinic as I had no dress. My neighbours collected together flour bags and made me some dresses. I went to the clinic very early so that no one would see me. When the child was born he had nothing to eat except breast milk.

"In 1958, my eyes were opened. I was struggling. My husband gave me R2,00 a week for food and to pay off debts. The situation became ridiculous as he locked the paraffin away and made me cook only when he was present. My friends said, 'Hey, you are in real trouble. We have suitcases full of clothes. Can we not give you some?'"

"I remember as if it were today the time when I stole the grocery money and went to the shop to buy a piece of cloth - four yards - to make a dress. My friends came and they made a dress, a short one with short sleeves, despite my fears. My husband returned to find me wearing it and said, 'What kind of dress are you wearing? What about those people who have died (the shades)? What are they going to say?'"

"He took the case to my brothers saying, 'What about the shades? You must talk to her.' My brothers replied, 'Awu, where are the long dresses that you have given our sister so that we may talk about this case? Put the long ones here so that we may see them.'"

"They said, 'When you are ready with the long dresses you must call us. Yes, we agree, she cannot wear these short dresses. Where are the long ones?'"

"My friends gave me other short dresses. My husband did not want me anymore. My friends said, 'All right, divorce. We shall give you money to start a small business?' It was painful for me. I loved my husband because my parents gave me this husband. My friends said, 'You are stupid. You are struggling. It seems as if you have no husband.'"

"I thought for a week then I left. When my husband returned from work I was not there. I was dancing at my sister's house, beating drums. My husband gazed and gazed. I did not care. My sister said to him, 'Get away, you have no wife here.' Next day I returned to check on my children and fought with my husband. He called me a tsotsi (hooligan) and chased me away. I cried on the way to my sister's. The family collected my belongings but I was told to leave the children except for the baby. I left six children behind.

"The family talked the thing over and found a lawyer. He said that I would lose the children. I said 'O.K. I don't want the children.' My sister and brother-in-law paid the costs. In court I was asked what the matter was and I told them I was hungry and had no clothes. In court I wore a beret at a raffish angle. My husband rejected me. The court said the children must go to my husband's parents. I refused to allow them to go to the Transkei and he was instructed to look after them. The amount I paid to the lawyer was the same as my family received in lobola.

"Some of my children are grown up and married now. They are all in Cape Town. They come to see me and I still have the youngest child and another - a Crossroads child [born of an illegitimate union]. My husband no longer works as he was hurt working as a building contractor."

Nokoyo makes her living selling meat and renting out rooms to lodgers.

#### ON COMING TO TOWN

Until the residents of Crossroads were given permission to live and work in Cape Town, only one of the woman had legally resided in the area. The others had spent an average of

thirteen years each in the Cape Peninsula as "illegals" facing the constant threat of arrest, imprisonment and repatriation. None had had a fixed place of abode until they secured rights to a shack in Crossroads and the promise of housing rights in the new township.

The Cape Peninsula is a Coloured Labour Preference Area and unemployment is high among the unskilled. Consequently, the illiterate women who could speak neither official language, Afrikaans and English, were unlikely to secure wage employment. Black women without residential rights are not supposed to obtain work. There is a substantial fine payable by both employee and employer if the former is found to be without the relevant permission. As a result of the Coloured Labour Preference Area Policy, there is no training available for black teachers or nurses in Cape Town.

Before 1975, the tutors found work as domestics and the other women made their living as hawkers of clothes, meat, fruit and vegetables and by brewing beer. A detailed account of the economics of their survival would make a fascinating study. Many of them had been jailed for pass offences and Notyhefu said, "I built the Gugulethu Police Station" meaning that she had paid so much in fines.

The women gave a variety of reasons to explain why they had first come to town. One had been born in Cape Town but had spent much of her childhood in the Transkei; another had come to the city in 1937 as a young girl; four had come because either they or one of their children were ill; five had come to find work to support themselves and their children; six had come to be with their husbands and conceive children; two had come to find husbands from whom they had neither heard nor received money for a long time; one had come to live with her husband after she had been twenty years without him in the countryside; and the last had come because her husband had called her. They all came to Crossroads in order to find somewhere to live, in some cases alone, in some with their children and in some as families. Three extracts from the women's accounts of their arrival in town follow.

Thenjiwe is a slight woman with a small face: she is a little bitter but shy and sweet natured. She said:

"I received a letter in 1974 from Cape Town asking me to go there. I was afraid because of what I had heard about people being arrested in the city. A man brought me by car. He took me to a house in a location that was full of drunk people. I was told that I would be collected the next day. My brother's wife came to me. It was a Sunday and the area to which I was taken was free of policemen. I stayed indoors afraid of arrest. At sunset I was taken back to the location. I felt lost: I did not even know where the toilet was. I could not find my way alone.

People stared at me as I had on country clothes and my husband's coat. I defied them. I found my husband and saw that he had rejected me. After two months I was forced to return to the Transkei. A year later I came to build in Crossroads and was not as afraid as before."

Nomanise first came to Cape Town in 1960. She has a pale skin with deep set eyes and a fine shaped face. Her life seemed particularly sad as she was widowed young and had lost three of her five children. She lodges with her daughters aged thirteen and eleven. She said that she did not work and that the owner of the house helped her. I did not discover what their relationship was.

Nomanise: "I had many difficulties when I first came to Cape Town. It was an area without women. I was unhappy about the death of my husband but had come to join my boyfriend. We stayed in a small house with three beds and when the men went to work, I too had to leave the house. It was part of a road construction camp, just outside Cape Town. The policemen used to open up the houses to check for unwanted people like me, so

I used to hide in the bush. Other women came to join their men and we built shacks in the bush. It was better. In ten years, I bore three children. In 1970, we moved into Cape Town and things were much more difficult as there was no bush in which to hide from the police. I was caught every now and then. The first time I cried and no one comforted me. The policemen yelled at me to be quiet. I stayed in prison for three days until friends bailed me out. The conditions were horrifying with the inmates drinking and eating next to the toilet. Both the white and black police were equally oppressive. Conditions in Crossroads are better but not all that good. My boyfriend returned to the Transkei and I am living alone with my children.

Nomaka is a large woman with a powerful presence. She was a widow with eight children and she had lost six others. She was training to be an iggira and earned some money sewing and letting out rooms. In 1971, she came to Cape Town to seek work "because of hunger." She had worked in the Eastern Cape for a white woman but sought higher wages in the city. She spoke a little Afrikaans.

Nomaka: "I arrived in Cape Town with no money, no shoes, no bus fare. The owner of the bus said I could pay him later. I had only two long traditional dresses. It was a Sunday and I was mystified by the neon lights that came on at sunset. I was afraid of the police and terrified when I saw a landrover.

"I stayed four months with a man and his coloured wife, but I failed to find a job. I cooked for men and earned enough to buy bread and a drink. A friend gave me her position as a domestic and I gave her half of my monthly wage of R20,00. I found another job and earned R30,00 and eventually R42,00 after four years. I was given a place to sleep and food at work. I lost the job in the fifth year when I returned to the Transkei.

"During a police raid in a township, I was caught hiding in a toilet. I spent a day in prison and paid a fine of R20,00. My boyfriend had wanted to build in Crossroads but I had resisted. After the arrest, I was willing to go there. We were harassed but had the protection of a lawyer in Crossroads."

## NETWORKS

Once in town, networks of kin, friends and "home-people" became important. A woman without the support of such networks is much pitied. The following is an account of an occasion in which "home-people" offered support to a woman living on her own without a man in Crossroads.

Vuyokazi is tall and thin and has a face full of humour. She loves to talk and does so with wit and fervour. She wears black plastic rings in her ears and is often dressed in black stockings and skirt and a maroon lace blouse. She sells fruit and chars once a week. She lives in her own house with her two children and lodgers who include Nukwa and his mother.

One evening, a young woman who lived nearby with a member of the Crossroads Young Executive Committee came to her house and accused Vuyokazi of conspiring with her daughter who was having an affair with this same young man. A fight ensued and the girl stabbed Vuyokazi in the chest. The men from her home town in the Transkei were alerted and came to her assistance. They took her to hospital and reported the matter to the police and to the Crossroads Executive Committee. They supported Vuyokazi through prolonged negotiations until the matter was settled with an apology from the girl and a warning to her.

Comradeship can be illustrated by an account of an incident that occurred during a session. A psycho-dramatist, June Hare, led the session during which Vuyokazi acted out a scene from the bus boycott and Thenjiwe acted out her anxiety about her house burning down. We moved on to discuss dreams and Nokoyo announced that Nomaka (the initiate) was "not feeling good in her soul and needs to have us all sing her song." Nomaka and Nokoyo danced as the amaggira do, rippling each muscle from head to toe, and Nomaka spoke as an igqira. She was clearly very moved and deep in her experience. Colette drummed on my rubbish bin while the rest sang.

Eventually Nomaka stopped dancing and declared that she felt much better, thanked us and sat down exhausted. The incident was a fine demonstration of the role that drama plays in the lives of the women: the use of song, movement, group participation and self-expression to release tension.

Later in the year, Nokoyo's house burnt down and she lost all her possessions. She recounted how her neighbours helped her to build again:

"The neighbours helped me. They gave me samp (maize) and a primus stove. Others gave me poles and helped me to put up a new house. I can't stay under other people (as a lodger); I had a number (a registered house number). I was mixed in my mind, I had no strength anymore."

We had one session during which we discussed money. Not surprisingly, the women knew little about the mechanics of saving, interest, investment and so on. Their understanding was summed up by Nomaka who said, "When I first deposited some money in a savings account at the bank, I was afraid when I saw the teller mix my money with other people's money and I wondered how he would find it when I needed it." Only one of the students had a savings account and, as far as they knew, only one of their husbands had one.

## AMAGQIRA

We discussed the training of amagqira and their efficacy as healers. Nomaka told us about her initiation but could not reveal her dreams as that would dissipate their power and cause the shades to desert her. Nokoyo told us what it was like to have a mother who was an igqira and Vuyokazi told us how her partially blind sister had been initiated at the age of eight.

One of the tutors believed that her son had been bewitched: ants had been placed within his body. She had spent over R150,00 on traditional cures and had had him hospitalized a few times. During 1980, he grew violent but was calm and sensible when on medication.

Most of the women expressed some scepticism about amagqira's abilities to heal. Only Nomayithi was not a Christian. They all used Western medicine but many felt that certain problems could be treated only by amagqira. Scepticism was often tempered.

Among the students was a novice igqira, another who had refused a calling and a ixhwele, a herbalist. The women quite often acted as amagqira and sang their songs. They did so with great authenticity and humour. The initate and the ixhwele joined in, not seeming to mind the irreligious atmosphere.

## SUMMARY

Despite having secured permission to work and live in the Cape Peninsula and having been promised the right to rent brick houses in New Crossroads, some of the women still felt insecure. They were afraid of losing their rights through failure to pay rent; they were afraid that all their children would not be given permission to live in the city; they were afraid of burglars climbing through the glass windows of the new houses; they were afraid of both the South African Police and the Crossroads vigilante police.

At our final meeting, the women said that they had become a cohesive group and wished to turn the solidarity to some good effect. We discussed what they might do and then decided to form a vegetable co-operative. Vuyokazi knew of some good land

nearby and we sought and received the farmer's permission to rent it from him. We needed permission from the Cape Administration Board to build a small shelter to guard the crop at night. Permission was provisionally granted but had to be cleared by Cabinet in Pretoria. Again permission was granted with the proviso that the Western Cape Farmer's Union concur. They did not.

The women incorporate parts of their traditional beliefs, attitudes, habits and symbolic references into a way of viewing the world. Sahlins (1981:70) writing about the categorical revaluation of signs, and the people who live by them, claims that:

"The world is experienced as already segmented by relative principles of significance; and even if the experience proves contradictory to people's categorical presuppositions, still the process of redefinition is motivated in the logic of their cultural categories."

He (1981:72) argues that there is a sui generis development of cultural relationships:

"a working out of the categories of being and things as guided by interests and fitted to contexts ... such working disagreements ... may entail some arrangement of conflicting intentions and interpretations, even as the meaningful relationships so established conflict with established relationships."

Sahlins (1981:72) is saying that "relationships themselves are put at issue, not just this or that cultural category." In South Africa there is a need to examine why some rituals continue to be observed and others dropped and how the process of redefinition of symbolic reference is made. Once that is done we may begin to understand how society introduces the child to its categories.

## CHAPTER 3: THE PLAY AND SONGS OF CHILDREN IN CROSSROADS

As do the first two chapters, Chapter Three gives material that supplements the central concern of the thesis. It records the play and songs of children aged ten or less who live in Crossroads. As part of my study of fourteen children, I needed to know what games they played, when, where and with whom. It was, obviously, not possible to observe their play in isolation and I therefore recorded all instances of play in the society of children that I observed during the eighteen months whether or not they involved a child from the sample.

Young children in Crossroads spend time either at a crèche or at school, at home with kin or neighbours or at play in the sand. They travel very little and there is no organized entertainment for them. There is no library within easy access and there are only a few privately owned television sets in the settlement. Some children listen to radios but none that I knew could determine when to listen in peace to particular programmes. Family outings to church, visits to adjacent black townships and occasional shopping expeditions to peri-urban centres provide children with their major form of entertainment outside the settlement.

I did not record children's play with the intention of establishing any theoretical point of view. There is a rich literature on the subject\* and there is a need for an analysis of play in the South African context. It is an aspect of poverty that people, including children, may live within fairly close proximity to a variety of facilities yet not take advantage of them. In South Africa access to beaches and public amenities are, often enough, determined by the colour of one's skin, but even when there are no restrictions opportunities are not always taken. One reason, in Cape Town at least, is that blacks are forced to live far from the areas

---

\*For further reading on children's play see : Bower et al, 1982; Bruner et al, 1982; Finley and Layne, 1971; Garvey, 1977; Mead, 1928 and 1930; Millar, 1968; Piaget, 1951 and Singer, 1973.

of play monopolized by whites and the cost of transport to and from is high. Of the fourteen children in the sample none had been to the zoo, none had walked on either of the ranges of mountains (Table Mountain and Hottentot's Holland) that are visible from the dune tops in Crossroads, only a few had visited the city centre and only two had swum in the sea. Towards the end of 1980, two of the children came with me in the cable car to the top of Table Mountain. It was instructive to see their excitement in identifying known features and mapping routes on the large slice of the Cape peninsula that can be seen from there.

In analysing the children's ideas about space (see Chapter Six), I was surprised to find that they paid little attention to features of the landscape outside the settlement and that, for them, the origin and end point of routes was not of great interest. I should not have been surprised. When children are denied access to and, therefore, a feeling of community with the terrain either through poverty or discriminatory legislation, they may be denied a sense of control over or connection with that terrain. A comparative study around that point could be fruitful. My point here is that there are few matters that relate to the development of cognition that can be studied in isolation. A child's use of space, particularly in play, reflects the child's liberty and wealth which reflects the nature of the economic and political realities that determine the society in which the child exists. An obvious point but one grossly neglected by those who write about cognitive development. I do not mean to imply that privileged children in the South African context use play or develop notions of space that are necessarily superior but only that the criteria against which they are measured should not be biased.

The chapter has two sections : one on the play and the other on the songs of young children in Crossroads.

## PLAY

The following collection of observations of child play celebrates the innovation, ingenuity and imagination of children. Some useful pointers that contribute to the general thesis emerge and some methodological issues suggest themselves. The bulk of the incidents of play that have been recorded occurred outside and were noted during the course of other investigations. At the scene of play the number of children involved, an estimate of their ages, their sex, the materials used, the space occupied, the rules in effect, and, when possible, conversation, roles and interaction were noted.

About 200 play scenes were recorded in which 783 children were engaged in some 70 different kinds of play. I made no attempt to sample systematically and recorded only a smattering of many incidents such as the spinning of tops that seemed to spread through the child population like measles epidemics. In some sense, the scenes recorded may be said to have been selected at random. They were noted at all times of day, indoors and outdoors though largely the latter, amongst one or many children, close to home and far away, and in all seasons.

The most striking feature of all play was the ingenuity with which materials found in the environment were put to use. Materials used in play fell into three categories : those manufactured for play; those found in the environment and adapted for play; and those borrowed from the adult world. In the first category, I noted in use only five varieties of items that had been specifically manufactured for the purpose: balls, spinning tops, dolls, playing cards and cars. There were few of each in Crossroads. Substitutes were more commonly found. In the second category, there were 28 varieties of items that formed the material base from which playthings were made. They were salvaged from the environment, particularly from rubbish dumps. There was a large city dump near Crossroads and when tip-trucks arrived, women and children would be seen walking behind them, foraging for useful scraps. Factory off-cuts were a good source of supply for certain materials such as small rounds of wood that were used as draughts or wire for making vehicles. The materials most often used besides

the ubiquitous sand were bricks, stones, rope, string, wire, plastic bottles, sticks, wooden off-cuts, bottle tops, elastic, tins, milk bottles, boards, zinc, springs, wheels, nails, rubber, plastic sheets, pieces of coal, cloth, hide and nylon thread. The third category included items borrowed from home such as spades, combs, slippers, bias binding, sjamboks (whips), shoes, drums and bicycles. Coins, begged, borrowed or earned, were another popular item if we stretch play to include simple gambling games played by young teenagers.

The uses of sand were myriad. It could be moulded into homes; constructed into roads; thrown for dogs to catch; carried in tins as water; bounded as rivers for swimming; dug in for treasure; shaped for cakes; carved into holes for "jacks"; drawn in, and even used to stuff down an enemy's nose and mouth. A child simply had to squat and begin to re-create the medium and, in a wink, other children would join the game. Maree and Cornell (1978) estimated that in Crossroads there were 6,2 persons per household of which 3,2 were adults and 3,0 children (see the Introduction). As there were some 3 000 shacks, the child population was estimated at about 9 000. In the homes of the families with whom I worked, there was an average of 6,8 children per house. It is possible that there were many more than 9 000 children. In the heart of Crossroads there was an intersection, a crossroads, near which Yameka, Togu, Gwali, Gedja, Zuziwe and Saliswa lived. During the day, I would often stop for a moment to count the number of children at the intersection and I never counted less than forty under ten years of age. Playmates were readily available.

Among the crazes that swept through the child population were hula hoops (made of iron), spinning tops and swings. Suddenly, so it seemed, every child was swaying his or her hips to keep an iron ring in motion. The hula hoop craze had blown in. Even tiny children undulated with nonchalance. Just as suddenly, something else suited the children's mood : spinning tops, perhaps. There was an elaborate game in which a top was spun on the ground and then lifted while moving. The tops would vanish and swings would magically hang from every lean-to as if spiders had spun them in the night. Occasionally

an outside event such as the Gerry Coetzee and John Tate boxing match would spark off a craze. Cloth would be carefully wound onto children's hands to form most realistic gloves; fights would be staged sometimes amidst the full paraphernalia of rings, towels, trainers and heckling audience.



11: Children on Swings

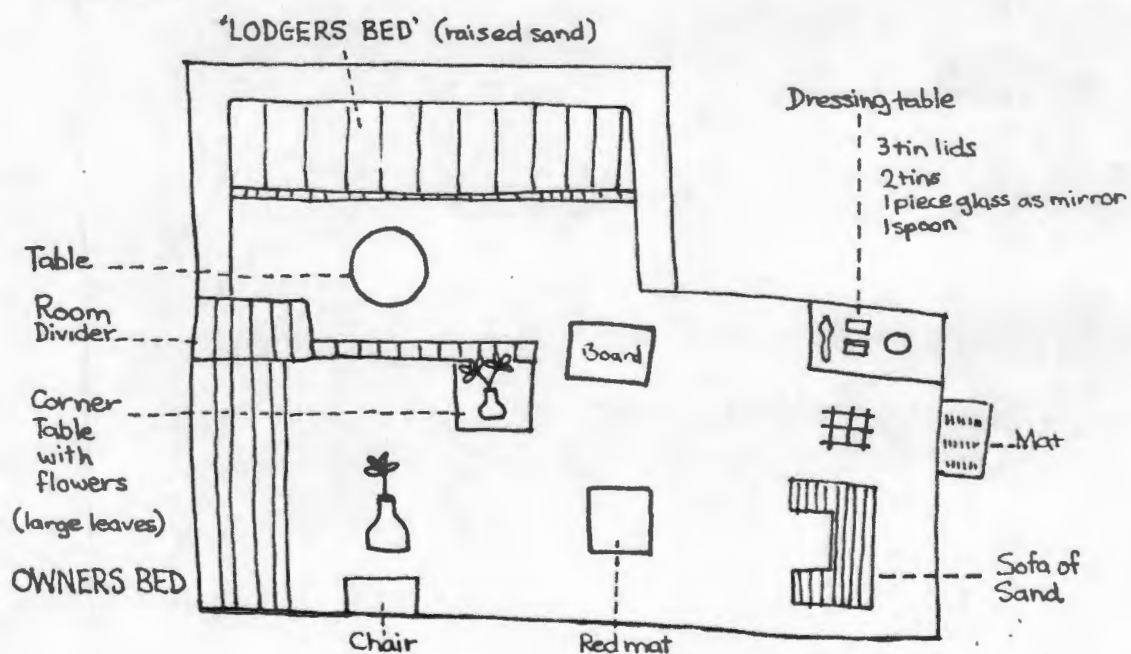
Apart from such crazes, the most popular forms of play were making houses and roads in the sand and cars out of wire. I only noted a fraction of the instances of such play. Nevertheless, out of the 200 play situations recorded one tenth pivoted around houses and roads and another tenth around wire cars. The third most frequently noted scene was play with drums, usually accompanied by amaggira songs and dances. Fourth position was

shared by doll and ball play, then hopscotch; other sand play, uchiki - a form of "jacks" or "chuckies"; card games; gambling and boxing. Together these ten forms of play made up half the scenes.

### Houses in the Sand

The houses varied in the complexity of their design, the variety of materials used and in the numbers of the children involved. For example, one small girl playing alone etched the plan of a house in the sand using two plastic spoons while, in contrast, thirteen children built a village in the dunes using a wide selection of scraps, leaves and household items. In the latter example, two girls began to build on a high soft dune and within an hour there were thirteen children (seven girls and six boys) "extending," so they said. The first house was made of sand with 16 cm. high walls that had been firmly stamped and patted. Some walls were made of brick. Angles were clear and walls, beds and tables were shaped with a small piece of linoleum. The assignment of space was organized and the furnishing elaborate.

26.3.80.



The "owner" was a girl of ten and her "lodger" a girl of seven.  
Figure 1: House in the Sand - Number One.

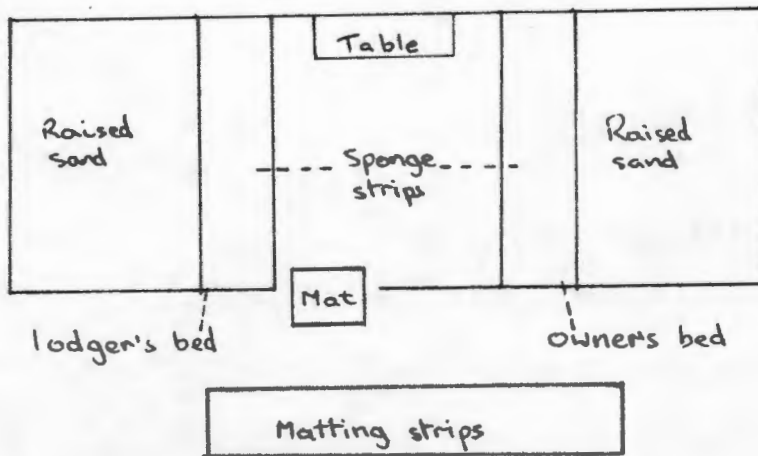


Figure 2: House in the Sand - Number Two

In this house, too, the "owner" was a girl of ten and the "lodger" a girl of seven.

An hour later, thirteen children all ten years old or less had collected broad leaves and had stuck them like hedges into the sand walls. There were five new rooms in one of which two boys were asleep on brown paper beds.

Four girls aged ten, eight, seven and six made the following complex near their school.

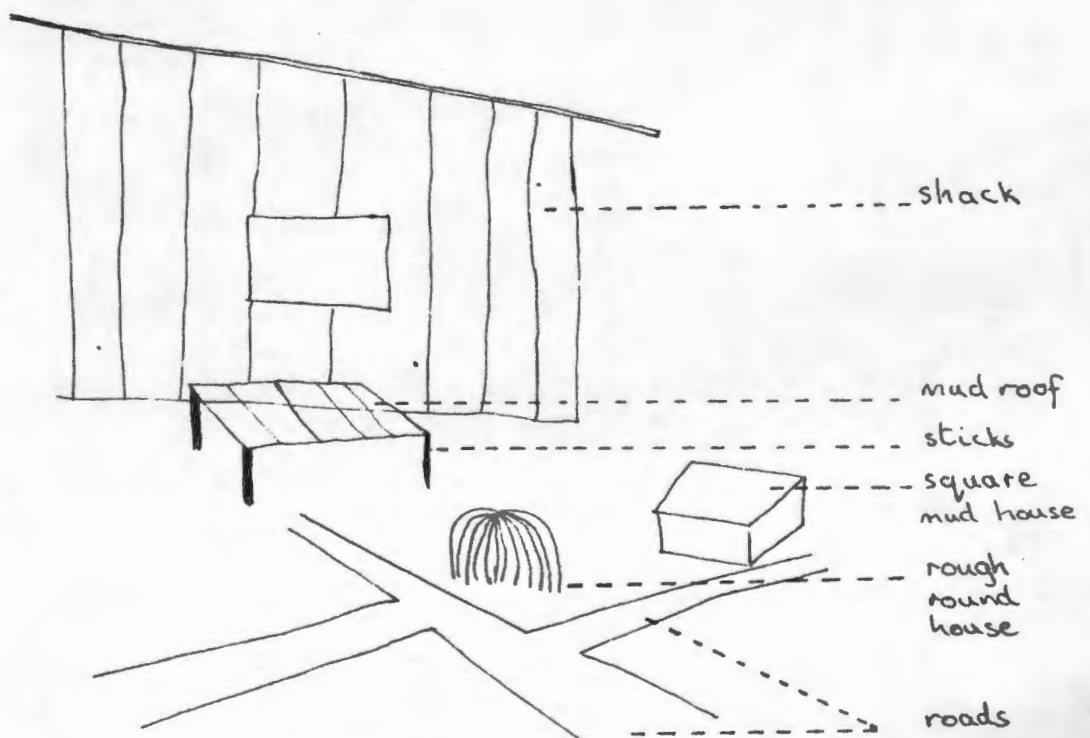


Figure 3: House in the Sand - Number Three

Six children of whom one was a boy, aged between four and seven made large mounds in the yard. They used bricks, plastic bottles and glass jars in the construction and the same for carrying "water" to the site, that is, sand. 30.4.80.

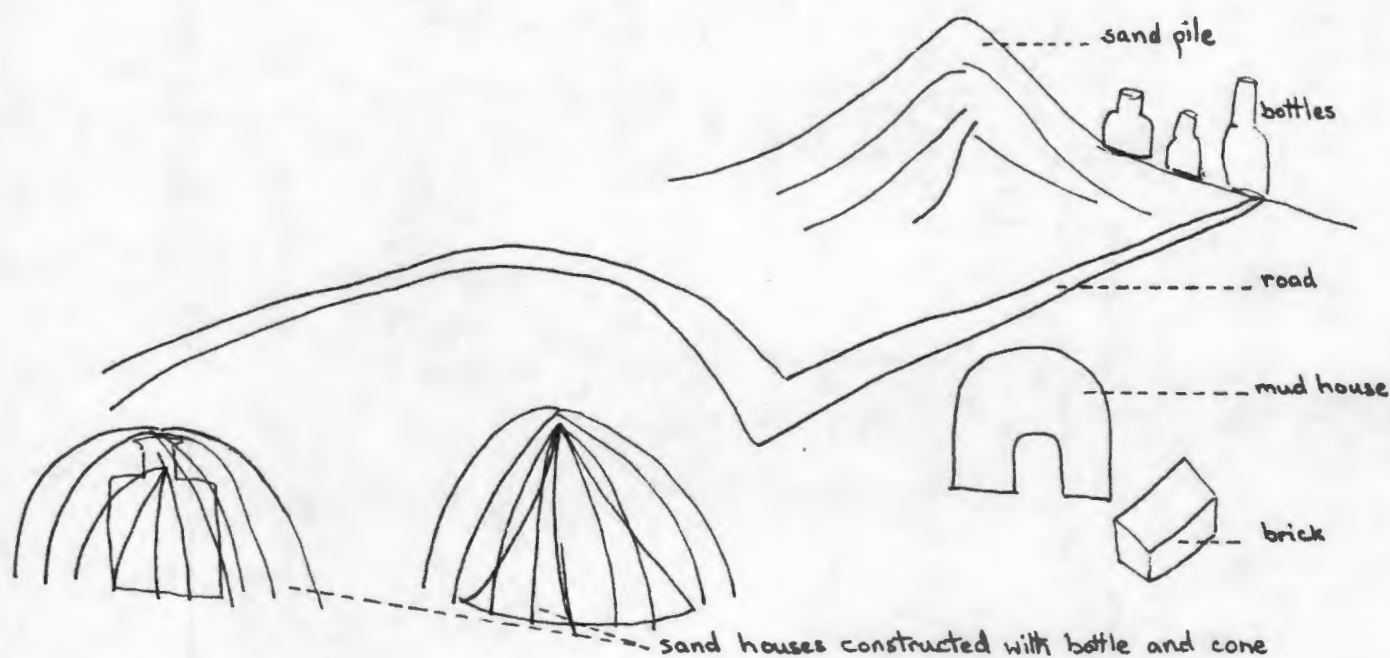


Figure 4: House in the Sand - Number Four

A storekeeper's child aged eight, and five friends between five and eleven years made a house outside her parent's shop. 19.6.80.

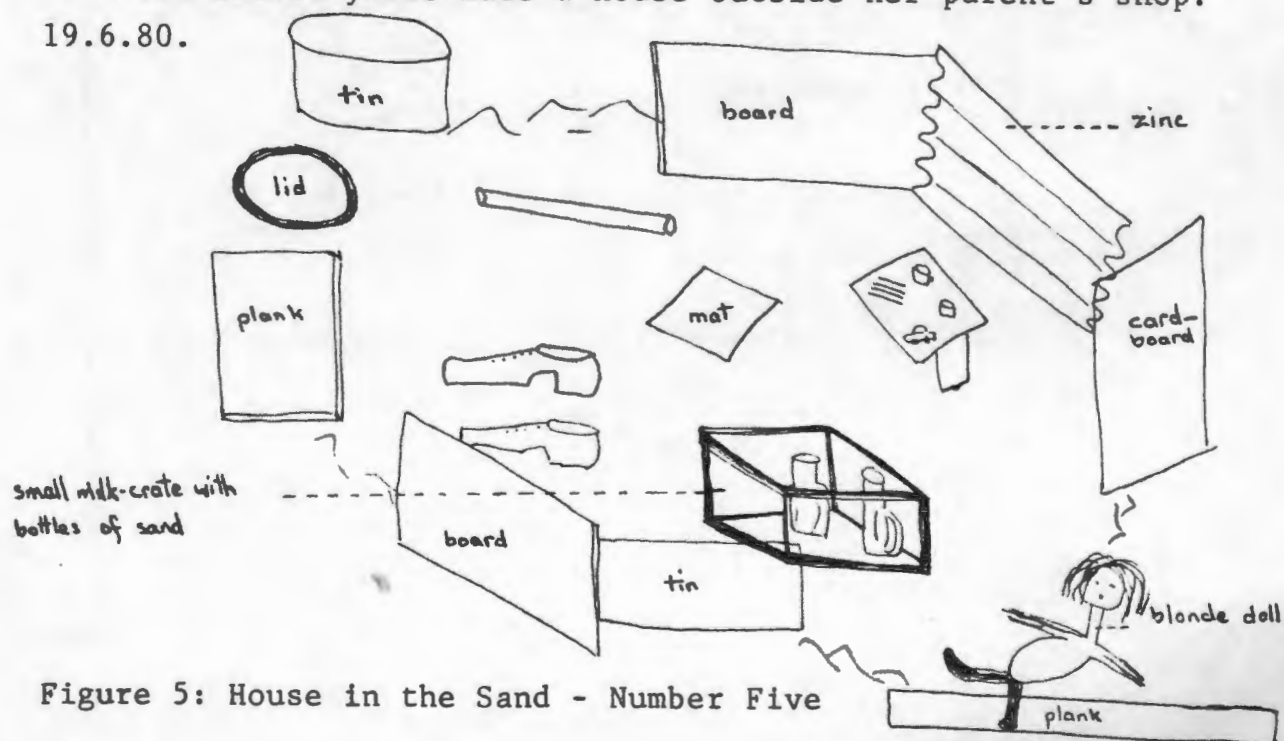


Figure 5: House in the Sand - Number Five

Seven boys and one girl aged from four to ten made a scene in a narrow space between a wall and the road. They used empty packets of Omo soap, Joko tea and Lexington cigarettes, pieces of zinc and some iron pipe.

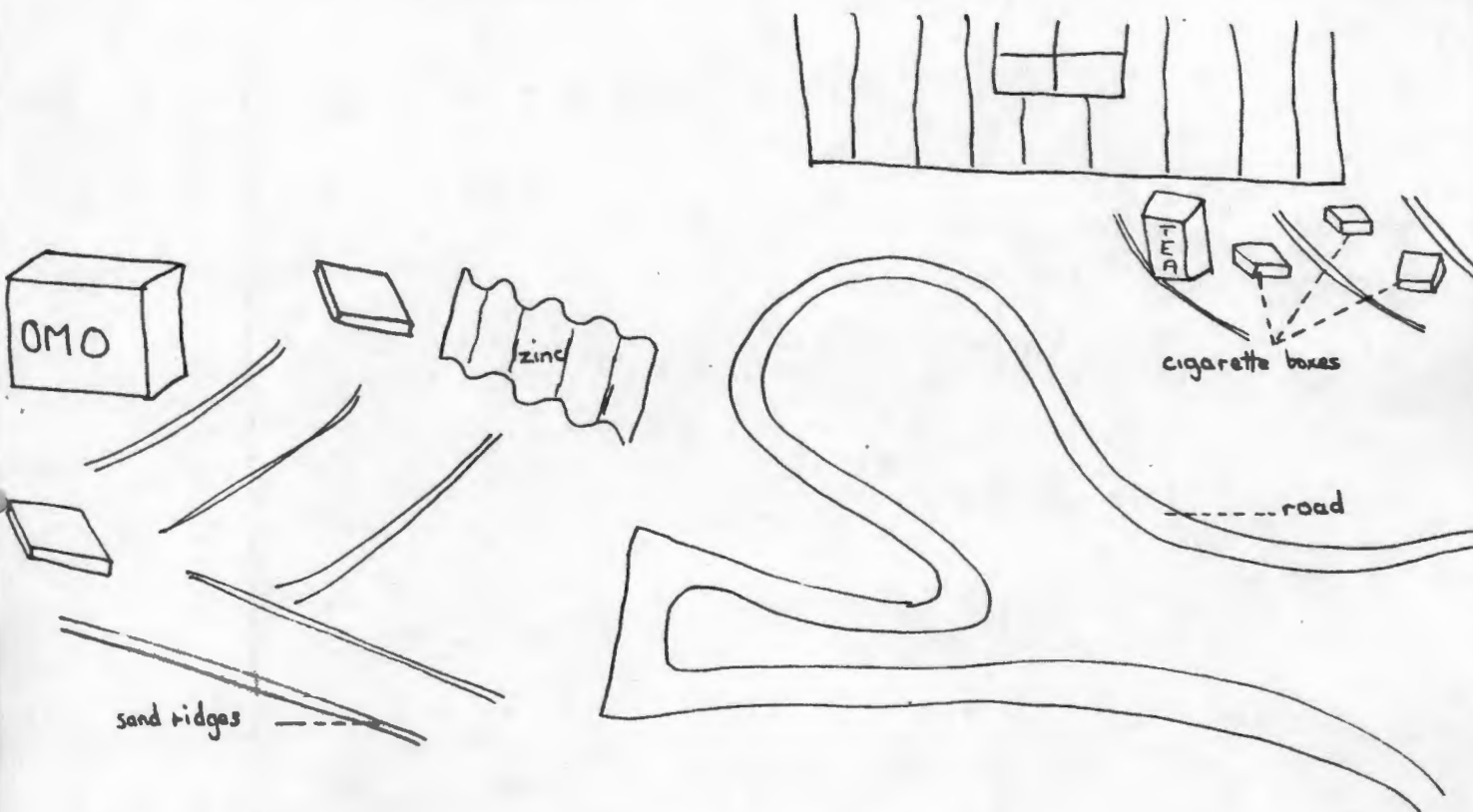


Figure 6: House in the Sand - Number Six.

#### Roads

Road networks were often complex and carefully elaborated. A group of boys aged seven to nine landscaped the following on a side-road within the settlement, covering an area about 6 x 4 metres. Roads connected parking areas, hills and forests (bunches of sticks) rather like this.

30.4.80.

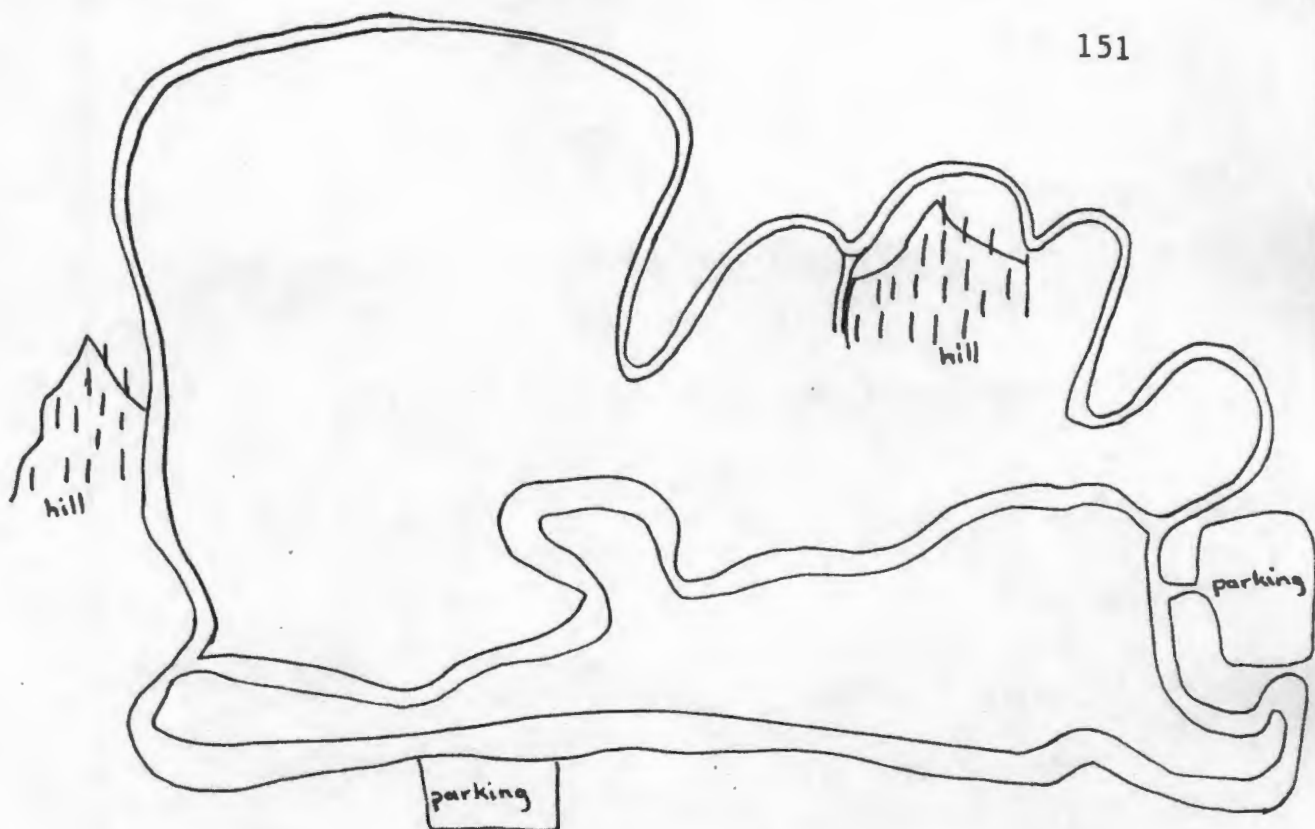


Figure 7: A Road Network in the sand.

In another road network, two boys of five and eight years used round wooden off-cuts painted brown and green as the traffic lights. Occasionally a child would have a metal car or plastic vehicle, but often bricks would be used as cars as six boys aged three to five did on 12.8.80; three children, aged 5,7, 9, including a girl, used two pieces of wood nailed together on 6.5.80. They made a wide road, scraped 2,5 cm. into the sand with the banks built up, and they used bricks and planks to make a tunnel. One child had a small plastic car and the others had blocks of wood. The girl seemed to be directing the play.

#### Wire Cars

Iimoto, cars made of wire, could be seen at any time although production increased dramatically when "imports" of wire hit the "market." The designs ranged from the elegantly simple to the mechanically intricate. The principle elements of a car consisted of a long steering rod, which the child could hold as he ran, attached to a base that rolled. The simplest was a wire fixed to a plastic bottle:



Figure 8: Car Design - Number One

The basic materials were wire and wheels made from the bottom of plastic bottles, tin lids, buttons, cotton reels or wood, or taken off old prams or toys. Most cars were made by boys between the ages of seven and fourteen, although some fathers made them for their small sons.

Out of the innumerable instances of play with or the construction of cars that I saw, I recorded twenty-two involving eighty-seven children and almost as many cars. There was one design that was fairly widely used (Design 2), but for the rest there was a fascinating variety.

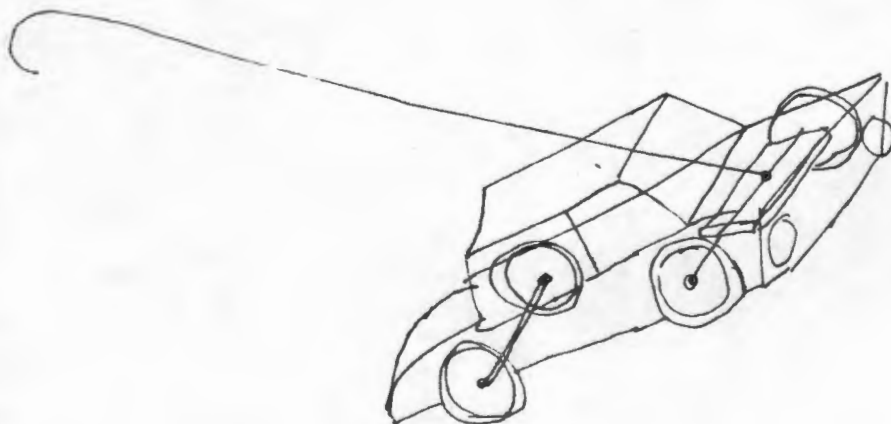
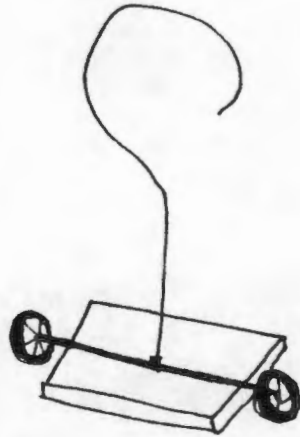


Figure 9: Car Design - Number Two

Road rollers, trucks, buses motor cycles and particular car models were made. Vehicles were among the few possessions that boys prized and they featured in their dreams and quarrels. In one Saturday morning scene, three boys aged nine, seven and five had collected wire, string and plastic bottles and were each making a car. They began by cutting off the bottoms of the bottles as wheels, then they attached wire frames held together with string and finally added long wires topped by rings as steering wheels. As they worked, the boys argued as to who owned which bit of material and from which rubbish bin it had been taken. The nine year old finished first and in response to a request for help from the youngest, said, "I cannot help you. I must go shopping. Take your car to the garage."

Essential items such as wire and wheels were used in barter. There were four stages involved in car play. The first was the acquisition of some materials; the second, barter and exchange; the third production; and the fourth, use of the vehicle. The production process involved boys finding, buying or begging for raw materials, often taking them quite far afield. The younger ones were slowly led out into the wider world of scrap yards and factories by the older boys. Having acquired materials, a process of barter or exchange often occurred. Once I saw twenty boys, who had made a good haul, set up a factory beside a road within Crossroads (14.11.80). Actual production was a learning situation and involved much discussion. Saliswa's nine year old brother made a car in a neighbour's yard and had in attendance eleven children between the ages of three and eight, some of whom offered help while others watched. He had obtained the wire from a nearby factory and was busy making a Toyota. He used two half-bricks and a stone the size of his fist to hammer the wire into shape. First he made the steering rod fixed to an axle and two front wheels.



Then he made two frames and



began to combine the whole.

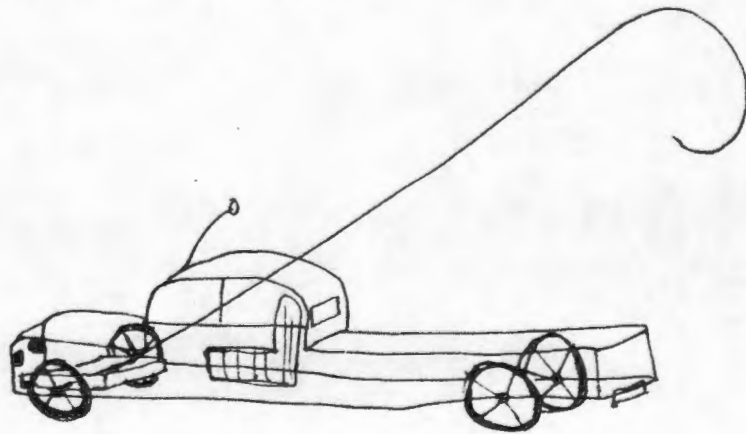


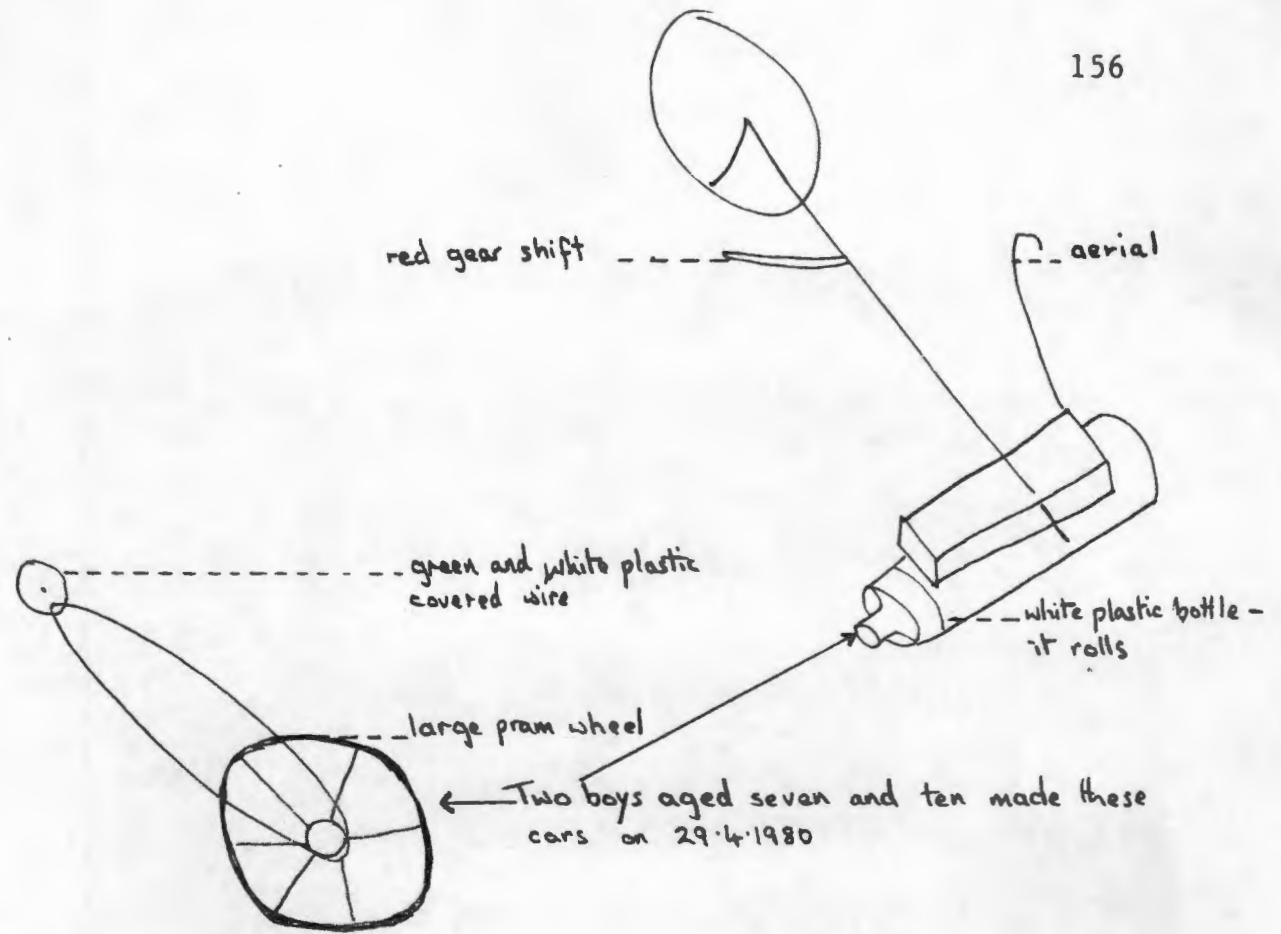
Figure 10: Car on the Assembly Line

Once made, cars were used in single play, small and large groups. Race tracks were meticulously planned and passionately lapped. Cars seemed to fulfill the same functions as dogs on leads, for they allowed the driver/master to explore the environment while visibly occupied in some necessary activity. Boys ranged far and wide in finding materials and in driving. Rallies were sometimes held over the dunes and through sizeable puddles.



12: The Start of a Rally

A closer study of the entire production process would inform one about the role of peers in learning. A sample of designs follows plus a note of the number of children, their sex and the date upon which the scene occurred.



A nine-year-old girl made this car on 5.5.1980

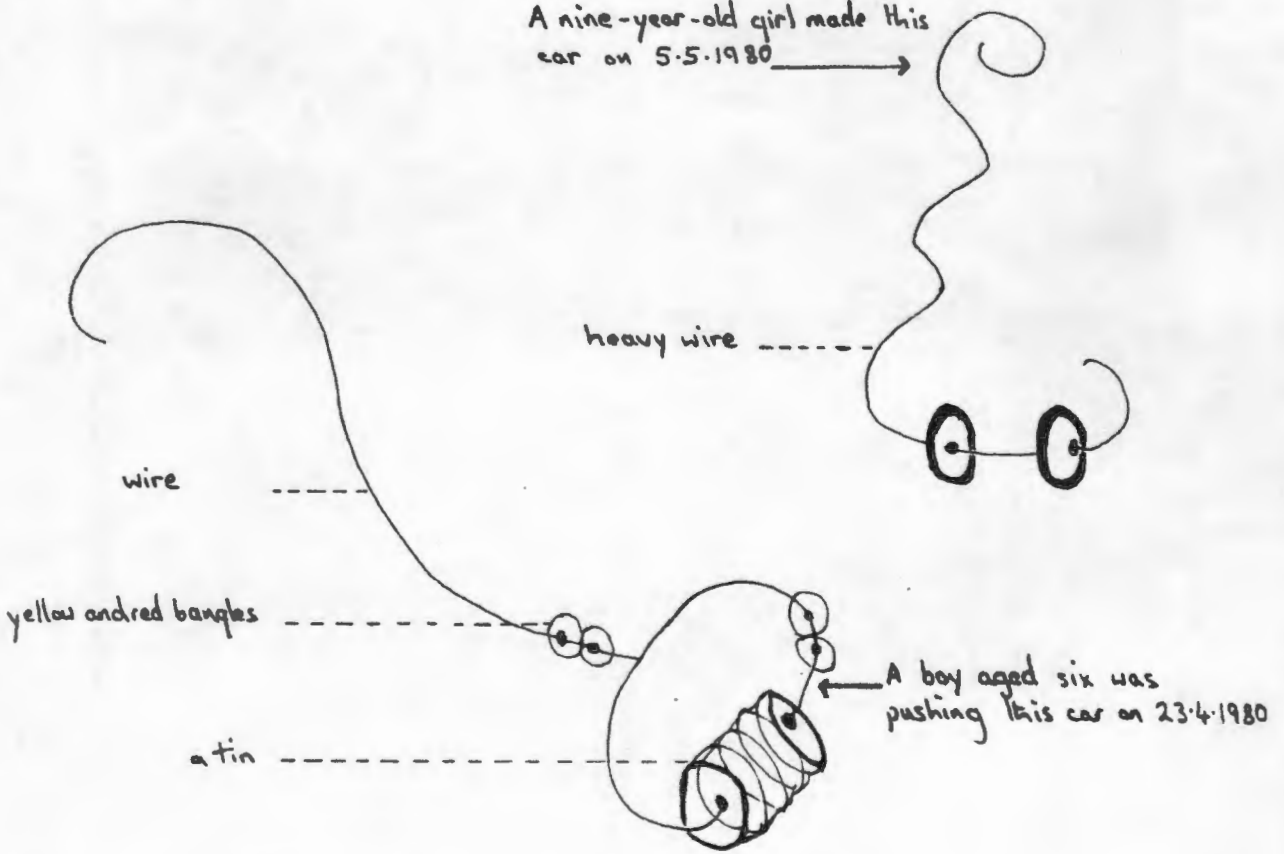


Figure 11: Some Car Designs

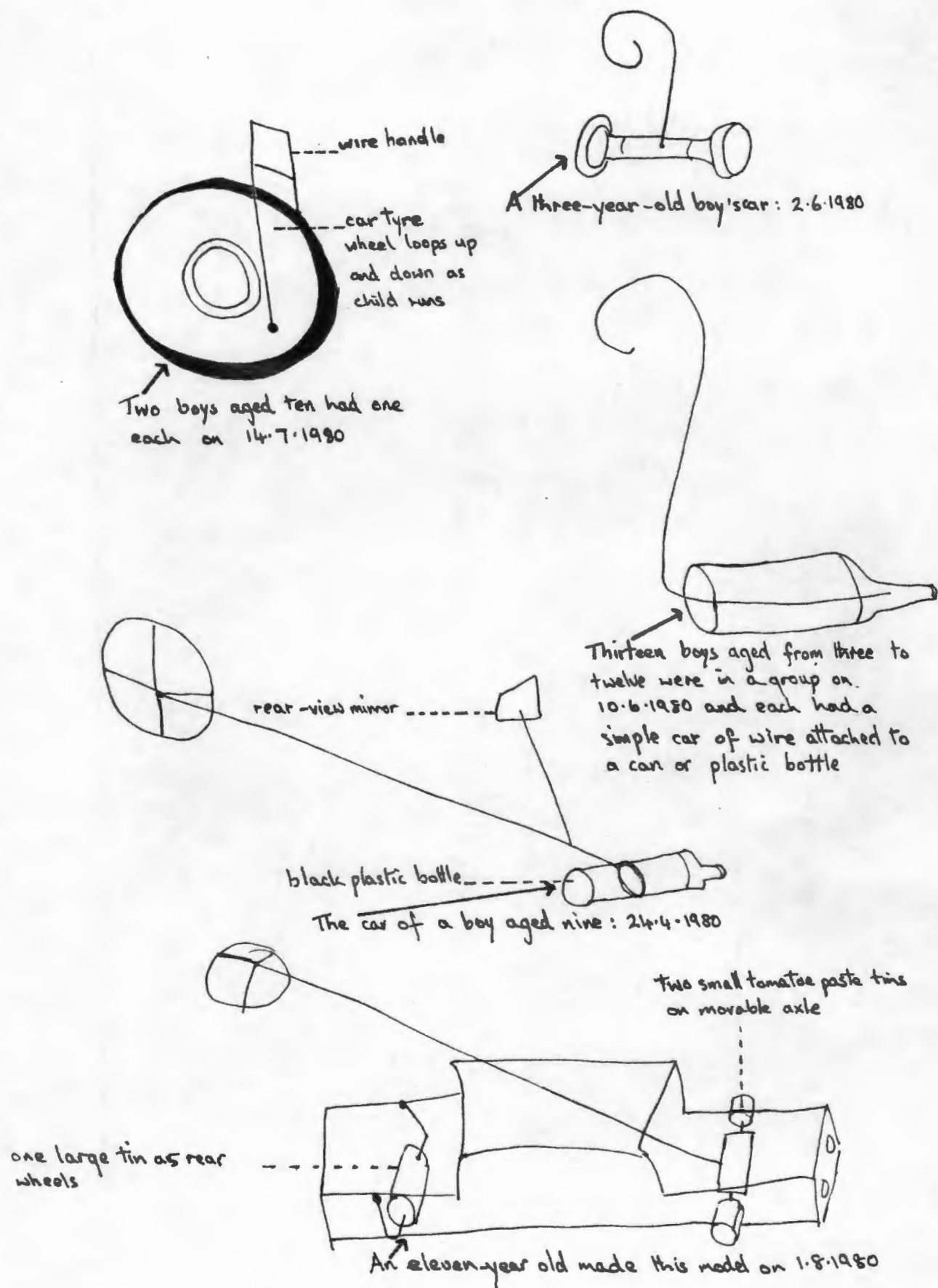


Figure 12: More Car Designs

## Games

Girls, too, made good use of materials at hand. They played many games using stones and sand. Sand was often used for washing, making mud packs and cooking.

Uggaphu was one game. It was hopscotch. Any of the following sets of squares might be drawn in the sand:

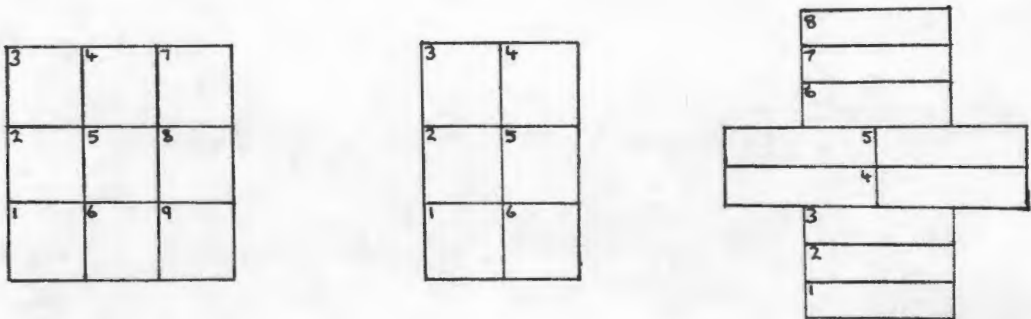


Figure 13: Drawings in the Sand for Uggaphu

Variations occurred in allocating a rest square and in the manner in which stones were thrown into the squares. Many children played a version in which the stone had to be kicked from square to square as the child hopped on one leg. Seven play scenes were noted involving twenty-six children. On one occasion, four girls aged six or seven were kicking the stone through a square pattern and teaching a five year old boy to play. They were very gentle with him although they laughed heartily at his failures. He laughed too.

Uchiki: in this stone game, a hole about 12 cm. in diameter and 3 to 5 cm. deep was scooped into the sand. It was filled with stones, often as many as twenty. Each child had one stone called iqununda. One would start by throwing her iqununda into the air and, before catching it, remove one stone from the hole. The stones were returned and she removed them two by two and so on until the stones were removed all together. The end of play was signified by the child throwing up her iqununda and patting the ground before catching it. She also made that sign if the remainder of the stones in the hole did not fit the number that she was removing. The one to complete the game first was

the winner. It was a common sight to see a small group of girls playing skillfully. I only recorded five scenes involving twenty-three girls and one boy between the ages of two and seventeen.

In Chapter 5, there is a note to the effect that girls performed more successfully on the Piagetian test of the conservation of discontinuous quantities when a variation of the test was given using stones and holes in the ground. The advantage of the game in learning to use numbers is obvious. I never saw a teacher make use of its potential.

Stenana was another game that was usually played by girls and that drew materials from the environment. It involved the use of bricks and a ball. Six bricks were piled in the middle of an open space and, in the game I recorded in detail on 8.3.80, two children stood close to the pile while two others stood further out and on either side of them.

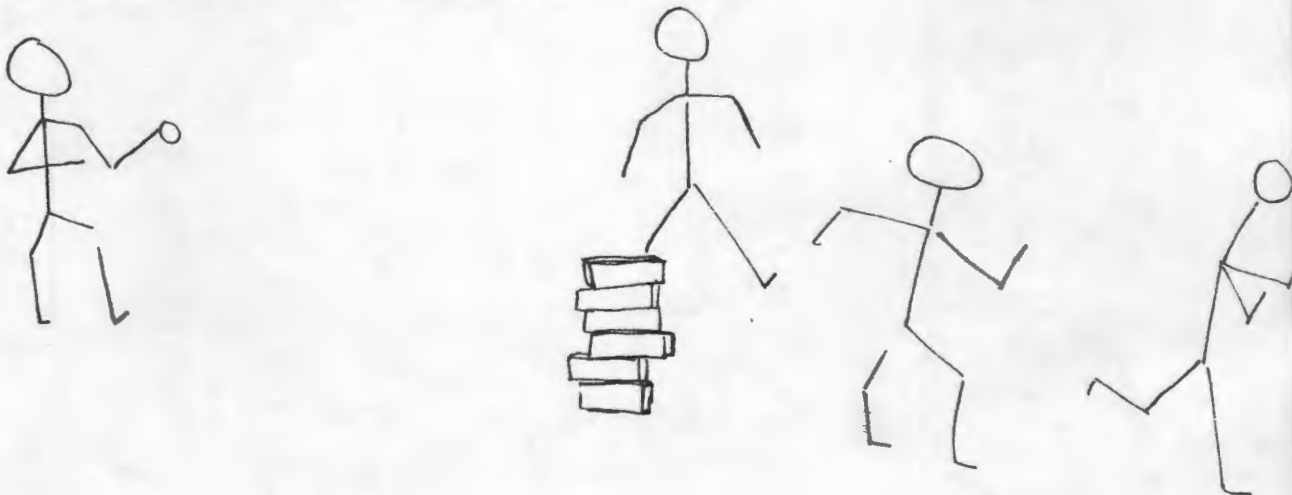


Figure 14: Sketch of Children Playing Stenana

The object of the game was to hit with the ball the two children in the middle : when one was hit, she would wait to one side until the other was hit whereupon it would be their turn to throw. If neither of the two was hit and the ball went far afield, the two in the middle quickly knocked over the pile of bricks and had to rebuild it before the ball was retrieved. When the ball was fetched, they could be hit but could resume building if the ball went astray again, and so gain one "game." On this occasion four girls between the ages of nine and sixteen were playing in a fenced-in yard.

Upopi/dolls: in doll play, I recorded nine scenes involving eighteen girls and a boy of four. Frequently, sticks, plastic bottles and other items were used as dolls. I watched an iggira's grandchild of two persuade a girl of five to tie a slipper to her back with a diaphanous red scraf and then sing and dance her "baby" to sleep (24.10.80). There were a few fair-haired dolls around but I saw no black dolls. The game was not played by children over the age of eight and the doll play of those between ages six and eight involved scrummaging through dustbins for pieces of cloth with which to make doll's clothes.



13: A Girl with a White Doll

## Violence

There was a notable lack of violence, actual or pretend, in the children's games. I saw only two children with guns - one child's gun was made of a heavy spring that he had bent over:

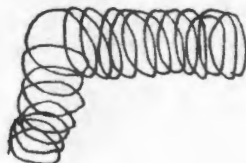


Figure 15: A Gun Made from a Spring

and the other's was a cow's jaw. I noticed only two fights, one between Cebo and a boy his age (5.8.80) and another in which one boy of six or seven years sat upon a boy about his size while he poured sand down the unfortunate's nose and mouth (24.11.80). The only bullying that I saw was officially sanctioned by teachers in the classrooms. There was violence enough in the society; for example, one young teenager was seriously beaten on the head with a brick by two adult men for attempting to pick their pockets and a child under ten was locked in the boot of a car for stealing from a hawker. There must have been more fights and more cases of bullying than was visible, but in a crowded space filled with children it is surprising that more were not in evidence. Sometimes I saw little children practising throwing stones and burning car tyres in the dunes just as older children were doing in their fights for political rights.

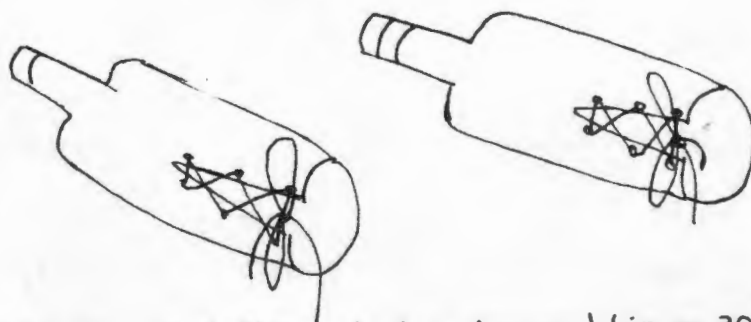
Girls tended to throw verbal missiles at each other. Perhaps following the example of some adults, children sometimes used offensive language and sexual innuendos to tease each other. For instance, after a set-to Zuziwe's friend said to her, "I will suck your breast, Zuziwe," and in her mouth was a balloon (23.10.80). Once Gwali teased a girl his age by dancing close

behind her with his pelvis stuck forward. Annoyed, she turned quickly and pushed him hard. He laughed delightedly and ran off leaving her to continue on her way (14.9.80). A girl of eight years, having run out of verbal abuse, showed her bottom to a boy of the same age as a gesture of disdain (24.10.80).

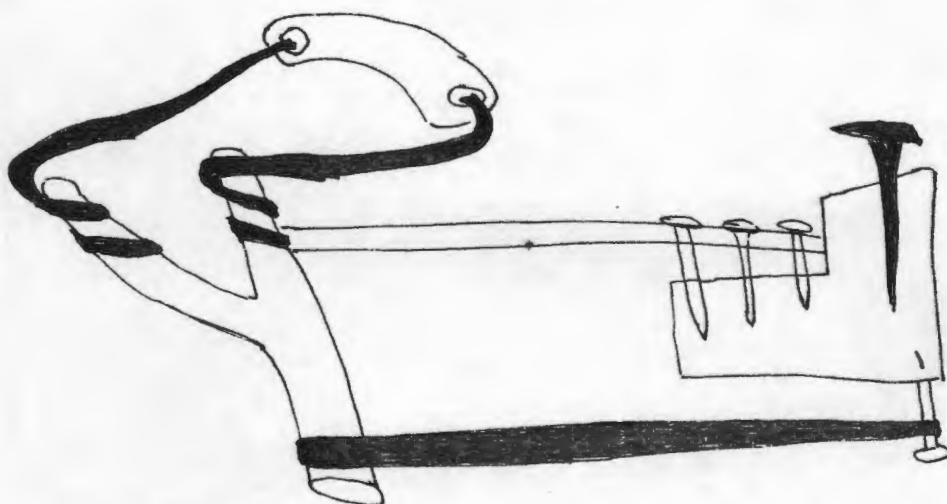
There were many other incidents of play that could be described : the making of aeroplanes, beer, fire-tins, guitars, drums, catapults, draughts and the playing of games like soccer, "cats and mice," skipping and "fox." There were games of pretence in which children were fleas or skollies (rascals) or herd boys or trains. There were children who drew in the sand, organized drill and piggy-back races.



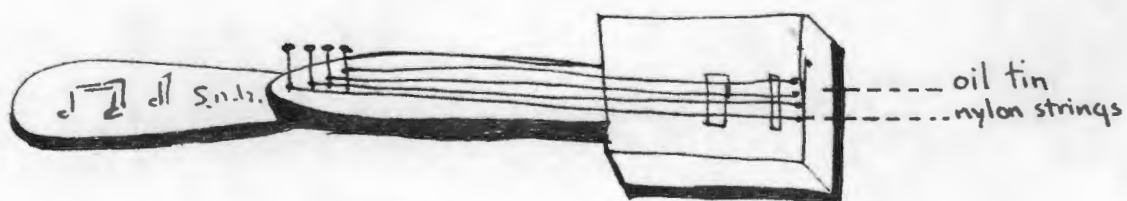
14: A Boy With His Catapult Gun



Shoes made out of plastic milk bottles: made by a boy aged five on 20.4.1980



A catapult-gun made by Cebo's cousin aged fourteen: 14.8.1980



A thirteen-year-old boy's guitar: 11.9.1980

Figure 16: Examples of Items Created by Children for Play

## Sex

Out of the play situations that were recorded, 42 per cent involved boys only, 33 per cent girls only and 25 per cent girls and boys. One third of the situations involved girls only, although girls were involved in only 40 per cent of the 200 play scenes recorded. One reason for this was that boys gathered in much larger groups than did girls. Out of seventeen scenes in which ten or more children were at play, eight were all boys and none were all girls. Of the seventy-one play scenes involving two or three children, 52 per cent were girls, 35 per cent boys and 12,6 per cent both sexes. That is, there were more play situations in which small groups of girls were involved than small groups of boys. Boys were involved exclusively in only 10 per cent more play scenes than were girls only, yet there were 20 per cent more boy players. Boys' play was more conspicuous than girls and it is quite likely that I noted their play more frequently than the quieter pursuits of girls.

There were divisions in the kind of play engaged in by the sexes. Boys, almost exclusively, played with cars, had physical fights, spun tops, gambled, played draughts, marched, played with dogs, and made catapults. More boys than girls played with balls, boxed, fought with sticks and ran races.

Girls played with dolls and ropes and the stone game. More girls than boys played hopscotch and card games. There seemed to be similar numbers of both sexes in amaggira play and games involving drums, sand, swings, hula hoops and trains.

## Age

In the varieties of play that were recorded, only three adults were seen as participants. One included a young man playing cards with a girl of ten (27.3.80) and the other two instances included Mrs Qasana and her lodger who were active combatants in a mock war in the Qasana home. One morning (28.10.80), I passed the shack and saw a grand battle in progress between Mrs Qasana, the woman lodger, Saliswa and a few little children on the one side and a young lodger, Saliswa's teenage brother and a gang of little ones on the

other. The former were on the inside and the latter on the outside of the shack. Shoes were flying between the Inside and the Outside armies. The Insiders had sticks as their weapons and doors as their shields : the Outsiders had a sjambok (whip) and a variety of missiles (shoes, etc.). As I watched, the Insiders retreated to the front bedroom shrieking and laughing as boots were hurled through the door and the sjambok cracked through the window. It was all tremendous fun.

My assistant, Mary, would not stop to watch. She walked on and waited for me. Other adults looked disapproving. They explained that it was a show of "less dignity." Even Hendrik, a teenager who had recently arrived from the Transkei, looked askance. "How," asked Mary, "can the children learn respect if they beat the mother and play the fool?"

At the scene of play I would ask the children their ages and estimate them. About 70 per cent of the incidents involved only children between ages five and ten; in 15 per cent there was one or more child of four years or less and in another 15 per cent there was one or more child over age ten. In Crossroads, the years between five and ten formed a span of time that was quite free and carried few responsibilities. Apart from running a few errands, performing a few household duties and fetching water, little was expected of children between these ages. The duties of a herdbooy and a child caretaker in the countryside make greater demands on children during these years.

I saw little child-care by children under twelve years. The ages of those involved in play given above support the observation. There was, I suppose little child-minding because of the dangers that surround living in an urban situation. Most houses had roads fairly close by and few yards were fenced. Houses were small and crowded with little space where dangerous items such as paraffin, matches and rat poison could be safely stored. Cooking and heating facilities were dangerous and there was no umzi (household grouping) with attached space over which all adults wielded some authority and

responsibility. If the prime care-taker, usually a mother or grandmother, had duties elsewhere, it meant a long journey and many hours away from home during which children could not be expected to assume full responsibility for toddlers. There was, of course, some care of youngsters by older siblings as the figures suggest : in 15 per cent of the play situations children under four were included and only 3 per cent involved only children of four years and under.



15: A Girl with her Charge

Children over ten years played some soccer and hopscotch and they boxed and gambled, but they were less often seen on the streets. There was no high school in Crossroads and many of them were either at school in the Transkei or the townships.

A major reason why they were not seen at play, given the lack of adequate study facilities and organized activities including sport, was that they, especially girls, were given heavy responsibilities in the home that left them little free time. Besides, a certain sense of decorum was demanded from girls over ten years.



16: Boys Gambling in the Street

In Crossroads, girls over ten years often ran the house while their mother worked or became involved in political or church issues. The burden of work for many of them was quite heavy. They were responsible for younger siblings yet they could not wield much authority. Both Zuziwe's and Tozama's

elder sisters, aged fourteen, found it difficult to handle their quick and headstrong younger sisters. On one occasion, Mr Ketshe called the fourteen year old to him and reprimanded her for being angry with the younger ones. A conflict in authority between parental expectations and town ways often occurs at this age. It is complicated by the dangers of the girl falling pregnant.

In one family that I knew well, the fourteen-year-old girl chafed at her work load and her mother's demands. One night, after a wedding, she did not return home. She was seen in Crossroads with her boyfriend. It was some days before she did come back, by which time her mother had called the child's father from the townships where he lived and another male relation. Their house was near my room and I could hear the child scream as she was beaten. Her mother had been known to chase annoying white women with a stick, but I could not help but go across. The beating being administered by the child's mother stopped. Some time later, the screaming resumed. Dr Roberts was in my room and she went over and found the father and the kinsman whipping the girl with a sjambok. She effected some reconciliation. Not long afterwards the girl again left home and her mother burnt all her clothes and refused to allow her to return. I found her temporary shelter and another reconciliation was effected. I heard of a number of cases where a young girl was publicly whipped, usually by a male kinsman and often for having fallen pregnant. Parental fury is understandable as not only are the chances of gaining from lobola payments lessened but the likelihood of having to rear another child is a burdensome prospect. Contraception of young girls is not easily accepted.

I noted children at work in other occupations. Some examples follow. One twelve-year-old boy gathered grass after school each day to feed his father's eight cows for which he earned R1,00 a week. A nine-year-old boy helped his mother chop wood to sell. A girl of seven helped her mother with laundry for which the mother earned R2,00 a load. It was not unusual to see children hawking produce prepared by their mothers; on one occasion (28.11.80), seven children, the oldest

of whom was seven, were selling potatoes for 20c a bag and had been told to sell them all before returning home despite the fact that it was raining. Boys would build go-carts out of pram or tricycle wheels and heavy plastic milk boxes with which they collected water and wood for housewives. For a large plastic barrel of water they would charge 35c and 10c for a small one. They gathered wood from the trees across the main road and charged 40c for a cart load. Children over ten years attended customers in the small shops or at the hawkers stands. Others helped with businesses such as tailoring and the making of tin trunks that were conducted in the homes.



Above: 17: Boys  
Washing Grass  
with which to  
feed cows.

Right: 18: A Mother  
and Child Selling  
Chicken Legs





Left: 19: A Cart

Below: 20: A Fifteen-Year-Old Boy in Charge of his Father's Shop



A closer study of children at work would need to be made to estimate their contributions, direct or indirect to the maintenance of the family. Many play situations were interrupted by demands made by adults to take a message, shop or perform some duty. One adult expressed her annoyance at seeing a child doing "nothing" and said that such a state of affairs should not be tolerated.

## SONGS

Song and dance can be seen as part of play. While few songs were expressly composed for children, songs were taken from the repertoire of the churches, political commentators and amaggira; the songs selected suited the children's needs in terms of voice exercise, body co-ordination, symbolic re-enactment and communal sharing.

When children in Crossroads sing, they always move with the rhythm. Movement and song are inseparable. During the first three months of fieldwork, I spent much of my time with children aged six and under in the crèches. Often as many as one hundred children would be gathered in a small room and they would spend a good part of each day singing and dancing. Sometimes a single session would last for two hours. A woman would lead the singing, but a child would introduce the group into the next song. Many songs had dance steps and gestures that accompanied them. One song was particularly moving. It had a chorus of "turu rurururu turu ..." that sounded like doves in the blue gums. The children would bend low from the waist as they sang the chorus and shuffle their feet in a quick, fancy rhythm. The meaning of the song contrasted sharply with its gentle sounds and steps:

Asina mthuthuzeli watsha ngumlilo.

Thumela uLazaro athi unothixo phina

Turu rurururu turu ruru turu

tururu turu ruru.

[We have no nanny (comforter), our nanny is burnt.

Send Lazarus and where is God?]

And so it was with many songs. Behind the harmony, hidden in the beat of the little fat thighs of girls and the quiet foot shuffle of small boys would be words of anger and loneliness and despair. Here are three songs that were sung by children aged five or under:

Jo ndenze njani kulomhlaba?

Oh, ndenze ntoni. Kumnyama

pambi kwam?

[How can I live in this world?  
Oh, what can I do? It is so dark  
ahead of me.]

Sisi, Nomtamsanqa, uhlola.  
uMama noTata abasifuni,  
be sitengela oTsotsi  
Basihlaba ngemela.  
Sisi, Nomatamsanqa, uhlola.  
[Sister, Mother-of-good-fortune, you are  
singled out.  
Mother and father do not want us,  
They sell us to thugs.  
They stab us with knives.  
Sister, Mother-of-good-fortune, you are  
singled out.]

Walila umzi akatyiwa sashiywa  
nguLipano. Xwalile pantsi  
kumhlaba amatombo enja aka ko.  
[The cry of the nation\*  
People could not eat when we mourned  
the death of Lipano.  
He is buried in the ground  
like a dog's intestines.]

The women said that they taught the songs to the children. Many of the songs were brought from the Transkei and some were composed in Crossroads. I have, in most cases used the translations given to my by women in Crossroads, although they are not always very literal.

I collected over one hundred songs from children most of whom were ten years old or less. Some of the songs were recorded in the crèches and many were overhead as children played and sang and danced in the dust of the dunes or around the imbawula (tins filled with burning coals) in winter. The

---

\*Or "the village mourned."

songs fall into three major categories each roughly equal in size: those derived from churches, political commentary and tradition. There were two minor categories: the songs composed by children and the songs that made social comments. I shall give examples of each in turn, after a discussion of music and learning.

In terms of their content, there were few songs that seemed to have been composed for children. Most songs, however, use repetition and sounds as if they are the instruments of the voice; the effect for a child must be something like an English nursery rhyme such as "The Grand Old Duke of York," which originally was a political comment. Children often took simple refrains and made them into songs like the following:

Loli, loli, loli, loli  
 Mthumele, mthumeleni,  
 Iyho, yo-yo, iyo-ho.  
 [Loli, loli, loli, loli  
 Send him, send him  
 Iyho yo-yo, iyo-ho.]  
 Siya' emthatha, emthatha  
 Thina, siya emthatha.  
 [We are going to Umtata ....]

Children almost always sang in groups. One might begin and others would soon come to join in. They had sizable repertoires. On 21.11.79, seventy children aged five or less were gathered in a room at a crèche that measured 12 by 15 m. They were singing Nkosi Sikelele iAfrica, the country's national anthem.\* I watched two three-year olds listen and copy and slowly gather confidence until they too were singing and dancing with accomplishment. The children next to the little ones appointed themselves tutors and they would slow down to demonstrate a

---

\*A leaflet written by Professor D.D.T. Jabavu of Fort Hare Native College, South Africa, published by Lovedale Press (South Africa) gives the history of this hymn. It was composed by a lay preacher Enoch Sontonga during the first World War. The Xhosa hymn to freedom, "Nkosi sikeleli iAfrica" (God Bless Africa) was translated into other languages. It expresses a national yearning for political liberation.

step or emphasize a phrase. I recorded many instances in which a woman would sing to an infant and dance him in her hands or drum for a toddler to dance.

On an evening in August, I watched an old man teach fifteen children to sing and dance. His drum was a large tin covered with hide. It had a hose pipe for a handle. He would drum and the children would dance. He would stop and talk and they would repeat what he said. He taught three five-year olds to sing:

"I am praying that I can pass my exam.  
I call on my ancestors."

A child of six took over the drumming. Then another. The old man used to teach them when he returned from foraging for scraps to sell. The children loved him and used to crowd around him on his return.

In September, I saw a girl aged four walk down the road as she drummed on a plastic bottle slung round her neck. She was pursued by a veritable Piper's collection of children.

In November, I came across ten children aged seven or less who had formed an orchestra in a space tucked between a house and a fence. Their instruments consisted of a plastic bucket turned upside down, sticks and tins half-filled with stones. What was noticeable about the children's play with music was that it was ordered, purposeful and sustained.

Older children would not dance quite so freely in the open, but they would sing as they walked. For example, three twelve-year-old girls sang the following as they walked through the shacks one July morning:

Ilizwe lethu, iSouth Africa,  
Lisithembisa ngenkululeko.  
Kuthiwa masiziphathe ngokwethu  
Thina bantsundu.  
Imithandazo yethu bantsundu  
ngaba wamkele na enkosini?

[Our country, South Africa,  
Promises us freedom.  
It is said we black people  
should rule ourselves.  
Are our prayers, we black  
people, heard by God?]

The first time that I saw Yameka, she was dancing with ten other children all under nine years of age. They were playing in a yard beneath washing lines and were using a large green plastic bottle as a drum. A child of four was drumming as the children sang:

Ye, mfazi ophekileyo  
khauphake kulanjiwe.  
Siyamphothula O! Hai.  
[Hey, woman who has cooked  
please dish out, we are hungry.  
We are grinding him (like mealies).]

The song probably comes from an intsomi (folk tale).

There seemed to be conscious efforts made to teach songs and rhythm and dance steps. There was more involved than simple repetition. A mother would beat to the rhythm of her child's feet; an older child would patiently repeat a step for a little one to follow; another may take over from an incompetent drummer and play a little and then hand back the sticks for him to try again; the old man gathered the children together to teach them: "They must learn," he said.

While in the Transkei in early 1981, I discussed learning and music with Father Dave Daigy and his marimba players at Lumko. Father Daigy's excitement about the complexity and intricacy of Xhosa vocal music was infectious. He rejects the theory that natural talent explains Africans' musical ability and says that it is carefully taught. He remembers seeing a woman teach her two-year old a simple song and then harmonize with the child's efforts.

There were six children playing in Father Daigy's group that day. They ranged in age from six to fifteen. One was an eight-year old girl. They played well and the youngest, whose father was a song composer, was particularly talented. Afterwards, they explained to me how they learned. One said, "Men sing more than women in the Church and at home. Yet it is the mothers who sing to the small children. It is from them that they hear the sounds. We used to listen to the women's songs. We do not know who created them." On learning to play the marimba, they insisted that first one must know the song and then the notes can be found. A fifteen-year old said, "I hear the note that will suit in the instrument. If the note sounds wrong, I change it and seek another note." A ten-year old added, "Father Daigy shows us the notes, but it is reminding not teaching. You first know the song and then you know the notes. You touch, touch all the notes and you get the one that suits the songs. You need not be clever to play. You must be interested and do it with your heart. Someone might be teaching you, but you will take your own way of making music."

The other children repeated the themes of creating music through love of it and of finding the notes rather than being taught them. They thought that a child who had been starved of music would not be able to learn to produce it. They confirmed my observations at Crossroads that in learning musicality there is a core of instruction, yet room for innovation. A woman uses her voice, her rhythm, her words in relation to the age of the child with whom she makes music. She and the child create together: she does not sing to the child but tunes her contribution into his attempts. Similarly, the older child creates with the younger. It is a learning process, not based on imitation and observation but on an intricate mesh of tones and syllables of rhythm and rhyme. A study of the process would inform us about learning and teaching techniques.

### Church Songs

Church songs were taken from every denomination and many of them had political overtones. One that was often sung was

"The Rivers of Babylon." Three of the church songs follow:

Ulizwi wadal' amazulu homhlaba  
 Ulizwi wadal' amazulu nomhlaba  
 Wadala, wadal' amazulu waphumla  
 Wadala, wadal' amazulu waphumla.

[Word created the heaven and the earth  
 Word created the heaven and the earth  
 He created, created the heaven and He rested.]

Ze nihlale ngokonwaba  
 Ze nihlale ngokonwaba  
 Ze nixel' uAdam no Efa  
 Bethel' emyezweni we Eden.

[You should stay in happiness ...  
 Like Adam and Eve  
 In the garden of Eden.]

Uzugcin' imithwelishumi  
 Ebhalwe kwincwadi engcwele.  
 Ukuba waphule wamnye  
 Uyaphule yonk' imithetho.

[You should keep the ten commandments  
 Written in the Holy Book.  
 Should you break one of them  
 You have broken all the commandments.]

Often the songs from the Zion churches were sung as part of a re-enactment of a church gathering with an all-child congregation. The leaders might be the children of church members, but many other children joined in. The occasions were remarkable for the intensity with which the children acted and their faithfulness to detail and expression. On 20.11.80, I recorded this scene:

About twenty small children, most of whom are under six years of age, are singing Zion songs near Mary's home. One drums on a plastic bottle as the others run fast in a tight circle singing -

Bavumeleni abantwana beze kum,  
 Jerusalem halala-ho-o-ha.  
 [Let the children come to Me,  
 Jerusalem halala-ho-o-ha.]

One girl falls in the dust and another falls upon her holding her down as if she was in a frenzy; one hand is in her hair as she prays for her recovery. The manic actions are imitated to perfection. They run and run, marking a dark track in the sand. Sometimes they twirl and hum. Three children have sticks: one has tied green cord to his and some in his hair. One child kneels to pray and another punctuates the prayer with the drum:

"I am praying for our Bishop"

Drum rolls.

"And our priest"

Drum rolls.

"And especially for our people"

Drum rolls.

They sing and clap and run again. So fast.

A girl kneels and drums. One falls and predicts the future.

I cannot catch her words.

There was a similar scene in September, 1980, on the outskirts of Crossroads near the hawkers' stands. This time a crowd of twenty-two children all under eight years of age were being led by a woman who was a member of the Zion church. She had been called by the shades to become an iggira but her family refused to finance her training so she turned to Zion. Not very successfully, the people said, as she acted crazy. Sometimes she would kneel on the road in front of my car to bless me becoming, like the sanitation truck, something of an occupational hazard. On this occasion, she was dressed in an assortment of clothes with beads and a cow hair fringe around her waist. A towel was pinned by one corner to her bodice and a child held it behind her as they danced around and around

and around. One child drummed on an upturned orange bath tub and the unlikely congregation ran and sang songs of Zion. One boy carried a palm frond with a white cloth tied to it and another a stick bearing a cow's tail. People stopped to watch and smile.

### Political Songs

Songs with political content formed the largest group. Many of them were freedom songs that I gathered while the children were boycotting their schools. These were sung most often by small groups of children between nine and fourteen years old. Some examples follow:

Ayabaleka, ayasab amaBhulu  
 Ayabaleka, ayasab amaBhulu  
 Ayangena, ayaphuma ayadidizela  
 ayasaba amaBhulu.

[They are running away,  
 The Boers are afraid ...  
 They are coming in,  
 they are going out,  
 The Boers are afraid.]

AmaBhulu akwelizwe ayosabel' emanzini.  
 AmaBhulu akwelizwe ayosabel' emanzini.  
 Siyohlala sisodwa emhlabeni wethu.  
 [The Boers who are in this county  
 are going to escape to the water ....  
 We are going to live alone in  
 our country ....]

Unzima lo mthwalo  
 Woyis' amadoda.  
 Unzima lo mthwalo  
 Woyis' amadoda.  
 Thin' asikhathali noba siyakhonkxwa  
 Sizimisele inkululeko.

[This load is heavy  
Even for the men ....  
We don't care whether we are chained  
We are standing up for freedom.]

Vula Botha siyankqonkqoza,  
Vula Botha siyankqonkqoza.  
Khulul' uMandela asikhokele,  
Khulul' uMandela asikhokele.  
[Open Botha we are knocking ....  
Release Mandela to lead us ....]

Sikhalela izwe lethu  
Elathalthwa ngamBhulu.  
Mawayek' umhlaba wethu  
Mawayek' umhlaba wethu  
[We are crying for our country  
Which was taken by the Boers.  
They should leave our country.]

Sixakekile kwilizwe  
lakhokho bethu.  
[We are concerned about  
the country of our forefathers.]

Singabantwana benkululeko,  
Siyayifuna inkululeko.  
[We are the children of freedom,  
We want freedom.]

Other songs carried more general political messages. The crèche children often sang:

Anqonqoza amajoni afikile  
Ye, ye, ye mama, ye majoni afikile.  
[The soldiers knocked  
they have arrived  
Ye, ye, ye mama, the soldiers have arrived.]

The police were often called soldiers (amajoni) by the children. The next song comes from the repertoire of one of the school choirs:

The nation is dead. Orphans are all alone.  
The world is dead. Nations are killing one another.  
Villages have lost their sons and daughters.

Among the blacks, it is all problems.  
Among the whites, fear reigns.  
It is sorrow and anguish all around the world.  
All happiness is gone.

Father who is in Heaven  
Listens to all prayers  
He washes away sorrow  
And anguish from the earth.

Some songs reflected people's dislike of legislation that controls where they live. The following was sung by Nomvula and her friends as they stood around an imbawula on a cold July evening:

Xelelam amapolisa  
kuba umzi ngowam  
nabantwana ngabam  
aandithethi naba' andinapasi  
kuba umzi ngowam  
nabantwana ngabane.  
Yiza mtshanam.  
[Tell the policemen  
Because this is my house  
and the children are mine  
I'm not talking even if  
I have no pass  
because the house is mine  
and the children are mine.  
Come my progeny.]

Others reflect despair at being unable to find a home:

Nombuyiselo ndiboleke iaddress  
 ndihlalele e Ciskei  
 Ndaliwa, ndaliwa e Transkei.  
 [Nombuyiselo give me an address  
 I live in the Ciskei.  
 I've been rejected, been rejected  
 in the Transkei.]

Or the refusal to accept the free train ticket to the homelands  
 that is given by the authorities to those whom they refuse  
 permission to live in the cities.

Wakha wambonana umntu okhwele  
 i-aeroplane?  
 Suda naye loliwe.  
 Andisoze ndiye eKoloni  
 Hamba naye loliwe,  
 Andisoze ndiye eKoloni.  
 [Have you ever seen a person  
 flying in a plane?  
 Take off with him train.  
 I won't go to the Colony.  
 Go with him train.  
 I won't go to the Colony.]

The homelands were sometimes referred to as colonies as in  
 the above song. A final song in this section reflects politics  
 within the community. It, too, was sung by the school choir:

What has happened my father's son?  
 It looks as if things have gone wrong.  
 Crossroads has been demolished.  
 It is a painful situation, a painful situation.

What are we going to do now?  
 Where will we go my father's children?  
 Let us go to Crossroads  
 And build it up although it is fallen.

We shall go, we shall leave  
 We shall go right down home.

Our home is at Crossroads  
 We shall live in happiness  
 We shall live there in happiness in Crossroads.

### Traditional Songs

Traditional songs, most of which come from the amagqira, formed another group of songs that were often to be heard sung by children aged ten or under. As may be expected the words of these songs are stranger and the meanings less clear. However, they were not relics of tradition long since forsaken but reflected beliefs still held by many people in the community. For example, there was a young man whom we shall call Absalom who worked as a driver of a hotel delivery van until he was bewitched by evil spirits in 1974. He and his family believed that ants had been placed inside him and had driven him crazy. Both his parents lived in Crossroads although they were separated. His mother had passed Standard 7. She had consulted a number of amagqira at high cost as well as trained doctors. The young man had twice been hospitalized. In 1980, he used to berate whites in Crossroads and, as he had slashes across his face that had healed but that still held the stitching thread, he made a fearful impression. One of the songs that Saliswa and her friends sang referred to such witchcraft:

Khauve zenyuk imbovana  
 Hawu yehe, yemtaka nomama.  
 [Just here the ants are going up  
 Hawu, yehe, my mother's child.]

Here are some examples of songs in this group:

Zuziwe sang this as she played alone in her home in October, 1980 -

The children of being sick  
 I am sleeping with a goat blanket.

Hintsang sang this in December, 1980 -

They are coming tomorrow,  
 They are coming  
 The children of the spirits.

One of the signs that the shades are calling someone to be initiated as an igqira is that animals appear before one or in one's dreams. They act as totems or guides in the initiation process. Some children playing in the road were heard to sing -

Namhla kudibene ingwe ne ngonyama

Namhla kudibene ingwe ne ngonyama.

Wen' uyabizwa, uyabizwa, uyabizwa

Wen' uyabizaw, uyabizwa, uyabizwa.

[Today the leopard and the lion are meeting ....

You are being called, called called ....]

I had often tried to discuss certain details of Saliswa's life profile with Mrs Qasana and I had usually failed because she was busy attending to her patients. Therefore, I resolved to sit in her home one day and wait until she was free. She had, at least in part, been avoiding me because she found it tiring to answer my endless questions. On an October morning, I settled down with Mrs Qasana's cheerful permission, in a corner of her front room to wait. She went off to see a patient and her family took it upon themselves to entertain me. We began at 9:00 a.m. with thirteen children, including Saliswa, Zuziwe and Gwali, two teenage girls and two women in the room. By 11:00 a.m. there were twenty-seven children, three teenagers and six adults. The young children danced and sang the songs of the amagqira for three hours. The boys took male roles, using different steps from those of the girls, and often humming like trains in a tunnel. Each song was accompanied by definite steps. Saliswa danced with amazing grace. People arrived with bigger and better drums and many children took turns in beating the rhythm, including Saliswa's four-year-old brother who was most proficient. Those who were not very able were lightly teased but not denied a turn. Here are some of the songs. They seem simple without the harmony, the parts, the repetition, the actions:

Khawuleza sangoma  
 liyakhala ixesha  
 [Quickly diviner  
 The clock strikes.]

Camagwini salahleka  
 sebabini, camagu!  
 [Blessing on you, we have lost our way  
 Both of us, Blessings\*]

Molweni zangoma;  
 liyabulisa igqira.  
 [Good morning great diviners;  
 The diviner greets.]

It was 12:00 before Mrs Qasana returned and we retired to her room to talk.

#### Children's Compositions

A fourth smaller category was of the songs composed by children. Three examples will suffice. Cebo sang the following as he leafed through a magazine one evening at home.

There is a baboon  
 under the cave.  
 It says something surprising -  
 that it wants to smoke.

He sang another two evenings later:

Mama, ndiyeke, ndiyeke  
 ndiye eskolweni  
 Heyi - hey - hey ndiyeke  
 ndiye eskolweni.  
 [Mother, leave me alone, leave me alone  
 let me go to school ....]

---

\*Camagu is a greeting to the shades, pl. camagwini.

The third example is noteworthy because of its reverberations across time. On the 28.3.80, three girls aged four, seven and nine and a boy aged five were playing outside the house of the grandmother of three of the children. The seven-year old was a neighbour. The mother of the four-year old was unmarried and lived with and supported her mother. The father of the other two was blind and lived with his wife in an institution in the Transkei. Grandmother was heard castigating her grandson for telling the neighbour that the house was not her home. She added that it was not his either as his home was in the Transkei. It was an odd remark for a grandmother to make. The child was angry and played quietly on his own in the sand while the three girls merrily chanted a song, dancing round him and poking him.

Awungowalapha nawe asilokhaya  
lakho eli.

[You do not belong in this house  
This is not your home.]

The boy did not react. He and his sister had come to live with their grandmother two months before the incident. A few months later, the girl ran away. Despite the efforts of many of us, including radio and newspaper appeals, she was not found for three weeks. She had asked for shelter from a woman in a township house and fabricated a name and a story about her arrival by bus from the Transkei. She was brought back to her grandmother's home in Crossroads but ran away again a day later and was eventually found in a home for abandoned children. She and the woman in charge had formed a strong, loving relationship and the woman wanted to adopt her. Grandmother was prepared to let her be fostered out for a year or two but would not countenance the shame of having her adopted. She was a small, attractive woman with a dimpled smile that hid an iron control of her family. Her remark to her grandson in March echoed down the year in his sister's unhappiness at grandmother's home.

## Social Comment

This is a loose category containing songs that comment on the times. Some were to do with school attendance:

Mama no tata zeningangxoli  
 Kuba andiung' eskolweni  
 Mama no tata zeningangxoli  
 Kuba andiyang' eskolweni  
 UTishala undibethile.  
 [Mother and father  
 Don't be cross with me  
 Because I did not go to school ...  
 Teacher has beaten me.]

Others with place of origin:

Mna ndiyintombi, ndiyintombi  
 yakwa-Ndebele  
 Nihlala phaya phesheya kwala ntaba.  
 [I am a daughter, a daughter of Ndebele  
 I stay there across that mountain.]

or the need for a place to live:

Wi, wi bendilapha nalapha nawe,  
 He mm he mm he m uThomase  
 uhlala apha?  
 [Wi, wi I have been here and  
 there with you,  
 He mm ... do you stay here Thomas?]

or they were to do with marriage transactions:

Ndiyamthand' uThuthula,  
 Watshi uNdabanduna,  
 Ndizomlobola ngani?  
 Wenqe wenqe

Wakhalaz' umama,  
 Wath' imal' ayikho.  
 Uzomlobola ngani  
 Wenqe wenqe.

[I love Thuthula,  
Said Ndabanduna,  
With what am I  
going to pay for her?  
Wenqe ....

Mother was not satisfied,  
She said there is no money.  
With what are you going  
to pay for her?  
Wenqe ....]

One needs, in considering the content of the songs recorded above, to remind oneself that they were largely sung by children aged ten or less. There is an extraordinary admixture of subject matter. Much of it is political and social comment but Christian morality and traditional lore is well represented. Even economic issues arise, as in the last song. One can only wonder at what is the accumulated effect of such training in general knowledge.

#### SUMMARY

The songs and play of children aged ten and under in Crossroads showed great ingenuity and imagination and a rich use of available resources. In terms of the demands that a modern education system makes on children, their play did not offer much exercise in fine motor co-ordination that incorporated perceptual differences in colour, shape, size, etc., in a systematic manner. However, the games that are played could be used as bases for learning, especially the cards, draughts, gambling, stone game, drawing in the sand, hopscotch, the manufacture of cars and song composition. The Cape Flats has about 2 000 species of natural vegetation ready to be collected, sorted, ordered and classified. The children have been denied the opportunity to learn traditional ways of classifying and ordering their environment; their loss has not been replaced by modern methods because education is abysmal and the wider society offers neither library facilities nor

other avenues that provide experience in such methods. Given their poverty and given the negligence of South African society to their needs, it is extraordinary that children create such wealth in their songs and play.

The record of instances of play suggests a number of points that are worth reiterating in that they reflect adult attitudes towards play. Few adults involve themselves in the play of children. Play is not seen as sacrosanct and sometimes it is regarded with suspicion as a waste of time. Adults do not seek to direct play and only some attempt to determine with whom a young child may associate. Time is not set aside specifically and materials are seldom acquired by adults for play. Yet adults express pleasure when watching children's games and many admire the construction of wire-cars and offer advice on their design and maintenance. Adults contribute richly in terms of time and instruction to children's education in song, music and movement.

There is a remark that is often found in anthropologists' monographs to the effect that children in non-Western societies learn by "observation and imitation." A definition as to what exactly is meant by this is seldom proffered. Children are purported to imitate adults in their play in preparation for adult roles. The remark implies a view of knowledge as a copy of reality. Piaget (1970a:15) strongly refutes this view claiming that knowing reality means constructing systems of transformations that correspond, more or less adequately, to reality. He holds that human knowledge is essentially active and that to know is to transform reality in order to understand how a certain state is brought about. In his opinion (1966:58), play and imitation perform different functions:

"It is indispensable to (the child's) affective and intellectual equilibrium ... that he have available to him an area of activity whose motivation is not adaptation to reality but, on the contrary, assimilation of reality to the self, without coercions or sanctions. Such an area is play, which transforms reality by

assimilation to the needs of the self, whereas imitation (when it constitutes an end in itself) is accommodation to external models."

He sees play as a means of self-expression, that is, as a system of signifiers constructed by the child and capable of being bent to the child's wishes. Such is the system of symbols characteristic of symbolic play. These symbols are borrowed from imitation as instruments, but not used to picture external reality accurately. Rather, imitation serves as a means of evocation to achieve playful assimilation. He believes that the function of play is manifested in a great variety of forms, most of them primarily affective but sometimes serving cognitive interests.

In watching children play and in listening to them sing, it seemed clear that they were not imitating a given reality but were using it for a variety of ends including wryful comment on society. The next section looks in detail at the expressions of child thought among a few of the children of Crossroads.

SECTION II

## CHAPTER 4: THE CHILD IN TIME

We know, now, a little about the parents or guardians of the children. From interviews with these men and women and interviews with each child, I compiled profiles of the life histories of the children from birth to the present. As an aid to discussion with the children, I cut out cardboard figures to represent the child at yearly intervals. The figures were first used in a Piagetian seriation task wherein the child had to place the figures in order of size. The results are given in Chapter 4. Once the child had accomplished the task, we talked about birth and growth. We took each figure in turn, beginning with the one that represented the foetus, and discussed where the child had been at that age, with whom she\* had lived, what she remembered and how she felt about that time in her life. I knew a fair amount about each and could remind her of episodes or stages in her life.

This chapter is a report on the child's life history, self-image and ambitions. I shall tell you about the children as they told me about themselves. I was trying to do two things: to describe what it is like to grow up a Xhosa child in the decade of the 1970s in South Africa, and to record children's consciousness of their growing and becoming.

## BIRTH

Let us begin with their birth. Birthdays are neither noted nor celebrated year by year. The Xhosa culture provides ceremonies that perform similar functions in

---

\*The Xhosa language is not hampered by sex differences in pronouns, distinctions being made on other grounds, and the feminine pronouns used here and elsewhere imply female and male.

focusing on the individual and cementing her into the community. (see Hunter, 1936:159 ff.) For the child, time is divided differently from the unilinear progression that marks the Western concept. Only Tozama immediately used the cut-out figures as steps signifying a growth process.

Ten of the fourteen children were born in the cities, that is in areas that have been proclaimed as the preserve of the whites. Nine of these were born in Cape Town and one in Port Elizabeth. The other four were born in the Transkei. Six children said that they had been born in the Transkei, whereas they had been born in Cape Town. It seems odd that their families had not stressed their rights in the city as "Cape Borners."

Half of the children were born in a hospital and the other half at home with a trained sister in attendance. Of the births in the Transkei, only one occurred at home. In the context of discussing birth, I asked the children, "From where did you come?" Nomvula said, "I was born in a stable in Bethlehem," and Zuziwe replied, "I came from heaven." With further questioning both girls said that babies came from the hospital. Eight of the fourteen children believed that babies are either given or sold to their mothers by the hospital or are bought in a shop. Some examples of their reasoning on the puzzle of birth follow.

Tozama said, "I was born in the Transkei in the house. Mother said that I was fed on a bottle not the breast. Babies are made in hospital. I don't know who makes them."

(Do babies grow in a woman's stomach?)

"Yes"

(Why do you say they come from the hospital?)

"Mother says babies are bought there. She is telling the truth because she said so."

Tozama later questioned her mother closely about birth and I was justly chastised for interfering in culturally sanctioned ways of transmitting knowledge.

Hintsatold me, "I was born in the EmaXhoseni in a hospital. I know where babies come from: the hospital." Two months later the following exchange was recorded between Hintsat and his father.

Hintsat: "Mama told me that I was not born. She got me from the baboons on the mountains. Is that true?"

Father: "Yes, it is true. I, too, was with her and we bought you from the baboons in the mountain."

Hintsat's younger sister: "I know where mama got you. She bought you from the hospital, from that doctor who gives the heart of a pig to a human being."

Hintsat's friend: "A person can't be right with a pig heart, because he will do all things done by the pig."

Hintsat (annoyed at having had his conversation hi-jacked): "Do not talk about an older person you children."

Both Nukwa and Togu declared that at birth they were too young to know whether or not they had been bought: Lungiswa was certain of her origins:

"I was bought from a shop. My younger sister was bought at the hospital. Mother was very thin before she was born. My mother told me that I was bought at the shop. I don't believe her. I believe that I came from the hospital. I don't know where the hospital got me. My baby brother was a gift from the hospital."

Mary, my assistant, was at the time of these discussions fairly large with child. Lungiswa, Mary and I talked about the baby. Lungiswa looked amazed but stuck to her theory. Later in the discussion, I asked when her father had left their home and she said:

"I was one and my sister was still counting the months." (I was told that he only left a year ago?)

"Anna [her mother] is telling lies. The next baby has his own father."

This observation coupled with one of her dreams, which she told me about a month earlier, suggests that her

understanding of the birth process is more complex than she was willing to admit either consciously or unconsciously. Lungiswa's dream: "I went outside to the house next door to see a little baby. I found that the baby was not there as the girl had not finished giving birth to the child. She was still in the hospital."

She used the verb ukuzala, to give birth. In the discussion, I reminded Lungiswa of the dream content. She remembered it and commented: "The other child is coming from her mother's tummy. I did not."

The other children claimed not to know from where babies came but three of them, after some discussion about Mary's pregnancy, said that babies came from the mother's tummy. They were Cebo, Peliswe and Yameka. Despite the same discussion, none of the others budged from their views.

Saliswa was the only child who said immediately upon being asked that babies are born from the mother. She told me:

"I was born in the Transkei. In my mother's house: it was in the home of my father's parents. Babies come from the stomach. They stay inside until the stomach is big. My mother fed me on the breast. I remember when my brother was born [he was four years her junior]. He came from the stomach. I saw him come. I was shut outside. I was afraid. I was glad when he came."

Saliswa's mother is an igqira and has given birth to fourteen children. Whether or not a child had younger siblings did not seem to affect their ideas about birth.

It is a belief widely ascribed to by the women of Crossroads and one recorded in anthropological literature on the Xhosa that a baby is made from the menstrual blood of a woman and the semen of a man. (Hunter, 1936:145, and Hammond-Tooke, 1962:71) An igqira told me:

"The child's mother in nature is created out of water (semen) and is created with blood, both of these things. Whereas she is created through water

and blood, the mother makes the baby with blood only. The blood that she builds the child from is the same blood we call menstruation; and her husband pours water in his wife's womb. Now the foetus grows in the womb and then emerges from it."

A child's deficiencies may be traced to weakness in either the semen of the father or the blood of the mother and appropriate steps can be taken to propitiate the ancestors to balance the forces of power within the child. In Chapter Two the views on birth and development of some women in Crossroads was discussed. Many of the women, particularly those who had not been to school, had as children been led to believe that babies were either bought at the shop or were born from the knee. One woman re-enacted the birth of her first child and had the other women rocking with mirth as she squirmed on the floor trying to catch a glimpse of her knee from which the baby ought to emerge. Traditionally, there were sanctions to keep young married women separate from unmarried girls thus blocking a natural channel of information.

Older women used to say, "See, the children of today are wise. They know about the origins of babies. They are too wise and afraid of nothing. Thus they get into trouble."

Mrs Bhurhu, Peliswe's mother, also expressed common fears when she said:

"As Peliswe grows up, I will worry that she will marry and leave me. I am afraid that she will have a child before marriage. I have not told my children about conception. It is not the Xhosa custom."

## JEALOUSY

The children and I discussed the birth of younger brothers and sisters. I was interested in seeing whether they would admit to feelings of jealousy, and whether there were legitimate channels for its expression. In most households, great play was made of the baby. For example, Mrs Hleke upbraided her fourteen-year-old daughter saying:

"Oh, why do you eat my baby's apple? As you were the first child to be born, you were grown by your father and me. Now you eat everything: you do not want my child to grow big like you."

Later, the little boy said, "Mama, I want cheese with my bread," and she responded, "Yes my baby, you must get it for you are my last born. Anything you like, you must get."

The first-born took retribution on the following day. The little boy was crying for a toy camera and his sister said, "Call the police, Zuziwe; 'phone for them - there's the child crying." The child stopped in fear just as his mother returned from work. She asked, "Why is my child crying?" and her first-born answered, "He is hungry. He said that he wants more bread." No one in the room exposed her. On another day, Zuziwe, who was the next oldest child, demanded of a friend, "Why did you hit me? Why did you hit Sonwaba [her small brother]? Sonwaba is my mother's child, don't worry him."

Zuziwe told me about his birth saying, "I was not glad when he was born. When I returned from play, I heard that there was a son in the house. I was not happy." Her position as the baby had been usurped.

Monica Hunter (1936:119) recorded that in Pondoland the exclusive right to cultivate a certain area was inherited by the youngest son of the woman cultivating that area, (before Crown rules were applied). In addition, a woman's pots, baskets, hoe, axe and stock belonging to her in her own right were inherited by her youngest son (120). Perhaps the regard paid by mother's to youngest sons in Crossroads reflects the special nature of that bond as did the Mpondo inheritance rules.

Of the sample children only Yameka was an only child. Nevertheless she lived with her mother's brother and his wife in Crossroads in order to help with the care of their two-year-old daughter. Peliswe, Nukwa and Gwali were the youngest in their families. Gwali had had a younger sister who had died. Ten of the children had younger siblings and six of them had two younger than themselves. All but three denied having

felt jealousy at a baby's birth and many expressed gladness in recalling the occasion and in having younger brothers and sisters.

Those who admitted feelings of jealousy were Zuziwe, whose remarks are recorded above, Togu and Lungiswa. According to his mother, Togu was his father's favourite child but his younger brother stole the place. Togu said of this child's birth, "I was glad when he came but I was jealous. I am not jealous now." Lungiswa has two younger siblings of whom she says, "I was not pleased about the birth of the child who is straight after me. I did not like her because she had big eyes and they made it worse by burning her just under the eyes. It was an accident. I was also jealous when the other baby was born. He was ugly, but I was pretty as a baby."

#### FAMILY ATTITUDES TO RITUAL AND CHILDHOOD

Among the families of the sample children, a number of variables determined whether or not traditional customs concerned with birth and growth were performed. The variables included the place of birth and domicile of the child; the family's commitment to Christian beliefs; scepticism of the value of traditional ways; the detection of signs in a child's behaviour; and, for sacrifices, the availability of capital.

Four of the mothers who gave birth at home in Cape Town disposed of the placenta in a customary way. Three of them preserved the cord and, upon their return to the Transkei, treated it according to the tradition of their husband's family; the fourth mother buried the cord in Gugulethu, a black township. A fifth woman gave birth to her child in a hospital in the Transkei and was therefore unable to handle the placenta according to custom. She disposed of the cord in a traditional manner. Five other mothers said that they did not perform the traditional acts at birth because they were in Cape Town, which is not "the place of the shades", or because the birth occurred in hospital. Three mothers did nothing because, for one of them, to have done so would have

been against the family's Christian beliefs; and the other two were sceptical of the ritual's value. I do not know what rituals Yameka's mother performed after her birth. Her mother's brother intended to offer a sacrifice to the ancestors of his family in order to place the child under their care as, being illegitimate, she did not fall under the protection of her father's ancestors.

Only two children, Togu and Tozama, had had an animal killed on their behalf. Both occasions were ten days after the baby's birth. Hunter (1936:155) described it among the Mpondo thus:

"A day or two after the mother comes out of confinement the father kills a goat to make an imbeleko (ukubeleka, to carry a child on the back) in which to carry the child. There is no calling on the ancestors, neither gall nor bladder is used, and the goat is not necessarily killed in the kraal, but if the killing is omitted the child may get sick for it."

Four other families planned, so they said, to kill an animal for their child within the next year.

Mlawu, Yameka and Tozama were to have the final joint of a finger cut off (ingqithi). The latter only if "she asks for it" or if a sign is given. It was a practice observed by only some groups and its purpose was preventative. Some said that if it was not done, the child would fall ill and perhaps die. Boys had the last joint of the small finger on the left hand removed, and girls the last joint of the fourth finger (see Hunter, 1936:264-266, for an account of the custom as found among the Mpondo). Two cases follow giving mothers' accounts of the rituals that have been or will be performed for their daughters. Both mothers are amagqira.

#### Case 1

Mrs Qasana bore Saliswa in a shack in the K.T.C. squatter camp. She said that no ritual was performed as her marriage custom ordains that everything must happen in the Transkei. However, the Xhosa midwife who officiated told Mr Qasana to bury the placenta secretly, which he did. When the cord fell

off, Mrs Qasana kept it until she returned to the Transkei five months later and there she mixed it with mud and covered it in the wall when smearing the hut at her husband's home.

The sacrifice of a cow is planned and will be held in Crossroads. The cow must be red and the child's body will be smeared with red, the colour being a sign that they are propitiating the shades. The child will wear white beads around her neck and must stay in a room during the entire three-day proceedings. On the first day, the cow will be slaughtered, on the second there will be feasting and on the third the bones will be buried or burnt. The ritual is to introduce the child to the shades. If it is not held, the child will do something very strange as an adult: she will be incontinent, even as a woman her sphincters will be uncontrolled. Or she may be a thief. The sacrifice should be offered now, Mrs Qasana said, as the child sometimes wets her bed.

At the age of twenty, Saliswa will be initiated (ukuthombisa) in the Transkei. Although Mrs Qasana had had the final joint of her fourth finger cut off as a child it will not be done to Saliswa as it is not the custom of her father's family.

#### Case 2

Mrs Ketshe bore Tozama in Cape Town, in their lodgings in Gugulethu. A male relative dug a hole outside at night in which Mrs Ketshe buried the placenta, which was covered by a white cloth. The place had to be where no one walked and away from grass. Should grass later cover the place, the placenta must be dug up and buried elsewhere. If there is grass, the child will fall ill and grow thinner and thinner like the grass. She kept the cord and buried it in soft soil in the Transkei. If that had not been done, the child would have died. Ten days after Tozama's birth, the house was cleaned and a sheep slaughtered. As Mrs Ketshe is an iggira, her teacher came to officiate. The teacher predicted that the baby would be rich as an adult and would

live by the work of her hands. The animal skin was used to make a blanket for the child. Pieces were cut from the sheep's pelt and placed on the child's wrists as a sign of the blanket.

In 1979, a second sacrifice was made on the child's behalf to introduce her to the ancestors. The ceremony is performed when the child's behaviour signifies the need for it which is often detected in toilet habits, Mrs Ketshe said. Tozama dreamt of a goat and said that she could hear a goat's cry. The animal for this sacrifice must be a goat. Her finger will be cut if a dream about it occurs. Tozama's little sister has asked for the ceremony: that is a sign and it will be done for her.

Tozama will be initiated and there will be ritual linked to her calling to be an igqira and to her marriage should circumstances demand them.

Tozama described a ceremony that she had witnessed at a neighbour's house in Crossroads. It is noteworthy for the attention to detail and clarity with which she focused on important incidents. Her account follows:

"I have seen many Xhosa rituals. Many here. I enjoy them. (Once) there were many people at the back of a house. A goat was slaughtered for a little girl. My mother said that the girl had been dreaming that she had a goat. The dream is a message from the shades. She stopped dreaming after the sacrifice.

"There was a white goat with a black neck. One man made it fall down. They brought a knife; they cut the neck off and took the skin. They cut the goat into pieces. They brought a dish and put it down. They put the head next to the dish so that the blood must flow into the dish, all of it.

"When they were busy cutting it into pieces they found a kid (itakane) inside the goat. It was dead already. The kid was thrown away. When the goat was well cooked, nobody wanted to eat the meat. They said

we cannot eat this kind of meat and others said that it must be taken to their side (of the yard). "It was brought in a big dish to them. Then there was also a dog with long hair just like yours. It spilt all the meat and the men cried for the meat and another man took the rest from the pot. When they were about to eat it, they said that they must look first to the East then to the West and they took it back to the pot as it was not cut into pieces. "There was also a drum of Xhosa beer where the others were busy drinking. Everybody said, 'We are not satisfied with the meat, we must drink beer.' They saw a man fall down and so did another and the rest of the meat was taken from the pot and placed next to the men and they woke up. My story is finished now."

I enquired from her mother about the sacrifice. She said that it had happened as her daughter had said. The offering was not accepted by the shades: the custom had not been fulfilled. Tozama, Mrs Hleke told us, had headaches afterwards.

Of the fourteen families five had performed some traditional ritual on behalf of their children and five more said that they planned to hold some. Of the remaining four, one family would not because of Christian beliefs and three others thought the rituals unimportant. Two of the latter were women without husbands.

Scepticism was expressed with some ambivalence. For example, Cebo's father did not believe in the efficacy of rituals but was planning to sacrifice a goat because of his son's continuous bedwetting. He intended to "watch and see the effect." Hints'a's family had not fulfilled any customary requirements and his mother feared that the shades would be annoyed. To avoid their retribution, she was wondering whether she ought to make beer and tell them to wait as she intends to fulfill the customs. Many adults expressed unease over their isolation from their ancestral past.

## ILLNESS

Ritual on behalf of a child is often conducted only when a child's behaviour indicates a need for it; such behaviour might be bedwetting or dreams, or when a child asks repeatedly that a particular ceremony be performed. The ritual focuses family attention on the child and reaffirms care and support. It may also be performed in response to a child's illness or anxiety. The cause may be identified as originating in the shades' displeasure at the neglect of ritual that forges and maintains links between the child and the past.

When a child falls ill, the parents may first try home remedies before consulting a Western-trained doctor, or igqira, or an ixwele (a herbalist). Sometimes the parents refer to two experts, usually if there is something inexplicable about the illness or if it continues for a long time. The usual childhood ailments and many other illnesses are seen as natural and not in need of explanation. There seemed to be no set pattern to decide by whom an illness should be treated. Saliswa, for example, suffered quite severely from asthma (isifuba) for the first few years of her life. Her mother (an igqira) often rushed her to hospital. She thought that her being too fat was a cause of the illness, but she did not seek further causes. On the other hand when the child was three months old she would scream and scream when the weather was bad and her mother attributed her behaviour to worms in her cord. She cut small incisions around her navel with a razor blade and sprinkled powdered medicine on them. The baby was given some of the medicine to drink. The treatment worked: the screaming stopped. Togu had similar incisions made in his forehead and cheeks to cure sore eyes.

Six of the children were said by their mothers not to have suffered any illness apart from the usual childhood ailments. Of the other eight Saliswa, Lungiswa and Togu, had been ill with asthma. Each remembered the attacks as frightening and Lungiswa told me a dream in which she was hospitalized during an attack and her mother was crying.

Many people in Crossroads suffered with asthma. Mlawu's father did and so did Hintsu's mother's sister. I met the latter just after she had been released from a major Cape Town hospital. She gave me a form given to her upon discharge and asked me to read it to her. We sat on a wooden bench in the shack at dusk as a south-easter whipped up the sand; the form read like a poor joke. It exhorted the asthmatic patient not to have too much furnishing:

Do not have: upholstered furniture, rugs, furry toys, bookcases or other dustcatchers.

Do not use: feather quilts or comforters.

Dust control: The bedroom should be vacuum cleaned thrice weekly and mopped down with a damp cloth once a week.

Do not lie or sit on the grass.

Three of the children had been hospitalized for loss of weight usually as a result of diarrhoea. Peliswe had had paralysis of one side of her face which her mother linked to distress that followed an accident in which Peliswe's brother had been injured and her mother's brother killed. Tozama had had an illness which had been diagnosed as ukuthwasa, by a white doctor at Worcester, a small town in the Cape. Ukuthwasa means "to appear" and is seen as an illness that is a call to be initiated as an igqira. The illness is often feared and the call may be resited. As an igqira, one is never entirely free of illness.

The child's illness began with a dream in which a man threatened to kill her. The doctor whom the family consulted told her parents to handle her carefully, to let her do as she wished and not to punish her. Tozama was pleased with the doctor's prescription. She described the experience thus:

"I have had serious illnesses. I was sick and I went to the hospital. The doctor said I am a doctor myself and so my mother must not punish me. Mother does not punish me. She did before. I was glad of that news. I am happy that I will be an igqira. I

have everything now to be one: beads and clothes. I do not know when I will become one. I am not afraid. I am not afraid of the sickness. I can dance."

The case reveals the implicit psychological attitudes of those involved. The parents were concerned about the child's nightmare and her nervous, listless behaviour. They sought advice on handling her. The specialist proclaimed that she was in need of special attention and understanding for which he gave an acceptable, traditional explanation. The warmth and concern expressed by her family and an impressive stranger reassured the child and her "calling" singled her out for attention and interest.

Togu, who had suffered from asthma until he was aged five or six, had spent the first five months of his life in hospital because he had double pneumonia soon after birth. His mother visited him once a week and his father every day. Both Togu and Cebo had been badly burnt by hot porridge and boiling water, respectively. Most of the children had had minor burns. They were burnt when playing around the tins of coals which were used to warm the shacks in winter.

Three of the children had a brother or sister who was seriously ill. Hints'a's sister had tuberculosis; Zuziwe's had tuberculosis and retina plastoma; and Gwali's brother suffered with convulsions and was "not right in the head." Zuziwe's sister, aged ten, had lost an eye in 1975 as a result of cancer and she needed weekly monitoring to assess her reactions to heavy medication. Zuziwe, on a number of occasions expressed both jealousy at the family's concern for her sister and pity for her, especially when her affliction drew the curiosity of strangers. Her parents had consulted both Western-trained and traditional doctors and swung between trusting the one lot and the other. Of necessity, the family had lived near a city hospital for five years.

Gwali's elder brother, also ten had convulsions and was slightly retarded. Gwali said of him "Loyiso is sick. Not in his head. He has convulsions (ukuxhuzula). He is sensible but he swears." Loyiso was an uncontrolled boy, and Gwali used to watch his antics with amusement and concern. When he was ill, Gwali would stay beside him and not leave the house until he was better. He caused many incidents during which I was able to observe the reactions of adults and children to his undisciplined behaviour. Once he climbed into my car, quite naked, and demanded to leave with me. Fortunately, his mother was at home and she firmly extricated him, laughing all the while. On another occasion, he came to my room and asked if he could play inside with the children. I said no because we were working. He picked up a brick and made as if to throw it at me as I stood in the window. The other children, including his brother, just watched. I stood my ground and he threw the brick at my house instead.

On the third occasion, I was helping to erect a nutrition centre when Loyiso joined me. As was his wont, he began to swear at some adults nearby who were trying to get a motor car started. After a time, one of the women picked up a thick stick and chased Loyiso, who hid in my skirt. I grabbed the woman's arms saying that he was not right in his head. There was a tussle before she yielded. Loyiso, however, resumed his abuse and a man cuffed him hard on the head. The boy had been playing to a delighted audience of small boys who laughed at his misfortune. This time he just leant on me for comfort. It is unusual to see children behave in a manner that draws attention and not much quarter was allowed for Loyiso's obvious lack of control. His family always handled him gently and with humour. They would not admit to his being slow-witted, although they were glad when the possibility of special schooling was offered to him. Both parents worked and the two boys were left at home largely unsupervised.

## SEPARATIONS

Despite the laws and economic controls that force black families to live apart, five of the children had lived all their seven or eight years with both parents in Cape Town. Three others had been separated from them for only about a year each while living with a grandparent in the Transkei. Another three had always lived with their mothers: Yameka in the Transkei until 1979 when she was sent to care for her mother's brother's child in Crossroads; Gedja in Cape Town in either her maternal parents home or her mother's sister's; and Nukwa in the Transkei and then in Crossroads. None of the three had spent much time with their fathers because, respectively, Yameka's father had failed to pay lobola and her mother had been recalled by her natal family before the child's birth; Gedja's father had not married her mother nor assumed full responsibility for Gedja; and Nukwa's father, until he was killed in an accident, would return from the mines in Johannesburg for only three weeks a year.

The remaining three children in the sample had spent considerable periods of time away from one or both parents. Nomvula lived with her mother in the Transkei until 1976, when, because of serious illness, her mother left her and joined her father in Cape Town where she had been referred to a city hospital. Cebo had lived apart from his parents for about three years at different times. He spent those years with one or the other of his grandmothers in the Transkei. Lungiswa had been separated from her parents for three to five years. The exact time period was difficult to establish because the topic roused heated controversy within the family, especially between the mother, who said that Lungiswa had spent five years in the countryside with her maternal grandmother, and the child, who claimed to have been apart from her mother for only a year. Besides, mother said that her husband had only left the family in 1978; Lungiswa said that she was but a year old when he went. The squabble is interesting in that family mythology

was in the making. Teenage family members were the best informants on such issues, not being concerned with either status or moral rectitude. Lungiswa's mother had to include her husband in the family history until the last-born child had been conceived: the children saw no need for such finessing.

In all, the children had spent 77 of a possible 104 years in Cape Town, an average of 5,5 years each (more than half of each of their lives). Of their accumulated years, they had spent one-tenth away from their mothers and one-third away from their fathers. Most of the time spent separate from fathers had been lived with a grandparent in the Transkei. Sometimes the experience was beneficial as it had been for Cebo, who had developed a satisfactory conspiracy with his grandmother against school; and sometimes upsetting as it had been for Gwali, who had found the extreme poverty in the countryside distressing.

Eight of the children had one or more siblings of school-going age living elsewhere. I do not know of figures that show how many years Xhosa children spend apart from their mothers and fathers. In talking about her family, Tozama expressed her feeling of loss when her father left her:

"Father left us once in the Transkei. I don't know for how long. It worried me because I wanted to go with him and he disappeared. He was away a short time. He returned to us. I have been away only from my mother for short times. It is not all right I get hungry when she is not there: there is not enough to eat. Nomvunyo [her fourteen-year-old sister] cooks too little. I know my grandparents. I only know my grandmother on my mother's side. Grandfather is not alive. I do not know about those on my father's side [they died when her father was a young man]. I have spent a long time with my grandmother. I like to be with her. She cooks porridge for my father. She tells us stories (iintsomi) but it is long since she stayed with us. She is like my mother but she is not an iggira. I would like it if my whole family lived together."

Data from the families of the twenty-five children in the control group support the above figures. The data was gathered in interviews with the children's parents or guardians. Of the twenty-five children, 56 per cent were said to have always lived with both parents. At the time of the interview, 20 per cent were living without one parent: one had no mother, three had no fathers because their mothers were unmarried, and another had no father as he had deserted the family. Forty per cent of the children had lived apart from their fathers for 48 per cent of their lives, and 16 per cent had lived apart from their mothers for 36 per cent of their lives. The figures overlap as some children lived apart from both parents for some of the time. While the existence of a squatter camp at Crossroads enabled many of the families to live together, it is still remarkable that 56 per cent had contrived to be together for all of each child's seven years. The data are probably conservative in detailing the length of separations between parent and child because it was in the interests of Crossroads residents to affirm marriage over any other liaison and to establish settlement in the camp for as many years as possible. Besides, in a single interview, I was unable to trace the details of family moves to and from the countryside. Such moves often meant that a child would be left in the care of a relative for extended periods of time.

#### MOVES

Having considered the amount of time that the children in the sample had spent with their parents or grandparents, let me now detail the number of moves they had experienced in their short lives. No child had lived in less than three different homes, whether they be shack, rented room, mud hut or a corner of the bachelor quarters. Five of them had lived in three homes; five in four homes, two in five homes; and one each in seven and ten homes. Sometimes the number of places belies the number of moves. Cebo for

instance, had lived in Langa with his parents, in the homes of his paternal and maternal grandmothers in the Transkei, and in Crossroads with his parents, but he had moved six times between the city and the country apart from short visits.

Five of the children had lived in one or more shacks in squatter settlements around Cape Town prior to their move to Crossroads. Lungiswa's shack was in Retreat; Gwali's at K.T.C.; Hintsa's at Brown's Farm; Saliswa's three shacks were at K.T.C., Brown's Farm and the Airport; and Peliswe's four shacks were at Elsie's River, Modderdam, Welgemoed and K.T.C. The last three children had watched their homes being demolished. Hintsa was with his mother when the bulldozers came and knocked down his shack. Saliswa was washing with her mother outside their shack at Brown's Farm when the bulldozers arrived. (Her mother said that a woman who had returned that day from giving birth in hospital was almost killed because the officials did not check to see if anyone was in the house.) Everything was broken in all their houses. They built another shack at the Airport and later moved to Crossroads.

Peliswe and her family had four shacks demolished before their eyes. Peliswe was three months, twelve months, eighteen months and three-years old on each occasion. Their house in Crossroads was threatened but not demolished. During the last demolition, Peliswa's mother clambered out of the shack through a small window and ran into the bushes across the road in order to escape being sent back to the Transkei. She was caught and brought back. She was told that she must be gone by the weekend (it was a Tuesday). The officials said that they did not care where she went; it was not their business. Peliswa was in the house crying as her mother escaped. The other children were at school. Peliswa does not remember the demolitions, but does recall her mother running away from the police. She said, "There was a raid at K.T.C. and mother climbed out of the window. I don't know if the police caught her."

## TRAUMA AND FEARS

The women told me how they thought their children had been affected by having been involved in or having witnessed demolitions, riots, police raids or family distress caused by imprisonment. The children, too, told me how they had felt. The impressions given by mother and child sometimes differed but more often dovetailed. I interviewed mother and child separately and on different occasions.

In Appendix A an outline of the founding and survival of Crossroads is given. Between 1975 and 1980, three major upheavals occurred in the community and they had become, like the eclipse, part of people's calendar reckoning.

The children in the sample talked about various experiences during the troubles. I refer you to the chapters on dreams and play scenes for indirect accounts of the impact. Hintsa, Zuziwe and Saliswa told me that they did not remember either having seen or having been involved in traumatic events. Each of those three children was described by his or her mother as being very fearful and the member in the family most disturbed by such events. Each of them had lived in Crossroads since its inception: each had been tied to mother's back as she ran into the dunes chased by the inspectors who came to catch those without passes. Zuziwe was with her mother when she was arrested and taken away in a police van. Hintsa and Saliswa had been at home when their shacks had been demolished. Here is a verbatim report of Mrs Hleke's description of her daughter - she spoke in English:

"Zuziwe is very scared of riots and runs to hide. In December, 1976, when the people fought, I carried her and she kept her eyes closed being afraid of the things (curved knives) that can cut off your head. The residents of Nyanga were fighting those in the bachelor quarters

when the children were closing the shebeens.\* Houses were burnt. The people of Nyanga ran to Crossroads and they were kept out. It was bad: I think the people of Crossroads did wrong to keep others out as they were killing each other. "Zuziwe is not naughty but very sensitive and screams if her rights are abused. She cried much as a baby. People said it was because I loved to listen to the radio while I washed when I was pregnant with her. "If I die, I am concerned about her fastidiousness. She is a sensitive somebody. She hates quarrels. Runs from them. She goes to another house and hides her head on the bed. She has improved a little. She resents accusations and abuses and harps on her injuries."

---

\*During the 1976 student riots that originated in Soweto and spread to Cape Town and elsewhere, beerhalls were a main target of student anger. Some 67 were burned as early as the end of June (Geber and Newman, 1980:145). A member of the Soweto Students Representative Council, formed in July, 1976, is quoted by Geber and Newman (145-146) as saying:

"There are more beerhalls than schools and you find these beerhalls are situated right at the terminus of the buses, stations and offices where you pay rents. So when your father comes home from work he either goes to the beerhall or pays rent....

"These beerhalls (are) what is breaking down and lowering the dignity of the Black people. It is taking money from their parents and their fathers are coming home drunk. Beerhalls messes up all the Black people in Soweto. The beerhalls are made by the government of the White people."

Students held the same attitude towards shebeens where liquor was illegally sold. Students' anger and frustration precipitated fights within black areas. Mrs Hleke is referring to one in the above passage.

Mrs Qasana described her child as follows:

"Saliswa has seen riots in Crossroads. They upset her: she was disturbed by the tear gas [she suffers from asthma]. I told her what was happening. When she was four-years-old, her father was imprisoned and the child was crying and asking for him. She understood that it was because of the pass. Once I too went to prison: she was one-year old and was with me. She was my bail as I was told to leave because of my baby. It was a bad experience.

"She was an easy baby. She ate well and slept well. I had to wake her up for feeds. She was breast-fed for two years. Saliswa used to have bad dreams. One night she dreamt that she was entering a river: it means she is called (to be an iggira). There is no choice. I did not want to be a doctor but if it is so, it is so.

"She is not a naughty child. She is very sweet. A happy, quiet child. She never cries when asking for something. There are many children to share the work but Saliswa does more than the older ones.

"I do not want her to get married. She is a sensible person. If she wants to marry, she can. She will be welcome to return to her mother as I know that her marriage will not last, because she is quiet and sensitive and because she is called. There is no good behaviour in marriage; there is too much force and too many rules to obey. When she is twelve, she will begin to study as a doctor. She will dream whom her teacher should be. She will see into the future. It will not be hard for her. She is sensitive and will see many problems and will feel sick before the people even arrive. Her perceptivity will make it easy to see the needs. You must be sensitive to be an iggira, if you are not you can only dispense medicine and not see in the future.

"Her dreams tell reality very clearly. Last week she dreamt of her father receiving letters from the Transkei. That morning a kinsman brought letters from there. She used to dream about dogs biting her. It means that they are the ancestors being kind to her, showing favour."

The only fears that Hintsisa admitted to having were these, "Elephants make me afraid and dogs. Not you. I was afraid of you a long time ago." His mother, Mrs Lusizine, described his response to troubles thus:

"Hintsisa saw the riots at the school in 1978. He told me that a policeman had helped him and had told him to return home or he would be hurt. He went out of the school but was afraid of the (police) dogs. He had bad dreams and was restless but the little girl [his sister] was worse. Still she does not want to go to school as she says she nearly died. I say nothing to them. I comfort them. Hintsisa does not tell me his dreams. I think he dreams a lot.

"Our house was demolished at Brown's Camp when Hintsisa was four years old. He was afraid. Later I was arrested on my way from work to Crossroads for having no pass. I went to jail for a night. Bail of R50.00 was paid by a Roman Catholic Sister. It happened in 1978. It was my only arrest. Hintsisa cried and could not sleep that night. He was the most upset. My sister bought Complian to calm him. He is always the one to get the most upset. I don't know why."

These are the three who would not, could not talk directly about such experiences. They were the only ones who were described by their mothers as sensitive and particularly troubled by such matters, apart from Tozama whose own views and mother's opinion will be discussed shortly. Three mothers said that their children were untroubled by similar events. Lungiswa's mother said, "She is not disturbed by

riots. She is rather interested"; and Gwali's mother, "He is not bothered by riots or other demonstrations"; and Yameka's mother's brother's wife, "She is unaffected by riots or demolitions of other people's houses." Yet the children did express fears. Lungiswa said, "Mother has been to prison. She and others were going for training to Hanover Park and she was caught for the pass. I was very upset. I was well once she was out. I am now afraid of the police." Gwali told me, "I have seen houses knocked down and houses burnt down. I am afraid for my house. I do not dream about it. My mother's house never burnt." Finally, Yameka said, "I have seen houses knocked down in Crossroads. I think nothing but I am afraid."

Gedja and her mother both asserted that she had seen riots but that they do not worry her. Mother and child were born and their births were registered in Cape Town and they have the right to live in the peninsula. They left the Nyanga East township in 1978 to live in Crossroads and have not directly experienced pass raids or demolition threats. They have, however, been witness to many upheavals including the bus, school and meat boycotts of 1980. Nukwa expressed similar bravado saying, "I am afraid of nothing;" but his mother said that he is afraid and that whenever there is trouble he asks to return to the Transkei.

The other six children openly expressed a variety of fears and they were confirmed in their mother's understanding. I shall not offer all the evidence but shall select in order to suggest the range of fears that they had.

Nomvula said, "I saw houses demolished in Crossroads. I was afraid. I am afraid to die all the time." Her mother confirmed her fear of death. She said, "Nomvula saw houses being demolished. She was upset. She was afraid for her house. After the moving and shooting she told me, 'Mother, I am afraid to die.' I did not say

anything." Nomvula also expressed fear of the Thikoloshe\* and of punishment saying, "If I am naughty, Mother beats me. Often I cry. I am afraid when she is cross." Her mother said, "Nomvula is naughty sometimes. Little naughtinesses. She is never cheeky. She is afraid of the stick. I don't use it much, the last time was a week ago." Tap gossip (the opinions exchanged among women when waiting to fill their buckets at the communal taps) had it that Nomvula's father beats her mother despite her illness. He is strict with the children as the following strange incident illustrates. It was 7:30 p.m. on 21st October and the children of the house had been put to bed after a chapter of the Bible had been read to them. Father had gone out at 6:50, warning that upon his return, he would punish any child that had been noisy in his absence. Having put the children to bed, Nomvula's mother said that they should sleep and Nomvula objected that it was too early. At 7:20 all the children except Nomvula and Mubhuti were in bed when one child warned:

---

\*A fabulous being said to be used as a familiar particularly by witches. Hunter (1936:275) describes it thus:

"The familiar most widely believed in, and most commonly adduced as the means of witchcraft, is Thikoloshe or Hili or Gilikanqo. Thikoloshe is a small hairy being, having the form of a man, but so small that he only reaches to a man's knee. He has hair all over his face and coming out of his ears, and his face is squashed up like a baboon. The penis of the male is so long that he carries it over his shoulder, and he has only one buttock. All Thikoloshe speak with a lisp. Both male and female Thikoloshe wear skins, and they live in 'dongas' (channels worn by storm water), and on the banks of rivers. Thikoloshe has a charm with which he can make himself invisible, and he is only seen by adults who possess him, and by some children.

"There comes my father, do not make a noise anymore. You will be punished if you do."

Father: "Who is talking?"

Child: "Nobody, Dad."

Father: "Is everybody quiet?"

Child: "Everybody is silent."

Father: "You, Mubhuti, you must watch the fleas at my feet, because you are so troublesome."

Mubhuti: "Fleas, my father fleas? I can't see any at your feet."

The child was made to sit at his feet for thirty minutes while his father ate supper. It is no wonder that Nomvula expressed a fear of punishment.

Togu expressed fear of demolitions and of trouble in Crossroads. He added, "I do not go into the forest as I am afraid of snakes. I am only afraid of snakes and policemen. I am also afraid of my teacher. I am not afraid of you."

Mlawu's mother told me about his reactions:

"This is our first time to stay in a shack. It has not been demolished. Mlawu watched the houses around us being demolished in 1976 and ours was the last one on the list but it was not touched. The people were sent back to the Transkei. He was not very afraid. He was interested in the bulldozer. He asked, 'Mother, is our house going to be knocked down?' I said, 'No.' I was afraid, being pregnant. At the time of the demolition, I was lying on the bed and Mlawu looked at me and said, 'Mama, you are afraid of the policemen.'

"In 1978, there was tear gas in the house during the riot and the young children woke up. It was in the evening. A bullet was shot into the door of my shack and we hid. It turned into powder. Mlawu was at the shop at that time. I was afraid for him and I came

outside. Mlawu was frightened and he came running back. The cups next door were broken [by shots]. He did not have bad dreams nor show any effect."

Cebo, for all his brash front, admitted fear of police and trouble in Crossroads. His mother was too anxious about his behaviour to worry about his reactions. She said, "Cebo is naughty with his neighbours but not at home. I worry about his naughtiness and his nervousness. I am afraid that he will grow up bad."

As on many topics, Tozama was articulate. In response to the query: Of what are you afraid, what worries you? she said,

"Sometimes father has no work. Nothing happens then. There is little to eat. People worry. I don't.

"I have seen both riots [1976 and 1978]. They worry me. I am afraid for myself.

"I am afraid of the teacher and of not doing well. I am afraid to play outside at night. If there is a thunderstorm, I just stand. I cannot run. I am afraid in the night of people going around and of the spirits. Even if I am with someone, I run leaving the person behind as they cannot help me against the spirits. No one told me about the spirits. I have not seen a spirit. Another child at school, Mandisa, said that a giant (ingqongqo) will eat you at night. I think it is true. I have not asked my parents.

"If someone is beaten at night, people will be afraid to come out and help. One day we were sent by mother to buy paraffin. As we rounded a corner, a man in a black coat gestured to us with his finger to come. I ran. Nomvuyo was left. There were two men; one was hiding behind a pole. We did not buy the paraffin."

She related two other incidents of the same nature and, a few months later, the following occurrence was recorded in which Tozama's fears landed her in trouble.

At 6:10 one evening, Mrs Ketshe sent Tozama and her eleven-year-old sister to the shop to buy salt and pepper. Ten minutes later they returned:

Tozama: "Here are the things you sent me to buy, Mama."

Mother: "Why were you so long? Are there a lot of people in that shop from which you bought these?"

Sister: "Yes Mama, there were lots of people in that shop, and the people who are selling are children."

Tozama: "You are telling a lie, we were watching people fighting on the side of the road. They were fighting with knives; one stabbed the other next to his nose nearly in the eye."

An hour later, the same two girls were dispatched with jug in hand to buy milk for supper. They returned shortly but without the money and having spilt the milk. They told their mother that a skollie (ruffian) was coming towards them and they ran in fear:

Mother: "What have you done you two stupid children? what kind of a person was that?"

Tozama: "He looked like a skollie."

Mother: "How does a skollie look?"

Tozama: "He was going from side to side in the road, and then we got a fright and then we ran."

Mother: "This brightness of yours, Tozama, is not good, for that person was just drunk: he was not going to do anything about you. There are still many more people in the street. You can't simply run for nothing. What are you going to have for your supper now? Here is money, Nomvuyo [her fourteen-year-old daughter], go and buy milk for your father has nothing to eat with his porridge, I do not worry about you two. Take water and make tea for yourselves."

A little later, mother and Nomvuyo discussed the incident:

Nomvuyo: "How can they run on the street from a drunk person?"

Mother: "Yes they must run because they are children. Children are all frightened of anything odd except these modern children who do not fear anything, which is their danger."

#### CROSSROADS DEATH ACCOUNTS

In attempting to place the child in time - his or her past, present and future hopes or ambitions - I talked to each of them about a dramatic incident that occurred within the community. I sought some idea of their understanding of a major upheaval in the community; how they observed and recalled the occasion; how they differed in their reactions; how their reactions fitted into their own and their mother's descriptions of the impact of trauma in the past.

Each child and I talked about a week of trouble in Crossroads in the days immediately following it. The accounts are fascinating: they range from Zuziwe's refusal to say anything (she was the only one who did) to Tozama's extraordinarily detailed observations. Before discussing them, I shall give a brief account of the trouble: it is detailed in Appendix A. At about 9:00 a.m. on the morning of the 11th August, 1980, as I sat in the Hleke's home, the loudspeaker that is used to convey messages from the Crossroads Committee to the community passed close by. The message was, "If a member of your family left for work this morning via the Nyanga Bus Terminus, you should check if he/she is lying dead." The people said that the police were forcing workers to violate the bus boycott by boarding the buses against their will. Students reacted and a battle ensued. There was an atmosphere of unease in Crossroads that morning. Soon after 12:00, Mary and I were stopped by residents near the road to Nyanga East. They told me

that as I was white I was in danger and that I should leave Crossroads taking the Lansdowne Road, not the Klipfontein Road, as trouble was about to break out. I left, and five minutes later the students came over the dunes singing. In the afternoon they gathered near the Klipfontein Road and stoned two cars. The driver of one, Mr Beeton, was stabbed and hit and he died at the scene of the incident. The other car was driven by Mr Jansen who was hit by the stones. His car stopped and the students overturned it and set fire to it. He managed to escape the burning car and threw himself into a puddle of water. The police arrived and took him away - he died shortly afterwards. In the daily paper next day, there was a picture of the man sitting in the puddle: a terrible picture. During the week, another man was killed by the students and a young boy was shot by the police. It was a week before Crossroads was quiet once again.

In the children's accounts of the violence, it is clear that none of them understood the causes. Most of them realized that white people were in danger, although they were puzzled as to why the students were so angry with them. Eight of them identified the crowd as children of the townships or of Crossroads. Seven others labelled the crowd as the children of Black Power, or of the Comrades, or of Mandela. Four children got some of the facts wrong: Saliswa said that soldiers' cars were stoned and that Mr Jansen was a policeman; Gwali and Togu said that the police burnt the cars; and Nukwa was sure that the white men would have killed me had I come to Crossroads that week. Two of the children dreamt of the trouble. Hintsu's dream: "I dreamt about those children of the riot, burning the car. I was near them. I was not afraid. I did not want to be one of the children.

And Lungiswa's:

"I had a dream that I was burnt. The children of Black Power burnt me while I was on the road. I

cried. No one came to help. I woke up in the morning. I did not tell anyone the dream. It was on Monday night after the burning."

Peliswe recounted her thirteen-year-old sister's dream:

"The soldiers surrounded Crossroads and Mr X\* was there and they said, 'Yes Kaffirs, we are going to shoot you.'"

Tozama's account of the trouble follows. It is clear, vivid and moving. She told it all - the gore, the action the response, the emotion, the humour - with a slight smile and intense concentration:

"The children of Black Power came from the Klipfontein Road across to near my house holding a red flag. There arrived a car with a white man. These children just ran to it and threw stones at the windows. The man was hiding himself with his hands. They turned the car upside down and lit it with fire while he was still in it. He tried to come out. He came out and was on fire and threw himself in the water. The soldiers arrived and the children ran to hide in Crossroads. The soldiers were trying to throw sand and water on the car and the ambulance arrived and took him. He was still alive. After a while we heard that he had died. My mother said that we must stay at the back of the house because she did not want us to see what was happening.

"I cried. I wanted my father. There were women who came to our house and they all cried.

"The blacks were not killed. Only whites. I don't know why. My parents did not tell me anything. I was afraid for myself. My father was at the hospital

---

\*An official who had been in charge of the settlement until recently.

during the trouble. He was getting tablets. I was afraid that my father would be hurt.

"It was right outside my house, near the tap at X4 (a church). I was afraid at night after that. If we are sent outside at night, we are afraid to go past X4.

"I have not seen the children throw stones before. One child was shot by the policemen. The children removed the bullet from her knee. They removed it with a bottle top. I saw the child shot by the police. She ran away and the children gathered around her. This was near X4. The policemen saw them only after the bullet had been taken out. It was a girl from Crossroads, from house number -. She is not at school. She is an old child, over fifteen years. She is fine now: no longer limping. A girl was the first to throw stones. I saw her. I also saw - throw stones. She is from Crossroads. The rest are from the townships.

"The newspaper said it was not the children from Crossroads but the township children who killed the man. I felt sorry for that man. My mother said, 'It seems as if that man was just like my child.'

"The other girls from the township, while the policemen were throwing tear gas, took off their panties and peed on them then wiped their faces.

"The Crossroads children were here when the township children came along the Klipfontein Road. They joined them. They were mostly township children and some from Crossroads.

"You would have been killed if you had come. The man was finally unconscious.

"The child of number - was shot to death. The children went to that house. He was found at the hospital and was brought back in a coffin. I did not see him being shot. The people from Crossroads and the teachers came to my house because they thought my brother was the one who had died.

A little later during the same session, she told me how her uncle (malume) had tried to warn her family that trouble was coming:

"My uncle wanted to tell us what was going to happen that week. My mother took it easy and did not listen to him. He was afraid that you would be hurt. Now my mother wants to stay at his house in Gugulethu because they hear things before they happen.

"Another lady from Crossroads saw a white lady coming towards the children after they had killed that man. She waved her hand to tell her to go. The children were angry and wanted to burn her house. She ran away.

"The students were asking for petrol from a Crossroads man. They were not given it. My mother would have given it to them as she was afraid they would kill her.

"My uncle came to my house and asked what is happening. He wanted to know the names of the children because he knows them.

"My brother would only give a name of a youth group. I do not know if he wanted to take them into prison. Only one boy from Nyanga, called - , mentioned all the names of those in his group. That was wrong because they were all taken to prison.

"The township children came to school and made the older children join them. A teacher's sister was taken. She went. While they were going she said she wanted to pee. She was lying. They waited. She returned and then said she was thirsty. They said, 'We will wait'. She ran out of the back (of the shack). The children came and told her sister that she had gone and that they would punish her. They returned later and found her and forced her to join them again. They saw the police and the girl said, 'We must hide or we will be shot'. They hid and she

escaped to another house. They did not get her again. My mother told us this story saying that we must not go to school. We stayed home."

Tozama, in the above account, expresses fear for her father's safety and pity for the white man; she observes with interest survival techniques (how to remove a bullet from the knee and how to avoid being overcome by tear gas); she analyses the composition of the crowd; she expresses disapproval of informers and wonders about her uncle's knowledge and interest in the affair; and she recalls the details of an incident involving intimidation.

Her mother's account of the death of Mr Jansen represented the torn emotions of many adults in Crossroads. On the one hand, she was sympathetic towards the students and their cause, but on the other hand, she wept for those who suffered as a consequence. Mrs Ketshe was ill after the week of trouble and went on a visit to the Transkei to "release" her body. She told of a woman who saw Mr Jansen being killed and had laughed and laughed and laughed. When she returned home and was cooking, her primus exploded and she was badly burnt on her face and hair and body. It was, said Mrs Ketshe, God's revenge.

I should like, now, to balance my account by recording the children's laughter, play and songs. However, the former is hard to capture on paper and their play and songs have been incorporated in a chapter on the children of Crossroads. I shall have to trust that the health and vigour of their full personalities emerges in the course of giving other details.

I neither wish to understate the impact that trauma may have upon a child's life nor do I wish to exaggerate the impact. The children were remarkable for their quiet dignity, their poise, their curiosity and their openness once trust had been established. Relationships within families seemed to be characterised by the calm expression of warmth and acceptance. There lies the miracle: the

strength of the family despite the system. Should you consider that these children were unfortunate in their experience of family separations, moves, contact with demolition, riot, the imprisonment of family members and similar upheavals and, therefore, not representative as a sample, then I refer you to the substantial literature within South Africa that documents the impact of the system on black lives and suggests in outline the experience that huge numbers of black children encounter.\* Few studies are available that tell about the reality of day-to-day life of black children, except perhaps for the autobiographies of writers. To borrow a phrase from Habermas (1968), much of children's experience of repression in South Africa is "unequivocally identifiable suffering."

#### SELF-IMAGE

As an index of the children's self-image, I gave each a circular mirror some 25 cm. in diameter to inspect. After a while, the child was asked to describe what he or she saw when looking into it. Once the description had been given, I asked "If you were to meet a person who looked like that, what would you think of that person?"

In their descriptions, they used the words black (-mnyama) and white (-mhlophe). Five described their faces, which was all that could be seen in the mirror, as black and five as white. Two others used both words to describe facial items and another two used no colour term. I presume that black and white referred to relative hues. I never heard the children use words for pale or for light or dark complexion. Lighter skin shades were admired by some in the community and it was this preference that advertisements for skin lighteners exploited.

---

\*Some of the literature is referred to in the Introduction. Other writings include: Desmond, 1978; Nash, 1978 and 1980; Thomas, 1970; and Wilson, 1973.

Mr Ketshe was away from home when his daughter, Tozama was born. Upon his return, he teased his wife saying that the baby was too black to be his.

All but two of the children said that they would admire or like a person such as the one reflected in the mirror; Gwali, however refused to acknowledge kinship with his reflection rather as he had refused to identify himself with the cardboard figures that were purported to represent him at different ages (see Chapter 5). Nukwa was vexed by his image but denied that it was his. He said.

"The face is white. The eyes are white. If I were to meet this person, I would say that I would be irritated (ukucaphukisa). As for me, I am beautiful but this person I see here is ugly."

Lungiswa called her reflection ugly and said that she would not like someone who looked like her reflection. Her description was:

"The shape is like David [her younger brother]. The face is black; the nose is white; the chin is white; the cheeks are white; the teeth are white; the tongue is white; the ears are black; the head is black; the feet are black; the knees are black; the arms are white; the neck is black; the eyes are mixed (ukuxubana) black and white. Lungi [her nickname] is not beautiful: she looks ugly. I would not like that person."

Some months later, the following conversation between Lungiswa and her friend was recorded:

Boy: "Did you hear what Zolani said, Lungiswa?"

Lungiswa: "No, I didn't hear him."

Boy: "He says that you are as ugly as a vomitting medicine."

Lungiswa: "I am all right I didn't ask to be beautiful."

She was, I thought, an attractive child.

Neither child lives with his or her father; Lungiswa's parents are separated and Nukwa's father is dead. Lungiswa suffers from asthma. Nukwa is malnourished. The former is quick and extroverted; the latter reticent and cautious.

In seeking some sense of the child's position in the family and the child's perception of that position, I asked each mother and child (on separate occasions) whom was his/her favourite person in the family and whom did they think was mother's/father's/child's (whichever was relevant). Thirteen mothers and ten children responded. Eleven mothers claimed to have no favourite although two of them (Mrs Hleke and Mrs Qasana) said perhaps the smallest boy because he was the baby. Of the other three mothers, Nukwa's mother chose her daughter who was at school in the Transkei and Nukwa correctly perceived that; Hintsa's mother chose her eldest son; and Tozama's mother chose her. The latter was the only mother to single out a child in the sample as her favourite in the family.

None of the children perceived themselves as mother's favourites, although three allowed that she had none and Lungiswa said that her mother liked her three youngest children best, one of which was herself. Four of them chose a brother or sister as mother's favourite (Peliswe, Nukwa, Nomvula and Tozama.) Mothers tended to suggest another member of the family as the child's favourite, whereas the child would select mother. Yameka chose her mother's brother's wife as her favourite person.

Nomvula, Tozama and Saliswa were said by their mothers to be father's favourite child. The first two identified father as their choice and the last one offered no choice. Apart from Lungiswa, who included herself as one of her mother's favourites, and Togu, who said that his father liked him, his brother and his cousin best, no child selected him-/or herself as a parent's favourite. Their reticence could have been due to modesty.

## TASKS

Consensus among the adults of Crossroads was fairly general as to the age at which children could be expected to perform certain tasks. At age three or four, a child can be sent on small errands to nearby houses. At five or six, he or she can fetch a small bucket of water from the tap and shop for one or two items. Just before the age of seven, a child is expected to be able to complete any straightforward household task efficiently and quickly. Between ages eight and ten, a child should be able to buy or sell items with fixed prices. By age ten, a girl should be capable of handling any household job and by fourteen she should be able to run the house, including food preparation and cooking.

There seemed to be little division in labour between the sexes up to the age of eight. The children in the sample had, on a regular basis, to complete two or three of the following tasks: to collect water, sweep and wash the floors, clean the yard and toilet seat, wash and dry dishes, wash their own underclothes and sometimes care for small children. One boy prepared the family tea each morning and another washed his blanket that he frequently wet at night. One girl resisted doing housework and was given the tasks of cleaning the yard and toilet seat.

Cebo's mother said that his duties were to sweep the kitchen and toilet, wash his blanket and collect water every day but that he only did them well if she was at home. However, if she returned home late on a Friday evening, she would find that he had lit a candle in her bedroom and had brought in the washing all of his own accord. Two other mothers praised their children for conscientiousness and thoughtfulness. Mrs Ketshe said that Tozama is not told what to do but she takes on tasks such as sweeping and washing the floor on her own. On her father's return from work, after walking across the sand dunes from the bus stop in Nyanga East, she washes

his feet and his socks. When he sleeps, she tucks in his blanket and says, "Father if you die, I will be upset and die."

Mrs Qasana said that Saliswa washed dishes, swept and washed the floor, and collected water regularly and, although there were many children to share the work, she took upon herself more than her share. Here is the skeleton of an observation made in the Qasana home in June. It was mid-winter. Saliswa did not go to school.

9:30 a.m. Somtshakazi\* (the young bride who is the wife of a man from Mr Qasana's clan) asks Saliswa to dress. The children are still huddled under their blankets. The child rushes to the tap for water and asks an older girl to warm it. All the children wash.

9:45 Saliswa helps her sister to feed the baby. The bride prepares the fire tin and they gather round it. They talk and sing like members of the Church of Zion. They run around the fire while singing. The bride asks them to stop and stand away as Saliswa was burnt last time they played like Zion members.

10:00 The bride asks Saliswa to wash her pants and vest. She pours soap and water into a bowl and Saliswa washes them. She washes her socks too and the bride rinses them and hangs them on the line.

10:20 The bride tells the child to take the fire tins to the side of the house. She does, then takes up a broom and sweeps the floor. She washes the dishes and her sister rinses them.

10:45 Saliswa plays sticks with her brother. They fight. She pulls off her cousin's (the fourteen-year-old child of her father's half-sister) hat and she is chased and ordered never to do it again or she will be beaten.

---

\*umtshakazi - bride.

11:00 Saliswa hides herself in her mother's bedroom. She emerges. Cleans the pot and warms stamped mealies for their meal.

#### CONTROL

In an attempt to estimate the degree of control that the parents exert over their children, and the manner in which each child perceives that control, I asked, on different occasions, the mother and child who selects the clothes for the child to wear each day, what choice he or she has in attending school, accomplishing tasks, selecting friends, playing away from home and ranging through and beyond Crossroads. Predictably, the amount of control exercised by parents varied. For instance, it ranged from the restriction of Peliswe's movements to three houses, the occupants of whom were relatives or people well known to the family, to the freedom allowed Gwali to move anywhere in Crossroads and even as far as his grandparents' home in Nyanga East.

Of the six boys, five could range anywhere in the settlement. Cebo's mother forbade him to go to the sand dunes beyond the shacks or across a major road into the forest, but she was aware that he did go. Only Mlawu had to play near his home and let his mother know where he was. Half the boys were given no choice on school attendance, what to wear or eat or whether or not to do their tasks. The other three, Nukwa, Hintsa and Gwali did more or less as they pleased. Nukwa's mobility was hampered only by the injunction that he should be home by sunset. His mother told me that he decides for himself when he wants to go to school. In fact, he stopped at the end of July: I asked:

(Is he not too small to make such a choice?)

"No, he can think for himself."

(How does he know what he will need when he is an adult?)

"If he grows well, he will know."

Nukwa said, "I no longer go to school. Mother says I must not go as she has no school fees." The truth lay somewhere between their explanations. Mother, indeed, had no money, but as there was a school boycott in progress, few parents were paying fees. Nukwa disliked school especially the classroom chaos and boredom under the boycott conditions. His mother could not enforce his attendance as she did not monitor his movements. Besides, she held to a traditional attitude of child development in which it is believed that adults must not stifle the emergence of a child's talents and that the child will find the growth path best suited to him. (This view is described in Chapter 8.)

The mothers of both Cebo and Hintsä told them to go to school, but both knew that often their child did not. The following exchange between Cebo and his father was noted on 14 November, 1980, at 8:00 p.m.:

Father: "Cebo, did you go to school, my little boy?"  
(Cebo tries to hide himself for he had not been to school.)

Mother: "Bring water for me to drink my tablets please, Cebo."

Father: "But he has not yet answered my question. Did you go to school Cebo?"

Cebo: "Yes, I went to school: at the time there were no children. They had gone home."

Father: "Why did you go when the others had gone home, Cebo?"

Cebo: "At that time, at that time, Daddy...."

Father: "Do not be tricky young man. Can you not tell me the truth? Why do you cheat me?"

(Cebo does not answer but hangs his head. Then he says:) "We have not yet gone to buy paraffin. Your washing water will be cold tomorrow morning."

Father: "O.K. my boy, let's go together and buy paraffin."

Relative to the boys, the degree to which the girls were free to range in Crossroads was curtailed, but it varied amongst them. Peliswe's movements were carefully monitored, and four other girls had to play near home; another had to inform an adult in the house as to where she would be; the seventh girl was given a large triangle from home to mother's sister's house to mother's friend's house within which to explore; and the last child, Gedja, could go anywhere in Crossroads. The above are the mother's view of their children's freedom of movement. Interestingly, five children gave different accounts of their mobility: Two suggested more restrictions than had their mothers, Hintsa and Gedja, and three declared that there were no controls on their movements within Crossroads, Yameka, Tozama and Nomvula, whereas their mothers had said that they could only play near home and not explore the area alone.

The mothers of the three girls who were given more freedom worked. I observed that all the children (except Mlawu and Peliswe whose mothers carefully watched their movements) ranged far through Crossroads, although their usual beats were well defined.

Only Gedja, among the girls was given much choice in selecting clothes, deciding what to eat or in accomplishing tasks. Tozama could select her own clothes, but she had to go to school and eat what she was given. She said that she could stay away from school for one or two days when she chose to. Again, the conditions under the boycott affected the situation.

#### POSSESSIONS

The children had very few personal possessions. Among them they owned one broken bicycle, two broken wind-up cars, one ball, one length of skipping twine and some hoopla wire. At different times during the year the boys owned wire cars but they usually broke or were stolen after a while. The children had six exercise books and three textbooks among them; some exercise books were kept at school. They had, too, eighteen utensils - mugs, plates, bowls -

that were designated as the child's own and an average of sixteen items of clothing each; the clothing ranged from Saliswa's seven (four dresses, one skirt and a pair of shoes) to Lungiswa's thirty-six items. Lungiswa's mother used to hawk clothes and so she had a large wardrobe. Their clothes were usually kept in a box or a suitcase beneath a bed. Yameka owned a black plastic bangle and Tozama a traditional outfit, consisting of: an inkciyo, a bead apron in black, white, green and blue; an isiyeye, a necklace in white, green and blue beads; a shawl and a skirt in ibhayi, a blanket cloth of orange. She was very proud of it. Her mother, a seamstress and an igqira, had made it for her.

It is impossible to say what impact their lack of possessions had on their learning. No doubt the lack of opportunity to manipulate, order and construct things that were made out of materials uniform in shape, colour or texture towards particular ends rendered the children less confident when faced with formal tasks in a test situation. Similarly, their lack of exposure to pictures and written stories made the introduction of reading and writing a more complicated process. However, their use of rhythm, their repertoire of songs, their own song compositions and their ingenuity in play, warn against placing too great an emphasis on their lack of possessions. The children's own activities and the objects and plants available in the environment offered a rich base upon which educational skills such as classification and numeracy could have been founded.

The following quotation taken from a book recently published illustrates what weight can be placed on children's lack of possessions. Seagrim and Lendon (1980:35) recorded Australian Aborigines lack of personal possessions and suggested that a lack of associated concepts is a consequence:

"We refer in particular to the attachment of relative values to different possessions which, in Western society, are expressed in quantitative forms that are reflected in the wide use of comparatives in language and in the existence

of measurement and, consequently, of number. Neither comparatives nor systems of number are well represented in Aboriginal languages, there having been no need for them. In Aranda, for example, while there are comparative words for "bigger" or "more", they are not frequently used... and no terms for number beyond three exist."

## SCHOOLS

In 1955, the Government passed the Bantu Education Act. It has been the source of much anger and frustration among blacks because it is thought to proffer an inferior education and because of its initial insistence on the use of mother-tongue instruction up to Standard Six and the use of Afrikaans and English in the teaching of many high school subjects. The Report of the Commission of Inquiry into the Riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from June 16, 1976, to February 28, 1977 (Cillie Commission) found that the riots were caused by dissatisfaction with the medium of instruction and with Bantu education (SAIRR, 1981:501).

According to the Minister of Statistics the amount and the percentage of the gross national product in the calendar year 1978 allocated to education was as follows (including the Transkei and Bophuthatswana):

	Amount R-million	% of GNP
White	1 009,8	2,62
Coloured	196,7	0,51
Asian	95,2	0,25
African	253,6	0,66
<hr/> Total	<hr/> 1 555,3	<hr/> 4,04

Source: Hansard 4Q cols 185-6 quoted in  
SAIRR 1981:459.

The estimated per capita expenditure during 1978-79 on school pupils of the various racial groups was given by the responsible Ministers in the assembly:

	Including Capital Expenditure R	Excluding Capital Expenditure R
White	724,00	640,00
Indian	357,15	297,31
Coloured	225,54 <sup>+</sup>	197,20
African in "white area"	71,28	68,15

Source: Respectively Hansard 3Q col 103; Hansard 2Q col 42; Hansard 4Q col 187; Hansard 2Q col 96 quoted in SAIRR 1981:460.

<sup>+</sup>The Minister stated in the Assembly that this figure excluded expenditure on the acquisition of sites as the figure relating only to the acquisition of sites for educational institutions was not available. Hansard 4Q col 187.

The SAIRR (1981:460) calculated the pupil/teacher ratios for 1980 from statistics supplied by the Department of Statistics:

White	1 : 18,6
Coloured	1 : 28,8
Asian	1 : 25,6
African	1 : 45,9

(The number of pupils and teachers in the "independent" homelands are not included.)

The above figures indicate the disparity between the Bantu and other education systems in South Africa. In November, 1980, the Minister of Education and Training, Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, said that it was the government's aim to provide equal education opportunities for all

population groups and that the standard of education laid down by his department was identical to those of other education departments. The compilers of a report on the course of the 1980 school boycotts observe in response to the Minister's statement that:

"Commentators accepted the validity of Dr Hartzenberg's statement. However, they pointed out that while in theory Africans received equal education, in practice they did not. This was because relatively few African teachers had comparable qualifications to those of their white counterparts, the overcrowding that was prevalent in African schools which meant that teachers were able to devote far less time per child in African schools than in white schools, and facilities, such as science laboratories, which were common in white schools were relatively rare in Africans' schools. These factors, they said, were among the most important reasons why Africans received an impoverished education relative to that of white children."

A full account cannot be given here of the nature of Bantu education, its inefficiency in terms of the overall development of South Africa, or of the distress that it has caused among blacks (see Auerbach, 1979, Geber and Newman, 1980; Malherbe, 1977, SAIRR, 1979, 1981; Steyn, 1969 and UNESCO, 1972).

I shall report little about the children's school experiences. Ten of those in the sample attended two schools in Crossroads that had been founded by the community with aid and assistance from Church and other organizations. Their very existence was testimony to many people's strength and optimism. One of the buildings was bulldozed down by official decree and rebuilt with community and Urban Foundation funds. The schools were symbols in the locality

and focus points of a political rivalry that culminated in a murder in October, 1979, after which one side gained and held dominance throughout 1980. One school was the headquarters of the Crossroads Committee during the year. The teachers of that school, all of whom except one were women, were leaders in the community and they represented both the power of the women and their fury as the men divested the women of that power.

The two schools differed in a number of respects the most significant of which was their identification with factional allegiance. The teachers of one all lived in Crossroads whereas those of the other came from the Townships which was a source of jealousy and suspicion and a handicap in the establishment of good teacher/community relations. Both schools fell under Government control at the end of 1980 which was seen to be a victory by the teachers as Government would then be responsible for paying teachers' salaries and benefits.

I shall report little about classroom activities and atmosphere because the creation of the schools and the position of the teachers was part of a complex picture that I observed keenly but did not study in sufficient depth to report with confidence. Besides, the schools were in a transitional state and cannot be seen to represent the school experiences of a wide group of children. Another reason for setting schooling aside in this work, is that I was anything but an objective observer. I found the conditions appalling - the crowding (sometimes 150 children in a small room); the lack of furniture, paper, pencils, books; and the control wielded through the stick. While I admired those who established the schools, I did not approve of the way they were run. I did not feel that basic conditions need be so bad; that is, the adult/child ratio, the lack of use of materials from the environment and the misuse of the stick.

A school boycott in the Western Cape effectively stopped teaching from June, 1980, to the end of the year. Appendix E

gives a chronology of the country-wide educational crisis (see, too, SAIRR 1981:501-520). In one school, little work was accomplished for the rest of the year. The situation in this school was extraordinary: children sat in the classrooms all morning doing nothing. Older children were placed in charge of order and abuse resulted. A teacher from the other school was proud at the end of the year for having taken all her children successfully through the syllabus despite the boycott. She used to smuggle in the day's lessons on a scrap of paper tucked into her brassiere despite threats from students that they would burn down her house if she continued to teach. Whether or not one thinks that she was right to disregard the command of boycott leaders, is a political judgement.

For most children there was very little formal learning achieved during the year. In the situation, it was not possible to estimate the value of classroom activity without making political statements of either community or national implication.

#### TIME

The children's response to questions about time were not very informative. Using a watch and a cardboard clock with movable hands, we talked about day and night, the seasons and the years. The children synchronized their days according to the behaviour of parents, teachers and other children. Daylight and sunset were their most important markers. Here is what Tozama said:

"I get up at eight or nine. My brother tells me the time. I go to school with the others. When the sun sets, I return for supper. Teachers tell us not to come to school at weekends. I know when the month has ended. You can see it up there (the moon). I see the year had ended through the calender (icalendi). Also it tells me when I am a year older."

She could not tell the time, but showed me where the hour was with the one hand of the cardboard clock. Lungiswa could do the same, but she placed both hands on the hour. Her replies were similar to those above:

"Mother tells me when to get up, and teacher when to go home. We are called for supper. I know it is Saturday when the bell is not ringing. If I did not live close to school, I would see from my friends that there is no school. Anna [her mother] tells me that the day has ended. I can also see that the sun is not there. I hear from my mother when the month has ended and from my aunt [her mother's sister who is a school headmistress] when the year has ended. I do not travel alone, so I do not need to know when the bus will come. I will be grown up when I am tall."

Most of the children said that they did not know when a month or a year had ended, nor were they told when they were a year older. This confirms the children's lack of involvement in a sense of growth or age progression measured in even steps. In Chapter 5, we shall see that the seemingly simple task of placing cardboard figures in order to represent the child at each year was problematic. None of the children could tell the time, but all knew what watches were.

#### FUTURE PROJECTIONS

With and on behalf of each child, I have tried to recreate the past. The child in the present is under scrutiny. By the end of the thesis, I will have presented something about each child's cognitive abilities, his and her use of kinship terms, her understanding of dreams and use of concepts of space and time. In order to place the child fully in time, some idea of her expectations of the future must be offered. In the course of conversation, a child would sometimes refer to her hopes for the future and, during the life history interview, I asked each what

work she wanted to do when adult. The latter is the sort of dumb question a grown-up would ask. I wanted to stimulate the child's thoughts about future possibilities and to prod her into fantasizing and then into considering real expectations. To do so, I persuaded a young relative of mine at art school to draw large, colourful pictures on sheets of blue cardboard, about 20x25 cm., representing future choices in family size, housing, travel, work and clothing. The pictures were marvellous: each bright and interesting; the shoes, to represent travel by foot, looked as enticing as did the aeroplane. The aim in using the pictures was to stimulate fantasy and to present a range of choices. I did not research real possibilities for blacks in South Africa a decade hence and the pictures are not meant to reflect likely choices.

In case you need persuasion as to the value of using methods of play in an anthropological study, let me quote Zuziwe when asked a direct question in an attempt to make her describe a day in her life. I said:

(Zuziwe, tell me all that you did yesterday?)

"I played. I gave my doll gum. I ate. Porridge, potatoes and onion. I came here. I sat. I talked with my mother but not my father."

(And this morning?)

"I don't know. I woke after everybody was up. I played. I dressed. I had breakfast of soft porridge. I waited for you."

(And what do you want to do when you are an adult?)

"I want to be a mother of two children. I don't know what work I want to do. I want to go up to Standard Seven. I want to live in my own house in Crossroads."

There is information in her descriptions; it is interesting that she should tell me that she spoke to her mother but not her father, because I know that they live in a divided house and that Zuziwe fears her father because of the quarrels

that he provokes out of his despair and weekend drunkenness. It is interesting that she said, "I gave my doll gum", because it is not her doll, but a friend's doll with which she plays and which she covets. She is a clever child and it is interesting to know that, quite realistically given the society in which she lives, she aims only to pass Standard 7: most white children in South Africa pass that standard at age thirteen. It is also of interest that she only wants two children; I wonder how many a seven-year-old Xhosa child fifty years ago would have wanted. That she aspires to own a shack when she is a woman is interesting. And what she ate is of interest to my research on diet. However, much of the interest is dependent on my knowledge of her world and in itself it does not tell me much about her view of herself in time. Therefore, I needed objects to act as a median between us and to stimulate her thought or provoke her responses. It must be remembered that, in part, children's values and even their ambitions reflect those of their society.

Five interest areas - Family, Housing, Travel, Work and Clothes - were represented by a series of pictures. Where necessary the sexes were represented by different drawings. Each series in turn was placed on the carpet in front of the child in random order. Before we began, each child was told that first she should select pictures showing what she would like to do or be or have as an adult, if she had plenty of money and could do as she pleased and live where she chose. Then she was told that she should select the pictures showing what she probably will do or be or have as an adult. If the child did not understand the preamble, it did not matter too much as instructions for each series were repeated in relation to the choice (fantasy or reality) at hand.

Mlawu had just left for the Transkei, so thirteen children did this exercise. Only features of particular interest will be reported.

## Family Size

Four pictures represented different family patterns. One was of a woman (man) living alone; another of a woman and her spouse; the third of the couple and three children; and the last of the couple and three children and one set of parents. Four girls said that they would like to live alone as adults. They were firm in their choice. Seven of the children wanted to have children; five of them selected an extended family scene and two a nuclear family. Two boys wanted a wife only. When they were asked to say with which family they were, in reality, likely to live, only one boy altered his choice, adding to a wife some children.

## Houses

The drawings were of four houses: a shack; a traditional hut; a brick townhouse (small, narrow but solid); a square house with a generous door, two windows and a number painted on it (rather like the houses "owned" by some people in the townships.) The last was called a "private house" by the children. Ten children chose it and two chose the townhouse. The thirteenth child, Gwali, chose a traditional hut, rather suprisingly as he had only lived there for a year and had found living hard and poor. Among young children there seemed to be a tendency to romanticize the country of the Xhosa and his choice was, perhaps, an instance of that.

In response to the question as to what house they would be most likely to live in, five altered their choices: three to a shack, one to a hut and another to a townhouse. All of them had selected a "private house" as a first choice.

## Travel

The modes of travel represented were an aeroplane, a motor boat, a car, a motorbike, a bicycle, a pair of shoes and a bus. It was made clear that the child could own any except the bus, upon which he would be a passenger. The

choices were two planes, three cars, three motorbikes, two bicycles and three buses. In the reality choice, Yameka and Cebo swapped their planes for a motorbike and a bicycle respectively, and Cebo added, "I do not want to take the bus because of the boycott," which shows how current affairs can affect test items. Zuziwe and Tozama relinquished their cars for travel by bus and taxi respectively. Gedja held on to her car and Hintsa and Nukwa their motorbikes (izithuthuthu). Those who had chosen to travel by bicycle or bus saw no need to change, though Peliswe said if she had no money, she would travel by foot. While some children reached for the stars, others did not fantasize beyond the probable.

### Jobs

Future work choices were suggested by drawings of a teacher, farmer, labourer, factory worker, clerk and bus driver for boys; and teacher, farmer, char, nurse, clerk and bus driver for the girls. All the pictures were presented to each child and the fact that the factory worker was drawn as a man did not prevent four girls from choosing that option.

Four girls wanted to be nurses and one a teacher. None of them saw any obstacle in reality to prevent them from achieving their goals. The girls were Lungiswa, Saliswa, Peliswe, Zuziwe and Gedja. Nomvula chose to be a Western-trained doctor or a driver, but she granted that in reality she would probably be a char or a baker. Yameka wanted to be a factory worker and Tozama a clerk who could type (ukuxhaxhaza - a fine clicking word); both supposed that they would really be chars.

Of the boys, Cebo and Togu wanted to work in a factory and each had voiced the same ambition on other occasions. Gwali and Hintsa wanted to be clerks, although neither knew what a clerk did: Hintsa thought he was a tailor. Nukwa said, as he often had before, that he would be a driver. In reply to my question as to how he would pass the test if he refused to attend school, he said, "If I cannot drive, I will work. I don't know at what. I will be a man." The last statement refers to the Xhosa tradition

of initiating boys into manhood through circumcision schools. Curiously, Gwali had said, "When I grow up I want to be a boy not a man." His father was an ardent member of a Pentecostal church and had firmly rejected all traditional customs. When faced with reality, Gwali was the only boy who altered his choice from clerk to factory worker.

### Clothes

Four pictures represented the final choice: clothes. They included drawings of someone poorly clad; in uniform; in smart, conservative clothes (called church clothes for convenience); and in fashionable outfits (called city clothes). Among the girls, three chose the nurses uniform and five the city clothes. Three of the latter altered their selection to suit reality: one chose a uniform and two, poor clothes.

Three boys chose a suit (church clothes) and two chose overalls. None altered his choice. In selecting clothes for a friend of the opposite sex to wear in the future, only one girl selected fashionable clothes for her friend (which no boy had chosen) and two boys dressed their girlfriends in church clothes which no girl had chosen.

In summary, of the thirteen children only four gave answers consistent with the set task, that is, to fantasize first and consider reality next. All four were girls. Their choices were as follows:

	A HOUSE		B TRAVEL		C FAMILY	
	i	ii	i	ii	i	ii
Zuziwe:	pvt.	shack	car	bus	alone	+mother
Yameka:	pvt.	brick	a-plane	m-bike	ext.	=
Tozama:	pvt.	shack	car	taxi	ext.	alone
Peliswe:	pvt.	T'skei	bus	foot	ext.	=

	D WORK		E CLOTHES	
	i	ii	i	ii
Zuziwe:	nurse	=	uniform	=
Yameka:	factory	char	city	uniform
Tozama:	clerk	char	city	=
Peliswe:	nurse	study	uniform	=

i - first choice : fantasy

ii - second choice: reality

= - same choice

On the whole, the others stuck to their first choices. For example, Lungiswa said, "I think what I really want will come true," and Cebo proclaimed, "It will be as I have said." For his initial selection, Togu chose drawings of an extended family, a private house, a motorbike, a factory job and a suit. When asked to adapt the choices to suit a likely future, he replied, "If I am poor, I will look for a job and buy a private house. Then I will work hard and buy a motorbike. I will work in a factory. If the people say I must stay in Crossroads I will make the house so it looks beautiful. I will wear clothes (the suit)."

Comparing the children's job choices with their hopes expressed on other occasions, it can be seen that seven held firmly to one ambition. The ambitions included four nurses, a teacher, a driver and a factory worker. Three of the children had not yet attended school.

When asked what work they would like their children to do as adults, nine of the mothers mentioned a job that would entail a good school qualification. The mothers of Gwali, Lungiswa, Nomvula and Nukwa and Yameka's mother's brother's wife, either did not know what they wanted for the child or felt it was not their choice. Nukwa's mother said, "I want nothing as it is not for me to decide alone as we are under my brother-in-law."

Three mothers of girls wanted them to become nurses and two mothers of boys wanted them to be Western-trained doctors. One mother said of her child, Hintsu, "I know that he is not clever but still I want him to be a doctor." No mother suggested that the likelihood of the child achieving her ambition would depend on the parents active help with education.

In the next chapter, I shall report details of the way in which the children ordered their thoughts and actions. I shall describe what tools they could muster in making sense of the world; what vocabulary they had in store; what control they wielded over their perceptual and physical powers; what mastery they had achieved over pen and paper; what confidence and experience they brought to their initiation into the world of reading, writing and number. Piaget once said, (1947), "Life is a creator of patterns." I sought to discover what patterns the children of Crossroads were making out of the pieces life had, thus far, seen fit to provide.

## CHAPTER 5: THE CHILD AND ORDER

During the year in which I worked closely with the fourteen children, I set out to document what skills they possessed for use in ordering their conceptions of the world. In doing so, I sought to observe how the children acted during test sessions : the attention they paid to the matter in hand; their span of concentration; their need for encouragement; their resistance, either passive or active; their interest or dis-interest; their response to instructions; their attitude towards a task, including the bewilderment, efficiency, anxiety or caution with which they set about it. It seemed likely that performance may be obstructed by factors not related to actual ability. I sought to document minutely such interfering factors in test behaviour. With a small sample I was able to notice when a particular situation troubled a certain child and to link that concern to other facets of the child's life. I also recorded the children's level of skill displayed over time and in a variety of situations. There were many occasions during the year when the children had to do tasks such as counting, writing, adding or sorting objects. I have combined these in giving the results. A number of tests were administered to each child at different intervals during the year. These tests included sorting, writing, counting, drawing of a person and Piaget's tests of the conservation of number and class inclusion. The results of tests given over time are useful in estimating the impact of schooling or of my work with the children and in demonstrating whether or not cognitive ability rather than experience on a particular task is being measured.

The aims outlined above affect the style in which the findings are reported. While I paid close attention to the

rules that psychologists have formulated for the administration of tests, I shall not give the results according to the format used by psychologists, because it is the individual's response to the whole situation and the link to environmental factors that I wish to emphasize. As a result, the following sections demand that the reader pay close attention to small items of behaviour. In order to persuade the reader that the children in the sample are not atypical of the population of seven to eight-year olds in Crossroads, I compared their test results on five Piagetian tasks with the results of a control group of twenty-five children in Crossroads who attended the same two schools. I administered four of the five tests to thirteen women who were attending literacy classes and who met with me one afternoon a week to discuss their lives. I wanted to record how illiterate adults in the same culture handled the tasks. These will be examined first.

Jean Piaget's theory of cognitive development both fertilizes cross-cultural research and bedevils it. His theory is complicated and difficult to summarize if only because, as he admitted, he could not think without committing his thoughts to paper and he chose to publish a vast number of his writings. The findings from the administration of the tests he devised in other societies are variously interpreted. For example, Piaget (Preface to *Dasen*, 1977:V) himself observed,

"...that, in general, the developmental stages observed in the societies where our studies were originally conducted have been observed again in very different civilisations. Such a convergence is surely very significant. It would seem to indicate that the laws of psychogenesis of cognitive structures can be compared in their generality with biological epigenesis."

The same body of data, however, is taken by Brainerd (1978:83) to prove that Piagetian-type concepts are not

culturally universal; he comments. "It seems that mother nature has been shamefully neglecting the spontaneous development of primitive peoples." A third view is proffered by Irvine and Carroll (1980:83) who say, "Attempts have been made to verify developmental stages as transcultural universals. In general, the stages are robust, but the elasticity of the concrete - operational stage puzzles many researchers."

Piaget (1969) thought of development as "a kind of mental embryogenesis." He attempted to explain knowledge through its formation and its development. Piaget (1974b:vii) analysed the problem of the relationship between action and thought and aimed at explicating the "underlying transformative mechanism." In his opinion, history and anthropology can only throw light on the succession of, or differences in, level and not on the transformations that occur in intellectual development. Piaget (1970c:5) explains that:

"Indeed, if all knowledge is continually in course of development and consists in passing from a state of lesser knowledge to one which is more complete and effective, then it is clearly a matter of understanding this development and analysing it as accurately as possible. This process of growth does not take place haphazardly but forms a developmental sequence, and since in no cognitive sphere does there exist an absolute starting-point of development, this itself must be studied in the so-called formative stages... the problem is that of finding the law underlying processes."

He recognised that people proceed at different speeds through the four stages of development that he identified. Piaget (1972c:1-12) felt that,

"These different speeds would be due to the quality and frequency of intellectual stimulation received from adults or obtained from the possibilities available to children for spontaneous activity, it goes without saying that the development of the first three or four periods mentioned above will be slowed down...."

"This does not mean that formal structures are exclusively the result of a process of social transmission. We still have to consider the spontaneous and endogenous factors of construction proper to each normal subject. However, the formation and completion of cognitive structures imply a whole series of exchanges and a stimulating environment; the formation of operations always requires a favourable environment for co-operation, that is to say, operations carried out in common (e.g. the role of discussion, mutual criticism or support, problems raised as the result of exchanges of information, heightened curiosity due to the cultural influence of a social group, etc)."

He allowed that there was a role for social transmission in the development of cognitive abilities beside the "spontaneous and endogenous factors of construction proper." Besides Piaget (1970c) conceded "to those who support the necessity of experience that even the simplest and most general logical and arithmetical truths are established with the help of experience before giving way to an operational system which is purely deductive." However, he went no further in analysing the nature of the necessary exchanges or the type of environment or the manner of co-operation or the sorts of experience that are necessary to produce the "normal" subject. Nor did he provide the kind of data about the children whom he studied in Geneva upon which one might have drawn some conclusions. In terms of the global nature of his claims, this was a serious flaw in his methodology.

In investigating formal structures of cognitive growth Piaget (1970c:164) used,

"rather specific types of experimental situations which were of a physical and logical-mathematical

nature because they seemed to be understood by the school children we sampled. However, it is possible to question whether these situations are, fundamentally, very general and therefore applicable to any school or professional environment."

The same experimental situations have been used as tests across cultures whether or not the sample children seemed to understand their nature. It is not surprising that children in non-western societies are usually seen to be less able than those in the West across a whole battery of such tests. It is seldom that researchers have attempted to meet Piaget's condition that for the subjects being examined, "the situations involve equal aptitudes or comparable vital interests." (Piaget, 1970c:165.)

I administered a series of Piagetian tests including those that tested conservation concepts, relational concepts (seriation), classifactory concepts (class inclusion) and spatial concepts (projective imagery) to the sample children and a control group of twenty-five children selected at random from the school colleagues of the same age as the former. Ideally, I should have given the tests to the control group twice as pre-and post-tests. However, "smelling out" the ages and homes of the children in Crossroads was no easy task and for just twenty-five children, two weeks of my time was spent tramping across the dunes ascertaining their ages. A lot more time was spent in collecting brief histories of each child. The data confirmed that the sample children were representative in terms of experience and home background of seven-year-old children in Crossroads. And the test results confirmed that they were alike in terms of developmental maturity.

The Piagetian tests were used for other reasons. Two of the tests (the conservation of discontinuous quantities and the class inclusion tasks) were used as a form of

pre-test against which change among the sample group could be measured after a year. The tests were also used in order to offer readers some base upon which to compare levels of skill between the Crossroads' and other children.

Irvine and Carroll (1980:185) explain that Piagetian tests are used cross-culturally because they,

"test individual children with a few standard clinical measures, while ... psychometric testers require many subjects and many tests to stabilize correlations and assay the many cognitive constructs that factor analysis has suggested ... The procedures devised by Piaget and his co-workers illustrate the progression of individuals through certain organismic states that are irreversible, and therefore, absolute. These changes involve processes called conservation, dissociation, spatial representation, imagining, classification, inclusion and intersection of classes, and elementary and formal logic. Certain clinical procedures have been devised to estimate the progression of the individual through these inexorable organic shifts."

I used Piagets tasks because they offer a way to probe the nature of children's rediscovery of the fundamental operations of thought and their re-invention of them through their own activity. There can be no doubt that despite the problems that are involved in his method of testing - which include those concerning sampling, assumptions about children's use of language, use of unfamiliar materials, and the implications that are drawn from poor performance - his tasks are ingenious and in combination with his clinical method, the yield is rich.

The somewhat hallowed méthode clinique uses probing questions that attempt to reveal the underlying reasons for a child's initial statement or judgement, by presenting

counter-suggestions to the child's arguments, and by providing conflict situations that enable one to discover cognitive functioning. (Ginsberg and Oppen, 1979:235). The use of this method among children in non-Western societies can be problematic for obvious reasons. I followed Piaget's test procedure and scoring criteria although some allowance had to be made when children did not explain the reasons for their actions fully.

#### PIAGETIAN TESTS

##### The Control Group

A control group of twenty-five children was chosen from the same four classes in the two Crossroads' schools that the ten sample children attended. Their birth dates were checked and their average age at the time of the tests (June, 1980) was seven years and four months. The average age of the sample children was then seven years and five months. There were thirteen boys and twelve girls of whom eight boys and seven girls came from one school and five of each sex from the other. All the children had seen me frequently walking or driving around Crossroads and collecting the sample children from their classrooms. Many of them had visited my room and played with my balls, puzzles, marbles etc. Wherever children were gathered they would chorus umlungu (white person) on catching sight of me and later Nosapho (mother of children: usapho the family) which is the name that the residents gave me.

TEST 1: One of the most familiar Piagetian tasks is the conservation of quantity (liquids), which is considered to be a marker of the beginning of the concrete operational stage. In this task, the child pours the same amount of water into two identical glasses; once the initial equality is well established, he is asked to pour the water from one of the containers into a glass of a different shape, say long and narrow (or wide), so that the level of the liquid changes. Then the child is asked whether the amount of water

is less, more or the same as in the other container. The child at the pre-operational stage will answer "No, there is more (or less) because the water comes up high (or low)." In other words she is attending to only one of the dimensions and is not able to carry the invariance of quantity across the transformations of the display. At a second stage, the child exhibits hesitations, changing her mind either in the same situation or between situations. At the concrete operational stage (conventionally called "stage3"), the child is convinced that the amount of water does not change, and she is able to justify her answer in various ways.

TEST 2: The conservation of discontinuous quantity is the same as the above except that beads (or similar items) are used instead of liquid.

TEST 3: The task of conservation of weight follows the same scheme but the materials are two identical plasticene (or clay) balls, one of which is rolled out (or flattened) by the child during the experiment. The question asked is whether the ball and the rolled out (or flattened) pieces are still of the same weight. A balance is used to visualize the concept.

TEST 4a: This is a test of the conservation of number. It is an examination of a child's ability to place single rows of objects in correspondence and to keep the notion of necessary and lasting equivalence of the corresponding sets despite rearrangements in their spacing. It is a study of how the child makes two sets of equal value. A row of counters (or similar objects) are placed before a child who is asked to make another row the same in number. Once this is done and the child agrees to their correspondence, one row is spaced out and the child is questioned as to whether the row now has more, less or the same number of counters in it as are in the other row. A reverse operation is performed.

TEST 4b: A variation of the test using eggs and egg cups was also administered as there was less chance of verbal misunderstanding than in the former test. A row of egg cups was set before the child who was asked to select from a cluster of eggs sufficient to correspond with the number of egg cups. She either put one egg opposite each cup or made a more or less compact row the same length as the row of cups. She was then asked to check her result by putting one egg into each cup, thus obtaining a one-one correspondence. The eggs were then taken out and clustered together (or the cups grouped) and as before the child was asked whether there was still the same number of both.

TEST 5a: Piaget described his test of class inclusion as follows:

"To study the formation of classes, we place about twenty beads in a box, the subject acknowledging that they are 'all made of wood', so that they constitute a whole, B. Most of these beads are brown and constitute part A, and some are white, forming the complementary part A.<sup>1</sup> In order to determine whether the child is capable of understanding the (Boolean) operation  $A+A^1=B$ , i.e. the uniting of parts in a whole, we may put the following simple question: In this box (all the beads still being visible) which are there more of - wooden beads or brown beads, i.e. is  $A < B$ ? "Now up to about the age of seven years, the child almost always replies that there are more brown beads 'because there are only two or three white ones.'" (Piaget, 1947:133.)

A question relating to the length of necklaces made from the beads was also asked (see later in the chapter).

TEST 5b: A variation of the above test was given using small plastic animals - horses and sheep. With the women, coins were used, that is rand and cents. According to Piaget (1966:103), the understanding of the relative sizes of an included class to the entire class is achieved by about eight years old and marks the achievement of a genuine operatory classification.

For Piaget (1966:97), the notions of conservation serve as psychological indication of the completion of an operatory structure. The closest indication of the existence of a preoperatory period is the absence of notions of conservation until about the age of seven or eight. The experiments are to do with the fundamental mechanisms of reversibility, identity and compensation : a succession of strategies from the simplest to the most complex (1966:100.) At the preoperatory levels the child's reactions are centred on perceptual or imagined configurations, while at the operatory levels the reactions are based on identity or reversibility by inversion or reciprocity (1966:79.) Piaget (1966:100) observes that:

"Concrete operations are already coordinated into overall structures, but these structures are weak and permit only step-by-step reasoning, for lack of generalized combinations. These structures include classification, seriation, correspondence ... etc."

On correspondence, he (1966:104) says that:

"Naturally, there can be no question of operatory numbers before the existence of a conservation of numerical groups independent of spatial arrangement .... The construction of whole numbers occurs in the child in close connection with the construction of seriations and class inclusions."

(The seriation test was given to the sample children and is reported on later in the chapter.)

Each child was tested individually on all seven tests. Care was taken to imitate Piaget's technique, to make each child feel comfortable and relaxed and to anticipate problems.\* The presentation of tasks was rotated on a systematic basis - the first child would start with Test 1; the second with Test 2 etc., and a reverse procedure was begun once Test 5b) had been reached.

Scoring For the purposes of a chi-squared analysis, the results were assigned to two columns of non-conservers (NC) and conservers (C). Children judged to be in a transitional stage were included among the non-conservers. For the purpose of the Mann-Whitney test, each performance was scored on a three point scale that was related to actions and replies relevant to each test. Nought was equal to failure and three to success with the identification of all criteria.

Results The results have been presented as percentages of those who succeed on each test in figures 1, 2 and 3. Chi-squared tests were computed on the results (see Table 1) using the following formula:

$$X^2 = \frac{N (AD - BC - \frac{N}{2})}{(A+B)(C+D)(A+C)(B+D)}$$

$$\text{crit. } X^2 \text{ for 1d.f} = 3,84$$

The tests performed on the data are for the samples of ten school-going children and of all the fourteen children versus the control group of twenty-five children. No significant difference between either sample group and the control was found.

---

\*For a careful account of the technique followed in administering Piagetian tests in a non-Western society see G.W. Seagram and R.J. Lendon Furnishing the Mind. A Comparative Study of Cognitive Development in Central Australian Aborigines. Sydney: Academic Press, 1980, p.63ff.

Table 1A : Results of Piagetian Tests  
Administered to the Sample  
and Control Groups

	CONTROL (25)		SAMPLE (14)		SAMPLE (10)	
	C	N	C	N	C	N
TEST NUMBER:						
I	15	10	7	7	5	5
II	14	11	10	4	8	2
III	9	16	7	7	5	5
IVa	11	14	7	7	6	4
IVb	15	10	9	5	7	3
Va	2	23	4	10	3	7
Vb	4	21	5	9	3	7
PRE-TEST:						
II	-	-	2	12	2	8
IVa	-	-	1	13	1	9
POST-TEST:						
II	-	-	8	6	7	3
IVa	-	-	9	5	8	2

---

C - conservers

N - non-conservers

Test 2 and 4a were given to the sample as pre- and post-tests four months before and four months after, respectively, the rest of the test battery was administered to all the children. The results of these were compared with the results of the control group. No significant difference was found except in comparing the pre-test results of both tests for the sample of fourteen with the control group's results: However, as one of the four boxes in each contained less than five cases, the results are not reliable.

A Mann-Whitney (non parametric) test for the difference in average scores in each group (the ten school-going children and the control) was used. It was concluded that the mean scores of the school sample do not differ significantly from those of the group of twenty-five. The school-going sample seem to be a bit lower than the control on their first attempt in February at Tests 2 and 4a, but on repetition of the same tests in June they become a bit higher. A non parametric Wilcoxon test for matched pairs was used on the results of Tests 2 and 4a to see whether the mean increase is equal or greater than a certain amount. It was concluded that there is a significant mean gain, on average between one and five points.

Both the chi-squared test and the Mann Whitney test suggest that there was no significant difference between the sample and the control on the test battery. The sample can be accepted as being typical of seven-year-old children in Crossroads on these Piagetian tasks.\*

In Figure 1 it can be seen that the results were similar in pattern for all three groups. Out of the seven tasks, the sample children succeeded best on five of them. The sample, whether of ten or fourteen children, scored slightly better than did the control group on six of the seven tests.

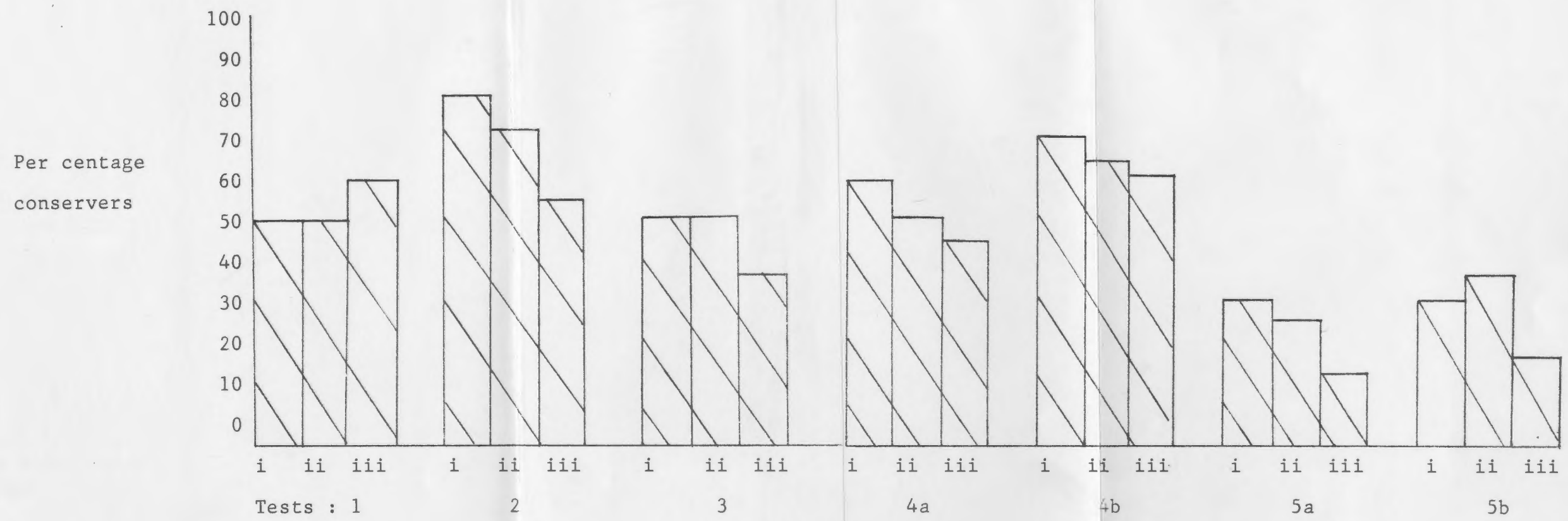
---

\*Grateful acknowledgement must be made to Dr Mike Hart, University of Cape Town, and Professor Don Munroe, University of Zimbabwe, for statistical assistance.

Figures 2 and 3 show that on the pre-test of Tasks 2 and 4a, the sample children did less well than did those in the control group. However, in the mid-year and post-tests, they did better. The pre-tests were administered to the sample in February, 1980, on the first day on which I had a formal session with each child. By June the children in Crossroads knew me at least by sight and many knew something about my work. The poor results of the pre-tests relative to later scores suggests that psychological tests administered by strangers in novel situations may yield scores that do not accurately reflect actual ability.

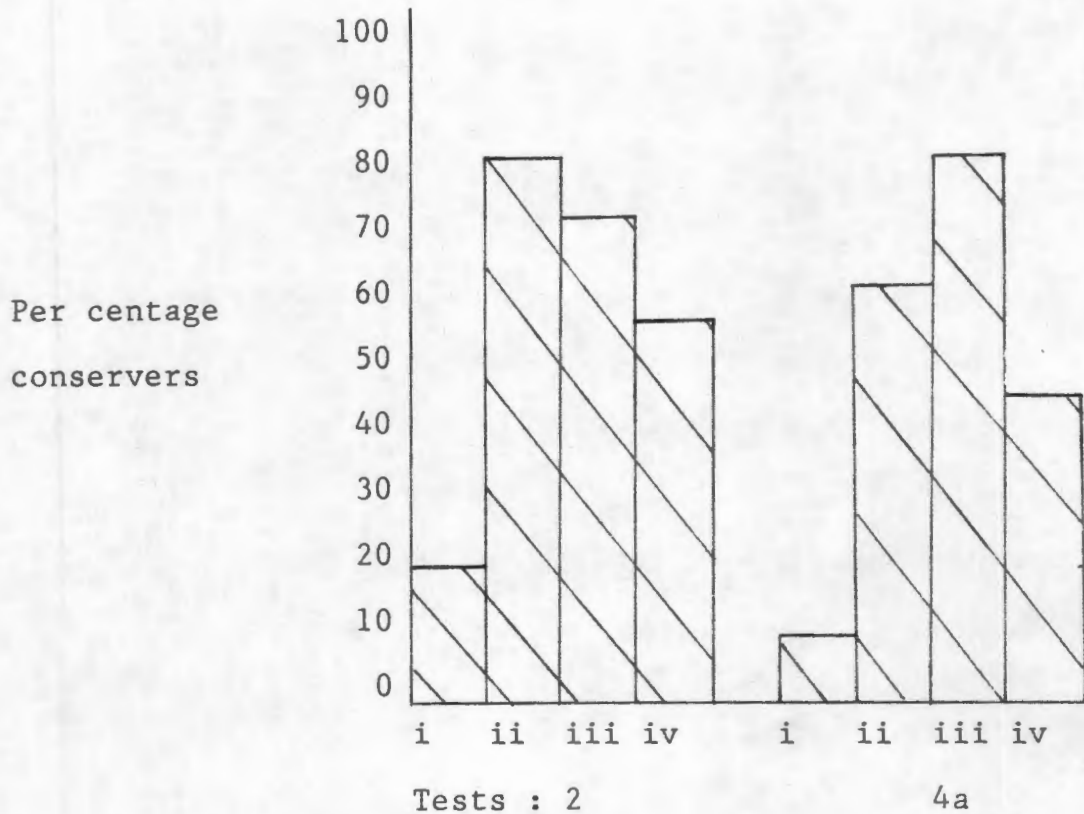
On Test 2, the conservation of discontinuous quantities, the post-test results were slightly poorer than on the mid-year test. However, on Test 4a the conservation of number using counters, the results continued to improve. One can only speculate as to the impact of extraneous factors such as familiarity with the test situation, training effects, maturation and the children's work with me. Modgil and Modgil (1976) report on the many failures of attempts to improve performance on Piagetian tests. Seagram and Lendon (1980:111ff.) subjected some children to familiarizing and training procedures and concluded that neither had much impact on results. I suspect that insufficient attention has been paid to the quality of the relationship between the trainer and the subject and to the conditions and length of training. Much research on training needs to be done before conclusions can be safely drawn as to their impact.

On all the five tasks to do with conservation ability, the sample of ten conserved on 62 per cent of them; the sample of fourteen on 57 per cent and the control on 52 per cent. Piaget's conservation criterion is 75 per cent. The sample of ten does not fall far below it.



Key : i - results of the ten school-going children in the sample.  
 ii - results of the ten school-going children and the four non-school going children in the sample.  
 iii - results of the twenty-five school going children in the control group.

Figure 1 : Results of Seven Piagetian Tests Administered to the Sample and Control Groups in June, 1980.



- Key:
- i - results of the ten school going children on the pre-test in February, 1980.
  - ii - results of the same on the mid-year test in June, 1980.
  - iii - results of the same on the post-test in November, 1980.
  - iv - results of the control group of twenty-five children on test in June, 1980.

Figure 2 : Results of Two Piagetian Tests Administered Thrice to the Sample of Ten and Once to the Control Group of Twenty-Five



No child in the sample failed on each of the seven tasks whereas five did in the control group. No child succeeded on every test. If we exclude Test 5a and b, class inclusion (which is dealt with shortly), then ten children conserved on every task of whom five were in the control group and five in the sample. The sample children were Zuziwe, Tozama, Togu, Lungiswa and Yameka. Yameka did not attend school. Zuziwe conserved on every task including the pre- and post-tests and Tozama only failed on the pre-test of number 4a. The other three failed to conserve on both pre-tests.

Out of the thirteen women, eleven conserved on Test 2; ten on Test 3 and twelve on Test 4a. That is, seventy-seven per cent conserved on all three tasks. In the light of Piaget's claim that conservation "is a necessary condition of all experience and all reasoning" and his contention that "conservation is a necessary condition for all rational activity," we must assume that the test failed to demonstrate the ability of the other thirty-three per cent of the women. (Piaget, 1941:3.)

The results of Test 5 were much poorer than the results of the conservation tests and have, therefore, been analysed in detail in the following section.

#### Test 5a and b : Class Inclusion

On the basis of his studies in Geneva, Jean Piaget (1966:103) said that, "the understanding of the relative sizes of an included class to the entire class is achieved at about eight and marks the achievement of a genuine operatory classification." I administered the test that he used to seven- and eight-year-old children as a test of operatory classification. Johnson - Laird and Wason (1977:178) have commented that, "There is a considerable variation in the likelihood of error in this problem as a function of its actual content ... but, nevertheless, the phenomenon is well established."

Piaget (1966:157) held that,  
"The concept of class does not precede that  
of number, but is acquired simultaneously,  
the two concepts being inter-dependent."

Why then, I wonder, did the children in both the control  
and sample groups and the women perform relatively poorly  
on class inclusion? The problem is an interesting one for  
cognitive anthropologists to tackle. Piaget (1966:157)  
goes on to say that,

"Without the notion of the cardinal number that is  
implicit in the words 'a,' 'none,' 'some' and 'all,'  
it is impossible to conceive of classes included  
one in the other. Classes are therefore, in a  
sense, non-seriated numbers, just as numbers are  
seriated classes, and the psychological, as well  
as logical, constitution of classes, relations and  
numbers is a single development, whose respective  
changes are synchronic and interdependent ....  
Finite numbers are therefore necessarily at the  
same time cardinal and ordinal, since it is of the  
nature of number to be both a system of classes  
and of symmetrical relations blended into one  
operational whole."

Piaget set out to discover experimentally whether or  
not number is essential for the completion of the notion  
of class. He studied the additive composition of classes,  
that is, the inclusion of partial classes in a wider class,  
in close connection with the problem of conservation of  
quantities. He planned a series of experiments of the  
logical class definable in purely qualitative terms, and  
a part of that set forming a sub-class also definable in  
qualitative terms. The problems put to the child were merely  
that of discovering whether there were more elements in B  
than in A, or in other words, whether class B was wider  
than its sub-class A.

"We began by using the same material as for the problems of correspondence and conservation of quantities. We took, for instance, a box containing only wooden beads (class B), most of them brown (class A), but two of them white (class  $A^1$ ). The child was then asked whether the box contained more wooden beads or more brown beads. This question involves the most elementary form of additive composition of classes:  $A + A^1 = B$ , therefore  $A = B - A^1$  and  $A < B$ . As this problem proved to be very difficult for children of from four to six, we expressed it in more intuitive terms. On the one hand we asked the child which of the two necklaces would be longer, one made with the brown beads or one made with the wooden beads. In order to ensure that he grasped the difference between A and B, before putting the question we placed two empty boxes by the box of beads, and asked : 'If we take out the brown beads and put them there (first empty box), will there be any beads left in this one (the full box)?' and : 'If we take out the wooden beads and put them there (second empty box), will there be any left in this one (the full box)?' Understanding of these two questions in no way implies a correct solution to the problem of the necklaces." (Piaget, 1966:163.)

Piaget varied the data of the problem in several ways. I followed his experiment, varying the extra materials to suit the experience of my subjects.

He found that the various types of material produced similar results which indicate three stages, corresponding to the three found on other experiments:

"At the first stage, the child is not yet capable of understanding that the B classes

will always contain more elements than the A classes, the reason being that he cannot think simultaneously of the whole B and of the part A and  $A^1$ , which means logically, that he does not yet regard class B as resulting from the addition of A and  $A^1$ , and class A as resulting from the subtraction of  $A^1$  from B. During the second stage, the child gradually comes to understand that the B classes contain more elements than the A classes, but he makes this discovery intuitively. It is only when he is compelled to visualize the necklaces or the sets that he finds that B is larger than A; he does not assume this fact because of the inclusions resulting from additive composition. In particular the child frequently discovers that B is larger than A precisely at the moment when he is thinking of the exact number of elements in class  $A^1$  or in class A. Finally, during a third stage, the child grasps immediately that class B is larger than class A, because he approaches the problems from the point of view of additive composition." (Piaget, 1966:164.)

In offering clear evidence of the systematic difficulty experienced by children under seven or eight in including one class in another, and in understanding that a total class is wider than one that is included in it, Piaget (1966:166) takes into account the part played by language and perception. For example, he repeated the experiment with classes each having a specific name, e.g., "poppies" and "bluebells," both belonging to the class flowers, and another using drawings of "girls" and children. He concluded (1966:167) that the same kind of answer was given as for beads.

"And yet the question referring to girls and children is clearly easier than the question about the beads, and we found that half the children of six that we questioned, and even some who were only five, were able to answer it. The difficulty of the problem of the flowers seems to be intermediary between the other two. The interest of these results lies in the fact that they indicate clearly that the use of classes which have specific names is an aid to differentiating between them and forming the hierarchy."

Upon experimenting with the impact of perceptual differences in the classes, Piaget (1966:167) concluded that the difficulty involved in inclusion is largely independent of factors of perception. (On this last point, see later in this section.)

The conclusion that Piaget (1966:175) draws from the experiments is that:

"... in the realm of concepts, the child under seven is incapable of the colligation that gives rise to logical classes and ensures their permanence by defining the inclusion of their parts. In other words in the case of both of numerical sets and logical classes, totalities are not preserved because the parts are not united in a whole, this synthesis being the additive composition."

The child is still incapable of additive composition of classes, that is, of grasping logical addition or subtraction. The younger children who fail on the task are, Piaget (1966:177) suggests, still on the plane of perceptual intuition, which is immediate and irreversible while those who succeed use an operational mechanism that is reversible.

I have gone into some detail on this test because the children and women did so badly on it. I should have liked to have devised similar tests in the rural areas based on the collection of plants for medicinal purposes and the classification of animals and trees. I administered similar adaptations to tribal children in Dharumphur, India, and even young ones (aged about seven) laughed at the ease of the problems set.

Each of the three groups that were tested (the sample, the control and the women) performed noticeably less well than they did on the four conservation tests. The first test administered was the original bead test (described above) and the second was one using small plastic animals - three horses and seventeen sheep. The protocol was the same for both except that I added a market question to the second task. Having clarified with the subject that the horses and sheep were all animals. I asked: if your father took you to market and upon showing you these animals in a kraal, he asked if you would like to take home the sheep or the animals what would you answer?

As might have been expected the scores on the latter set of materials are better than on the task using beads. Not much better, however (see Figure I). The protocols mirror those quoted by Piaget. The same apparent understanding is belied by the answers to the questions. For example, subject 16 (Mxo.) in the control group, agreed that the sheep and the horses were all animals. In reply to the question: Are there more sheep or more animals?, he said:

"More sheep."

(Show me the animals.)

"All of them."

(Are there more sheep than animals?)

"Yes."

(I gave the market problem and asked whether he would take the sheep or the animals.)

"I would take the horses."

(I pointed out that his father had not offered him the horses but all the sheep or all the animals.)

"I would take them all."

(Then are there more sheep or more animals?)

"More sheep."

Occasionally, I would add another task in an attempt to understand why the subjects found it so difficult. I presented seventeen drawings of children to Nukwa. He identified five as boys and twelve as girls. He sorted them accordingly and agreed that they were all children. In response to the question as to whether there were more girls or more children he said,

"More girls."

(If a man came to your school and asked you to call the children together so that he could take them to the circus, whom would you call - the girls or the children?)

"I would call the children of Noxolo."

(Would you call all the children or all the boys?)

"I would call all the children."

(Now, tell me, are there more girls or more children here?)

"More girls."

Gwali's reply was similar.

The women also failed to score as well on this problem as on the conservation tests. Before using the beads, we discussed colour terms.

Every women could name the basic colours, some in English and Xhosa; some used only one or the other language. Many of them knew the more common Xhosa names and specific names used only for beads. They said that their mothers had taught them the names while threading beads. At about the age of six or seven, little girls would pick up beads that

had been dropped and learn to create patterns on blades of grass. The mother would correct them and teach them to count at the same time. The women no longer teach their children in like manner, if only because beads are too expensive to buy. Below is a list of some of the words that the women used:

English	Colours for Beads	Common colour words
dark blue	<u>msobo</u> (like a small plant with black berries.)	<u>ezubu/eblowu</u>
light blue	<u>ihobe</u> (grey, like a dove)	
pink	<u>murugwana</u>	
white	' <u>icup</u> ' (like a white cup)	<u>mhlophe</u>
red	<u>igunube</u> (a berry)	<u>bomvu</u>
green	<u>iggabi</u> (a blade of grass, leaf)	<u>luhlaza</u>
orange	<u>iswekile</u> (sugar)	<u>orenji</u>
yellow	<u>mthubi</u> or <u>iqanda</u> (like an egg)	<u>tyheli/-lubhelu</u>
sky blue	<u>sibhakabhaka</u> (sky) or <u>mhlwazi</u> (they say it is the common word)	
navy blue	<u>khutsa</u> or <u>mnyama</u> (black, dark)	

When I could afford it, I would provide beads at our weekly meetings and the women would make necklaces and other items while we talked. They took the completed items home.

It is interesting to wonder at the intricacy of the women's bead work, the complicated use of design and colour, the incorporation of geometric figures, the use of line and space and the speed with which a pattern would emerge and then wonder at their failure to achieve an operational level on Piaget's class inclusion test. The women all counted to seventy in the conservation test using either English or Xhosa. Five could not count in English. Two

could count to 10; three to 100 and three to any number in English. In Xhosa one woman said she could only count to 20 and two to 40 whereas they counted the beads to 70. Two claimed to be able to count to 70; three to 100; one to 500 and four to any number. None had learnt to count in a formal situation.

Regina Twala (1951) wrote a fascinating treatise on the use of beads among the Zulu to code messages. The code could form a good base for Piagetian type tests in an area where it is still learned.

In learning beadwork from women, girls were taught to count, sort, order, organise patterns and manipulate small objects. I had hoped to use such training in devising tests but poverty and family disruption, among other factors, have broken the tradition of work with beads among these women. A test comparing children who have been taught beadwork with those who have not along the lines used by Deregowski (1980) on conservation, correspondence and class inclusion, could reveal the impact of particular experiences.

To return to the bead test. Only two women scored on an operational level (Stage III); another's performance was marked as transitional (Stage II). The text of their replies is similar to the children's. I repeated the test using different objects. In one series, I used one rand coins (large and silver) and one cent coins (small, brass) and a story about ironing. First I explored with each woman the words she used for coins, rand and cent. A surprising variety was used : for coins amatye (stones), losgeld (Afrikaans for change), imwangelala (change) and coins (English); for rand either rand, or white money in Xhosa; all the women used the word cent.

I put the Piagetian questions to Notyhefu, asking her if there were more cents or more coins (17 cents + 3 rand) using the words familiar to her. She was firm in her decision that, "There are more cents. They are more in number than the rand." I said, "Now suppose I am a white

lady in a private house and you have done my ironing. I say, 'Notyhefu, thank you, you have finished. Go to the table and take either the cents or the coins.' What would you take?"

Notyhefu replied, "I would take the three rand." She thought a moment then said angrily, "I would take it all, and I would ask for more. It is not enough for the ironing." On being asked the original question she returned to her earlier position. With the other women, I took care to say that each had done a little ironing.

Colette's response was similar. In response to the ironing question she said:

"I would take the rand."

(Why would you leave the cents?)

"I must choose."

(You were told to take the cents or the coins.)

"Then I would take it all."

(You mean you would take the coins?)

"Yes."

(Then are there more cents or more coins here?)

"There are more cents."

Nokoyo gave similar replies but when asked a question to do with ikhazi using small plastic animals, twelve sheep and eight horses, she replied differently. The problem set was as follows: Nokoyo's daughter was to marry. The father of the prospective son-in-law offered Nokoyo's family his sheep or his animals. What would the family choose? Nokoyo said, "The animals" and kept to it on the repeat of the formal question using the plastic animals.

The women did better with these problems than on the task using beads, but not remarkably better.

Three points that are worth pondering emerge from the testing of the women. One is that it seems unlikely that, outside the test situation, the women had not yet gone "beyond the initial prelogical level" (Piaget, 1966:184) of a six-or seven-year old on class-inclusion, especially

as Piaget linked it to the seriation of relationships and the operational generalization of number and so to the level of reversible operations. Piaget (1966:157) claimed that, "... the concept of class does not precede that of number, but is acquired simultaneously, the two concepts being interdependent."

In an overview and critique of Piaget's genetic epistemology published in 1981, Rita Vuyk summarizes the thinking of a critic of Piaget (Longeot) who draws attention to the discrepancy between thought as measured in tests and "natural thinking." Vuyk (1981:390) writes,

"... there are individual differences due to the differences in children's experiences. This reasoning leads Longeot to a very important conclusion that goes beyond Piaget, though he does not use it as a critical argument.

'Piaget's stages, with rigorous criteria for their existence and their homogeneity by implication, are only true for the logico-mathematical structures of the epistemic subject and not for the natural thinking of children.'

Homogeneous stages are not to be expected when children have to solve problems in real life, in school, or in physical or technical problems encountered in their free activities. The qualities of the objects as well as the experiences of the subjects vary too much. Though the child's practical knowledge is often implicit, it enters just as much into any situation as his operational structures. The interaction between the two leads to notions the level of which depends on the situation and the information linked to the objects that have to be structured. Thus the operational stages can disappear in natural thinking because their

structures form no more than one element instead of being essential as for the epistemic subject."

If Longeot's view is correct that logico-mathematical structures are separate from a subject's natural thinking, then the problems for cross-cultural research on the development of cognition are emphasized. Under what conditions can the logico-mathematical structures of the minds of those not schooled in test situations be ascertained?

The second point that emerged from the tests given to illiterate women is that it is much easier to discuss problems of language with adults. It was demonstrated above that the women were familiar with different words from the ranges that referred to colours and coins. This is, no doubt, a phenomenon of fairly recent migration from country to city and of dialectical differences in their speech. It is possible that the performance of children in similar circumstances is handicapped by the absence of common word coinage even within their own language.

The final point is that as I administered tests to the women, I became aware of a sense of unease. I felt like a charlatan. The women and I had been meeting for four hours every week for over four months and a strained atmosphere was easily detectable. A few days later, Mary reported that the women were grumbling. They felt that during the tests they were being tricked and they did not like it. At the next session, we discussed it and I admitted to having felt foolish administering the tests. I laughed with them about their underground rumblings and explained more clearly the reasons for giving the tests. They were content. That is the kind of feedback one seldom gets in psychological testing. How often, I wonder, do children feel that they are being duped, especially in Piagetian tests where the correct answers are neither apparent nor offered at the conclusion of the experiment?

The women's greater facility with words and, therefore, with explanations made me wonder if the children were not hindered by dis-ease as often as an actual lack of understanding.

Vuyk (1981:221) reports that Piaget changed his notions on the class-inclusion test saying that perception is a help instead of a hindrance as it is in conservation. That is, the materials used affect task performance although there are limits. Critics argue that:

- 1) correct answers do not necessarily imply a feeling of logical necessity. Some say that this is only grasped at age eleven, that is, prior to that it is achieved by an empirical approach; and
- 2) relatively young elementary children have the ability to appreciate logical necessity where collections are given instead of classes.

I did not test class-inclusion using collections because making alterations to Piaget's test formats seems to invite too many difficulties in interpretation. Vuyk testifies to this frequently and she suggests that collective classes are a different form of classifying. The major conclusion that Vuyk (1981:437) draws from an analysis of the literature is that, "Piaget's task of class-inclusion is a very complex one; detailed analyses show that parts of the task are not solved in the order Piaget and Inhelder suppose." This is true for many of Piaget's experiments : the apparent simplicity obscures a complexity that is difficult to handle amongst relatively homogeneous groups of subjects and that, therefore, implications drawn from tests administered across cultures or classes must be drawn with extreme caution.

The rest of this chapter gives the results of a variety of tests administered to the children in the sample during one year.

## SORTING TASKS

Two relatively simple tasks were given to each child in March and November. Each child was asked to sort eighteen cards according to colour and to size. The cards were commercially produced for a "Learning to Reason" activity; each card had either a large or small triangle or circle or square in either red, blue or yellow. I used them as a starting point for discussions of shape and colour and as an exercise during which I could observe the child's response to instructions and attention to order.

Every child could do both exercises, although some needed encouragement. The tasks were given to the children in our first session; everything was, of course, strange and a little threatening. The next occasion was towards the end of our working relationship. Two points of interest emerge from the sorting tasks : many children did not follow the directions and some did not attend to the matter in hand unless pressed to do so. In the section on Method, I have mentioned that each child at each of the fifteen sessions spent about three hours with me. The time was carefully planned and I demanded almost constant attention and involvement from the child. In no other circumstances did the child experience similar demands. The children were unfailingly polite and co-operative but my energies were often taxed by the need to be bright enough, interesting enough, firm enough, funny enough to hold their attention.

It is a strong tenet of Xhosa culture that children must be obedient and respectful to their elders. It is an equally strong tenet of middle class Western society that children must pay attention if they are to succeed. It is the ability or willingness to devote undivided attention to the parameters and detail of any given situation that many formal tests (including, I would claim, Piagetian tests) measure, at least in part. During the year I observed closely the children's responses to instructions and shall report them under various sections.

In sorting the cards according to size (big and small) over half the children in the November trial either did more than was requested or had to be encouraged to perform successfully. Zuziwe and Lungiswa sorted not only according to size but colour and shape too; Peliswe sorted them into pairs based on size and shape; and Cebo sorted pairs based on size and colour. In tests where speed is a criterion (such as I.Q. tests) these children would have been penalized for having done more than the instructions asked for. Five other children failed to give the task full attention and behaved in a way that could have been regarded as inept had they not been given either sufficient time or encouragement to allow them to demonstrate their ability. Some examples of their behaviour follow:

Nomvula : Played initially. When I asked her what she was doing, she told me what she ought to be doing. I had to ask thrice before she sorted them which she did efficiently.

Cebo : He sorted the cards into colours. When asked to explain what he had done, he said that he had separated them into small, big and red. Of his own accord he then began to sort big from small in colour groups. He did so successfully.

Gwali : He began to place the cards at random. I checked that he had heard the instructions. He then sorted them according to size except that he included the large triangles in the pile of small shapes. I asked -  
 (Are those all the same size?)  
 "No. Those are big. Should they be in the big pile?"  
 (You must tell me).  
 First he placed the big triangles in a separate pile saying to himself. "They are big," and then he added them to the other big ones.

In sorting the cards into colour groups, only two children did something other than that which they were requested to do. Lungiswa sorted according to colour and size and Yameka sorted them into pairs of the same colour, ignoring shape and size. She repeated the performance on being instructed again. I asked.

(Can you put all the red ones together?)

"No."

(Yes you can!)

She did.

(And the other colours?)

She placed all the blue cards together but left two piles of yellow cards. After questioning, she joined them.

Inattention either to the specific demand being made or to the task itself seemed to be greater in November than in March. Some boredom? Some need to display more than was asked for? Either one must be controlled in the interests of progress through school.

## Colour

A brief note on colour terms follows. Nine of the children could name six colours each, including black and white. The other five could name only three. None had a sizeable vocabulary nor could anyone identify many colours given their names. There was no discernible increase in their vocabularies during the year. Many of them used the Xhosa word luhlaza for either or both blue and green. Some used a few words adopted from English like ipinki. In the light of Monica Hunter's (1936:70) record of there being 57 terms used to name the colours of cattle, the paucity in these children's colour vocabulary is significant. None knew words from the latter vocabulary. Appendix J gives a brief report on conversations recorded with herd-boys about their knowledge of the traditional colour vocabulary and the names of trees and birds. The discussions were

recorded during a spell of field research in Pondoland, Transkei in January, 1981.

### Shapes

No child in the sample had in her vocabulary either an English or Xhosa word for circle, square or triangle, either at the beginning or the end of the year. They described a circle as being either round (jikelelo), or like a ball (ibhola) or an egg (igganda). One child said that it was like money. They used a variety of words for a square-- like a suitcase, window, shack, house or box - or they described it as being flat or as having four corners. Each child, except for Mlawu who had never been to the Transkei, described a triangle as being like a rondavel or Transkei house. Only one said, "It is like the roof of a Transkei house," which is what they all meant (they were referring to the traditional house with a pointed grass roof). When given the Xhosa word, a few children knew what it meant : isangqa for circle; isikwere for square (an adaptation); and into amasondo amathathu, for a triangle.

### Writing

Thrice during the year, the children were asked to write their names, and twice to form their names using letter blocks. None of those who did not attend school could do either, nor could they recognise any letters. Three of the school-going children could neither form their names with block letters, nor read them nor write them on any occasion (Cebo, Hintsa and Nukwa). Only Cebo could sound a few of the letters. Nomvula could sound a few letters too, and she could write her full name although in the middle of the year she used mirror writing. She could not form her name correctly using the blocks.

The other six children could each write their first names and three of them could write their surnames at the beginning of the year (Hintsa, Togu and Tozama). Most children used upper case letters but none consistently nor

accurately. Zuziwe spelt her name incorrectly each time : Zuzime, Zuziime, and Zuzwe. By May, Mlawu had added his surname. In November, Lungiswa said, "I only know da for my surname not ni." She did not sound it - Dyani - properly. Only three of the six children could form their names with blocks in March and all six could in November although four made mistakes. Two examples taken from the text of sessions are given below as illustrations of the children's grasp of the writing process in its early stages.

Zuziwe : She takes a long time to find the letters as they are written in lower case and she only knows the upper case for some, such as Z and E. She writes, Zuzimp. Sounds the letters correctly and says that it spells Zuziwe. I form her name with blocks and she says that it, too, spells Zuziwe. She can only sound the letters in her name and the vowels.

Tozama : Having written her name correctly, she forms it with the blocks : otzama. She studies it.  
 I ask -  
 (Is it correct?)  
 "Yes."  
 (With what sound does your name begin?)  
 "Za"  
 (That is for your nickname. What is the first sound of your full name?)  
 "to"  
 (Yes. Is it correct here - in the blocks?)  
 She adds t before o. I alter it and she agrees that it is correct.

There was little progress over a year among the fourteen children in sounding letters, recognizing letters, forming their names with letters on blocks, or in writing their names. Whatever impact schooling had made or whatever it

had taught them, it was not apparent in the measures made of their concepts of number, colour vocabulary, or writing ability. The point to underline here is that it cannot be assumed that experience in school had equipped the children with either a good rudimentary base with which to learn essential skills or trained them to use techniques useful in ordering and organizing learning situations. Nevertheless, in comparing children who did with those who did not attend school during the year, it was clear that some of the former had acquired skills in addition to writing that the latter did not possess. The literature on cross-cultural research on cognition suggests that the impact of even a small amount of schooling on test success is dramatic. Scribner (1977) analysed data from basic comparisons made with respect to the contrast feature of schooling/no schooling using as test material the ability to handle syllogisms across culturally diverse samples. She felt that the results of the tests supported a number of generalizations:

- "1. In all cultures, populations designated as 'traditional' or 'nonliterate' have just somewhat better than a chance solution rate across all types of problem material. Absolute levels vary with tasks and materials.
2. Within each culture there is a large discrepancy in performance between schooled and nonschooled. The major jump seems to occur at levels of educations as low as two to three years of school (Luria (1971) also reports 'educational effects' with minimal literacy training), and there is continued improvement at the secondary school and college level.
3. With schooling, there is little between - culture variation in performance for the cultures studied. Grade, rather than

society, is most determinative of performance .... Uniformities in patterns across cultures indicate that the source of these difficulties is not likely to reside in aspects of culture that are unique to any one of the given cultures. (Scribner, 1977:486.)

Her data refer to a specific type of logical problem. Nevertheless, it is interesting that so little schooling can affect problem solving abilities so dramatically. The need, now, is to go beyond this level and examine the impact of schooling in terms of its quality.

With the small sample of children in Crossroads it was not possible to separate out reasons why children did not attend school or attend regularly. Possibilities include the nature of the individual's personality, parental attitudes towards education, relative poverty and parental assessment of a child's intellect. However, even a small amount of schooling seemed to give some of the other children an advantage over them. The literature offers support for this observation.

#### READING

In an earlier section of this chapter, the children's ability to handle a test on classification (class-inclusion) was examined and some possible reasons for their failure were put forward. Let us now turn to a less structured examination of their ability to classify, that is an analysis of the skills involved in learning to read.

J F Reid (1966:61) published an informative study of children's conception of the reading process. She says that the process involves "... an understanding of hierarchical structure in its simplest form (that of a notion of a class with two or more sub-classes). In short, the children had to come to see that language and

pictures are two kinds of symbol, that letters and numerals are sub-classes in the class of written symbols, that 'names' form a sub-class in the class of words, and that capitals form a sub-class in the class of letters."

Using a structured interviewing technique, Reid studied the notions about reading with a group of five-year-old children. She examined their ability to distinguish between sets of symbols : pictures and writing; the alphabet and numerals; words and sounds. She sought to uncover that part of their linguistic equipment which she suggests might be called their "technical vocabulary," that is of reading itself. The study explored the general level of concept formation with regard to reading and writing, followed their growth and formed some idea of the role concept formation might play in the actual learning of skills. She studied twelve Edinburgh school children from families of varied socioeconomic backgrounds. The children were five years old and in their first year of school. Her interviews were loosely structured and the questions were worded in ways which left the children free to use, or not to use, terms like "word," "letter" and "sentence," and free to mention the features of standard orthography. Her purpose was to encourage the children to talk and not, in any narrow sense, to obtain information on specific points.

Downing (1970) reviewed Reid's study and replicated it using tape recorders and pictures to make the interview more concrete. His research methods produced complementary evidence, although the children did achieve more in the presence of concrete objects than they did in the purely verbal situation. Downing (1970:106) concluded that, "Reid's findings are strikingly similar to some results in Vygotsky's (1962) independent research in children's learning of literacy in Russia, and both may be related to Piaget's (1948) theory of the development of language and thought."

Unlike Reid or Downing who tested the children a number of times during the year, I interviewed the sample children only once at the end of their first year in school. It was

fortunate for me that I did not use the question format early in the year as these sessions and some of the interviews on kinship and dreams were the only occasions when the child's answer was as often as not "I don't know (Andiyazi). With the help of ingenuity borrowed from Piaget, Erikson, Lynch et al. I had circumvented most opportunities for the "I don't know" response. The children who did not attend school and the "drop-out" (Nukwa) were the ones who most often responded with "Andiyazi."

Three children said that they could read and ten said that they could not - in fact one of the former could not and one of the latter could read fairly well. Only Tozama read with much ease. Gwali and Tozama said that there were books in their homes. Gwali said that they were read by his nine-year-old brother who is mentally retarded and has never been to school. Tozama's text follows : it gives an idea of her concept of reading:

"Yes [there are books in my home]. I have one of those reading books [she points to one that I had borrowed from her classroom]. It is a Standard 1 book. By mistake father bought it. Father says I cannot take it to school. It will be stolen. It is written in English. I can read it but cannot answer the questions. I cannot understand it. Someone reads it for me. I can read most of the words. There are no other books in the house. Mother has books [from her literacy training]. I cannot read them. The other children do not have books. There is a cover in one room that shows that there is a book missing. I would like to find it. I used to read it."

She seemed to equate reading with sounding out words.

Upon further questioning, Lungiswa said that her sister had books but kept them in a plastic bag out of her reach; Cebo said his mother had books (she is a literacy tutor),

and Zuziwe agreed that there were some magazines at home. The latter would often identify himself or his mother or his father's car in the pictures. One occasion led to a teaching situation between Cebo and his mother when the boy called a picture of an elephant, a giraffe and his mother talked about the differences.

The schoolrooms were about as dull and bare and unenticing as it is possible for such rooms to be. Seven of the nine school children initially said that there were no books in their classrooms. They went on to say that the teacher had some or that there were some for Sub B. At the time of the interview, four children were in one classroom : each of them gave a different response to the query as to how often class reading occurred; Tozama said every day and Cebo said never!

To queries as to the content of books, nine replied, "I don't know"; two suggested the content of particular books and two mentioned "words." Lungiswa said, "There are words. Some are talking about y and a, which is ya and ta and ba," and Peliswe said, "They are talking about words. The words say that, 'Father is hunting the lions.'"

The children were able to tell me whether or not their mothers could read Xhosa, except for Gwali who did not know (his mother had Grade 1 and cannot). Four were confused as to whether or not their mothers could read English. They were less accurate on the subject of father's abilities: two said he could, wrongly, and one did not know despite the fact that her father is a tailor and frequently writes down orders and measurements. Lungiswa did not know as she does not live with her father.

While the children in Reid's sample knew that a bus is identifiable "by the number," the Crossroads children said there were "names" igama (5) or "words" ilizwe (3) that told you where the bus was going, but most of them said their mothers just "knew" which bus to catch. A child of

an illiterate mother insisted that her mother had no need to notice either number or name as she went by taxi or with her husband. The bus boycott may have had something to do with her reply.

When asked to write, three could not; three could write a few words and three could write a number of words. Tozama was quite able : she "wrote" letters, syllables, words and, on request, a phrase. Four children responded to the plea that they write something for me by drawing. Two of them could write some words. None could tell me more about writing, but Lungiswa and Peliswe said letters are "to be read."

Only two children said they ever heard stories : one heard them from her "Granny in the Transkei." On probing, two said that they had heard stories on the radio. Togu said, in surprise, "I have never heard that books have stories."

What emerged as important for Reid (1966:58) at this point, "... was the general lack of any specific expectancies of what reading was going to be like, of what the activity consisted of, of the purpose and use of it, of the relationship between reading and writing; and a great poverty of linguistic equipment to deal with the new experiences, calling letters "numbers" and words "names" .... It was also found that the children did not mention that books contained stories...." The fourteen children at Crossroads were similarly in the dark.

To Reid's questions about the difficulty of some words and the way in which children tackled them, I received no enlightening answers. With Biblical assurance Togu told me that he knew what the page said, "Because it is written." When I asked what he did if he did not know a word, he replied, "I am taught."

Four children replied to the query as to what the spaces between words were for, with the following : Peliswe, "To read well"; Togu, "So that the words must not be mixed";

Lungiswa, "It is because the words must be absolute" (pheleleyo); and Tozama, "They are to separate the words from each other." Their replies are more explicit than those given by the five-year olds in Edinburgh but more of the latter gave an explanation.

Asked whether everything on the page was words, four children identified numbers as not being words. Two of the Abas. mentioned pictures and one mentioned punctuation as not being words. Eight failed to distinguish among letters, numbers and words.

Allowing for relative poverty in access to and experience with books and stories, the results of the interview parallel those described by Reid. She concluded that the five-year olds had very little precise notion of what learning to read involves. Reid (1966:60) suggested that "a total lack of reflection on the nature of the spoken language they had already mastered in its essentials" meant that the activity remained a mysterious one. There was little explicit recognition of the connection between writing and reading. The children, therefore, exhibited uncertainties about the nature of the material which they had to organize. The success of some in ordering elements of the task was made apparent in the follow-up interviews and part of the success seemed to Reid to depend on whether or not a child had at his disposal the vocabulary which would help him to grasp the various schemata that even elementary discussion of language involves.

Reid (1966:62) believes that "Part of the success seemed to depend on whether or not a child was able to entertain not only the notion of one-to-one correspondence (in this case between the elements of spoken and those of written speech) but also, side by side with that notion, awareness of the possibility of exceptions and deviations." (Exceptions are less of a headache in Xhosa than in English.) In the light of her opinion, it is interesting to note that the four children who could read and/or write with some

facility (Tozama, Lungiswa, Togu and Zuziwe) succeeded on the mid-year and the post-test for correspondence. Zuziwe was recorded as having reached Stage III on the pre-test, too.

Finally Reid speculates as to whether or not careful help to the child could aid the process of learning to read and contribute to his general logical thinking and awareness of language. She suggests that here is an area where fostering of the understanding of classification, order, and regularity could be undertaken in the course of regular classroom work.

My immediate concern was to describe the skills that each child had at her disposal to marshal as necessary in a variety of situations. Her stock of conscious understanding of the symbols and their connecting fabric that make up reading and writing was low. Apart from Hintsa, the children who did not go to school and the "drop-out" gave far fewer replies to the interview questions and did not use vocabulary such as "words," "numbers" or "letters" (one child said that her father read "words" to her). The others seemed to learn during the interview. The children exhibited similar linguistic and conceptual uncertainties about the nature of the material which they had to organize as did the five-year olds in Scotland. Reid (1966:61) says that "The resolution of these difficulties lay in learning difference between pictures and written symbols, as two modes of conveying information, and then learning to discriminate between two classes of symbol, the alphabetical and the numerical. They had to discover what 'words' are, and that almost all language, written or spoken, is composed of these, though written language also contains marks of other kinds. They had to learn, furthermore, to think of a 'sound' and to realize that written words are spatially ordered groups of letters bearing a systematic relation to the temporally ordered sounds of speech. To achieve effective understanding at this level, it is probably necessary to be able to use correctly 'letter'

and 'number' (or, better, 'numeral') and to associate these with reading and counting respectively; also to use the term 'word' in some sense which will distinguish it from 'letter' in writing and 'sound' in speech."

There is room for confusion in the Xhosa vocabulary. The children did not know the word for alphabet : I do not think that there is one other than a phrase or an adaptation of the English word. The word for vocabulary is isigama, the root of which is used for a word or a name. A word can also be called ilizwe which can, too, mean a voice. Inani refers to a number, or numeral, or figure. While ukubala can mean to count, enumerate, calculate, compute, reckon or number. A sound is isandi.

There seems to be a need for appropriate basic research on children's cognitive development especially among those denied easy access to experience with the written word.

#### COUNTING

The ability to count is a culturally learned skill. If the child must be able to count to pass certain Piagetian tests, in particular number conservation, then we might question whether or not the tests are culture fair.

To discover whether or not the children in the sample could count and how firm their ability was across situations, we played with numbers on different occasions during the year. Table 1 sets out the measureable results. Section A has four columns each with two figures, the bottom one shows whether or not each child could count to 12 and the top one shows how far each could count. Each column represents a different occasion in March, June, September and November.

Section B has three columns : the first shows whether or not each child could recognize numerals up to 31 in March. In November, I noted which children could recognize numerals up to 10 (column 2) and over 10 (column 3). Section C is a note of each child's ability to make small additions in March, September and November. The September estimate is derived from the shopping exercise which involved the addition of small amounts of money up to two rand. In the other two

21: Playing  
With  
Number



tests no aids were used although the children's fingers and toes were available as counters and, indeed, were used as such. Section D records whether or not the child could write numerals up to 20. In Section E, a rough estimate of the children's success in playing a game of dice in March and dominoes in November is given. Section F gives the results of the number conservation test using beads administered thrice during the year.

Results. I shall give these briefly as, while the matter is important, I tested neither systematically nor extensively enough to reach firm conclusions on the relationship between counting and number conservation. I want, simply, to suggest that the relationship must be carefully researched before Piaget's tests of number conservation are administered cross-culturally and that more attention should be paid to actual number conception before mathematical skills are introduced. It can be seen from the Table that five children could count

Table 1 : Results of a Variety of Country Tasks

	A				B			C			D	E	F			
	Feb.	June	Sept.	Nov.	Feb.	Nov.	Nov.	Feb.	Sept.	Nov.	Nov.	Feb.	June	Nov.	Feb.	June
	<u>COUNTING:</u>				<u>RECOGNISING NUMERALS:</u>			<u>ADDING:</u>			<u>WRITING:</u>	<u>DI/DOMINOES</u>	<u>CONSERVATION:</u>			
MLAWU	40 12	40 12	20 12	70 12	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Y	-	N	C	C
PELISWE	40 12	40 12	20 12	70 12	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	No	Yes	Yes	Y	Yes	N	C	C
TOGU	40 12	40 12	20 12	70 12	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Y	Yes	N	C	C
LUNGISWA	44 12	40 12	20 12	71 12	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Y	Yes	N	C	C
NUKWA	11 -	12 12	15 12	57 12	No	Few	No	No	No	No	No	N	Not Well	N	N	C
NOMVULA	30 12	20 12	20 12	21 12	No	Yes	Few	No	No	Yes	Yes	Y	Not Well	N	N	N
ZUZIWE	11 -	20 12	20 12	70 12	No	Yes	Few	No	Yes	Yes	No	Y	Yes	C	C	C
CEBO	6 -	12 12	6 -	15 -	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	N	Not Well	N	N	N
TOZAMA	40 12	40 12	20 12	70 12	Yes	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	Yes	Yes	Y	Yes	N	C	C
HINTSA	12 12	12 12	20 12	20 12	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	Y	Yes	N	N	C
GWALI*	5 -	5 5	5 -	4 -	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	N	Yes	N	N	N
GEDJA*	40 12	40 12	20 12	20 12	No	Few	No	No	No	No	No	Y	Not Well	N	N	N
YAMEKA*	0 -	12 12	20 12	30 12	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	N	Yes	N	C	C
SALISWA*	12 12	12 12	20 12	30 12	No	No	No	No	No	No	No	N	Not Well	N	N	N

KEY : N - non conservation

C - conservation

\* - non school going children

as high as they were asked to do throughout the year; two seemed to regress; two remained as poor at the end of the year as at the beginning and five improved. There was no improvement during the year on the recognition of numerals up to 20. There was some improvement in the addition of small sums.

Three points that are related to the above will be considered. One is that the findings confirm Piaget's statement that counting verbally is not the same as the ability to conserve number.

The second is that a child who could not count to 10 could not conserve. This was true for the sample of fourteen and the control group of twenty-five. The final point is that no child conserved unless she first placed the counters in one-to-one correspondence. Again this was true for children from the sample and the control.

On the basis of the exercises across the year, I have concluded that the ability to count is a necessary but not sufficient skill in being able to conserve on Piaget's number test for this population. And that the ability to place objects in one-to-one correspondence is also necessary but not sufficient. Neither the recognition of numerals, nor the ability to write them, nor facility in adding small amounts is necessary to success on the conservation of number task. For example, neither Nukwa nor Yameka nor Hintsu possessed any of the three skills mentioned. Nomvula could add a few sums, write 1 to 20 (though in mirror writing) and recognise numbers 1 to 10 in November, yet she could neither place counters in correspondence nor conserve.

The table is perhaps useful for one other purpose and that is as a rough guide to the amount that the children did or did not learn during the year. Learning among the school-going children was certainly not uniform. The effects of the school boycott should be kept in mind. By the end of their first year of formal schooling, two of the ten children could not recognise numerals up to 10 and one could recognise only a few; three could not add small sums; four could not write the numerals 1 to 20; and one could not count accurately even up

to 12. It is worth noting how many of the children could recognise numerals up to 10 (five); add small sums (three); write numerals 1 to 20 (six) and count to 12 (six) at the beginning of the school year.

Of the four children who did not go to school one failed to improve his counting ability, one seemed to regress and two improved. Only one conserved and none learnt to recognise, write or add numerals.

In February, I played dice with each of the fourteen children. We had one large dice each; about three centimetres square with clearly marked, symmetrically arranged dots. First the child counted each face and we talked about dice and their existence in Crossroads. It was a common sight to see a group of men, usually young, playing dice in the dust of the streets. Each of the school children could count each face except Cebo who did not count accurately each time and insisted on counting the 3 and 3 of the 6 separately. (He could only count to 6). Lungiswa counted every dot on her dice. The child and I played a simple game : one of us would select a number and the first to throw it would win a point. Each could play although Cebo and Nukwa laboriously counted the face before they could recognise the number and call it out. Two girls (Lungiswa and Nomvula) attempted to determine the fall of the dice and two boys (Mlawu and Togu) played with relish, Togu clicking his fingers as the dice rolled.

Only one Aba. (Gedja) could count each face and play. Saliswa could count the faces but not recognize them in play. Neither of the other two could count or play.

In November we played dominoes using firm white cards 7.5 x 15 centimetres divided by a black line and marked by large black dots arranged asymmetrically. Again the child would count the dots and we would discuss the rules and the fact that only half the card was to be considered at a time. Then we played. I dealt the starting dominoe, a double 6, to the child. Dominoes caused more problems than did dice for obvious reasons of complexity and, no doubt, unfamiliarity. I shall quote some of my observations because they are informative about the

22: Playing With  
Asymmetrical  
Number on  
Dominoes



flexibility of each child's number skill. Seven of the school children played adequately and three never quite mastered the game. Two of the Abas. played fairly well and two did not. Interestingly, Gwali who only ever counted to 6, played pretty well apart from having some difficulty with six; and the two who had been able to count since March were not very adept.

Here is the text of observations on four of the five who could handle almost all the counting tasks including conservation: Mlawu; Peliswe, Togu, Lungiswa, Tozama. (By this time Mlawu had gone to live in the Transkei. I reviewed most of his skills before he left but we did not play dominoes).

Togu : He calls the blank, nothing. He scans the cards quickly and soon finds 6/6. He estimates before he counts, though by no means always. Plays well.

- Peliswe : She finds 6/6 after counting each dot with her finger. She can play after a while. Finds it hard to remember where the end of the line is. At the finish of the game, she cannot tell me which is the last number nor can she take into account the other end of the dominoe line when she is stuck at one end unless she is questioned. I win. She is crest-fallen. She laughs when we tease her. I ask what makes one win. She doesn't know. I ask if it is my cleverness or my luck. She says, "It is your luck. I wanted to win but I couldn't."
- Lungiswa : Takes a while to realise that one must count only half of each card. Counts carefully, slowly. She refuses to take into account the blank as a playing card. She calls it "zero" on request. She needs prompting but can play.
- Tozama : She finds it difficult to select the right card before simply picking one up and trying to fit it. She then tries to find the exact card rather than just the half section the same.

Of the other school children,

- Zuziwe : Plays well; catches on quickly. However, she fails to scan every card systematically. Fails to note the blank as a playing card until specifically questioned. She wins and is pleased.
- Cebo : Has trouble counting over 3 and he takes a while to catch on to the rules. He tries to fit any number, not taking the time to count accurately.

Nukwa : Begins hesitatingly. Cannot find 2. Difficulty in counting only one side of the mid-line. He cannot find 4. He finds it hard to count. I give up, almost, and he catches on. Tries to count according to the number he needs: stops when he reaches the number he wants. He never quite masters it.

Nomvula : Finds 6/6 efficiently. Cannot find 2, being troubled by the half way divide. Finds it difficult to discover which is the next number to be sought but finds it quickly after that. Says blank is "nothing." She cannot find her blank. Cannot keep the game in process. Cannot play without help.

Hintsa : Played quite well though slowly.

Of the Abas.:-

Gwali : Plays pretty well. Cannot count the 6 accurately.

Yameka : Finds 6/6 quickly without finger counting. Some difficulty with the half-way divide. Knows the blank as "nothing." Towards the end of the game, still has trouble counting only half of the card.

Saliswa : Is not very quick. She has difficulty with the six and is confused by the need to count only half the card.

Gedja : Can count dots. Has difficulty changing the number to seek after my turn, otherwise quite efficient in finding a given number. She places a dominoe ending in a blank and cannot tell me what to place. She cannot give me a name for nothing.

Finds the number she wants by scanning.  
 Cannot take turns to add to the final  
 number, that is, she does not capture  
 the point of play. She becomes muddled.  
 Counts from one card to the next. Cannot  
 find a blank to match another and assigns  
 it a number.

The above are impressions, notes. They suggest, however, that for these children the concept of number (despite the ability to count and for some of them to conserve) is not yet a tool to be wielded with full confidence. The implications for school learning are obvious.

To conclude, I shall relate an incident that was told to me at Crossroads. A young Xhosa man in the Transkei had gone on a hike with his school mates and a master. Upon their return, he was amazed to see that the master counted the boys in order to check if they had all returned. Furthermore, the master went through a process of elimination in order to determine who was missing. When the storyteller had been younger, he and other boys would herd animals. They would gather them together in large groups to guide them home. Each herdboys would look at them and know at a glance if all the beasts belonging to his herd were there and, in the same glance, which one(s) was/were missing or slow.\*

It reminds me of the story of the "Six Fishermen" each of whom, at the end of a day's fishing, counted his brothers to ensure that all were safe but each forgot to count himself and so they mourned the loss of one of them.

While in the Transkei, I played some games with the herdboys trying to reach such abilities. I was impressed by their ability to scan the herd in a valley from quite high up a mountain and to point out and name individual beasts, and by

---

\*Mary Douglas refers to this ability among shepherds in Evans-Pritchard (1980), Glasgow: Fontana, p.76.

their discussion on the size and composition of each other's herds. More work needs to be done on traditional ways of handling number, its comparison with urban experience and the implications for schooling.<sup>+</sup>

#### PERCEPTUAL-MOTOR CO-ORDINATION

In May, I administered to the sample children the Purdue Perceptual-Motor Survey that was compiled and standardized by Drs Roach and Kephard (1966).<sup>\*</sup> It represents a direct action approach to non-achiever problems and the normative data was developed with children between six and ten years of age in the U.S.A. In administering the test, I hoped to identify major physical or perceptual problems that the children might have or, conversely, to affirm their normality on this score. I was also keen to see if such a test would pin-point areas of inadequacy that could be related to differences in cultural expectations or socioeconomic status.

It is an extensive survey and yields 36 scores plus a score derived from the Human Figure Drawing and records of eye movements and the use of a dominant eye, hand or foot, The results are discussed in five sections that scored the child's ability to copy geometric shapes; to write her name; to imitate rhythmic writing; to make lines and circles with chalk; to perform physical actions. The survey was designed to identify non-achievers between age six and ten and the testers expected most children to perform successfully on almost every task taking age into consideration. There is no doubt that, according to the norms, none of the sample children performed perfectly overall.

---

<sup>+</sup>A book by C Zaslavsky (1973). Africa Counts. Number and Patterns in African Culture. Boston: Prindle, Weber and Schmidt, provides a good base for such work.

<sup>\*</sup>My thanks are due to Mrs Bruce of St. Cyprian's School, Cape Town, for guidance on the use and interpretation of the text.

Table 2 gives score totals and relative position on the five groups of tasks. I marked leniently, granting success if the task was achieved no matter in what fashion.

### Physical Activities

I was surprised by the lack of control over their bodies that the children showed in the physical activities. The scores in section 5 seem high but the execution left much to be desired. No pattern of difference between boys and girls was detectable. The children found it difficult to obey verbal instructions particularly for skipping, change of rhythm and rhythmic hopping. There was much confusion over the Angel activity in which a child lies on her back and moves her arms and legs in turn according to audio, visual or tactile instructions. Nothing remarkable here except that such difficulties were not anticipated by the testers for U.S.A. children. Once again, the children's failure to attend closely to particular instructions impeded their performance. Gwali, for example, did not understand what was meant by "running on the spot" and he was confused in the balance exercises when the instructions referred to "back" and "front." The children's weight and height are given in Table 3. Only Nukwa was undernourished and Peliswe's weight was low. On tests of physical ability, Nukwa scored well and Peliswe poorly. Three of the Abas. scored low marks and the fourth, Yameka, scored full marks.

Table 2 : Results of Test on Perceptual Motor Co-ordination

	Mlawu	Peliswe	Togu	Lungiswa	Nukwa	Nomvula	Zuziwe	Cebo	Tozama	Hintsa	Gwali*	Saliswa*	Yameka*	Gedja*
Geometric Shapes:	2	2	2	2	1	0	3	0	4	1	0	1	4	1
TOTAL : 4														
Write Name:	4	4	4	3	0	3	2	0	4	0	0	0	0	0
TOTAL : 4														
Rhythmic Writing:	11	11	10	9	5	5	6	1	11	6	5	5	6	3
TOTAL : 12														
Draw with Chalk:	16	14	16	16	14	16	15	13	16	13	11	15	16	15
TOTAL : 16														
Physical exercises:	108	99	107	104	108	107	107	90	103	85	90	102	108	94
TOTAL : 108														
TOTAL ON 5 SECTIONS TO BASE OF 100	442	422	432	396	255	316	368	172	487	235	194	255	350	231
	( 2	4	3	5	9	8	6	14	1	11	13	9	7	12)
TOTAL : 500														
TOTAL ON 4 SECTIONS - WRITING Name)	342	322	332	321	255	241	318	172	387	235	194	255	350	231
	( 3	5	4	6	8	10	7	14	1	11	13	8	2	12)
TOTAL : 400														

N.B.

1. When Section 2 is removed (Write name), two of the Abas.\* (Saliswa and Yameka) are seen to have scored well although they have had little experience with chalk or pen and paper.
2. Figures in brackets are positions among the 14 sample children.

Table 3 : Height and Weight of the Sample Children

Name*	Sex	HEIGHT (in metres)	% of Standard on Boston Scale	WEIGHT (in kilos)	% of Standard on Boston Scale
Tozama	F	1.230	98	25	98
Yameka	F	1.185	95	25	98
Mlawu	M	1.100	87	25	98
Lungiswa	F	1.205	96	25	100
Saliswa	F	1.205	96	23	95
Hintsa	M	1.300	105	24	96
Gedja	F	1.160	96	24	103
Peliswe	F	1.180	98	18.5	80
Nukwa	M	1.080	89	16	67
Togu	M	1.170	96	22	94
Nomvula	F	1.160	96	25	110
Gwali	M	1.155	98	22	100
Zuziwe	F	1.150	98	19.5	90
Cebo	M	1.105	92	21	95

60-80% of the standard weight equals undernutrition.

60% of the standard weight equals marasmus.

\*The children are listed in order of age, eldest first. Exact age was used in comparing their height and weight with the Boston scale. Thanks are due to Dr I Thom of the Empiliswenii South African Leadership Assembly Clinic in Crossroads for measuring and weighing the children and to Dr T Waterston of the University of Zimbabwe Medical School, for computing the percentages.

## Geometric Shapes

Seven geometric shapes had to be copied from cards. The first three ((a)0; (b)⊕; (c)□) presented few problems although my marking was lenient. Only two children could not form an acceptable cross. Three could not copy the next shape ((d)△) and performance on the final three shapes was poor ((e)⊗; (f)◇; (g)◊). Only three children copied (e) and five copied (f) and (g) fairly well.

## Chalk

In the use of chalk, each child had to draw a circle on a blackboard with one hand and then two circles simultaneously with a piece of chalk in each hand. Two points had to be joined by a line first laterally then vertically. Eight children had difficulty with the two circles.

## Rhythmic writing patterns

A series of patterns were presented to each child who had to copy them in the space provided. It is not surprising that the results were barely acceptable from any child because the children had either just begun to attend or did not attend school and few had had much access to pen and paper. The results of the task on writing have been incorporated in the section on writing in this chapter.

According to those who formulated and standardized the test, there are five pointers to the existence of non-achievement; one, if a child is unable to balance well; two, change rhythm on instruction; three copy (e); four copy (g); and five, make chalk circles using both hands. If a child is unable to do these tasks then it is likely that co-ordination is affected by a perceptual-motor deficiency. Let us consider the five children who scored low marks and performed badly on the five pointers given above - Saliswa, Gwali, Gedja, Cebo and Hintsa. Saliswa could maintain her balance fairly well. Besides, each was unsuccessful in attempting the Angel task. On the Kraus-Weber task, neither

Gedja nor Gwali could lift their legs and Cebo could not lift his head and shoulders.\*

Nukwa achieved the same score as did Saliswa, and Nomvula did better than them when writing one's name was scored but less well when it was omitted. Both Nukwa and Nomvula scored well on the physical and chalk exercises. Both varied in their scores across all the tasks performed during the year.

In retrospect, it can also be seen that the seven children (Mlawu, Peliswe, Togu, Tozama, Yāmekā, Lungiswa and Zuziwe) who performed well on the Purdue Motor-Perception Survey also performed well on most of the year's exercises. The same relationship between this test and others held for the five who did poorly. I would suggest that, ideally, the administration of tests across cultures be preceded by motor-perception surveys and physical examinations. Health and physical control must be linked to test performance. Both may be assumed to be in order in wealthy communities: neither may be assumed among the economically oppressed. We should know the constraints in any testing situation.

#### SHOPPING

Let us consider how children order shopping, an activity in which each of them is involved almost daily. During the hours that Mrs Gqiba observed children at home in the evenings, each child was despatched by an adult to the shops at least once. Some went gladly and some, like Zuziwe, reluctantly. In some homes, a child was sent three or four times in one evening, each time to make a single purchase. Sometimes the child would be sent only once the need for the item was obvious such as for a candle after dark, or sugar when the tea had

---

\*The child lies face downward on the floor and is instructed to lift her legs off the ground, then her head and shoulders.

been prepared, or bread when supper was ready. The frequent trips and late purchases are, no doubt, the result of poverty : little cash, sparingly spent. Children often went to the shops for sweets. A number of fathers were greeted on their return from work by excited displays of warmth and the request for a few cents with which to buy sweets.

There were many tiny shops in Crossroads. Some of them were no larger than cupboards. The quantity of goods varied but the range was not very great. Prices varied sometimes as much as 5 cents for the same item and one of the arts of a good housewife was to know which shopkeeper cut his price on which item in order to attract customers. Shops provided meeting grounds where news and gossip were exchanged. For children, excitement tinged with fear often accompanied excursions to shop at night.

It was suggested to me that while young children in Crossroads might not perform very ably on formal tests, they carried complicated messages and shopped reliably and efficiently. I decided to investigate with the sample children by giving each child R2.00, a basket and a verbal list of eleven items that fell in seven categories with the request that she purchase them for me.

Another purpose behind the exercise was to check whether or not the children had difficulty in following instructions in a familiar task. Such difficulty seemed to have hampered performance on other tasks, in particular the Purdue Motor-Perception examination (see previous section). I was curious to see what techniques of ordering the children might use in recalling a list and with what success they could remember it.

For the exercise, three shopkeepers agreed to co-operate. Two shops were near the schools and the third near the homes of the children who did not attend school. The shopkeepers were asked to give each child the incorrect amount of change. The list and prices follow:

<u>Categories</u>	<u>Number of Items</u>	<u>Price</u>
1.	1 packet of sugar	30c.
2.	1 bottle of milk	25c.
3.	1 box Omo soap powder	28c.
4.	2 boxes of matches	4c.
5.	1 packet of beans	28c.
6.	4 lollipops	8c.
7.	1 packet of tea	20c.
	TOTAL	<u>R1.43</u>

Prices varied in the shops, for example:

<u>Item</u>	<u>Shops</u>	<u>I</u>	<u>II</u>	<u>III</u>
Omo		28	16	15 cents
Beans		28	30	30 cents
Tea		20	18	15 cents

In shops II and III, we substituted a candle for milk as the latter was not stocked. One candle cost 9 cents.

Each child was given the money, the basket and the list (verbally), which was repeated once. We chose a quiet time of day so that the shops were not crowded.

#### The results

While it must be seldom, if ever, that the children are given such a long shopping list, the success of two of them in purchasing every item suggests that the task was not too difficult. The exercise was not meant to be a formal test of memory. Nevertheless, certain points of interest emerged. Not one child asked for clarification as to size or brand name. All the children used English words for the money. No child visibly attempted to count the number of categories or items read out nor classify them into groups such as edible/inedible. Nor was it suggested that they do so. Peliswe and Tozama voluntarily repeated the list to me after the first reading - the two who were always the most confident in

seeking clarification on task directions. Both scored well. Togu, Hintsu and Gwali returned shortly after leaving to make the purchases and asked me to read out the list again.

This task seemed to stir up more emotion and reluctance than most other exercises. It was September and the children were used to our sessions : perhaps the length of the list, the task itself or the involvement of others (the shopkeepers) bothered some of them. Peliswe, Lungiswa, Tozama and Cebo were noted as being confident. The last two were also cheerful as was Mlawu, despite the fact that he twice predicted that he would forget things. Peliswe was harried and had trouble concentrating because her teacher was annoyed with her for having got 2/10 for her sums and was exasperated by having her called out of the classroom by me. I had to make peace later. She was the only teacher who was sometimes hostile towards my interruptions. So little was achieved in some classes during the year, partly as a consequence of the school boycott, that I did not feel too guilty.

Two children came to this particular session reluctantly. Nukwa was brought crying and resisting by his mother. As she led him through my door, she was saying to him, "Do you know that those people who are not educated work hard in the mines? Sometimes the mine collapses on the heads of a thousand or a hundred people. I am thinking of you. You do not want to be educated. What will happen to you?" The child did not reply. She left and I talked to him saying that he did not have to come (Bateson's double bind in view of his mother's tirade?) but I would miss him if he did not as I was fond of him and enjoyed working with him. He laughed and looked happy and set about his shopping in good spirits. He did well.

Hintsu was the other reluctant participant. He came unwillingly. His mood was not lightened by Mary who asked, "Why are you so very dirty and ill-dressed? Why did you not wash and change from the clothes in which you slept?" Hintsu said that neither his mother nor his grandmother (father's sister) nor the young bride who was staying in the house were

at home when he awoke. Mary was dissatisfied and rebuked him saying, "Can you not fetch water from the tap and wash yourself?" He did not reply. I quote the incident because it shows how any adult assumes the right to rebuke a child for unseemly behaviour. I reminded Mary gently that such matters as clothing and cleanliness did not bother me. Hints and I drew for a while until he seemed more cheerful.

I shall mention the mood of just two more children. Togu looked anxious and asked for the list to be repeated a third time : his shyness had waned but this task seemed threatening to him. Zuziwe was unusually cautious and passive. She took a long time in the shop and did not shop well. From observations made of her at home, it later became clear that for her shopping was an onerous job. Twice in one week she was reprimanded for not having shopped well. At 7:20 one evening, her aunt (mother's sister) complained as follows:

"I have asked Zuziwe to go and buy Sunlight soap for me and she has bought Holsum [margarine] instead."

Teenage lodger: "It's because Zuziwe is naughty; her mind runs quickly, not thinking of what she is being told to do."

Aunt: "She was thinking of something else or thinking of her cousin's money that she received from her mother to buy sweets."

Zuziwe: "Not at all, auntie, I had forgotten what I was sent to do."

Aunt: "Yes! Zuziwe get away from here."

The child danced and sang around her aunt and her mother, who had just returned from work, joined her.

The second incident occurred as follows:

It was 7:10 p.m. a few evenings later and Zuziwe was sitting with her father's brother in his car. Mother returning home saw her and said:

"Why are you quiet, Zuziwe? What's wrong with my girl? Are you sick?"

Mother enters the house grumbling about not having time to care for her children. She is greeted by her sister who says:

"What does this child [Zuziwe] always think of? Why does she not do what she is told to do? I told her to go and buy salt for me and she has brought me matches instead."

Zuziwe (entering): "Yes, Makazi, you did tell me to buy salt but there was none. That is why I bought matches."

Mother: "Stupid child. What is the matter with you? Are you mad?"

Zuziwe: "No I am not mad."

Mother: "Why do you always do things that you like? If you do it again I will hit you."

Aunt: "She is always thinking about something else or about playing with her friends."

Zuziwe: "No makazi, it is not that I want to play. I always forget for what I was sent."

She began to dance and sing.

Lodger: "Come Zuziwe, let's go to the shop again and buy salt."

Zuziwe: "I don't feel like going to the shop because they take a long time to sell to us and then I forget what I was supposed to buy. So then I am not going at all."

Ten minutes later Zuziwe was hungry and as supper was not ready she asked for "Pronutro" and her mother said they needed milk. Zuziwe quickly reminded her that she had said that girls must not go out in the evening so Mthetheli (her mother's sister's son) would have to be sent. Her mother laughed and her aunt said:

"I have never seen a child who is as clever as this one. She is quick-tongued like her mother."

In response Zuziwe's mother teased her sister:

"It is good if she is clever like me. Even if I am not here, you must beware of what you do: this clever girl will tell me."

Zuziwe was a clever child but she chose to apply herself to only certain tasks. That she could shop efficiently was demonstrated during an observation of her behaviour in July. She was sent to buy a pint of milk. She knew that she had 30c and that the milk cost 23c and that she must bring back 7c change. She checked the change upon being given it. The adults were both amused and annoyed by her resistance and quick wit.

With a large sample, moods and circumstance that affect performance on a particular day or task are balanced out. However, it is interesting to see their effect on children in a small sample.

The exercise enabled me to test their familiarity with the use of money. Sometime during the year, five children hawked : Lungiswa, clothes; Yameka, fish; Peliswe offal; Tozama, chicken and Mlawu, meat. Each of them shopped relatively successfully. Here is the record of one occasion upon which a child hawked in Crossroads:

On 28 July, Lungiswa and a girl friend spent from 10:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., without lunch, selling clothes for a neighbour. Each item sold at 30c or 40c. Lungiswa sold six items of clothing and did not know how much money she had collected. The neighbour gave her 20c for her labour. She has added it to her savings in a SPAR box and now has R1.25. She is going to buy clothes. She hawked on another occasion recently and earned 50c. She intends selling every day as she is not currently attending school because, she says, she was expelled for not having paid her fees. This is unlikely since the school is being boycotted.

The above children and Nukwa returned with the most number of categories from the list. Yameka forgot only the beans but she brought two instead of four lollipops. She was the only non-school-going child to shop well. Nukwa's mother

sold beer and sweets and it is possible that he helped her. The children who hawked during the year and who did well on this exercise did well on most other tasks. It is difficult to determine whether they were allowed to sell because their families encouraged initiative and enterprise or because they were seen to be able. A chicken and egg problem that is hard to unscramble.

Ten children (among whom were the five hawkers) could identify each of the coins from 1 cent to R1.00 and a R2.00 correctly. Five of them did not know what the  $\frac{1}{2}$  cent was. A comment on inflation. The four others named one coin each incorrectly.

Five of the children could add various amounts of money under two rand (They included four of the hawkers but not Yameka, the non-school-going child. Zuziwe was the fifth). Only two children (Lungiswa and Tozama) knew how much change they had brought me. Each said it was the correct amount whereas in both cases it was slightly too much.

In observing at a number of stores in Crossroads, I noticed that many adults did not ask the price of the goods that they purchased and, as the prices varied, could not check their change. No doubt they knew within a few cents what it ought to be. None of the children in the sample asked for prices and so none were told them. They simply accepted the change even when it was incorrect by a rand or more.

Two items on the list were the most frequently forgotten - Omo soap powder and beans, eight and seven times each. It is likely that they were seldom sent to purchase soap or beans whereas the other items were more often needed in the home. There was no difference in the frequency with which other items were forgotten except that lollipops were only forgotten once and one child returned with five while five children brought back only two.

To conclude, the five children who sold goods in Crossroads during the year shopped well. It was a familiar task for every child and the shopkeeper to whom the child went was known to the child. Yet, for some it was a threatening exercise.

All the children named the coins in English and could identify most of them. Only five, all of whom went to school, could add up amounts under two rand. The instructions seemed to cause no bewilderment except that three children asked for the list again. The two items most frequently forgotten were those least often purchased in reality by the children.\*

#### SERIATION

In his examination of fundamental reasoning capacities, Piaget observed the development of the ability to seriate objects that differ quantitatively on some dimensions such as length. He believed that the ability to seriate and to classify objects on the basis of various attributes is fundamental to an adequate understanding of number, representing its ordinal (seriation) and cardinal (classification) aspects.

In setting out to find a psychological proof of the interdependence of ordination and cardination, Piaget sought to analyse the child's reactions when presented with a problem involving counting aloud with the aid of concrete material that could be both seriated and evaluated cardinally.<sup>†</sup> He made three types of experiment in this field and described the one that I administered in Crossroads as follows:

"The simplest (task) consists in merely getting the child to seriate sticks representing the steps of a staircase

---

\*These results should be compared with those found by Gustav Jahoda in interviews with children during which he sought to clarify their understanding of basic economic principles. His findings are published in "The Construction of Economic Reality by some Glaswegian Children" in the European Journal of Social Psychology, Vol. 9, 115-127, 1979; and "The Development of Thinking About Economic Institutions : The Bank", in Cahiers de Psychologie Cognitive, Vol. 1, 55-73, 1981.

<sup>†</sup>At least one mathematician has criticized Piaget for having adopted mathematical terms and given them his own definitions which, in some instances, have led to confusion or even misconceptions. See Vuyk, (1981).

and to estimate the number of steps already climbed and then, after breaking up the series and picking out one of the steps, asking him to estimate how many steps would have been climbed when that one was reached....

"The technique used is the following: The child is given a set of ten little sticks of varying lengths and is asked to form the series from the shortest (A) to the longest (J). When this has been done, he is given, one at a time and in any order, nine more sticks (which we shall call a - i). He is told that these had been forgotten and are now to be inserted in their right places.\*

"We then get the series : Aa Bb Cc Dd Ed Ff Gg Hh Ii J. The child is then asked to count all the elements of the series, including the inserted sticks, and then a number of elements corresponding to a figure with which he is familiar is left in front of him. If, for instance, his counting became hesitant after ten, eight sticks would be left, and so on. Pointing to one of the sticks we then ask the child how many stairs<sup>+</sup> a doll will have climbed when it reaches that point (the actions can either be indicated by a gesture of by making a little doll go from one stick to another as though going upstairs). We also ask how many steps are behind the doll and how many it will need to climb to reach the top of the stairs. Finally, the series of sticks is disarranged and the same questions as before are put to the child, who is then obliged to reconstruct the series before replying.

---

\*"The sticks A, B, C etc. differ in length by about 0,8 cm., and the sticks a, b, c etc. differ from A, B, C etc. by about 0,4 cm., the complete set ranging from 9 to 16 cm." (Note that the use of letters to identify the sticks is incorrect in the 1965 edition of The Child Conception of Number, Norton Library)

<sup>+</sup>Xhosa has two words for a step - ibanga and inqwanqwa. Many children used an adaptation from English - isteppe.

"There are three distinct stages in the seriation of the sticks (Questions I and II). First comes a period during which the child always fails to make the complete series, even for A-K, succeeding only in making several short series which he puts side by side without regard to the order of the whole series. Or else he succeeds in building the staircase, but only considers the top of each stick, and disregards the base, and thus the total length of each element, so that his staircase is only regular at the top, and as the sticks are not placed in a horizontal line they are not in the correct order of size. In the second stage, the child succeeds, by trial and error, in making a correct staircase but has not acquired a system of relationships by means of which error is eliminated and extra sticks can be inserted at once in their right place. In the third stage, each element is without hesitation placed in a position in which it is at the same time bigger than the preceding elements and smaller than those which follow.

"With regard to the relations between ordination (Questions III and IV) we again find three stages, corresponding broadly to those we have just seen. In the first the child does not understand that in order to estimate how many stairs the doll has climbed, starting from the smallest A, he must calculate the position of the stick N in question, and his estimate is purely arbitrary. In the second stage, he gradually understands that he needs to reconstruct the staircase but thinks he must include the whole series, from A to stick N and from N to K, as if the elements above N were as useful in determining the position of N as those below. The distinctive characteristic of children

at this stage is difficulty in dissociating a section of a series from the whole, or they frequently confuse elements A to N (the stairs already climbed). In the third stage the child understands that he only needs to consider the section A to N in order to determine the position of N and that this position corresponds to the number of stairs already climbed." Piaget (1941:123)

Piaget does not claim that failure on the exercise means that children are incapable of any seriation or that they are at a pre-serial stage in the absolute sense of the term. He merely asserts that as far as the problem in question is concerned, these children failed to make any regular seriation without help, and were thus at a pre-serial level as regards this problem. Piaget (1941:126) points out that "numeration implies ordination" and where a child fails on the counting task, there can therefore be "no possible relation between ordination and cardination." He claims that success on the task implies a "... grasp of the operations involving both the logic of number and that of seriation of asymmetric relations...." (Piaget, 1941:133). That is to say, "He has therefore grasped the close correspondence between ordination and cardination, and coordination in the case of particular elements is the sign that this level is operational." (Piaget, 1941:153) He anticipates that, on the concrete plane, a child will attain operativity between the ages of seven and eleven. (Piaget, 1941:155)

In administering the test, I followed Piaget's description closely. However, I used the task primarily as a tool for achieving a purpose very different from Piaget's. I wanted to describe the children's sense of time and their notions of their own life histories thus far. Often on different occasions the children and I had talked about aspects of their past, but I wished to elicit a more coherent "history." I had obtained from each child's mother a detailed profile of the child's first seven years of life. Using the profiles as

reference points, I decided to provide the children with concrete objects to illustrate the progression of time and to suggest the notion of growth. I thought that if I presented each child with cardboard cut-out figures symbolising growth year by year from birth to age nine, the child could place them in a series thus indicating whether or not she grasped my desire to talk about growing up or growing older. Then we could use each cut-out as a focus for discussing birth, infancy, etc.

A number of the sample children and many of those in the control group did not know how old they were. Nor, often, did one parent know the child's age. Birthdays were neither observed nor celebrated. Schools did not enforce an age discrimination in accepting children into the classes. Dorothy Lee (1977) suggests that a lineal conception of time has often been superimposed on data from non-Western peoples by anthropologists. It seemed likely that children in Crossroads did not consciously order their notions of growth into a series clearly marked by equal measures of time.

The opportunity to combine my search for a concrete tool with Piaget's exercises on seriation presented itself. The children and I had worked together for eight months when we set about the following three tasks. One was Piaget's stick series described above. I administered this first in each case to avoid "contaminating" the exercise with possible practice effects from the other tasks. The second task was intended as an easy test of simple seriation using familiar materials and obvious size relationships. The following animals were each drawn on a piece of strong paper some 30 x 20 cm. in size : an elephant, cow, dog, cat, mouse and ant.\* On one side each animal was drawn the same size as the others : on the reverse, each was drawn in correct (approximate) size relative to the others.

---

\*For convenience I shall raise the status of the ant to that of an animal.

The task was for the child to place the animals in order from largest to smallest using the side on which they were drawn of equal size. Once the child was satisfied with the order, the cards could be turned over and the size ordering checked. I assumed that the task would be simple. My choice of animals was not ideal. I was aware that some dogs are smaller than some cats but that is not usually so among the animals in Crossroads. As it turned out, this caused no confusion. All but one of the school-going children had been to the circus earlier in the year and had seen elephants. However, Saliswa said that she did not know how big an elephant was and Gwali said that he had seen a picture of one in a child's book and it did not look very big! The identification of the ant caused concern among a few of the children.

The third task, which I shall call the figure task, was to order 10 cut-outs representing a foetus (3 cm. tall) and a child increasing in size at regular intervals from 5 cm. to 45 cm. No sex was indicated on the cut-outs. No child had difficulty in recognizing a cut-out as representing a child. I described the foetus as a "baby before it is born." It was included as a focus for discussion about the origin of children. Cebo called it a duck. I did not include it in measuring the ability to order the cut-outs. Upon completion of this last task the child and I would talk about her/his life in relation to the figures. I probed, using the mother's profile as a base.

Such was my purpose. In administering Piaget's task, I concentrated on identifying differences in reactions or approach among the children. I was particularly interested in each child's facility with number in relation to the task at hand. As we saw earlier, numeracy varied.

### Scoring

In order to be scored as having achieved an operational level on the stick seriation task, a child had to display stage three behaviour on both sections of the exercise as described by Piaget. Table 4 gives the results on all three tasks. Mlawu had gone to live in the Transkei so there were

thirteen children in the sample. Three main categories were used in scoring. An A was assigned to those children who were classified as being at the operational level, a B to those at an intermediate level, and a C to those at a pre-operational level. The same symbols were used to score the Animal and Figure tasks : A equalled success in forming a series without hesitation or correction; B success with discussion; and C failure.

Sometimes only half of Piaget's seriation task has been used in testing, because it is claimed that the second half adds little to understanding and is not more difficult than the first.\* In both their test situations the researchers only tested the subjects' ability to seriate 10 sticks (or the equivalent material). It seems to me that Piaget was investigating a more complex conceptual understanding that was only fully demonstrated with the insertion of extra sticks and the step questions.<sup>+</sup> It was the responses to the latter that I found informative in considering the children's use of number.

#### Results : Piaget's Stick Task

No child scored at the operational level (A) on the stick task (See Table 4). On the first part of the task, no one made a stair without hesitation or inserted the extra sticks immediately in the correct place. On the second part, no child counted the number of steps only to stick N and derived the number left to the top. Four children scored at the intermediate level (B). The rest performed at a pre-operational level (C).

---

\*See, for example, Seagrim and Lendon (1980) and Hendrikz (1965).

<sup>+</sup>Vuyk (1981:437) concludes a section on Piaget's seriation and class-inclusion tests with the following comments, "The essential issue that turns up in discussion of any of Piaget's tasks is that they are complex and require a closer analysis. These then lead to different conclusions of more or less importance for his theory."

Table 4 : Results of Three Seriation Tasks

	I	II	III
	Piaget's Stick Task:	Animal Task:	Figure Task:
SCHOOL CHILDREN:			
Peliswe	C	B	B
Togu	C	B	A
Lungiswa	B	B	A
Nukwa	C	B	B
Nomvula	C	B	C
Zuziwe	B	A	A
Cebo	C	C	C
Tozama	B	A	A
Hintsa	C	A	C
CHILDREN NOT AT SCHOOL:			
Gwali	C	C	C
Gedja	C	C	C
Yameka	B	B	B
Saliswa	C	C	C
TOTAL NUMBER OF CHILDREN WHO ACHIEVED - A:			
	0	3	4
B:	4	6	3
C:	9	4	6

KEY: A - operational level  
 B - intermediate level  
 C - pre-operational level

Piaget noted certain aspects of behaviour that were common among children who performed below the operational level. It is interesting that the same patterns were observed in the protocols of the Crossroads children. He observed, for instance, that children below Stage III(A) often separate the material into a smaller series which is what three of the sample children did. Yameka initially formed the sticks into three groups and Togu and Tozama separated the small from the long sticks. Piaget noted that at this stage children would often select one among the tallest or shortest sticks when asked to pick the tallest or shortest. Among the sample children, only four chose the smallest and the tallest stick when asked to do so. In tackling the second part of the stick task, Piaget observed that children below Stage III frequently included stick "N" in counting how many steps have been climbed and how many have still to be climbed, i.e. A - N and N - J. Both Yameka and Gedja did so. Piaget also noted that children below Stage III often count all the steps when asked to find the number climbed up to a certain point. Five of the sample children did that on either the stick or the figure task. It was a pattern of behaviour that I observed on a number of different occasions. Tozama guessed the number of steps before counting them.

During the exercises, nine children counted accurately to 20. Saliswa was not always accurate; Nukwa counted only to 15; and Gwali and Cebo failed to count beyond 5 or 6. Most of them counted in English. Some could not count in Xhosa beyond 5 : Mary was shocked. One reason may be that the higher numbers are longer in Xhosa than in English.

On the figure task, once the series had been completed either by the child or by me, the child was reminded that each cut-out represented the subject at yearly intervals and was asked to identify herself at her present age. Only five children could identify the correct figure - the five who counted accurately on the former task. It should be noted that two of those who could not count to 20 were school children although one had stopped attending school in July

and it was then October. The four who failed to count accurately were the only ones to fail on all three seriation tasks. Yameka, who did not go to school, counted well up to 20 but in two instances she behaved as if her grasp of number was infirm - she included stick "N" in her estimate of the number of steps above and below that point, and she was unable to find the figure that represented her current age. The results suggest that for this population the ability to count is a necessary but not sufficient skill for success on Piaget's full seriation task.

Piaget (1941:161) held that a sound conception of number "... can be regarded as being necessary for the completion of truly logical structures...." He made much of the observation that number use in addition, subtraction and multiplication tables is frequently merely verbal and does not necessarily imply a firm conception of number. The ability to count is a culturally learned skill. The seriation test does not purportedly set out to test the ability to count. It is unlikely that many school children in the West cannot count efficiently up to 20 by the age of seven. I suggest that before the seriation task is accepted as a culture fair test the implicit assumptions made within it about subjects' ability to count be carefully researched and that before the test is administered the ability of subjects to count be documented.

#### Results : The Animal Task

It was surprising that no more than nine of the thirteen subjects could order the animals on the basis of relative size. I had included the task assuming that it would be a simple means of confirming the children's ability to place familiar objects in a series on the basis of one dimension : in this case, relative size. Three children succeeded at once with no discussion. Six succeeded with discussion and one of their protocols follows.

In each case, the child and I talked about the animals and the task did not commence until I was certain that she could demonstrate through word or gesture that she knew their approximate relative sizes.

Nukwa was asked to place the animals in line from the largest to the smallest. He placed the elephant and then the cow. Some distance away he put the ant, cat, mouse and dog saying:

"They all look the same."

After discussion, he agreed that in reality they are not the same size. When he was asked to place them according to their size in reality, he placed the elephant, cow, cat, dog, mouse and ant in a line. When asked to demonstrate with his hands the size of a dog and a cat, he did making the latter smaller.

(Is the order correct?)

"No."

He reversed the cat and dog, turned the cards over and confirmed the series.

Four children failed, despite my most encouraging efforts, to place the pictures in a series. Gwali, for example, began by saying that an elephant is small for he had seen a picture of it in a child's book and it had not looked so big. His initial efforts to place the pictures in a series were unsuccessful so I suggested the following:

The animals live in the veldt and need to go to the water hole for a drink. They are afraid of attack from the front and agree to go together with elephant in the lead and the others behind, ranging from the largest to the smallest. I placed the elephant and asked who should go next. Gwali pointed to the elephant saying:

"It should go next" and

"There is no animal that comes after the elephant."

Then he placed the cat next in line saying:

"The other ones are bigger but this one follows."

He placed the ant, dog, mouse and cow following the cat, saying:

"The cow is the smallest."

(Is it smaller than the cat?)

"The cow in the Transkei is big."

The protocol continues in like manner and even with the cards turned to display the animals in correct relative size one to another, Gwali did not make a series. The four children who failed on this task, failed on the other two seriation tasks. Given that each of them could explain with word or gesture the size of the animals, their failure is puzzling. It may have involved some perceptual confusion, perhaps a lack of understanding of the instructions and a refusal or inability to attend only to the rules of the game. One of them, Cebo, attended school while the others, Gwali, Gedja and Saliswa, did not.

#### Results : The Figure Task

Four children placed the figures in a correct series without hesitation or discussion, three did so after some trial and error and discussion and six failed to do so. Tozama was the only one to express immediate identification of herself with the figure outlines; while she made the series, she talked about the age increases. Nevertheless, when asked to identify the figure that represented herself at her current age, she selected figure 3. Gwali refused to identify himself with the figures and Nukwa said, "I am not among them." Perhaps the latter are examples of subjects refusing to abide by the set rules or to suspend disbelief momentarily in the interest of the task at hand.

During the administration of all three tasks, significant aspects of behaviour were observed: one, only two children asked any questions about the tasks; two, there were clear signs of inhibition in altering series even though errors had been identified and commented upon by the child following discussion; and three, five of the sample children failed to take full advantage of the base line as a guide.\* For example, Gedja placed one figure on the opposite side of the base line although in the right order; Zuziwe made a correct series but

---

\*When a Genevan child failed to achieve a series, Piaget would suggest the use of a base line.

with the heads rather than the feet of the figures in line; Togu tilted the last two figures off the line; and Yameka placed one figure horizontal to the base. Possibly, the children's lack of familiarity with pictorial representation and the use of drawing materials meant that they did not make the best use of a proffered cue.

It is likely that the children's performance level was to some extent obscured by a variety of factors including their inability to count accurately; their shyness in asking questions and in changing the products of their actions and their unfamiliarity with the use of symbolic representations. It is also possible that a lack of practice in manipulating small size differences, as existed in the stick series, hindered the display of real competence. Cuisenaire rods were not used in the classrooms and I only used them as blocks in the Eriksonian play scene.

To sum up: thirteen children were each given three seriation tasks. Of the thirty-nine series seven were achieved immediately and confidently without discussion; twelve were achieved with discussion and twenty were not achieved despite all efforts to ensure that the requirements of the task were understood. If the ability simply to place a given number of objects in a series is compared, then nine children succeeded on the animal task, seven on the figure task and four on the first set of ten sticks. I was surprised by the lack of success but there seemed to be some training-on-the-job (that, no doubt, occurs on all Piagetian exercises). It is worth comparing these results with the performance of the children on making family members and vehicles according to relative size in clay (see Chapter 6).

These results are much poorer than those collected by Seagrim and Lendon (1980) among Aborigine children and Serpell (1976) among Zambian children, although both sets seem to have been exposed to better schooling than were the Crossroads children. The results are closer to those collected by Oppen (1977) among rural Thai school children. However, according to Ginsburg and Oppen (1979) children in Western countries usually succeed on the test at age six and seven.

Much has been written recently in the literature on cross-cultural studies about the need to take into account different situations or contexts, including the familiarity of subjects with material, experimenters and the testing process, when evaluating test results.\* Piaget (1941:149) drew attention to similar facets when he wrote,

"It is obvious that in each test a considerable number of heterogeneous factors intervene, e.g. the words used, the length of instructions given, their more or less concrete character, the relationship between the instructions and the individual experience of the child, the number of elements involved, the intervention of numbers the child knows, etc., etc. We noticed wide differences in the results of the various tests of cardinal correspondence, showing that we never succeed in measuring understanding of this correspondence in its pure state and that the understanding is always with respect to a given problem and given material... The calculation of the correlation between the levels of cardinality and ordination, without the accompaniment of an extremely thorough qualitative analysis, could therefore give only misleading results unless our experiments were transformed into 'tests' in which statistical precision could no doubt easily be obtained, but at the cost of no longer knowing exactly what was being measured."

Having carefully observed the behaviour of a small number of children in doing the seriation test, I have concluded that the results do not merit serious consideration unless they are accompanied by a thorough qualitative analysis of the sort that Piaget specified, as well as an analysis that takes into account socio-cultural details. Without

---

\*See, for example, Cole and Means (1981).

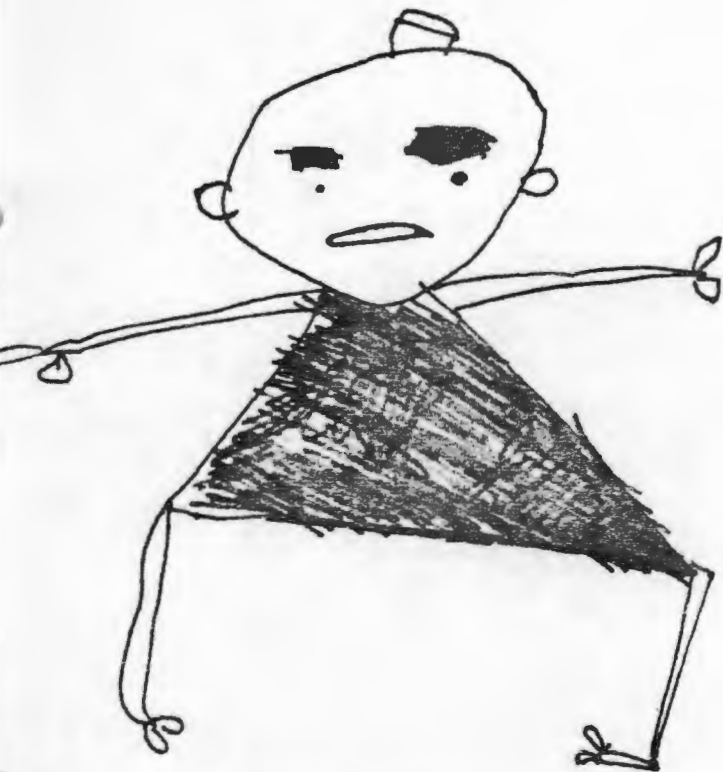
additional analysis, the test may be useful as a diagnostic tool or as a teaching vehicle but it is doubtful that it has value as a comparative test across cultures. Too many extraneous factors obscure competence.

No child achieved an operational level on seriation whereas at least half of the same children did on the conservation of continuous and discontinuous quantity, substance and number. The results approximate more closely those for class-inclusion. The reasons for the differences are not clear.

### DRAWINGS

On three separate occasions in March, May and November, each child was asked to draw a man. The draw-a-man test has long been in use in cross-cultural research and has been claimed by many to be culture fair in that a minimum of verbal exchange is demanded. I administered a form of the test in order to see how the children drew figures, how their drawings compared within the group and to determine whether each child's score over time would be consistent. (See the line copies of a selection of the children's drawings on pages 329 and 330. Compare these drawings with those of the children of Elsie's River, Cape Town reproduced in Pinnock, 1980).

There is a large body of literature on the test but I shall refer only to some of it here. A fair amount of scepticism is currently expressed in academic journals about the value of the test; however, it is still used widely in research, in psychological evaluation and in school entrance examinations. I have scored the drawings according to Elizabeth Munsterberg Koppitz's (1968) scoring manual for developmental items, emotional indicators and school achievement. Her ten-year study of almost two thousand children's drawings have yielded norms apparently valid for a broadly based U.S.A. population of five-to twelve-year-old children. Koppitz claims that the Human Figure Drawing Test



By Gredja (November)



By Togu (March)



By Peliswe (March)

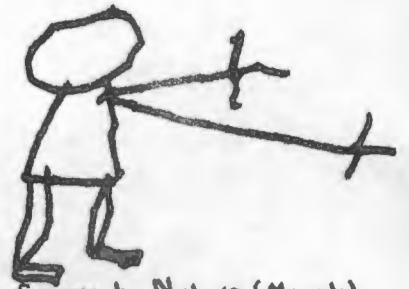
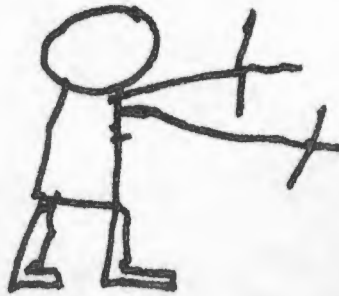


Three of the seven people Tozama drew in March  
[Scale is not accurately reproduced]

Illustration 1: Line Copies of a Selection of the  
Sample Children's Human Figure Drawings



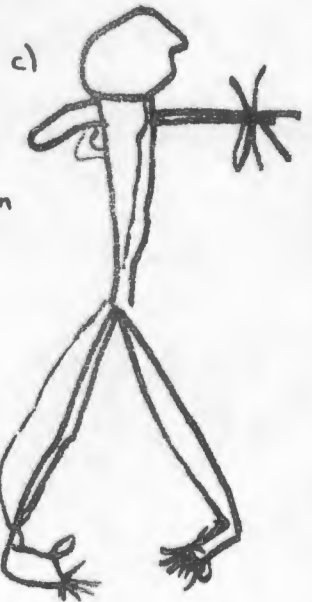
Two figures by Hintsa (November)



Two figures by Nukwa (March)



By Cebo (November)



a), b) and c) were drawn by Yameka on the three occasions

[Scale is not accurately reproduced]

Illustration 2: Line Copies of a Selection of the Sample Children's Human Figure Drawings

(hereafter called the HFD) is one of the most valuable techniques for evaluating children because it can be used both as a developmental and as a projective test.

Her hypothesis is that:

"... HFDs reflect primarily a child's level of development and his inter-personal relationships, that is, his attitudes towards himself and towards the significant others in his life. It is further maintained that HFDs may reveal a child's attitudes towards life's stresses and strains and his way of meeting them; drawings may also reflect strong fears and anxieties which may concern the child, consciously or unconsciously, at that given moment ... the HFD is not regarded as a portrait of the child's basic and enduring personality traits nor as an image of the child's actual appearance. Instead, it is believed that HFDs reflect the child's current stage of mental development and his attitudes and concerns of the given moment, all of which will change in time due to maturation and experience. The HFDs particular value is seen in its very sensitivity to change within the child, and these changes may be developmental and/or emotional. The HFD is regarded here as a portrait of the inner child of the moment." (Koppitz, 1968:1)

I resolved that if I could glimpse such a portrait through the children's drawings, I should be most happy and I set about an analysis of them.

In the test, the child draws a "whole person" in the presence of the examiner. The drawing should be a product of an interpersonal situation. According to Koppitz, the HFD is a graphic form of communication between the child and the examiner and as such differs from spontaneous drawings children may make when they are alone or with friends. She claims that a child's HFD shows both a basic structure and a

certain style which is peculiar to that particular child. The structure of a young child's drawing is determined by his age and level of maturation, while the style of his drawing reflects his attitudes and those concerns which are most important to him at that time. (Koppitz, 1968:5) She thinks that one drawing is sufficient for screening, quick evaluation and research.

In administering the test, a child should be comfortably seated at an uncluttered table upon which is a paper 8.5" x 11", and a number 2 pencil and eraser. The instructions are: "On this piece of paper, I would like you to draw a whole person. It can be any kind of person you want to draw, just make sure that it is a whole person, and not a stick figure or a cartoon figure." (Koppitz, 1968:5) The administration and instructions that I used differed in two respects. We sat on the floor because my room was small and because it enabled the children and me to share, move and play on the same level. Secondly, my paper, was a little narrower. Koppitz (1968:2) tested for difference in the use of crayon or pencil and concluded that it made none except that young boys (age six or less) did better with crayon. I asked each child simply to draw a person. In Xhosa, the word umntu can mean a man or a woman. I felt that further instruction might confuse or overwhelm the child.

The drawings are scored for two types of objective signs. One set it believed to be primarily related to children's age and level of maturation; these signs are called Developmental Items. The second set is thought to be primarily related to children's attitudes and concerns; these signs are designated as Emotional Indicators. Particular studies conducted by the author convinced her that artistic ability, school learning and the instructions given or the drawing medium used do not affect the presence of Developmental Items. It is only fair to point out that Koppitz does not claim reliability for her scoring methods across cultures. For instance she (1968:26) suggests that "school learning at the KG level does not affect the drawing of a human figure to any appreciable

degree when the children come from middle-class suburban homes. Whether this would also apply to the drawings of culturally deprived (sic) children who never had much opportunity to draw prior to coming to school is not certain. The only items on HFDs that seem to be influenced by training are clothing and the correct number of figures and possibly, two dimensions on the arms and legs." Her items were selected from the Goodenough-Harris (1963) scoring system and her own experience. Many of the finer details on drawings, which were included in the Goodenough-Harris system, were omitted from this list since her investigation was limited to the HFDs of elementary school-age children.

#### Developmental Items

One of the thirty signs selected, four frequency categories emerged from the normative per cent study; they were, the Expected Items, the Common Items, the Not Unusual Items and the Exceptional Items. The first includes all items which were present on 86 per cent to 100 per cent of the HFDs in the normative study at a given level. Since they were present on the HFDs of almost all normal children, they constitute the basic minimum of items one can expect in figure drawings of children of a given age. The fourth frequency category includes all items shown on 15 per cent or less of the HFDs and are considered unusual. It is the Expected and Exceptional Items that are used to assess a child's general level of mental maturity even though no definite I.Q. score is given. In scoring each HFD, each Expected and Exceptional Item is given a value of 1. Omission of an Expected Item is marked as -1, while the presence of an Exceptional Item is called +1. In order to avoid negative scores, the value of 5 is added to the sum of all positive and negative scoring points a child receives on his HFD. The results of Koppitz's (1968:30) study and correlations made with the WISC Full Scale I.Q. scores and the Stanford-Binet I.Q. scores lead her to conclude that "... the Expected and Exceptional items in

HFDs can be used with some confidence as a guide and easy method of assessing the level of mental maturity of groups of children." The results compare favourably with the correlations between Goodenough D.A.M. test scores\* and I.Q. test scores.

The forty-two human figures drawn for me by the fourteen sample children on three different occasions were scored according to the above format. Appendix F gives Koppitz's (1968:327) Scoring Manual for 30 Developmental Items on HFDs of Children and Appendix G gives her (1968:330) Expected and Exceptional Items on HFDs of Boys and Girls Age five to twelve. Koppitz used these to analyse the drawings of 1,856 children for her normative study. Table 5A gives the scores for the Crossroads sample and Table 5B is a summary of the results.

---

\*See Goodenough (1926), (1928), and Goodenough and Harris (1950).

Table 5A : Scores on Developmental Items on HFDs Administered to the  
Sample Children on Three Occasions

	Column:																	
	A			B			C			D			E			F		
	Scoring According to Koppitz:			Score Minus Item 10-Hair			Score Minus Item 22-Legs in two Dimensions			New Score* Minus Items 10 & 22			EQUIVALENT On Scoring According to Koppitz			I.Q.'s On New Scores*		
Test Number:	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Sample Children:																		
Mlawu	4	3	3							4	3	3	110	90	90	110	90	90
Peliswe	3	4	3	3	5	4				<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	90	110	90	90	<u>120</u>	<u>110</u>
Togu	5	5	5							5	5	5	120	120	120	120	120	120
Lungiswa	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	3	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	90	110	90	<u>110</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>110</u>
Nukwa	2	4	1							2	4	1	80	110	70	80	110	70
Nomvula	4	3	4	5	4	5				<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>	110	90	110	<u>120</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>120</u>
Zuziwe	4	4	4	5	5	5				<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	110	110	110	<u>120</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>120</u>
Cebo	3	3	4							3	3	4	90	90	110	90	90	110
Tozama	4	3	4	4	4	4				4	<u>4</u>	4	110	90	110	110	<u>110</u>	110
Hintsu	2	2	1							2	2	1	80	80	70	80	80	70
Gwali	2	2	3							2	2	3	80	80	90	80	80	90
Gedja	2	2	4	3	2	4	2	3	4	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	4	80	80	110	<u>90</u>	<u>90</u>	110
Yameka	4	3	1	5	4	2	4	4	1	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	110	90	70	<u>120</u>	<u>120</u>	<u>80</u>
Saliswa	2	1	3	2	2	3	3	2	4	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>	80	70	90	<u>90</u>	<u>90</u>	<u>110</u>

\*Scores that have been altered have been underlined.

KEY: Interpretation of Individual HFD Scores\*\*

HFD Score	Level of Mental Ability.
8 or 7	High Average to Superior (I.Q. 110 upwards)
6	Average to Superior (I.Q. 90 -135)
5	Average to High Average (I.Q. 85 - 120)
4	Low Average to Average (I.Q. 80 -110)
3	Low Average (I.Q. 70 - 90)
2	Borderline (I.Q. 60 - 80)
1 or 0	Mentally retarded or functioning on a retarded level due to serious emotional problems (I.Q. less than 70)

N.B. In the above table, the highest I.Q. score in each range has been used.

\*\* SOURCE: Koppitz (1968:331).

Table 5B : Summary of Table 5A  
The Number of Human Figure Drawings (Total 42) Scored for  
Developmental Items on the Scale 5 to 0 on:-

	A		B
	KOPPITZ's Manual:		THE NEW SCORE:
Score: 8 or 7	0	} 40.5%	0
6	0		0
5	3		11
4	14	} 59.5%	13
3	13		10
2	8		6
1	4	} 42.9%	2
0	0		0

The above percentages group together the scores from low average upwards (a score of 4 or more) and those of a low average downwards (a score of 3 or less).

According to the HFD scores of the fourteen children tested on three occasions over a span on nine months, no child could have been considered to have either a High Average to Superior Intelligence (a score of 8 or 7 on the HFD) or an Average to Superior Intelligence (a score of 6) and only one child (Togu) on all three of his drawings achieved a score that suggested an intelligence of Average to High Average (a score of 5). On the other hand, six children on at least one HFD were shown to have Borderline I.Q.'s (a score of 2) and four were marked as being Mentally Retarded (a score of 1 or 0). Although age was controlled for, only two children had a consistent score on all three drawing tests.

Four children improved their scores from the first to the third test, four scored less well, the scores of two were consistent and the rest fluctuated. Two examples will suffice. On two tests, Cebo scored 2 giving him a borderline I.Q. of 60 to 80 and on the third he scored 4, equal to an I.Q. of 80 to 110. Yameka's I.Q., according to her scores, was 80 to 110 on test 1; 70 to 90 on test 2 and less than 70 on test 3.

## Sex Differences in Developmental Maturity

Koppitz found some

"... minor but consistent differences between the occurrence of Developmental Items on the HFDs of boys and girls. The findings accord with the observations of Goodenough (1926), Harris (1963) and Machover (1949), all of whom emphasize that the drawings of girls in the primary grades are superior to those of boys. There is also a consensus that this difference between the sexes diminishes gradually. By age eight or nine, boys not only catch up with girls but often surpass them in the quality and details of their drawings.

"At all age levels, there appear to be some drawing items which are more 'Masculine' or 'Feminine' and which occur more often on the HFDs of boys or girls respectively." (Koppitz, 1968:19)

Koppitz found that the "masculine" items included drawings done in profile and of knees and ears, while the "feminine" items included hair, pupils, eyebrows, two lips and clothing. She feels that because these particular differences have been reported so often they cannot be attributed to chance but must be accepted as real differences between drawings of boys and girls in the U.S.A. Koppitz does not believe that the differences are biologically determined but that they reflect values and attitudes that are generally accepted and fostered in the middle-class Western culture. Koppitz (1968:19) explains that:

"From infancy on, girls watch their mothers fuss over clothes and hair and facial makeup. A little girl's interest in these things is reinforced by her natural desire to imitate her mother and to gain parental approval by displaying feminine charm. Girls' drawings tend to reflect their awareness and interest

in feminine attire and beauty. By contrast, the boys in our society are expected to be more independent and outgoing than girls. The profile drawing is often associated with a turning away from others and a striving toward independence. And, finally, a young boy's short hair makes his ears quite conspicuous and focuses his attention on them. Girls, who are more concerned with the drawing of hair, tend to omit ears from their HFDs, especially when they draw girls or women."

She concludes that specific "masculine" and "feminine" items on HFDs reflect attitudes in children that have been learned unconsciously in early life from the social and cultural environment in which they live. Further, she assumes that the frequency of occurrence of such items will differ in different cultures and she adds that a child's drawing can only be evaluated if the mode of dress and grooming in her environment is known.

The HFDs of the Crossroads sample offered some confirmation of her assumption. Ears were drawn on twelve of the forty-two HFDs; two on those drawn in March, three in May and seven in November. There is some hint of maturation across the year. Togu and Tozama included ears on all their figures, the others only once each. Contrary to Koppitz's findings, only two boys drew ears while six girls did. Xhosa children have curly hair that seldom grows very long and is in any case, kept short. It is not surprising that girls should be equally aware of the need to add ears to the drawing of a person as are boys. The presence or absence of ears makes no difference to the scores of the HFDs among children aged ten or less. Hair, however, is an Expected Item for girls though not for boys. While current fashions among Xhosa women in Cape Town included dressing hair into plaited designs (sometimes with beads), girls were not allowed to wear their hair thus to school and only Gedja, in the sample, sometimes had hers dressed. Hair was no more a feature or a culturally fussed-about

facet of dress for girls than for boys. It is therefore, probable that it is unfair to make hair an Expected Item for girls and not boys from age six onwards as does Koppitz on her scoring manual. If, for the Crossroads sample, hair is dropped as a scoring item, the girls' results alter from A to B (as shown on Table 5A, column A and column B).

	A			B		
	Test I	II	III	Test I	II	III
Peliswe	3	4	3	3	5	4
Lungiswa	3	4	3	3	4	4
Nomvula	4	3	4	5	4	5
Zuziwe	4	4	4	5	5	5
Tozama	4	3	4	4	4	4
Gedja	2	2	4	3	2	4
Yameka	4	3	1	5	4	2
Saliswa	2	1	3	2	2	3

On the new set of results, four girls attain a score of 5 on at least one drawing, that is, equal to an Average to High Average I.Q., and there are no longer any scores suggesting mental retardation. Based on the findings that the drawings of girls in the U.S.A. are superior to those of boys under the age of ten, girls are penalized at ages six, seven and eight if they fail to draw two, two and one (respectively) more items than the boys. Besides, boys at age seven and eight are awarded scores for two extra items than are girls. We might wonder if, in a squatter camp in South Africa, girls do develop more rapidly than do boys. Are they expected to devote the same attention to detail and obedience to the intricacies of rules as is expected of girls in the West?

If we accept, for the moment, the suggestion that seven-to eight-year-old girls in Crossroads may not develop more rapidly than boys on the sorts of skills that the HFD measures, and remove the Expected Items (hair, feet and legs drawn in two dimensions) for whose absence girls are penalized whereas boys are not, then the scores alter from A to C (as shown on Table 5A).

	A			C		
	Test I	II	III	Test I	II	III
Peliswe	3	4	3	3	5	4
Lungiswa	3	4	3	4	4	4
Nomvula	4	3	4	5	4	5
Zuziwe	4	4	4	5	5	5
Tozama	4	3	4	4	4	4
Gedja	2	2	4	3	3	4
Yameka	4	3	1	5	5	2
Saliswa	2	1	3	3	3	4

According to the results under C, no child has a score equal to that of a mentally retarded child and only one score indicates a Borderline I.Q. and it comes after two scores of 5 which indicate an Average to High Average I.Q. Three children now have consistent scores across the three tests. The above analysis offers evidence to support Koppitz's contention that the mode of dress and grooming in an environment must be known before tests based on human figure drawings can be administered. It also suggests that the relative ability of boys and girls at particular ages should be tested for under different socio-cultural conditions. If evidence is found to support the hypothesis that girls develop more rapidly on the skills that HFDs measure, then the assumptions as to why they do need to be carefully examined. Assumptions based on middle-class parent-child relationships and culturally appropriate roles and patterns of play will not necessarily hold. If data drawn from tests administered to a small sample of children across nine months throw doubt on certain aspects of the scoring system that concerns sex differences, then we might wonder what other cultural differences have similar effects.

Serpell (1980) devised an interesting set of cross-over tests among urban and rural boys and girls in Zambia, using drawings and clay models of human figures. He used the latter because he had found that clay modelling skills were equally well developed in British and Zambian urban boys and girls and because he found that certain features of Harris's (1963) draw-a-person test were inappropriate for the Zambian cultural

setting. Serpell (1980:12) confirmed his prediction that girls in an urban community would score higher on the draw-a-person test at a comparable age and score lower on the clay person test than would girls in a rural community. The results for boys were less clear cut. His predictions were made on the basis of an environmental analysis.

#### Emotional Indicators

Koppitz devised a scoring manual to test emotional problems using the HFDs. On the basis of her results, she concluded that, when an HFD shows none of the 30 Emotional Indicators (EIs), then it seems likely that the child is free from serious emotional problems. The presence of only one Emotional Indicator on an HFD appears to be inconclusive and is not necessarily a sign of emotional disturbance. However, two or more are highly suggestive of emotional problems and unsatisfactory relationships.

Once again, it is fair to quote Koppitz (1968:55) before using her scoring manual in a situation for which it was not designed. She writes:

"There appears to be a consensus among the experts on HFDs that no one-to-one relationship exists between any single sign on HFDs and a definite personality trait or behaviour on the part of the boy or girl making the drawing. Anxieties, conflicts or attitudes can be expressed on HFDs in different ways by different children or by one child at different times. This writer can only underscore what others have emphasized again and again : it is not possible to make a meaningful diagnosis or evaluation of a child's behaviour or difficulties on the basis of any single sign on a HFD. The total drawing and the combination of various signs and indicators should always be considered and should then be analyzed on the basis of the child's age, maturation, emotional status, social and cultural background and should then be evaluated

together with other available test data."

With that caution firmly in mind, let us see how the sample children fared. Appendix H gives the Scoring Manual for 30 Emotional Indicators on HFDs of Children and Appendix I gives the List of Emotional Indicators on HFDs of Children as valid for the ages of boys and girls from five to twelve years. Table 6A gives the results of the three tests of human figure drawings.

Three of the Emotional Indicators appeared often on the figure drawings of the Crossroads sample. The first to be discussed are tiny drawings, that is, two inches or less. Thirteen children (92.9 per cent) made at least one tiny figure on twenty (47.6 per cent) of the total number (42) drawn on all the tests. There was no difference between school and non-school going children on this score; indeed, Saliswa, who did not attend school, was the only child not to draw one. The number of tiny drawings decreased across the three tests thus 9 : 8 : 3. According to Koppitz (1968:59), who quotes other studies, the drawings of tiny figures indicates extreme insecurity, withdrawal and depression.

It seems unlikely that this EI was picking up individual problems. Perhaps the children found the test situation threatening : the first occurred on each child's second formal encounter with me in my room at Crossroads. It is also possible that the item reflected the emotional trauma of being a black child in a South African squatter camp. Chapter 4 details some of the prison, demolition and riot experiences that these children have witnessed and their contact with tuberculosis, burns and hospitalization. Possibly, the evidence simply reflects inexperience with the use of drawing materials. If we remove it as an Emotional Indicator, then the scores are as in column B in Table 6A.

Table 6A : Scores on Emotional Indicators on HFDs Administered to the Same Children on Three Occasions\*

	Column:														
	A			B			C			D			E		
	Scoring According to Koppitz on the 30 E.I. Items			Score Minus Item 7-Tiny Figure			Score Minus Item 24-Omission of Nose			Score Minus Item 6-Slanting Figure			New Score Minus Items 7 <sup>+</sup> 24 and 6		
Test Number:	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
Sample Children:	=====														
Mlawu	3	1	3	2	1	3	3	1	2	2	1	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Peliswe	5	2	0	4	2	0	4	2	0	4	1	0	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	0
Togu	3	3	2	2	2	1	3	3	2	2	2	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
Lungiswa	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	<u>0</u>
Nukwa	5	5	5	4	4	5	4	4	4	5	5	5	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
Nomvula	3	2	1	2	1	1	3	1	1	3	2	1	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	1
Zuziwe	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>
Cebo	4	5	5	3	4	5	3	4	4	4	4	5	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
Tozama	2	1	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	2
Hintsa	4	4	5	4	3	4	3	3	4	4	4	4	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
Gwali	5	4	2	4	3	2	4	3	1	4	4	2	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Gedja	5	5	2	4	4	2	4	4	1	4	4	2	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
Yameka	2	1	5	2	0	5	2	1	4	1	1	5	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>4</u>
Saliswa	1	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	1	1	0	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>0</u>

\*It should be noted that whereas a high score on tests for developmental maturity (Table 5A) reflects relative success, a high score on tests for emotional problems (Table 6A) and school achievement (Table 7A) reflects failure.

<sup>+</sup>Scores that have altered have been underlined.

Table 6B : Summary of Table 6A

The Number of Human Figure Drawings (Total 42) Scored for Emotional Indicators on the Scale of 5 to 0 on:

	A		B
	KOPPITZ's MANUAL		THE NEW SCORE:
SCORE: 5	11	} 69.0%	0
4	4		3
3	5		3
2	9		11
1	8	} 31.0%	14
0	5		11
			} 40.5%
			} 59.5%

The above percentages group together scores of two or more which, according to Koppitz, indicate the presence of emotional problems on HFDs, and of one or less which suggest the absence of emotional problems. The same applies for Table 6C.

Table 6C : Summary of Table 6A

Changes in Scores Across Time on Each Drawing Session:

	A				B		
	KOPPITZ's MANUAL				THE NEW SCORES:		
	TEST NUMBER:						
	1	2	3		1	2	3
SCORE: 5	4	3	4	SCORE: 5	0	0	0
4	2	2	0	4	0	0	3
3	3 78.5%	1 57.1%	1 71.4%	3	2 50.0%	1 35.7%	0 35.7%
2	2	2	5	2	5	4	2
1	3 21.4%	4 42.9%	1 28.6%	1	5 50.0%	4 64.3%	5 64.3%
0	0	2	3	0	2	5	4

It can be seen that according to the U.S.A. norms, on the first, second and third drawing respectively, eleven, eight and ten children showed signs of having emotional problems and unsatisfactory relationships. From my own experience and the testimony of family members, school staff and neighbours no such sorry pattern of problems existed. According to Koppitz's (1968:54) norms, about one-fifth (19 per cent) of good students can be expected to show more than one Emotional Indicator.

Ten children (71.4 per cent) did not draw a nose on half of all the figures. The omission of the nose is associated with shy and withdrawn behaviour and a lack of overt aggressiveness. (Koppitz, 1968:66) Perhaps one of the arguments given above applies to the omission of the nose. The omission may reflect the children's anxiety in a strange situation (although, in this case each test produced seven figures without noses and it is unlikely that the same discomfort was felt at the end as at the beginning of the year). Insecurity and inexperience may account for it. Column C on Table 6A shows the scores once the omission of the nose has been removed as an Emotional Indicator.

A final item that occurred so often as to suggest it was not measuring individual problems, or not solely, was for a figure that slanted  $15^{\circ}$  or more. Nine children (64.3 per cent) drew at least one slanting figure and thirteen HFDs (31.0 per cent) slanted more than  $15^{\circ}$ . Koppitz feels that the item does not seem to be associated with any specific type of behaviour or symptom but rather suggests a general inability and lack of balance. She (1968:59) adds, "A slanting figure on the drawings of a child seem to indicate an unstable nervous system or a labile personality : above all, it suggests that the child lacks secure footing." They live, perhaps, in houses built on shifting sand. I was told that when people first moved to Crossroads, it was hard to walk across the dunes as the sand was soft. By 1980 the sand had been beaten down by the tread of feet. During the year, one of the central topics of conversation was to do with the government's proposal to move everyone to another site. Many people expressed fear and distrust at the prospect of another move and it exacerbated deep political divisions amongst them. I often heard the matter discussed in front of the children. Oddly enough, the first houses were being demolished and their occupants were moved to New Crossroads on the day that the children and I had our farewell party. As we cut a cake on which a tin shack had been etched in icing, one mother commented, "We demolish this shack as the Government demolishes our own."

Perhaps, too, there were so many slanting figures because I did not give the children a table and chair to work with. It is awkward to draw on the floor and there are fewer indications as to vertical and horizontal positions. It has been noted in the section of seriation how few of the children made good use of base line guides in ordering the sticks or cut-out figures. I suspect that in most cases inexperience with similar tasks yielded the slanting figures. One may be tempted to explain the phenomenon in terms of the absence of a "carpentered world" as is currently fashionable, but at Crossroads there was no lack of lines and angles on the zincs that made up the shanty town. Serpell (1980:8) points out that the orientation of a drawing on a page, the representation of depth and consistency of angle of view, are all problematic features of drawing. He adds that they have little or no importance in modelling which presents problems peculiar to the clay medium.

Column D has done away with the slanting figure item. Column E gives the scores minus all three items discussed above. Tables 6B and 6C summarize the results of Table 6A. I do not mean to suggest that one should arbitrarily play with tests as I have just done. I am, in truth, making two points. One, that socio-cultural conditions seem to have clear effects on even non-verbal tests and, the other, that once the items in question have been set aside, an interesting and, I feel, worthwhile pattern emerges in the scores for Emotional Indicators on the HFDs of the fourteen children. Six children are now seen to be clear of emotional problems on all three of the tests. Of the six, four score consistently. Three children show signs of having problems (a score of 2) on one test each and two others show the same signs on two tests. Only three children consistently score 2 or more on all three tests : Cebo, Nukwa and Hintsia. The results are consistent with Koppitz's finding, referred to earlier, that up to 19 per cent of good students show signs of emotional disturbance on the human figure drawings.

## School Achievement

Koppitz (1968:53) devised and validated a test that relates scores on Emotional Indicators to School Achievement. She found that seven of the EIs had high predictive value on school success : poor integration of parts, slanting figure, omission of mouth, body or arms, monster or grotesque figures and the drawing of three or more figures. These indicators appeared significantly more often on the HFDs of poor school beginners than on the drawings of good students. They occurred more consistently and more often on the HFDs of special class pupils, that is children with emotional problems and/or brain injury. She claimed that they can be used with some degree of confidence for predicting difficulty in learning and adjustment in kindergarten and the first two grades. Table 7A gives the results of the three tests administered to the Crossroads children and scored for School Achievement.

Table 7A : Scores on School Achievement Indicators on HFDs  
Administered to the Sample Children on Three Occasions

	Column:											
	A			B			C			D		
	Scoring According to Koppitz on the 7 School Achievement Items			Score Minus Item 6-Slanting Figure			Score Minus Item 21-3 Figures or more			New Score Minus Items 6 and 21*		
Test Number:	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3	1	2	3
=====												
Sample Children:												
Mlawu	3	1	1	2	1	0	3	1	1	<u>2</u>	1	<u>0</u>
Peliswe	3	1	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	0
Togu	1	2	0	0	1	0	1	2	0	<u>0</u>	<u>1</u>	0
Lungiswa	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	<u>0</u>
Nukwa	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1
Nomvula	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>	0	0
Zuziwe	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Cebo	2	3	1	2	2	1	2	3	1	2	<u>2</u>	1
Tozama	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	<u>0</u>	0	0
Hintsa	1	0	2	1	0	1	1	0	2	1	0	<u>1</u>
Gwali	4	2	0	3	2	0	3	2	0	<u>3</u>	2	0
Gedja	3	1	0	2	0	0	2	1	0	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	0
Yameka	2	0	1	1	0	1	1	0	1	<u>0</u>	0	1
Saliswa	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0

\*Scores that have altered have been underlined.

Table 7B : Summary of Table 7A  
The Number of Human Figure Drawings (Total 42) Scored for  
School Achievement on the Scale of 4 to 0 on:

SCORE:	A		B	
	KOPPITZ'S MANUAL:		THE NEW SCORE:	
4	1	} 28.6%	0	} 16.7%
3	4		0	
2	7		7	
1	12	} 71.4%	9	} 83.3%
0	18		26	

The above percentages group together scores of two or more which, according to Koppitz, indicate the likelihood of low school achievement, and of one or less which suggest the absence of problems with school achievement. The same applies for Table 7C.

Table 7C : Summary of Table 7A  
Changes in Scores Across Time on each Drawing Session On:

SCORE:	A						B						
	KOPPITZ'S MANUAL:						THE NEW SCORE:						
	TEST NUMBER:												
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
4	1	0	0	0	0	0	SCORE: 4	0	0	0	0	0	0
3	3	50.0%	1	28.6%	0	7.1%	3	0	28.6%	0	21.4%	0	0.0%
2	3		3		1		2	4		3		0	
1	4	50.0%	3	71.4%	5	92.9%	1	3	71.4%	2	78.6%	4	100%
0	3		7		8		0	7		9		10	

The numbers who scored 2 or more of the 7 indicators and could, therefore, be considered to be low school achievers on the first, second and third test were 7, 4 and 1 respectively. Despite the fact that the scoring method takes age into account, the improvement across the tests is noteworthy. Five children's HFDs showed no sign of poor achievement. If, on the basis of my earlier argument, we do not penalize the nine children who between them produced thirteen slanting figures, then three more children have all clear scores. Column B on Table 7A gives the results with the slanting figure penalty removed.

Koppitz holds that the drawing of three figures or more on an HFD is always associated with poor school achievement. She asserts that, "This Emotional Indicator is found almost exclusively on drawings of children of limited ability who come from large, culturally deprived families and/or who are brain injured ... It was also observed that some who draw multiple figures lack a feeling of identity, of being a person in their own right." "Such children," Koppitz continues, "are frequently one of a crowd of children at home and have never received a great deal of individual attention. They tend to be lost in school since they have not been taught to function independently. Children who draw more than three figures usually require special help in school if they are to become individualized human beings." (Koppitz, 1968:65)

The above description did not fit the five children in Crossroads who drew multiple figures. Each of the five drew three or more figures on the first test only. Three of them did not attend school. Unlike the children about whom Koppitz wrote, two were only children and another had but one brother. The other two children had been singled out as precious and admired members of their families. Three of the five succeeded well on many other tests. As the analysis of the item did not apply to Crossroads children, it is likely that the item is culturally biased. Perhaps it scores individualistic values not held so dear in Xhosa society in Crossroads. It is probable that some children's failure to attend to specific instructions, in this case to draw a person, resulted in their drawing more than one. Had only one test been given, the results may not have been questioned. Column C on Table 7A gives the results with the penalty for drawing more than three figures removed. Column D gives the results after both items have been removed.

Table 7C illustrates the improvement across time of the test results with all the relevant items scored (A) and without the two items analysed above (B). The decrease in the number of Emotional Indicators that relate to poor school achievement is marked. If the test was measuring achievement

that was not related to either maturation or school learning, improvement across the three tests should not exist. Three of the scores of the four non-school going children improved : Gwali scored 4, 2, 0; Gedja 3, 1, 0; and Yameka 2, 0, 1 while the fourth child, Saliswa, scored 0 on each trial. Their results suggest that schooling did not play a major role in the improvement of the scores. Had I administered only one test, I should have despaired at the presence of seven low achievers in my sample of fourteen. By the third test, I had only one child whose figure drawing indicated the possibility that he would be a low achiever in school.

The three school children whose HFDs indicated that they had problems on all three tests (Nukwa, Cebo and Hintsa) scored the following number of indicators for low school achievement on each test : 2, 2, 1; 2, 3, 1; and 1, 0, 2 respectively. The two Abas. (Gwali and Gedja) who showed signs of emotional problems on all three tests scored 4, 2, 0 and 3, 1, 0 respectively on the school achievement test.

That this particular test was unreliable is important for three reasons. One is that a version of the draw-a-man has been and still is used fairly frequently in cross-cultural research. The above results suggest that tests across time might undermine faith in its reliability. The second reason is that some private schools within South Africa use the test as part of school entrance examinations. It seems likely that certain groups in the population may perform badly for reasons other than true inability. If private schools wish to accept only children from advantaged backgrounds, then the test may serve their purpose. If that is the case, it ought to be consciously and publicly acknowledged. Finally, the unreliability of the test for this population is important because it means that there is yet another area in which Xhosa children are at a disadvantage as even their need for accurate diagnosis cannot be met. I recall a senior government official saying that there was no centre for mentally retarded black children in Cape Town because there were not enough of them to warrant it. Apart from any other fact, how did he know how many retarded children there were in the population in question?

In mid-June, the fourteen children painted with me in two groups. Each painted his or her self-portrait; a picture of Mary and me; and another of the "students of the riot" (as they called the militant school children) in Crossroads. I analyzed the self-portraits for developmental, emotional and school achievement indicators. The results fall in with the results of the other three figure drawing tests. To my knowledge, none of the children had painted before. They each worked quickly and merrily. (See paintings on pp. 353-5).

I shall not present the analysis as it may not be entirely reliable because finer details are hard to determine with thick brush strokes. However, it is noteworthy that only one figure slanted at an angle greater than  $15^{\circ}$ . It was drawn by Cebo. Besides, none was less than 10 cm. tall. The range was between 10 cm. and 34 cm. which is proportionately similar to Koppitz's range for pencil and crayon of 2 to 9 cm. These results encourage me to thinking that the two indicators had more to do with inexperience than with emotional problems for this group of children. No child drew three or more figures for the self-portrait. Half the children omitted a nose. The results of the school achievement measure fit in with the decline in the number of poor achievement indicators that were revealed on the other three tests. In order of execution, the following number of children were scored as having two or more indicators of low achievement on the HFDs drawn in March, May, the self-portrait in June and the HFD in November : 7 : 4 : 3 : 1.

Koppitz (1968:5) has this to say about self-portraits : she "... concurs with Machover (1949) that instructions to draw 'a person' yield HFDs that are richer in projective material than are 'self-portraits' drawn on request. Self-conscious pre-pubertal children and young adolescents are often reluctant to draw themselves." I could detect no difference between the seven and eight-year olds. Subjectively, the well executed self-portraits seemed more creative, while the poor ones seemed more noticeably bizarre, which is, no doubt, a reflection of the medium. Painting in groups rather than individually seems to have made no discernable difference. To shy children like Yameka and Togu it may have been more comfortable, less threatening.

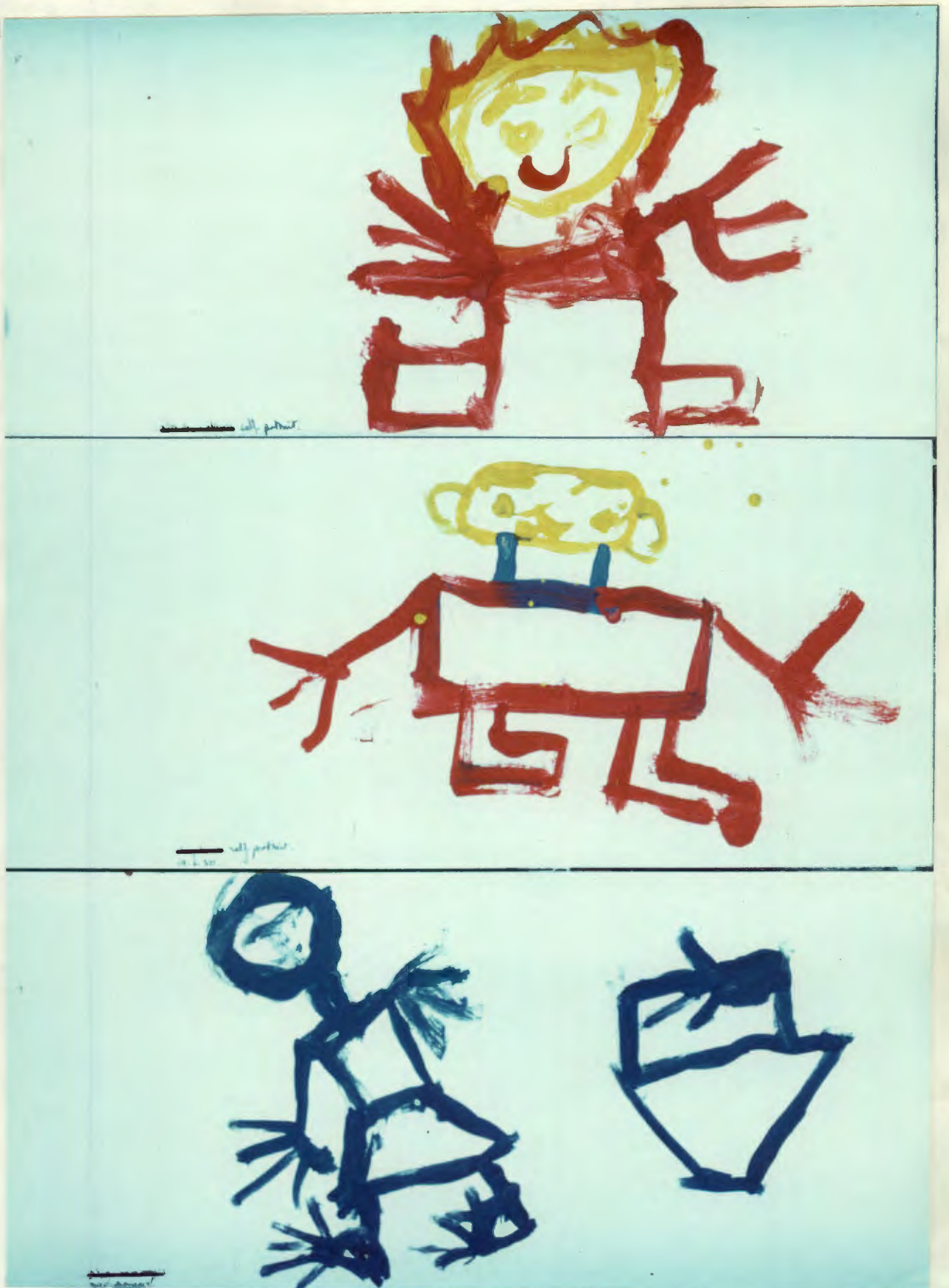


Illustration 3: A Collage of Paintings by the Children:



Illustration 4: A Collage of Paintings by the Children:



Illustration 5: A Collage of Paintings by the Children

To conclude the discussion of human figure drawings, I shall compare the results with rank scores among the fourteen children. If we take an average of the positions achieved on the tests which were administered to the children during the year, we arrive at a rough estimate of success among them. The tests included two scores based on the Purdue Perceptual and Motor Co-ordination Survey; eleven scores derived from Piagetian tests of conservation (some of which were repeated); the score achieved on Piaget's Seriation Test and the score achieved on the Shopping Test. I am aware that Piagetian task success does not correlate closely with school success but the above scores were the only ones available to me. It was a rough measure of rank order that I sought. The children succeeded in the following rank order:

Table 8 : Rank of Sample Children on A Variety of Tasks Scored During the Year

<u>CHILD:</u>	<u>Rank Order of the Fourteen Children</u>	<u>Rank Order of the Ten School Children</u>
Tozama	1	1
Mlawu	2	2
Lungiswa	3	3
Yameka	4	-
Togu	5	4
Zuziwe	6	4
Peliswe	7	6
Nukwa	8	7
Gedja	9	-
Nomvula	10	8
Hintsa	11	9
Saliswa	12	-
Cebo	13	10
Gwali	14	-

Cebo and Gwali did the least well on all the tests and this is comparable with their School Achievement indices on the first two tests on which they scored 2; 3 and 4; 2, respectively. Nukwa, whose position was seventh among the school children

and eighth among the fourteen children, was the only other child to have indications of low School Achievement on two of the HFD Tests. Hintsá, who came ninth out of the ten children and eleventh out of the whole sample, was the only child whose third HFD score indicated low School Achievement. Saliswa and Nomvula came twelfth and tenth, respectively, but they showed no signs of low School Achievement and nor did their HFDs indicate emotional problems.

Let us look at the analysis according to Koppitz of the drawings of the three school children who showed signs of having emotional problems on all three of their HFDs and who showed signs of being low School Achievers on two of their drawings (Cebo and Nukwa) or on the third drawing (Hintsá).

Case 1: Cebo was ranked last among the school children and second last among them all. His Developmental Indicators were 2, 2 and 4; his Emotional Indicators were 4, 5 and 4; and School Achievement scores were 2, 3 and 1. The scores on the final test show improvement on DIs and School Achievement. No improvement could be discerned on his self-portrait. His protocol suggests shyness, some aggression, feelings of intellectual inadequacy, withdrawal and inhibited impulses, anxiety, insecurity, imbalance, unco-ordination and instability. The whole caboodle. His mother was concerned about a nervous tick of his which caused him to nod his head lower and lower onto his chest. He was aggressive among his friends and twice fought with courage and pride in front of me. His neighbours frequently complained about his aggressiveness. He was often in trouble at school for playing in class and his teacher expressed dissatisfaction with him in front of adults. His low score on the Purdue Motor Co-ordination Test re-affirms the signs of imbalance and unco-ordination. On three of his figures, Cebo left off arms which Koppitz interprets as a sign of aggression and, often, of stealing. He stole twice from me, once making a quick profit

in the classroom on the stolen marbles which he sold for 2 cents each. The incidents seemed to illustrate no more than his naughtiness and opportunism.

Cebo is a lovely child with winning ways and a warm, laughing personality. His low achievement on almost every test puzzled me and his inattention and mischievousness augured ill for a school career. His parents seemed to provide a solid home and both had relatively good educational qualifications. His mother had nervous symptoms. He is a child who could possibly benefit from a full physical and psychological examination.

Case 2: While Hints'a's School Achievement scores on the three tests, 1, 0 and 2, did not suggest particular problems, his rank position on other tasks was low - ninth out of the school-children and eleventh out of them all. His Developmental Indicators, however, yielded an I.Q. score never higher than 80. He showed signs of emotional problems on all three tests - 4, 4 and 5. His scores grew worse across time on all 3 measures. On two figures, he drew long arms and one had arms that reached the ground with hands that turned in towards the feet like a baboon. Coincidentally, a conversation between Hints'a and members of his family was recorded on 3.11.1980 in which he was told by his father that he had been bought from the baboons. The conversation is recorded in Chapter 4 in the section on children's understanding of birth.

Hints'a's protocol, as interpreted according to Koppitz, showed signs of both aggressiveness and extreme shyness, insecurity and withdrawal. I noted on a number of occasions during the year that Hints'a was deeply disturbed when teased by other children. Once he was heard complaining to his mother that other children teased him for wearing old clothes and for being poor. Life at home was not easy : his mother

was away at work for long hours as was his father. The latter had been orphaned early and had had a tough life. There was little daily care for Hintsa, his brother and his sister. The following incident illustrates the kind of hardship which the children often faced. As I sat with the family at 8:00 one Friday evening, I wondered at the lack of activity in food preparation but assumed that they had eaten early. After a while, Hintsa's seven-year-old sister, who was sitting on her mother's lap, began to cry silently. She had recently been diagnosed as having tuberculosis so I asked if she was feeling ill. Her mother replied, "No. She is just hungry. My husband was ill this week and has not received his pay. There is no money with which to buy supper."

Case 3: Nukwa's I.Q., according to Koppitz's measures, ranged from retarded to 90, yet he ranked seventh among the school-children and eighth among them all. Although he was small and thin (his weight was below the Boston Third Percentile), he scored top marks on the Purdue Motor Co-ordination tasks. His father was dead and his father's brother was responsible for him. That man's burden was heavy as he had three large families - his own, Nukwa's and another disabled brother's - to care for on R35.00 a week. Nukwa's mother was often in disgrace with her husband's family. Nukwa dropped out of school in July.

I shall write much more about his life but wish here to comment on one aspect of his profile as drawn from an analysis of his drawings. On two of his figures, Nukwa omitted the mouth. Koppitz (1968:66) describes this indicator thus, "Omission of the mouth appears to be always clinically meaningful. It reflects feelings of anxiety, insecurity and withdrawal including passive resistance. This Emotional Indicator reveals either the child's inability or his refusal to communicate with others." It is the passive resistance that interests me. More than half of the children omitted a mouth on sixteen figures. In a society like South Africa's and among the Xhosa, a people whose adults demand politeness and obedience from

children, passive resistance of young ones may be a way out. An igqira interpreted Nukwa's play scene, reported in Chapter 6, rather in that light.

South African black psychologist Abigail Tutu wrote a fine paper (unpublished) questioning the possibility of real communication between white psychotherapists and black clients in South Africa. In detailing her doubts Tutu(1979) writes, "Blacks have learnt to show indirect rather than direct aggression, to respond rather than initiate and to read the thoughts of other persons while hiding their own. Psychotherapy and counselling methods which encourage discussion of thoughts, feelings and problems in an open manner with a white person would therefore have to eradicate a lifetime of conditioning in the opposite direction."

The case studies illustrate that these children's HFD scores accurately identified emotional and School Achievement problems only when all three drawings were taken into account. In my opinion, they were the three most troubled children. The point that I wish to underline is that to identify the children's need for help or attention more than one drawing had to be analyzed. The results for the whole sample initially yielded scores that were high on emotional problems and low on School Achievement. The scores fluctuated and improved across time.

In conclusion I must reiterate that Koppitz's HFD scoring manuals do not give results that are acceptable as accurate measures of developmental maturity, I.Q. or emotional problems for the group as a whole. Nor, except in a few instances, are the results a safe measure of a particular child at one point in time. Poverty, discrimination, lack of access to appropriate materials and experience seem to skew the pitch. It is my subjective opinion that more than one child had an I.Q. of 85 to 120 and that none of the four children, who were measured as being mentally retarded, were so.

I suggest, on the basis of the above close inspection of human figure drawings across time, that they be used in cross-cultural research with caution. Serpell's (1980) task of making a person in clay offers an interesting alternative for use in parts of Africa. In my opinion, validation of the

existing scoring techniques among a non-Western population is of little value. Hunkin (1950) validated Goodenough's Draw-a-Man Test among Zulu children in South Africa in 1950 and concluded thus : "The results of the present investigation show a striking similarity to those of other investigations into Bantu intelligence, in that Bantu children make a relatively lower score than do white children and that the discrepancy becomes greater as chronological age increases." While Hunkin (1950:52-63) pointed out that, "The relatively low score on the test may ... be due to culturally determined characteristics of personality and interests and may therefore not be taken to indicate a generally lower level of ability," the new norms suggested continue to contribute to the deficit culture school of thought. I hope to have demonstrated above some of the ways in which certain items fail as measures amongst individuals in a Xhosa sample of children in Crossroads, and that there are value assumptions embedded in the scoring technique that do not necessarily apply across cultures. What is called for is a re-analysis of each scoring item in relation to children's particular situation and context.

It is probably not possible to use a variation of human figure drawing as a culture-fair test unless experience with and access to the relevant materials including exposure to pictorial representations, is first established.

#### Summary

In searching for evidence of the skills that children could marshal when ordering their ideas about and approach to the world, I found the following. Children were often hampered in their performance by failing to pay attention to the matter in hand. There was a failure to respond to the detail of instructions and some difficulty in obeying verbal instructions particularly in motor co-ordination exercises. While all the children could do simple tasks such as sorting cards according to one or two features, some needed encouragement and others did more than was requested. That their failure to pay attention to the minutia of instructions was neither an inability to concentrate nor an inability to attend when the matter was of

interest or importance to them, was made obvious by their behaviour on a variety of other exercises during the year. They seemed not to realize that the paying of close attention to instructions and the task, however banal or futile they may seem, is the first rule in succeeding in the growing-up game as conceived in the modern world.

There is no doubt that on most learned skills the children made little progress during the year. In an economically oppressed area such as Crossroads, one cannot assume that children are provided with a good rudimentary base for the learning of skills or the techniques needed for ordering or organising learning situations of the sort met with in the context of schools or tests.

The concept of number, for most of the children, was not a tool wielded with confidence. Their reading skill seemed to be hampered by a need for a vocabulary with which to organize the learning experiences. Progress in learning to write and count among the school children was not uniform and minimal progress was made in the recognition of the letters, their sounding, the acquisition of a vocabulary for colour, and the use of number. Improvements on measures of school achievement and developmental maturity were revealed in human figure drawings across the year.

There were some signs that particular experience had an impact on performance. For example, I administered an extra test of the conservation of discontinuous quantities to the children in the sample and control groups but this time I adapted a game with stones that is played in Crossroads. The game is described in Chapter 3. Instead of using beads and beakers, half the children used stones and holes in the ground. The children who used these materials seemed to perform more confidently and the results suggest, more successfully. Fifty-six per cent of the control group conserved, of which thirty-six per cent used the stones and twenty per cent the beads. Of the ten school going children in the sample, eighty per cent conserved of whom fifty per cent used stones and thirty per cent beads. When the non-school going children

were included, there was no difference in the results. I have not reported the results in detail because it was not a carefully controlled experiment. It does, however, suggest that familiarity with test materials may affect results among children in Crossroads.

The five children who had hawked did well on the shopping exercise although whether they were allowed to sell goods because they were seen to be able and responsible, or whether they became so because they were given the opportunity, cannot be determined.

With a small sample, it was possible to observe the impact of mood on performance. This was detailed in the report on the shopping exercise and it was seen to affect performance appreciably in certain cases. Two aspects of behaviour were seen as limiting : the children never asked questions about instructions nor sought clarification and they did not allow themselves to alter an action already performed even when a move was discussed and an error recognized. Their lack of familiarity with symbolic representations including the use of pictorial representations hampered performance. Lack of access to books, pictures and the codes common to story telling in a literate world clearly hampered the children's ability to play the test game. One child refused to allow that an elephant is big because he saw a picture of it in a book and it did not look large. Another child was surprised to hear that books tell stories and two others refused to imagine that cardboard figures represented themselves for the purpose of a particular exercise.

There is a need for schools to foster classification, order and regularity in the way that children perceive and describe the world and, in particular, learning occasions. Opportunities for exercise in classifying, ordering and regulating the environment exist within the children's cultural heritage, play, games and work yet few of these are built upon in the formal class setting.

I suggest that tests devised in other cultures be used with caution and that Piaget's type of qualitative analysis combined

with careful research of the child's physical and social environment are essential accompaniments. I suggest, further, that the children's health, perceptual and motor co-ordination be assessed and taken into account in analysing results. There is a need for appropriate basic research to be done on the acquisition of skills such as reading, on the relationship between counting and number conservation and on the children's use of and access to an appropriate learning vocabulary in South Africa. Within cross-cultural research, there is a need for a theory of data collection.

Quite clearly, some training-on-the-job occurred among the children during test situations. This fits Piaget's theory of learning in which conflict stimulates the search for resolution. The issue as to whether children can be trained to competently handle Piagetian-type concepts prior to certain levels of developmental maturity is an area of disagreement between learning theorists and Genevan psychologists. Brainerd (1978:101), one of the former school, attacks the Genevan notion of the primacy of development and its implicit invocation of the redoubtable readiness principle. He questions their specific claims about conditions under which concept learning occurs and about what concepts can be taught in the laboratory. He (1978:83) says that self-discovery training methods have not been proven to be more efficient than tutorial methods. Piaget advocates that educationists seek a mean that allows room both for internal structural maturation and the influences of experience and of the social and physical environment. Aebli has his sanction saying that there are two fundamental tenets of educational application

- a) that stable and enduring cognitions about the world come about through active commerce with the world by the subject; and
- b) interaction with peers is of paramount importance in the liberation of the child from egocentrism - the state from which a child must emerge in order to attain true concrete operational behaviour.

Quoted in Hooper and Defrain (1980).

It is worth noting that no society monopolizes those conditions. However, Piaget does not explain what "active commerce with the world" means. On the basis of the material here presented, I suspect that his school underestimates the extent to which skills are taught. Adequate performance in any task situation demands the combination of a number of techniques not necessarily directly linked to the solution of the problem. Techniques such as the manipulation of small differences, the scanning of a given range of material, the ability to act on the problem no matter how odd the context may seem are, in the West, taught to children by adults and through the media. Children not exposed to the full force of Western cultural artifacts and values have less opportunity to learn them. The mistake that many training sessions commit, whether of the Genevan or learning theorist schools, is that they train on the task. Whereas, the task may be beside the point. It is training in attention, scanning, estimation, the sorting of intrinsic from extraneous data, the search for the logic of the problem that is required. A sort of comprehension exercise in situational analysis. I am not claiming, as Bruner did, that anything can be taught any child given the correct methods but that Piagetian tests are not culture-fair and that the theory of learning is still in its infancy.

In elaborating a theory of learning we ought to pay attention to the kinds of problems that Foucault (1966:xiii) tackles in describing the "immense density of scientific discourse." He describes his attempt to explain the order of things thus:

"I do not wish to deny the validity of intellectual biographies, or the possibility of a history of theories, concepts or themes. It is simply that I wonder whether such descriptions are themselves enough, whether they do justice to the immense density of scientific discourse, whether there do not exist, outside their customary boundaries, systems of regularities that have a decisive role in the history of sciences. I should

like to know whether the subjects responsible for scientific discourse are not determined in their situation, their function, their perceptive capacity, and their practical possibilities by conditions that dominate and even overwhelm them. In short, I tried to explore scientific discourse not from the point of view of the individuals who are speaking, nor from the point of view of the formal structures of what they are saying, but from the point of view of the rules that come into play in the very existence of such discourse... It seems to me that the historical analysis of scientific discourse should, in the last resort, be subject, not to a theory of the knowing subject, but rather to a theory of discursive practice." (Foucault, 1966:xiii)

It is the rules that come into play in the discourse between adult and child and between child and child and how they are determined that need the kind of consideration which Foucault gives to scientific discourse. In considering how a classification is established, he says that

"There is no similitude and no distinction, even for the wholly untrained perception, that is not the result of a precise operation and of the application of a preliminary criterion." (Foucault, 1966:xix)

He is concerned to describe the "conditions of possibility" of knowledge. We need to discover with what operation and criteria the child is introduced to the order of things. Foucault's intention is to describe:

"how a culture experiences the propinquity of things, how it establishes the tabula of their relationships and the order by which they must be considered." (Foucault, 1966:xxiii)

We need to know how and when the child is introduced to that order.

## CHAPTER 6: THE CHILD AND SPACE

## SPACE AND THE BODY

The exercises that are reported on in this section were devised as aids to see how the children would handle scale or relative size. The tasks were homespun, and were not meant to be formal tests. I wanted to see with what facility children would use their hands and bodies to describe the relative size and shape of things and how expressively they could describe space with their bodies. And I wanted to see how successfully they could depict relative size with actual objects made out of clay. One series represented the family and the other, vehicles.

I was told that black students in South Africa have problems recording objects to scale and sometimes seem to use modes of perception other than the one expected in formal training: modes of perception more akin to those used by Picasso and Klee than departments of architecture and engineering. Such concerns were in my mind while devising the following six exercises:

1. Using hands to describe the size of things

Each child was asked to show me with her hands the size of the following:

- a bead
- a cotton-reel
- a teaspoon
- a loaf of bread
- a car wheel
- mother
- a house

The order varied.

The exercises are to be viewed in the light of play with children; I was interested in their ability to do the task and in the degree to which they would willingly follow instructions in using their bodies, in simulating actions and in paying attention to detail. There are obvious ambiguities

in the tasks, such as the fact that beads and cotton-reels vary in size but their different sizes did not interfere with the purpose. To each of the children's demonstrations of the size of things, a score was assigned: 0 for a very poor, 1 for a poor, 2 for a fair and 3 for a good attempt. The scores follow:

- 24 Tozama and Mlawu
- 23 Lungiswa and Saliswa
- 22 Zuziwe and Togu
- 21 Gwali
- 20 Hintsa, Nukwa and Cebo
- 19 Yameka and Nomvula
- 13 Peliswe
- 9 Gedja

The total possible score was 24.

Most of the children performed with ease and speed and accuracy, changing from a demonstration of the size of a bead using thumb and finger to the size of a house using the whole body to stretch up and out. The bead and the wheel were the items most often misrepresented.

Gedja performed poorly. She used words instead of actions more than did the others. For a house, she said, "It is big"; for a wheel "It is round"; for a teaspoon, "It is small" and for a bead, "I don't know. There they are," pointing to bead necklaces hanging on the wall.

Later in this chapter it is reported that some children confused size and age when asked to represent the size of family members in clay. (It is worth reminding the reader that the children spoke only in Xhosa). This exercise confirmed the observation. Cebo, Saliswa, Mlawu and Gwali each said, "She is old" as they stood on tiptoes with arms stretched up to demonstrate mother's height. The society's emphasis on the importance of seniority was linked in those children's thinking with relative size.

## 2. Drawing hands to scale

In the second exercise, I drew the outline of my hand and the child's hand on separate pieces of paper which were then

hidden behind my back. In turn, the pieces of paper were brought forth and shown to the child who was asked whose hand the drawing represented. No child had difficulty in identifying the owner of the hand. Once this had been established, I drew my hand to scale in a small book and asked the child to indicate how large her hand should be beside mine in the book. Care was taken with the explanation. All the school children understood the task although Hintsisa only did so on his second attempt. Of the Abas, Yameka made a good estimate on her second try as did Saliswa, although she took some while to understand what was required. Gwali and Gedja, however, failed to understand. Gwali instructed me to make his hand as big as mine in the small book. I did so. We discussed their actual sizes and he agreed that they differed but said that now, in the drawing, they were the same and that it was correct like that.

When Gedja was asked to indicate how big I should draw her hand in the small book relative to the size of mine, she said:

"There is no space to put my hand."

(Should your hand be the same size as mine or smaller if we pretend to fit it in the book?)

"Smaller"

(How much smaller? Show me.)

She showed me the size of her hand saying, "Mine is smaller."

Five children gave good estimates (Tozama, Hintsisa, Zuziwe, Lungiswa and Nomvula) and the others were either one centimetre too tall or too short in their estimates. The scale was roughly 18:14 cm. in reality and 6:4,5 cm. in the small book.

### 3. Outlines of feet and the estimation of size

A simpler exercise involved the outline of our feet. An outline of my foot was drawn in front of the child who was then asked to estimate on the outline how large her foot would be beside it. All the children understood the task and only

Gedja needed a second try. Initially she indicated that her foot would be as long as mine. Upon being questioned, she altered her estimate and fell 2,5 cm. short of her actual foot length. The results were as follows:

Deviation from accurate estimate:

<u>cms.</u>	<u>too short</u>	<u>too long</u>
0	Cebo	
1	Lungiswa, Saliswa	Mlawu, Peliswe
2	Hintsa, Gwali	
3	Gedja, Yameka, Zuziwe	Nukwa, Togu
4	-	Nomvula
5	-	Tozama

Cebo's estimate was correct.

Figure 1 : Estimations of the Size of Feet

#### 4. Body Space

Architectural students at the University of Cape Town are sometimes asked to use their bodies to describe certain spaces in order to encourage them to perceive space with their bodies. I did the same with the children at Crossroads to see how willingly they would perform the necessary actions and how ably they would act them through. Each was asked to describe with her body the following:

- (i) the space in which you sleep.
- (ii) the space in which you sit upon a chair.
- (iii) the space that you occupy when standing in line.
- (iv) the space that you use when carrying a full bucket of water.
- (v) ... and an empty bucket.
- (vi) the space that you take up when crying by yourself.
- (vii) the space that you use when playing ichita (the stone game).
- (viii) the space that you use when throwing stones.

Apart from looking slightly bemused, the children did as asked. The most interesting facet of the exercise was that

culturally shaped ways of using the body were demonstrated. It is, for instance culturally accepted that little children may sit cross-legged but that by the age of six or seven girls should sit on the ground with both legs folded to one side or with legs stretched out before them. When asked to show how he sat to play the game with stones, Cebo said that he did not play it as it was a girls' game. We asked him, instead, how he sat when playing with cars in the sand and he sat with legs stretched out before him. Mary teased him saying that it was the way girls sit. He responded angrily saying "No. It is only because I am playing with the car."

Most children lay down as if to sleep on their sides with their legs straight (each shares sleeping space with at least one other person). Over half of them covered their eyes with an arm when showing how they cried. Their demonstrations of carrying buckets were realistic. They insisted that they could not carry one full of water but staggered convincingly with a pretend bucket half full of water.

##### 5. The family in clay

Puzzled by the children's difficulties with Piaget's seriation task and the series of cut-out figures and animals, I decided to test them on their ability to represent relative size using material familiar to them. I made a clay figure to represent the child and placed it at the bottom of a piece of paper that was 30 cm. in length. The child was told that we were going to make members of her family in clay so that each one was the correct size relative to the model of herself. The child gave me the names of the members of her family whom she wished to be represented. She then indicated how tall each should be on the paper upon which the model of herself was resting.

The children ranged in height from Gwali's 108 cm. to Hints'a's 130 cm. and each was depicted as a 7 cm. high clay figure. I estimated that fathers, on average, should have been made in clay between 10 and 11 cm. high and mothers between 8 and 9 cm. Tozama's estimate was closest : she made both her father and mother 11,5 cm. tall. Lungiswa, Mlawu, Zužiwe and Gwali made

their parents between 13 and 15 cm. tall. The rest of the children made them at least twice as tall as the model of themselves. The range for fathers was 11,5 to 41 cm. and mothers 11,5 to 30 cm. Siblings that were fairly close in age to the child were generally made to a relative size that approximated reality more closely than did older siblings or adults. This may be seen to support the suggestion made in the Chapter on Kinship that children may be more child-centered in their understanding of the world than simply egocentric.

Yameka and Gedja made children younger than themselves taller than the model of themselves. The former adjusted her estimate of the height of her mother's brother's child, aged two, four times before her height was relatively correct. She also made her mother's brother and his wife three times as big as herself. Gedja made her younger brother almost twice as tall as herself on her first estimate. It is difficult to tell whether inability to judge size correctly or self-image affected their estimates.

Nukwa made his father (deceased), mother and sister so tall that he said that I ought to revise the model of him. Despite two adjustments, he remained small relative to his other family members. On the day of the exercise, he refused to recognize his fourteen-year-old brother as a member of his family and so did not estimate his size. Undoubtedly seniority affected estimates of size relationships.

Peliswe and Nomvula made their fathers extend beyond the top of the paper; they were made 40 cm. and 32 cm. tall, respectively. Peliswe is the youngest in her family and everyone was made at least twice as big as she. Hintsa indicated that his father, who is tall and thin and who looks rather like a Praying Mantis in the green overalls and floppy child's hat that he wears to work, should be 25,5 cm. and his mother 19,5 cm. Then he made his "granny" (father's father's sister), his uncle (father's brother), Mary and me all taller and close to the top of the paper, as if to say all other adults are, quite simply, big.

Many of the children seemed to allow the size of the paper (upon which the first figure had been laid and upon which the child indicated to me how big the next figure should be made) to dictate the size of the adults. It is an important point in considering cognitive development. Why is it that five of them were not deflected in their decision making by appearances, in this case the given size of a piece of paper, whereas the others were? Age was not a determining factor in this group. It is surely one of the early lessons in the rule book that guides children successfully through school. The rule goes something like this: "Observe the parameters of a test situation and make an informed guess as to whether or not they should influence your behaviour." The rule has its counterpart: "In certain circumstances it is imperative to set reality aside to give room for other techniques to control your mind such as those of free association or fantasy." There are no easy guidelines as to when the rules should be applied; experience helps.

Twelve of the children indicated how tall their family members ought to be, then said how tall Mary, my assistant, and I ought to be. Eight made me taller than Mary, two smaller, and two the same size whereas I am 7 cm. taller. Seven made daddy taller than me, one equal and four smaller. Five made daddy taller than Mary, five equal and two smaller. The details of our relative heights are not important. This aspect of the exercise is only of interest in that it shows that I was not seen by all or most of the children to be of a particular height in relation to Mary or their parents. I had in mind, when ask them to represent Mary and me, the results of studies done mostly in the U.S.A. that purported to show that black children perceive themselves as being smaller, or less significant, than white children. (see, Review 1979). On another occasion, the children painted Mary's and my portraits. Half of them made Mary taller and half me. The colours available were, red, blue, yellow and white. Eight children used the same one colour for us both. In four of the portraits, an extra colour was used for Mary's and only one child used an extra colour on mine than on Mary's not mine. Only two children used white to paint a face and both faces were Mary's not mine. Only one child gave

me a feature that distinguished me from Mary, that is long hair.

Comments on size and age were given by Cebo, Gwali and Gedja. Cebo made his mother 28 cm. tall which was four times the height of the figure that represented him. I asked:

(If you stand beside your mother, do you come up to her knees?)

"No. I would come to her waist."

(Why then have you made her so big?)

"Just because she is old."

He had made me 3,5 cm. shorter than his mother and 4,5 cm. shorter than his father whereas I am a good deal taller than both. His parents are equal in height. I asked:

(Is your father taller than your mother?)

"Yes."

(I am taller than your mother.)

"Yes. You are but here I have made you short.

I don't know why. My mother is older than you: that is why she is taller. Father is older than mother, that is why he is taller."

Gwali made his mother, father and Mary the same height, which was more-or-less true, and he made me 1 cm. smaller. I said:

(I am smaller?)

"No. You are also old."

His meaning is unclear but he was taking age and size into account. I was four years younger than his father and five years older than his mother.

Gedja made her mother and grandmother as tall as the page (30 cm.) and said in reply to a query as to how high Mary and I ought to be. "Mary is smaller. I do not know where she comes. Pamela is old and tall. Jane (her mother) is a bit shorter (than she)." Jane was thirteen years younger than me.

Certain conclusions can be drawn from the children's estimates and behaviour. Sixty-four per cent of them seemed to allow the size of the paper that was used as a background for the clay figures to dictate how tall figures relative to the

original should be made. While every child could describe verbally or in gesture the correct relative size of family members, few could translate their knowledge into a given medium - in this case clay. Age confounded some of their judgements about relative size. Some were seen to be reluctant to alter their estimates and two children suggested that the original data were incorrect, not their estimates. Performance was obscured by a number of factors.

#### 6. Vehicles in clay

Suspecting that the previous task might involve considerations other than those of actual size, that is the child's perception of her position in the family, I asked each child to make the following series of vehicles so that they were the correct size in relation to each other:

a cart (the sort commonly used by boys in Crossroads  
to transport water or wood)

a bicycle

a car

a truck

a bus

In the previous exercise, I had made the clay models and in this one, the child had to make them. There was no time limit. It is not necessary to report the details. The task was difficult because the shapes of the three large vehicles are easier to represent in clay than those of the bicycle or cart. As a result the latter two tended to be made larger than the car, truck or bus. Only Peliswe performed very well in making the vehicles correct in relative size one to another. It did not matter whether the bus or truck was longest nor whether the cart and handle or the bicycle was shortest.

The following is a rough estimate of the quality of their performance:

Very good	:	Peliswe
Good	:	Zuziwe
Adequate	:	Mlawu
Fair	:	Nukwa
Not very good	:	Gwali, Lungiswa, Togu, Tozama

Poor : Yameka, Nomvula

Gedja, Hintsa, Saliswa and Cebo, said that they could not do the exercise.

What is of interest is that most of those who made the vehicles became involved in their own creation which caused them to forget what it was that they were supposed to be achieving, namely the construction of models according to relative size. Each child could describe or demonstrate through gesture the correct scale but attention was not paid to the need to fulfil the demands of the instructions. In task 5 relative seniority seemed to dominate over actual size and in task 6 the difficulty in modelling some items and perhaps the interest in the task obscured the need to attend to relative size.

#### Conclusion

On a simple test in which children showed me with their bodies the size of things, they all performed competently. On reducing the size of our hands to scale, all did the task adequately except for two of the Abas, Gwali and Gedja, who failed to understand it. On estimating the size of their feet next to mine, again they performed competently, some being more accurate than others. On the last two exercises, the family and vehicles in clay, the children were much less competent in estimating relative size. Interfering factors such as the importance granted to seniority in Task 5 and attention to detail in Task 6 obscured the need to follow instructions.

Out of this series of exercises, it seems reasonable to conclude that among these children competence is easily obscured by other factors in any given situation. The children could describe in words and gesture the correct relative sizes of family members and of a series of vehicles. However, in an exercise involving the transformation of their understanding into materials and a reduction to scale, they seemed to lose track of the essential question involved. The point is supported by the increasing difficulty that the Abas experienced as the tasks became more complex. Yameka, who proved to be able on many other exercises, was unable to handle the last

two (5 and 6). Only Mlawu and Zuziwe performed well on both Tasks 5 and 6.

Gedja performed badly on every task. She had been away from Crossroads and I had not seen her for seven weeks. She was shy and reluctant to attend to the problems at hand and the break seemed to have affected her attitude towards our sessions.

Play using scale and estimation would be a useful adjunct to formal school teaching.

#### SPACE AND CROSSROADS

Besides the children's sense of personal scale, I wanted to elicit their cognitive maps of the community within which they lived. I needed to know how they bound their world; what use they made of the territory within that world; their reference to landmarks such as schools, churches, shops, taps; where they played or visited; and whom they knew. Then I wanted to see how ably each child would represent that world in symbolic form. It was necessary to find appropriate techniques that would allow the children and me to share their knowledge and experience in this domain. It was no use asking them to describe their world. I sought a format that would both interest and order the children's expression. They were neither familiar nor competent enough with pen and paper to draw maps. Tests have been devised by Piaget and Inhelder (1967) on children's development of spatial reasoning, however, the tests demand some drawing skills. Nor could I adapt the kind of situation devised by Lynch (1960) using photographs because of the possibility that perceptual errors would obscure the true results. In a recent attempt to investigate developmental differences in children's ability to select and use environmental landmarks for cognitively organizing distance information from a walk, Allen et al. (1979:1063) claim that their methodology eliminated "... map drawing, verbal description, and other tasks which potentially confound cognitive mapping abilities with extraneous non-spatial factors." Yet, they used a series of slides to represent a walk on the basis of which subjects selected landmarks and gave estimates of

distances. To children denied easy access to a variety of symbolic representations such as drawings, photographs, slides and maps, their technique could be equally confounding. The results of a Piagetian test on perspective administered to the sample (the results of which will be given shortly) support this supposition.

The constraints of a non-existent budget and of time precluded the use of model towns such as those created by Bluestein and Acredolo (1979:691-697).

In his book The Image of the City, Lynch (1960:2) concentrates on one particular visual quality: "The apparent clarity or legibility of the cityscape. By this we mean the ease with which its parts can be recognized and can be organized into a coherent pattern ...." He considers environments in terms of urban scale of size, time and complexity, that is, how the city is perceived by its inhabitants. He asserts that structuring and identifying the environment is a vital ability among all mobile animals and he believes that in way-finding there is a consistent use and organization of definite sensory cues from the external environment. This organization is fundamental to the efficiency and to the very survival of free-moving life. Lynch (1960:4) says that,

"In the process of way-finding, the strategic link is the environmental image, the generalized mental picture of the exterior physical world that is held by an individual. This image is the product both of immediate sensation and of the memory of past experience, and it is used to interpret information and to guide action. The need to recognize and pattern our surrounding is so crucial and has such long roots in the past, that this image has wide practical, and emotional importance to the individual."

He is of the opinion that an ordered conception of the environment may serve as a broad frame of reference, an organizer of activity or belief or knowledge. It enables one to order a substantial quantity of facts and fancies about the

nature of the world. Such a structure gives the individual a possibility of choice and a starting point for the acquisition of further information. A clear image of the surroundings is thus a useful basis for individual growth.

Environmental images are the result of a two-way process between the observer and his environment. The environment suggests distinctions and relations, and the observer - with great adaptability and in the light of his own purposes - selects, organizes and endows with meaning what he sees. The image of a given reality may vary significantly between different observers but there seems to be substantial agreement among members of the same group.

Lynch says that it is typical to have a constant tendency to impose regularity on surroundings. In Crossroads the authorities had attempted to impose such regularity on the shacks by numbering each one. However, demolitions, moves and house fires all contributed to disrupt the order and I recall watching with amusement as a group of policemen, despairing at the difficulty in locating house numbers, sought aid from young school children. The children enjoyed being in a position of choice as to whether or not they would help.

Lynch identifies five types of element in the physical form of the city on which he sought information that would describe people's image of the city. They are: paths, edges, districts, nodes and landmarks. Nodes are junctions or concentrations that may shift according to the viewer. The elements overlap and pierce one another.

With the above in mind, I set out to discover what images of Crossroads the children had.

I walked with each child in turn from his or her home out into and around Crossroads. First the child guided me around the house and yard, which I sketched, then she was asked to show me where she went, what she did, whom she knew. We talked as we walked about external features like the airport, factories and where the major roads went. We discussed routes to school and church and shops, and where relatives lived. It was an unstructured interview focusing on the child's reality. As

the child led, I sketched our route and the features mentioned. I had to initiate discussion in order to elicit comment.

On a later day, I invited each child in turn to my room where a large piece of orange felt (193 x 180 cm.) was spread on the carpet and felt cut-outs in various colours symbolizing the features derived from the walks were laid out on the couch. I tried to design the cut-outs according to the way that children represented features such as cars, houses and trees in their drawings. The cut-outs included: 2 green buses; five cars; seven factories in black and white; seven brown stores; two schools (six buildings); three red bus stops; six sand dunes in beige; one yellow clinic; six red crèche buildings; six brown hawker stands; eight white taps; four red and beige churches; two aeroplanes; two mountain ranges; two black roads and a roundabout; other beige (sand) roads; forty-five houses in red, white, green, beige, yellow, brown and blue with doors and windows of various hue, and thirty beige toilet closets. The colours were used to distinguish one symbol more clearly from another and, in a few instances, they represented the actual colour of a building; for example, at the time, the new clinic was yellow. Many houses of Crossroads were painted in bright colours with trim done carefully in another colour.

As the child was shown the cut-outs and we identified each one, we repeated the identifications until I was confident that she had mastered them. She was reminded of our walk and then asked to pretend that the orange felt was Crossroads. Together we placed certain boundary features on the map. These included : the mountain ranges; the aeroplanes at the airport; the crossroads and roundabout; trees along the main roads; two buses, sand dunes; and the school nearest to the child's home. We discussed the features in relation to our current position and the child was asked to select a cut-out to represent her home and we placed it in relation to the school on the map.

She was then asked to put everything that she knew about Crossroads on the map. I suggested that she begin by placing things she knew near her home. The aim was to elicit as much as I could of things or places identifiable by name, description or direction, such as friend's houses, routes, tap sites. I

prompted if (a) the child said that she had placed all she knew or (b) if the orientation seemed to be quite incorrect in relation to the child's actual orientation (where she pointed, etc.) Sometimes I would introduce the yellow car as mine and ask the child to make a route so that I might drive from A to B.

While some children were shy walking around Crossroads showing me their world, each of them seemed to enjoy mapping it on the felt. The exercises were not sufficiently well controlled to warrant a detailed analysis but I learnt much about the children through the walk and the map.

The major impression the children gave was of a world closely bound. The children paid little or no regard to external features of the landscape, either on the walk or the map. None used the track of the sun as reference points in locating places. They had little notion of what was "out there" and where whatever was "out there" existed in relation to Crossroads - the world of skyscrapers, ships, road networks, leisure and work. Only two had swum in the sea, one had been to the docks and none had visited the zoo or been to either range of mountains.

For most of the sample children, the world consisted of two patches: one in the Transkei and one in Crossroads and they were linked by the bus route. The latter area incorporated parts of the black townships - the post office, the Administration block, the police station, the bus terminus or a church. The children were curious about the world out there but their access to information about it was limited. They poured over magazines, listened to the radio and watched television when they could, although none could read nor speak English or Afrikaans, the languages in which Television was transmitted.\* I often heard children question adults upon their return from

---

\*A channel using the languages spoken by blacks in South Africa has since been introduced.

work about their experiences; sometimes they were rebuked for showing curiosity.

Within Crossroads, nodes were as important to the children as Lynch suggests they are to adults in a city. They were places where people congregated: the water taps (of which there were sixteen placed on the periphery of the settlement); shops; schools, creches; clinics and hawkers' stands. As Lynch observes, activity makes places memorable. About the same number of nodes that was indicated on the walk were placed on the map. Certain nodes would become a focal point within a particular area. For example, the children of Ward Three knew the house of a man whom they called Tatakanova meaning the Father of Nova, Nova being the dog's name. He was a fascinating man and he spoke beautiful English and Xhosa. He had recently completed a fifteen-year prison sentence for selling dagga. He was largely self-educated and his talk was peppered with quotes from Marx and Freud. He sold hard liquor from his house, and had the reputation of being a good and generous man and his help and advice was much sought after by his neighbours, including children. Periodically, he would administer de-worming medicine to the children and sweeten it with a lollipop or apple. Parents began to fear witchcraft and he had to stop.

In Ward One, the Green House, which housed the adult literacy centre and the Roman Catholic Church, was a node to children of the area. Another was the house of my landlady, which was dubbed "the Swiss chalet." Various organisations such as the tuberculosis clinic had found temporary lodging there. The house of the Chairman of the Crossroads Committee was known to three of the children and a few knew where their teachers lived.

Within Crossroads, only one street had a name: Mpuku Street (the street of mice). The children knew its name and Lungiswa identified it on her map. In another section the owner of a corner house nailed up a street sign that had clearly originated in a smart suburb. According to Lynch (1960:127) "the very naming and distinguishing of the environment

vivifies it, and thereby adds to the depth and poetry of human experience." It is debatable whether or not the names given to the streets in New Crossroads added to the poetry of peoples' experience. The new well-ordered roads were given the names of prominent men in the community to the chagrin of the women, one of whom said, "It was the women who created Crossroads. When the pot was cooked, the men came to dish up. They do not know from where the fire came and therefore, cannot rekindle it."



23 : The One Street Sign in Crossroads

Colson, who has studied the Tonga in Zambia for twenty-five years including people's response to resettlement, observed (in personal communication with this writer) the extent to which

people felt disoriented and troubled in a new environment where paths were not known, names not given to places and where directions and destinations could not be described. People need to create landmarks and to discipline the environment. She feels that this need is almost as important as the need for food. One wonders what dislocation the forced resettlement of millions of blacks in South Africa has caused.

There were no areas designated for children's play. One boy was shot and killed by the police as he played near the road during one spate of trouble. And one of the girls in my sample was killed by an ambulance as she played near the school in September, 1981. The houses bordered two main roads and accidents involving children were frequent. I witnessed two. Children congregated around the schools and in a few other areas, one of which was in a cleared space around the new clinic where football was played. Another was at a crossroads within the settlement where boys' wire-car factories and gambling schools were informally established. A third spot was on a high dune on the southern edge of the houses from which the Table Mountain range stretching from Devil's Peak to Muizenberg, could be seen. Here children played izitye (dishes) - that is "house."

In Chapter Four, we saw that some children's movements were carefully monitored by their mothers, (as for example, were Peliswe's and Mlawu's) while others could range at will. Gwali, for example was often left alone all day with his retarded brother. A neighbour would be responsible for giving them a midday meal. The degree of control over their movements did not seem to be reflected in the world that the children showed me on the walk or the map. Both Peliswe and Mlawu chartered fairly full universes while Gwali's was almost empty.

Each of those who did not go to school led me in a small circle and, on the map, placed the fewest items with the least degree of accuracy. This was contrary to what I had anticipated. None of them were restricted in their movement by school or parents and I had expected that they would show me a Crossroads

well peopled and routed and marked. I presume that the public nature of the walk worried them. It occurred fairly early in our relationship and, undoubtedly, I failed to elicit much from them. However, it was odd that their sense of distance and direction and scale and place were markedly poorer than most of the other childrens'. The skills may be linked to familiarity with other skills such as the spacing of words and pictures on a page to which the school-going children had been exposed in however a rudimentary fashion. Figures 2 and 3 give an idea of the contrast between one of the best maps plotted by Lungiswa and one plotted by a child who did not attend school, Saliswa. However, Nukwa and Zuziwe performed as poorly as did the Abas. Both varied in their level of performance across different tasks during the year. We shall consider their individual performance later. Hintsa and Nomvula placed as few items as did the Abas but their accuracy was better. Cebo, whose level of performance on most tasks was very poor, took pleasure in guiding me around his world and he mapped it with relish. He placed the third highest number of items with a fair degree of accuracy.

The children evidenced little difficulty in mastering the symbols used on the felt map, although occasionally one was confused with another - a tap with a bus stop - or the meaning of one was forgotten. Lynch (1960), in his study of peoples' images of a city, found that paths held a visual dominance among the city elements and were a key influence as networks from which people experienced their surroundings. He observed that people tended to think of path destinations and origin points: they liked to know where paths came from and where they led. Surprisingly, the children did not seem to be curious about this. Few of them attempted to determine where a road began or ended on the map. Its position in passing certain places was what seemed to be important.

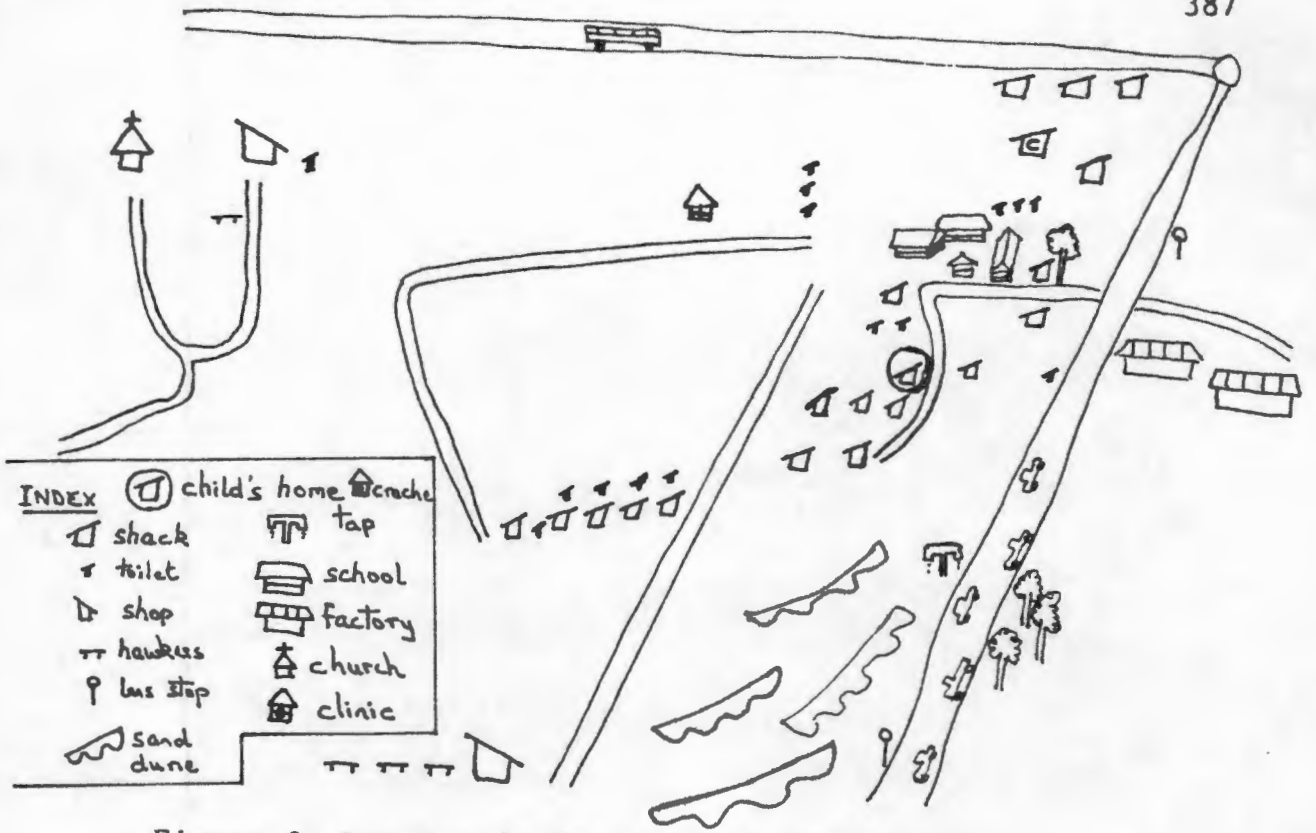


Figure 2: Lungiswa's Felt Map of Crossroads

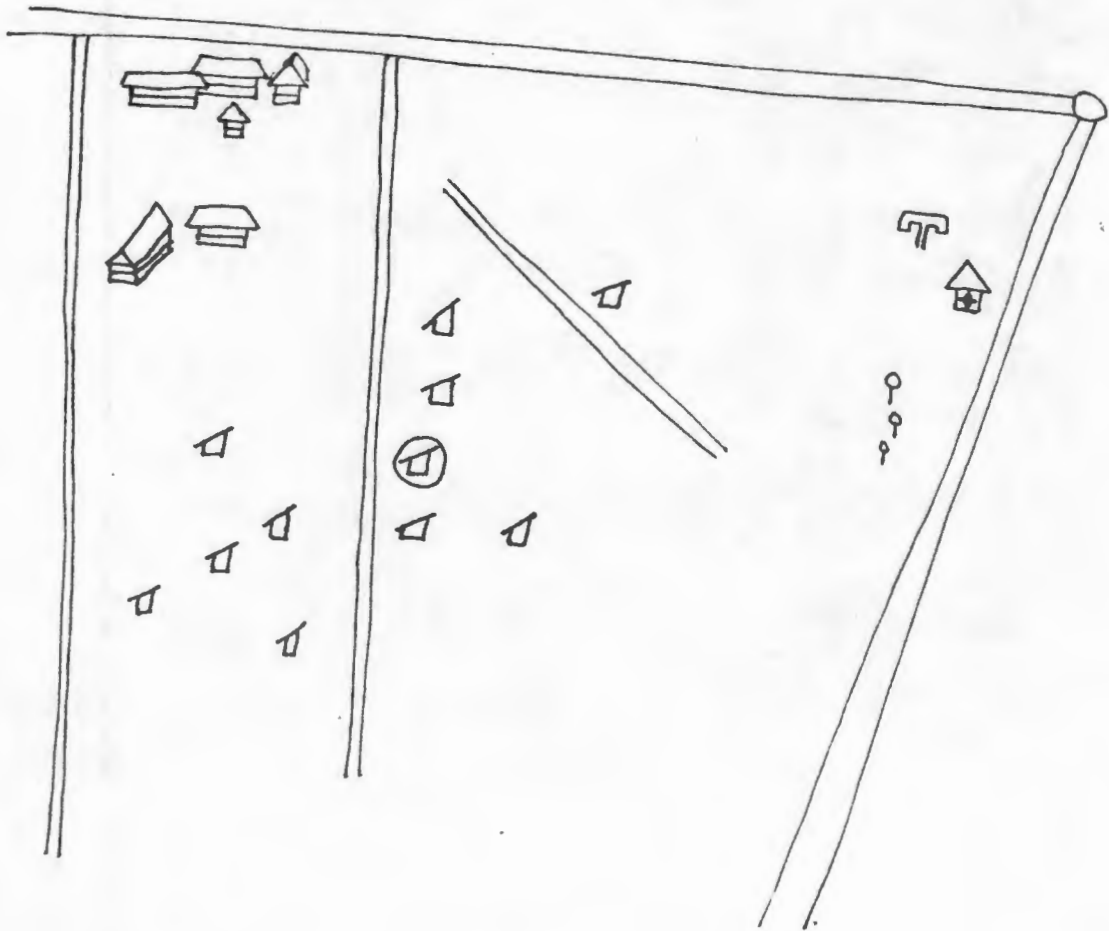


Figure 3: Saliswa's Felt Map of Crossroad

I shall summarize the main impressions gleaned from the two exercises:

1. There is a positive relationship between the number of features that I recorded on the walk and the amount and accuracy of each child's felt map.

There was one exception: on the walk with Togu I could elicit almost nothing - we traversed a short route and I noted a shop, the direction of the Nyanga East terminus, the clinic, Noxolo school and my room. He told me nothing more. I remember feeling some ennui about yet another trek through the dust and being unable to bring much spirit to bear on our relationship. He is a shy child. However, the map excited him and he placed twenty-nine features (the fourth highest number) with a fairly high degree of accuracy. The experience was a break-through in our relationship : he began to offer me his dreams, tell me about his home and fantasize in our play.

2. There is a positive relationship between the number of items mapped and accuracy.

The six children who used over twenty items scored 5 or more on a 10 point accuracy score : the other seven scored 0, 1 or 2. (See Table 1)

3. There were no sex differences evident.

4. On neither the walk nor the map did children seem to pay much regard to external landmarks, that is, boundaries or features outside Crossroads.

Lynch (1960:45) found that, "Among other things, the tests (on people's image of the city) made clear the significance of space and breadth of view ... a well-managed panorama seems to be a staple of urban enjoyment .... But when the space has some form ... the impact is much stronger : the features become memorable." Perhaps because features outside Crossroads - the mountains, the airport, the city - were unexplored by the children they had, therefore, no form and were not part of their images of the world.

5. The range of individual variation in areas traversed and features represented was wide.

The technique is possibly useful as a base for controlled experiments of direction, route taking, use of landmarks, etc. The results suggest the need for attention to be paid to the skills involved by those in education. As Lynch (1960:10) asserts,

"Since image development is a two-way process between observer and observed, it is possible to strengthen the image either by symbolic devices, by the retraining of the perceiver, or by reshaping one's surroundings. You can provide the viewer with a symbolic diagram of how the world fits together : a map or a set of written instructions. As long as he can fit reality to the diagram, he has a clue to the relatedness of things."

Table 1 : Scores on the Felt Map Task

<u>Child*</u>	<u>No. of items mapped</u>	<u>Accuracy* out of 10</u>
Tozama	77	7
Lungiswa	74	6
Peliswa	34	6
Togu	29	6
Mlawu	21	6
Cebo	41	5
Nomvula	14	2
Hintsa	17	2
Yameka	19	1
Nukwa	15	1
Gwali	12	1
Zuziwe	16	0
Saliswa	16	0

---

\*Gedja was away when this task was done.

† On page 382 I pointed out that the exercises under discussion were not sufficiently well controlled to warrant a detailed analysis. I am offering my impressions of the children's perceptions of space within Crossroads. I have not attempted to standardize measures of accuracy in their map making. Accuracy was estimated in relation to the map reproduced on page fourteen.

## SPACE, PERSPECTIVE AND THE UNIVERSE

In this third section we look at the children and their space horizons by examining their performance on a classic Piagetian test of perspective and by having them describe some of their ideas about the universe. I shall begin the report of the Piagetian test with a quotation from a piece of research done in South Africa that represents the deficit culture view so often expressed in cross-cultural studies. H W Page (1973:9-16) wrote that, "Only (Zulu) youths who grow up in town, and attend school from an early age and who consequently associate the invariances of formal measurement with their 'carpentered' world environment are able to progress from the essentially egocentric, topological concept of space to the objective abstractions of the Euclidian one." Since that was written, such conclusions are viewed with increasing scepticism, although the theory behind them is alive and well. It derives from Piaget's notion of egocentricity and from his test of the co-ordination of perspectives devised in 1948.

Piaget (1972b) admits to having chosen badly in selecting the term egocentricity to fit a particular set of meanings. The terms egocentrism and decentration are defined as, respectively, the ignorance of, or lack of insight into the point of view of another person, and the ability to take the other person's point of view. Generally, a shift from a stage of thought characterized by egocentrism to a stage of thought characterized by deccentration is held to take place around the sixth and seventh year of the child. Piaget has constructed a far-reaching and closely woven net of argument, binding together many different features of the development of behaviour around the concept. After a massive re-examination of five of Piaget's experiments on children's conceptions of space, Laurendeau and Pinard (1970:435) concluded that "... it is hardly possible to doubt the importance of the concept of egocentrism in the description and explanation of the child's primitive spatial concepts" and "... it is regular enough to suggest that it reflects a genuine and consistent form of mental organization." (1970:439).

Given the importance that the concept holds in Piagetian and Neo-Piagetian theory, and given that age seven is purportedly a turning point in the acquisition of others' points of view, it seemed important to ascertain some idea of "egocentricity" among seven-year olds in Crossroads. I resolved to stay within the limits of Piaget's definition and to replicate the crucial test.

According to Piaget and Inhelder (1948a:209), a child is able to solve problems involving perspectives only when "he begins to form coordinate systems or a system of reference. Hence perspective would appear to depend upon operational concepts rather than upon familiarity born of intuition and experience." To the question why children should be slow in mastering simple perspective relationships, Piaget answers that "a perspective system entails his (the child's) relating the object to his own viewpoint as one of which he is fully conscious." (Piaget and Inhelder, 1948a:209). This, however, implies that the child should be able to distinguish his own viewpoint from that of others and also to co-ordinate it with them.

The experiment which Piaget devised to investigate the different perspectives on a group of objects viewed by an observer from different orientations had two aims: (a) to study the construction of a global system linking together a number of perspectives, and (b) to examine the relationships which the child establishes between his own viewpoint and those of other observers. The relationships involved in the test are before-behind, left-right.

It is called the Three Mountains experiment. Piaget used a model of three mountains with several clearly distinguishable cues to position. His subjects were one hundred children ranging in age from four to twelve years. Their task was to imagine and to reconstruct by inference the ways the mountains would appear to a doll which took up various positions around the model. In the version that I used, children were asked to select a photograph corresponding to the doll's position.

The results of the study were classified into four stages, corresponding approximately to chronological age. Thus children

of four to six years (Piaget's stage IIA) identified their own position with that of the doll, and from their inability to free themselves from their "egocentrism" they assigned their own viewpoint to the doll. Children of six to seven years (stage IIB) showed what Piaget called "transitional reactions." They tried unsuccessfully to free themselves from their own viewpoint, although their constructions occasionally came close to the doll's point of view. Children of seven to nine years (Stage IIIA) could, however, recognize that the relationships between the mountains varied with the doll's position but were unable to co-ordinate those relationships. Finally, children of nine and ten years or older (at Stage IIIB) were able to co-ordinate successfully all the relationships involved for any given perspective. Subsequent research has been done within the same conceptual framework. The findings have not consistently shown egocentric responses.

#### The Experiment

Materials: A three dimensional model of three mountains:

- 1a) Table Mountain in yellow plasticene with a cable station on the top.
- b) Devil's Peak in green plasticene with a plastic deer on one side.
- c) Lion's Head in pink with a white cloud on the top and a plastic car travelling up one side.

The mountain complex is visible from the sand dunes within Crossroads. I had pointed to it and discussed it with each child in an earlier session. Table Mountain was modelled rather high in order to obscure the other mountains from certain angles. (See Figure 4).

2. Ten colour photographs of the model: eight were taken in a clockwise progression at  $45^{\circ}$  angles; one was an aerial view and the other was taken from within the complex.
3. A toy camera that was one of the children's favourite toys in my room. We had had a photographic session and had looked at photographs together. Crossroads boasts a number of resident photographers.

4. Five hand puppets with which we had all played during the year. They represented a black family living in Crossroads.

Setting the Scene: Each child was invited in turn to my room; in the middle was the model set upon a table. I took out the puppets and told the child that there had been a family quarrel. The family had gone on a trip to the mountains to take photographs. The quarrel concerns the developed photographs: each family member took a picture from a different place around the mountains. Can the child help settle the quarrel by identifying who took which photograph. In the process, we discussed the camera and the mountain range.

We turned to the model, discussed the view visible from Crossroads (that is position II on the diagram) and walked around, inspecting it. The child was asked to sit at I and given the display of photographs. One puppet was positioned and the first selection was asked for. (Some researchers have argued that requesting the child to select his/her view first imposes an egocentric mould on the task. I, therefore, avoided that). Each puppet was placed at a different position. The child was then invited to check the selection from those positions, or to make her own selection.

Care was taken to relate the scene to the child's environment and to use materials that were familiar to each child at least since working with me. This was done with Donaldson's (1979:24) criticisms of the test in mind. She claimed that children fail because it does not make "human sense."

The Purpose in giving the test was two fold. One was to test a crucial Piagetian concept. The other purpose was to play with each child across sets of symbolic representations and estimate her facility in transcribing the sets given a context familiar in situation but challenging in content. I also wanted to elicit play with space beyond the child's immediate known field but not beyond her horizon.

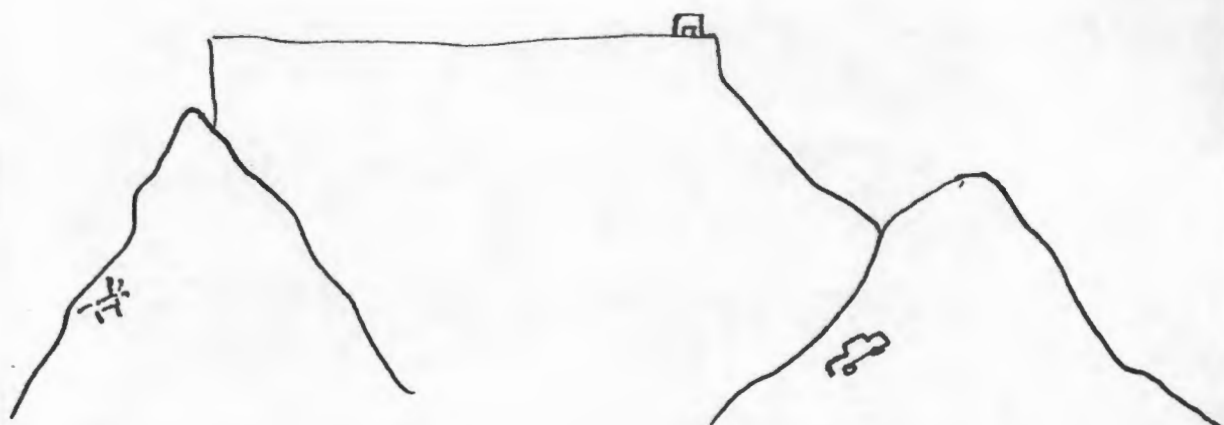


Figure 4: Sketch of the Three Mountains Model

Results: Each child selected a view on behalf of a puppet from five positions. After discussion there was sometimes a second choice and, in three cases, a third.

The number of correct selections out of the sixty-five made for all positions was nine. If a second selection is included, then fourteen were correct. No third selection was correct. The view from the position in which the child sat, was chosen once on the first selection and once on the second.

The following table shows the number of times each photograph was selected as a first choice by a child to represent a puppet's point of view :

Table 2 : Results of the Three Mountains Task

	<u>Number incorrectly chosen</u>	<u>Number correctly chosen</u>
<u>Photographs:</u> a	1	1
b	9	-
c	9	2
d	1	2
e	4	-
f	6	1
g	7	2
h	10	1
i	6	-
j	3	-

The mistakes are important in Piaget's interpretation of the results. A child with an egocentric point of view should select either from her own vantage or from the adjacent view. In the above experiment, a is the egocentric position and b and h are the adjacent positions. If the three are combined, it can be seen that twenty-two were made by the child from her own position or those adjacent to it. If the selection made from any of the other three adjacent views are combined, it can be seen that child's view did not dominate selections:

The positions at e,f,d, yielded 14 selections

" " " f,g,h, " 27 "

" " " b,c,d, " 23 "

There is no indication that the child imposed her view on the puppets.

#### Discussion

Only Tozama chose correctly 75 per cent of the time and can, in Piagetian terms, be considered to have reached substage IIIB (about nine to ten years), at which point the mastery of simple perspective is complete. She was the only child who had a television in her home. The other twelve children were still in substage IIA (about four to six years) where "the choice of a picture corresponds to the child's own viewpoint, or else in

a random choice indicating that so far as the child is concerned, all the pictures are equally suitable for all points of view, so long as they show three mountains." (Piaget, 1948:213). Sixty-nine per cent of the photographs selected showed all three mountains. It is a little curious that random selections can be seen to support egocentric viewpoints. Piaget (1948:221) explains his position thus "... their indifference to which picture is chosen does not imply any understanding of the changes which occur in these relations (left-right, before-behind) according to the laws of perspective, it only means that these children do not think about them at all ... Unconsciously, they liken every perspective to their own, though even this perspective is not differentiated in terms of projective relationships, either stated explicitly or implicitly sought after." He believes that such children suffer under an "egocentric illusion", a continuation of illusion which is responsible for absence of shape constancy in the young baby's perception. On the basis of this test and assuming, for the moment, that my sample represents seven-year-old children in Crossroads, we are presented with a choice between four possible conclusions:

1. that seven-year-olds in Crossroads suffer under an "egocentric illusion" whereas children in Geneva do not at the same age;
2. that the children did not understand the task, therefore the test was invalid;
3. that the test has no "egological validity," that is, it has not tapped the appropriate abilities;
4. that the results of the test must be accepted but not Piaget's interpretation.

I shall not, on the basis of the small sample, attempt to chose between them. . The criticism of the test in Margaret Donaldson's (1979) book Children's Minds repays close attention.

During the test, I monitored the children's behaviour and found that their performance was hindered by failures that had little to do with the skill under examination. Certainly, the exercise dramatically highlights assumptions as to subjects' abilities and attitudes that sometimes/often reside in tests transported across either class or culture. The task assumes that each subject can:

1. Handle with facility translation across sets of symbols: reality (the mountains visible in the distance) --> 3-dimensional model + symbols (colours, car, animal, cable station) --> fantasy puppet and camera --> photographs.
2. Select from a range proffered, that is, understand that it is probable that a correct selection must and can be sought.
3. Realise that an item once selected probably precludes it from further selection.
4. Change her selection without penalty before a final choice is indicated, that is, she holds the reins in terms of reasonable time and attention that may be brought to bear on each selection.
5. Ask questions to clarify her understanding before the exercise is formally launched.
6. Manipulate, re-arrange, feel, inspect the material used in the task.
7. Demand feedback according to which she may choose to alter her responses as would be likely in many real situations.
8. Accept the degree of fantasy involved in supposing that a puppet or doll can see and from which relative positions.

The above list is not exhaustive and I do not mean to imply that Genevan children necessarily act accordingly. It simply reflects some of the obstacles that hindered the children's performance. I offer one example. Very few of the children, despite my suggestions, looked at each photograph in the display

before selecting one. Some would take a long time over the selection but their eyes would be glued to one photograph (e.g., Gwali, Peliswe, Togu). They did not scan the available material. There is an interesting piece of research done by F M Schwantes (1979) that reflects on this issue. Schwantes studied cognitive scanning processes in children and he offered some evidence that children do not scan as effectively as adults and that their success is tied to reading experience and ability. Schwantes (1979) says,

"The present findings indicate that this effect may be attributed to children's use of a more nearly random and less orderly scanning strategy. It was speculated that differences in transfer strategies are related to younger children's relative lack of reading experience and ability."

Deregowski (1980b) reporting on perceptual hypothesis-testing, refers to Mackworth and Bruners' (1971) work on intracultural data on eye movements in pictorial perception at various ages. He says,

"They found distinct differences between searching eye-movements of children and adults, the latter being less systematic. On out-of-focus pictures children were less skillful in locating the important aspects of the picture than adults; on clear pictures children identified such elements with ease but made the error of concentrating on one of them to the exclusion of other elements. They seemed to lack, relative to the adults, ability to attend centrally to one element whilst peripherally monitoring others. When they encountered a distinct contour they tended to follow it slavishly with their gaze - a phenomenon not observed in adults. These tendencies make it difficult for children to offer plausible hypotheses and to verify such hypotheses, and hence to construct a trustworthy notion of the visual field."

If children fail to draw plausible hypotheses because of inadequate scanning techniques, it becomes difficult to accept conclusions drawn from the Three Mountain test that claim to reflect the degree of egocentricity.

It could be that the Three Mountain Experiment tests a complex of strategies that are closely related to experiences such as reading. Class membership is a determining factor in success on the task. Evidence of parental literacy, attitudes towards reading, experiences in class, availability of books become relevant. Lloyd (1981:178) observed different scanning and response strategies among Yoruba children in test situations that she linked to class differences.

Piaget's reporting of his experiments is frustrating not only because he is disinclined to offer figures to support his conclusions but relies rather on general statements as to what he found "typical," but also because his subjects may as well be chocolates in a Swiss factory for all the evidence he offers as to their existence in a particular environment. An ethnography of Piaget's world and that of his subjects might yield interesting results.

Laurendeau and Pinard (1970:439) to whose extensive examination of the Three Mountain tests I referred earlier, concluded that "... at least in the development of projective spatial concepts, the egocentric attitude is regular enough to suggest that it reflects a genuine and consistent form of mental organization." To support such large claims, researchers must test them across classes and cultures. Some of the obstacles that render results unreliable in one non-Western sample have been outlined above. Other tests have been devised that simplify the exercise and cast doubt on Piaget's theory of egocentricity but their correlation with Piaget's hypotheses remain speculative. (See, e.g., Donaldson, 1979 and Sohlberg and Porat, 1979.)

The test is confounded by a number of issues of great complexity such as those that surround pictorial perception. In a recent review called "Pictorial perception and the problem of universals," Jahoda (1981b) concludes that

"... pictorial depth perception turned out not to be a straightforward entity, but seems to involve a number of component skills whose nature remains as yet somewhat unclear." On children's ability to make correct size judgements on the basis of depth cues in pictures, Jahoda says that no clear pattern of environmental determinants has emerged. Both, he believes, the culturally determined degree of exposure to pictures and the amount of formal schooling appear to be involved; but in such a complex interaction and with the likely addition of other unknown factors that they are not easily disentangled.

I shall quote yet another study just to complete the circle. I began with a consideration of co-ordinations of perspectives in space which led into a consideration of reading experience and ability. Wilberts and Florquin (1977) relate facility in reading to the ability to structure space. From a study of learning they conclude that, "Although the intellectual factor facilitates learning to read, it progressively loses its importance, and perceptual-motor structuring of space becomes and remains more important." A child, it would seem, needs exposure to the processes of reading and pictorial perception in order to structure space and she needs to be able to structure space in order to learn to read. Wheels within wheels.

#### SPACE AND THE UNIVERSE

Finally, on the topic of space on the horizon of their worlds, we looked out at the universe. I asked each child to make the sun, the moon and the earth out of clay so that they were the correct relative size one to another. As the child worked, we talked about distance, size, temperature, movement and light. The results were curious. Of the earth, sun and moon only six were made as balls and twenty-six as flat shapes. Of the latter, sixteen were round and nine were square. One moon was a crescent, another a rectangular cube and a third was a flattened ball with moonrays attached as one might see in a drawing. Gedja said, "The moon is wood (iinkuni)," which is a reference to a modern myth known to

many of the adults at Crossroads. It is said that if one looks at the moon one can see a woman walking on it carrying a baby on her back and a bundle of wood on her head. She was banished to the moon as a punishment for collecting wood on a Sunday instead of going to church.

Of the three, eight children believed that the earth was the largest, then the sun and then the moon while two thought that the sun was the biggest and another two the moon. Seven thought that the sun was closer to the earth than the moon, and five the reverse. Hintsisa claimed never to have seen the moon nor to have been outside at night. The moon was in the sky one day as Cebo and I walked around Crossroads. I asked him what it was and he said he did not know but that the blue part was heaven. Yet he had theories about the distance of the moon from the sun and he believed that it stayed in Cape Town by day while the sun travelled to Johannesburg at night. Children's knowledge is not easily accessible and they enjoy inventing theories to fit the occasion.

Only Gwali thought that the moon was brighter than the sun. Most of the children said that the sun was made of something hot and the moon of something cold. Nine believed that the sun could move and four that it could not; five that the moon could and four that it could not. Only Peliswe said that the earth could while five said it could not. I shall give the text of Peliswe's theories because they are derived from her mother's teaching and her own inventions:

"The moon is bigger than the sun. The sun is brighter and closer to the earth. It goes round. My mother teaches me every night. The sun also goes around. It gets very hot. The sun moves in the sky. I don't know how. It is the sun and the earth that move. The sun sets at night. It goes into the earth. In the morning it gets a little light and then the sun comes. The sun is made of wind and the moon of rain. The sun is made of hot wind. The moon is hot too."

Eclipses were important as historical markers among the adults of Crossroads and Lungiswa had been told about them

but was troubled as to how they fitted into her ideas about movement in the universe. She said:

"The sun and moon both move. Not the world. When there is an eclipse of the moon, the world is moving. I don't know how they move."

Tozama's belief that, "Both the sun and moon follow where a person goes," fits Piaget's notion of egocentric thinking. She was the only one to think thus.

Their ideas as to where the sun goes at night were diverse. Two thought that it went to heaven, one to Johannesburg, one to the other side of the mountain and another that it stayed in the sky but for some inexplicable reason could not be seen at night. No other child offered any ideas as to how the planets move and only two theorized on the changes in seasons - both said that the rains bring the summer, which can be said to occur in the Transkei but not on the Cape Peninsula which enjoys a Mediterranean climate with winter rains.

#### PLAY SPACE

Psychoanalyst Erik Erikson holds that the ground plan of the human body co-determines biological experience and social roles. He believes that experience is anchored in the ground plan and that there is a male and female experience of space. The theory can be found in most of his major works and he reconfirmed it as recently as 1974. (Erikson, 1974.)

Erikson used the term "inner space" to signify what he considered a prime factor in women's identity formation and he has claimed that "sensory reality and logical conclusion are given form by kinesthetic experience" such as "the existence of a productive inner bodily space safely set in the centre of female form and carriage ...." (Erikson, 1968.) His single experiment about the play configurations of pre-adolescents was the data base of Erikson's theory of inner space. In that study (Erikson, 1951), about 150 children of both sexes were tested when they were eleven, twelve and

thirteen years old. They were given a selection of toys and were told:

"Choose any of the things you see here and construct on this table an exciting scene out of an imaginary moving picture."

(Emphasis in the original)

He described his results, saying that:

"... in the boys, the outstanding variables are height and downfall and motion and its channelization or arrest (policeman); in girls, static interiors, which are open, simply enclosed, or blocked and intruded upon."

According to Erikson, the results of the play configuration study indicate, and in fact are an expression of, biological sex differences:

"For it is clear that the spatial tendencies governing these constructions closely parallel the morphology of the sex organs: in the male, external organs, erectile and intrusive in character, serving highly mobile sperm cells; internal organs in the female, with the vestibular access, leading to statically expectant ova." (Emphasis in the original)

He believed that the sex differences in children's play pervaded the life span as "a profound difference in the sense of space in the two sexes." He rejected a social explanation for his findings:

"... dynamic dimensions and acute conflicts are expressed which are not explained by a theory of mere compliance with cultural and conscious ideals." (Erikson, 1950:101.)

The theory has a fairly wide popular currency. There have been few attempts to replicate the study. I know of two. Cramer

and Hogan (1975) drew the same conclusions and the results of Caplan (1979) run counter to the original findings and suggest that the theory of "inner space" be re-evaluated.

Caplan (1979:101) points out a grave error in the parallel that Erikson drew between children's play constructions and the sex organs and she writes:

"The most important physiological factor to take into account is that there is no inner space ... if girls' play constructions were to represent their uteri, they should look more like folded flapjacks than enclosures."

She goes on to deliver a heavy attack bringing into question the significance of the differences in Erikson's results, accusing him of offering fragmentary results and throwing doubt upon the generality of his findings.

Caplan replicated the study with preschool children in three different situations: once with blocks only; once with the other kinds of toys (furniture, dolls, etc.) only; and finally with all the toys. Neither her analysis of Erikson's original data nor her own provide adequate support, she feels, for his theory of "inner space." Caplan (1979:108) suggests that "... neither biological nor socialization differences has much effect on the dependent variables studied."

I replicated Erikson's study as nearly as possible with thirteen of the children in my sample. (Gedja had gone to stay with kin in another township.) There were a number of reasons for doing so. I wanted to see how each child would use a space with a given boundary in play (the table); how each would order their use of space and selections of toys; and I was interested in identifying sex differences: I suspected that Erikson's results were largely socially determined and was curious as to whether a different setting would yield similar findings. There was, besides, an aspect of his theorizing that Caplan's competent critique ignored. Erikson held that the scene and instructions that he gave each child

was a sufficiently impersonal stimulus for an unselfconscious use of the imagination. Over one and a half years, 150 children constructed about 450 scenes - of which not more than six were movie scenes and only a few dolls were named after a movie actor. Erikson (1965:92-93) comments,

"Instead, after a moment of thoughtfulness, the children arranged their scenes as if guided by an inner design, told me a brief story with more or less exciting content, and left me with the task of finding out what (if anything) these constructions 'meant'.... It appears ... that such vague instructions do accomplish what the encouragement to 'associate freely' (i.e., to let thoughts wander and words flow without self-censorship) effects in a psychoanalytic interview, as does, indeed, the suggestion to play in interviews with children: seemingly arbitrary themes tend to appear which on closer study prove to be intimately related to the dynamics of the person's life history."

His stated aim had been to test the clinical proposition that play observation can add significant pointers to available data from other sources. I was ready to welcome such pointers from a child's unselfconscious use of imagination.

Each child in turn came to my room where the following materials were laid out near a small table measuring 53 x 83 cm.: on the carpet were spread 210 toys including eighty blocks of assorted colours and sizes (from 9,5 x 3 cm. to 1 x 1 cm.); twelve vehicles (cars, trucks, vans); eighteen "people" (six white plastic dolls, twelve wooden figures in various colours); fifty-nine animals (wild and domestic) from 2 to 5,5 cm. in length and 3 to 7 cm. in height); ten tools (e.g. scythe, spanner, saw: 4 cm. long); nineteen pieces of furniture and twelve trees of three kinds (wooden). I assumed that my random selection was as acceptable as Erikson's. He

provided: 122 blocks; eleven animals; thirty-eight pieces of furniture; eight cars and fourteen small dolls. One significant difference in our selection of toys was in the dolls. Erikson provided dolls identified by their clothes as to age, sex and in some cases, jobs. For example, he provided a red Indian, a cowboy, a monk and a policeman. The policeman turned out to be the doll most often selected by the boys in his sample. My dolls were unidentifiable by age, sex or job. Given the political climate of South Africa, I felt that the inclusion of a police doll would weigh too heavily as a symbol and thus invite certain play scenes. It is, therefore, of special note that one quarter of the play scenes made by the children of Crossroads involved policemen or police cars. They will be described shortly. First the child was given the instructions as in the original study, excluding for obvious reasons, the reference to a movie scene. Upon completion, the child was asked for another scene set specifically in Crossroads and with the extra instruction: "make something, perhaps, that you remember."

I was aware that the toys were probably unfamiliar to the subjects but I was interested in the children's recognition and use of their symbolic forms and I wanted to compare these play situations with the sketches of those that I was collecting from children at play in the sand of Crossroads. The prime aim in setting up this situation, as for any other, was to allow me access to the child's cognitive processes so that I might describe the world of a seven-year old.

Seven girls made fourteen scenes and six boys made ten. Two boys made only one scene each: Cebo worked so feverishly, for so long, and used so many items that it was lunchtime when he finished and he declined when invited to make another; Hintsu used only one item for his scene and would do no more.

Erikson (1965:96-99) concluded that the most significant sex differences in the children's play scenes were the tendency of boys to erect structures, buildings, towers or streets; the girls tended to use the play table as the

interior of a house, with simple, little, or no use of blocks. These differences added up to the following modalities: in the boys, the outstanding variables were height and downfall and strong motion (Indians, animals, motor cars) and its channelization or arrest (policemen); in girls, static interiors, which are open, simply enclosed, and peaceful or intruded upon. Boys adorned high structure; girls, gates.

Taking his summary statements, the results from the scenes made by the sample of children in Crossroads are as follows:

1. That more boys than girls built towers. Only two children built anything that resembled a tower: one was a girl, Nomvula, who stacked eight blocks as the windows of a house that was being built; the other was a boy, Mlawu, who made a structure also composed of eight blocks.
2. That boys built higher towers. This was not so.
3. That more boys built structures, buildings, towers or streets. Eight of the fourteen scenes built by girls contained structures or buildings (57,1 per cent) whereas only three of the boy's ten scenes did (30,0 per cent). In five of the girl's scenes (35,7 per cent), cars were placed as if on a street whereas this was done in only two of the boy's scenes (20,0 per cent).
4. That girls tended to use the play table as the interior of a house. Fourteen scenes were of or included a house identified by the child. In three of them, my house was depicted and closely linked to the child's world. Eight of them were girl's scenes (57,1 per cent) and six boys (60,0 per cent) in which a similar percentage treated the table as an interior without defining walls (girls 42,8 per cent) and boys (40,0 per cent).
5. That more girls than boys built simple enclosures. Four of the girl's scenes included simple enclosures (28,5 per cent), one of which was a cattle kraal. Two boy's scenes had simple enclosures (20,0 per cent), again one of them was of a kraal.

6. That boys more than girls built enclosures only in conjunction with more elaborate structures. This was not so: the only elaborate series of structures were fifteen hawkers stands built by a girl.
7. That girls used more objects and people in their enclosures than boys, that only girls used furniture only, and that more boys made constructions of blocks only. Girls did use more people in their enclosures, fourteen to the boys' three, and more objects, sixty-nine to the boys' fifty. However, only one child used furniture only and that a boy. One child made a construction of blocks only and that a girl.
8. That boys used more blocks and used them in more varied ways than girls. Girls used 279 blocks, an average of 19,9 blocks per scene and boys used 120, an average of 12,0 per scene. There was no difference in their use.
9. That boys used more moving objects outside enclosures. Girls used more cars - sixty-eight with an average of 4,8 per scene to boys thirty-three, average 3,3 per scene; and more people - forty-four average 3,1 per scene to boys 21, average 2,7. However, boys used more animals - 151, average 15,1 per scene to girls 71, average of 5,0 per scene.

The data does not support Erikson's claim that the modalities of height, downfall, strong motion and its channelization or arrest characterize the scenes of boys. Height and downfall were not features in anyone's scenes. Motion was verbally identified in relation to twenty-one sets of objects by girls and these included cars driving, police chasing, people running away, a man pursuing animals, cattle going to the veldt, children throwing stones and using saws and weapons. These actions all occurred outdoors in nine scenes (64,2 per cent.) Boys identified six series of objects in motion including cars driving, an accident, people dancing, police vans coming to raid and a car burning: more girls represented channels of traffic or movement - eight in five scenes (35,7 per cent) to boys' three

in three scenes (30 per cent). Police arresting people featured in three scenes made by girls (21,4 per cent) and two by boys (20 per cent). Another boy's scene of a burning car implied that police had been there but they were neither mentioned nor represented.

The modalities for girls that result in their making scenes with static interiors, which are open, simply enclosed, and peaceful or intruded upon as in Erikson's sample did not seem to result in similar patterns for the Crossroads sample. Only one boy and one girl made scenes in which only static interiors were represented. Boys and girls made open rooms equally often (40 per cent and 42,7 per cent respectively) and they enclosed them simply equally often (20 per cent and 28 per cent respectively). Intrusions were outdoors and intruders were policemen or police cars in scenes of both sexes.

The data suggest that no significant sex differences were visible in the play situation for thirteen seven-year old Crossroads children. The only difference that I could identify was that boys tended to make more scenes that represented outdoors only - five scenes (50,0 per cent) to girls five scenes (35,7 per cent). All other scenes had features from indoors and out. Girls tended to define inside from outside more clearly.

Boys did not build more towers, nor higher towers, nor use more blocks, nor build enclosures only in conjunction with elaborate structures or traffic lanes, nor erect more structures. Simple enclosures with low walls and without ornaments were not the largest item among the configurations built by girls. (Erikson, 1965:101.)

Given the small sample, I cannot presume to cast doubt on Erikson's theory of inner space, but can only conclude that his technique did not yield sex differences in this situation. If I was a psychoanalyst, I might consider the significance of enclosures (the kraal) for boys in one context and structures (the skyscraper) for boys in another.

In refuting possible interpretations for the observed differences in the play scenes between girls and boys based on

socialization, Erikson (1965:102 note) compared his findings with the play constructions of pre-adolescents in India and observed that, "... the general characteristics of the play universe differ markedly and in accordance with differences in the social universe, while sex differences are expressed by the spatial modalities...." It is possible that the children of Crossroads did not express through their play scenes the same concern with anatomical models as did the pre-adolescents of California. Erikson (1965:100), however, does not think that age makes any difference. Rather, he claims that "... the dominance of genital modes over the modalities of spatial organization reflects a profound difference in the sense of space in the two sexes, even as sexual differentiation obviously provides the most decisive difference in the ground plan of the human body which, in turn, co-determines biological experience and social roles."

Two points that relate to experimental procedure should be made. The first is to do with play materials. Caplan, in her critique of the experiment, suggested that toys are seen by children to be more or less sex appropriate. In her replication, she controlled for the difference and could detect no sex differences in the children's use of either blocks only, furniture only or both together.

Erikson (1965:95) says of blocks that they "... provide a wordless medium quite easily counted, measured and compared in regard to spatial arrangement. At the same time, they seem so impersonally geometric as to be least compromised by cultural connotations and individual meanings. A block is almost nothing but a block."

Blocks for children at Crossroads were not often identified as objects with which to build. Four of their houses had walls of blocks and four had walls of furniture. A block was more likely to be used to represent a house than a brick. Offcuts of wood that resembled the blocks, though unpainted, were

sometimes used by children as cars when playing in the sands of Crossroads. I had intended to replicate the play situation using as materials items most often found in children's play, that is, bits of zinc, pieces of wire and string, tin lids, stones, bottle tops, plastic bottles etc. I did not do it: the comparison afforded would have been interesting. Some differences between the play of boys and girls in Crossroads are remarked upon in the chapters on songs and play. There seemed to be little difference in either work load or type of work among seven or eight year olds. The play items that were provided were used to symbolize a variety of objects. For example, a doll's oven was used as a record player, milk bottles as toilets, a tap as an aeroplane, a hammer as a bus stop, and a bath as a bed or a water hole. A comment by Gwali while explaining his scene was instructive. He said of the dolls, "They look like dolls but I know them" and he went on to identify each as himself and his friends. He felt the need to explain his use of fantasy.

The second point on experimental procedure was that all Erikson's subjects were asked to make a scene on the table while I asked the children to do just that for their first scenes but did not repeat the instruction for the second scene. As a result, six of the eleven second scenes were made on the floor. The children and I played or worked most often on the floor. One child, Togu, made his scene under the table. This is of interest in relation to the emphasis that Erikson laid on the fact that a black child in his sample was the only one to make his scene under the table. Erikson linked it to the child's feeling of inferiority. The point is hardly worth making except that it leads us into the question of self-image. Recent studies in the U.S.A. have cast doubt on the authenticity of studies ( and there are a considerable number) that describe blacks in the U.S.A. as frequently having negative self-images. (Review, 1979.) The child in my sample was shy but showed no other signs of having a negative self-image. I wish to caution against drawing conclusions that reflect on children's

psychological state unless they are drawn from an intimate knowledge of their behaviour in a variety of situations and of an understanding of their world.

While the data in this study did not support Erikson's theory of sex difference as it affects the use of play space, individual scenes were instructive as to each child's central concerns and life experience. Erikson (1951) claims that, "... a play act - like a dream - is a complicated dynamic product of 'manifest' and 'latent' themes, of past experience and present task, of the need to express something and the need to suppress something, of clear representation, symbolic indirection and radical disguise." Just as he found that themes tended to appear which on closer study proved to be intimately related to the dynamics of the person's life history, so it happened among the Crossroads' children. The children were fascinated by the small pieces of furniture and two of them identified these as the excitement in their scenes. Thirty-one dolls were placed "sleeping in beds" by the children. A comment on the discomfort of sharing sleeping space with, sometimes, as many as three siblings?

Nine children made two scenes that contrasted one with the other in some obvious way. For some the contrast was an indoor then an outdoor scene; for others a scene of tranquility then one of confused activity - see Figures 5a and b which depict (a) Tozama's house owned by black people in Claremont (a white-zoned suburb) and (b) her re-creation of a police raid in Crossroads. Gwali built a busy, carefully organized scene which incorporated town (Cape Town), Claremont and the Transkei (Figure 6a) and then one of silent confrontation in which nine "speed cop" cars had come to the scene of an accident (Figure 6b).

Onequarter of the scenes involved the police. One was of an accident (see Figure 6b); two were of a police raid into Crossroads; one a scene in which the police had come to shoot the people at the school; and two were of incidents that occurred during our work on the play scenes in which two men

were killed and their cars stoned and burnt by young blacks. The incidents have been described in Chapter Four. The scenes that they created, apart from the one of the accident, and the children's descriptions follow:



Figure 5a : Tozama's Scene of a House in Claremont



Figure 5b : Tozama's Scene of a Police Raid in Crossroads

Tozama (see Figure 5b) described her scene thus: "It is fighting. The people are fighting over Black Power. The people of Crossroads are fighting the police. There are two landrovers with policemen - the brown and blue cars. The residents are escaping : two are in the van, one is running behind. She was to get on but they left her behind. The donkeys are here. The person wants to milk the cow behind the donkeys. He is chasing them and the cow is running away. The brown car wants to knock the child: the child runs away ... During the Black Power, the police caught the people undressed ... People are being taken to prison. Crossroads people were defeated by the police in the real fight (1978). It is also so here. The people who are here who are not police are defeated."

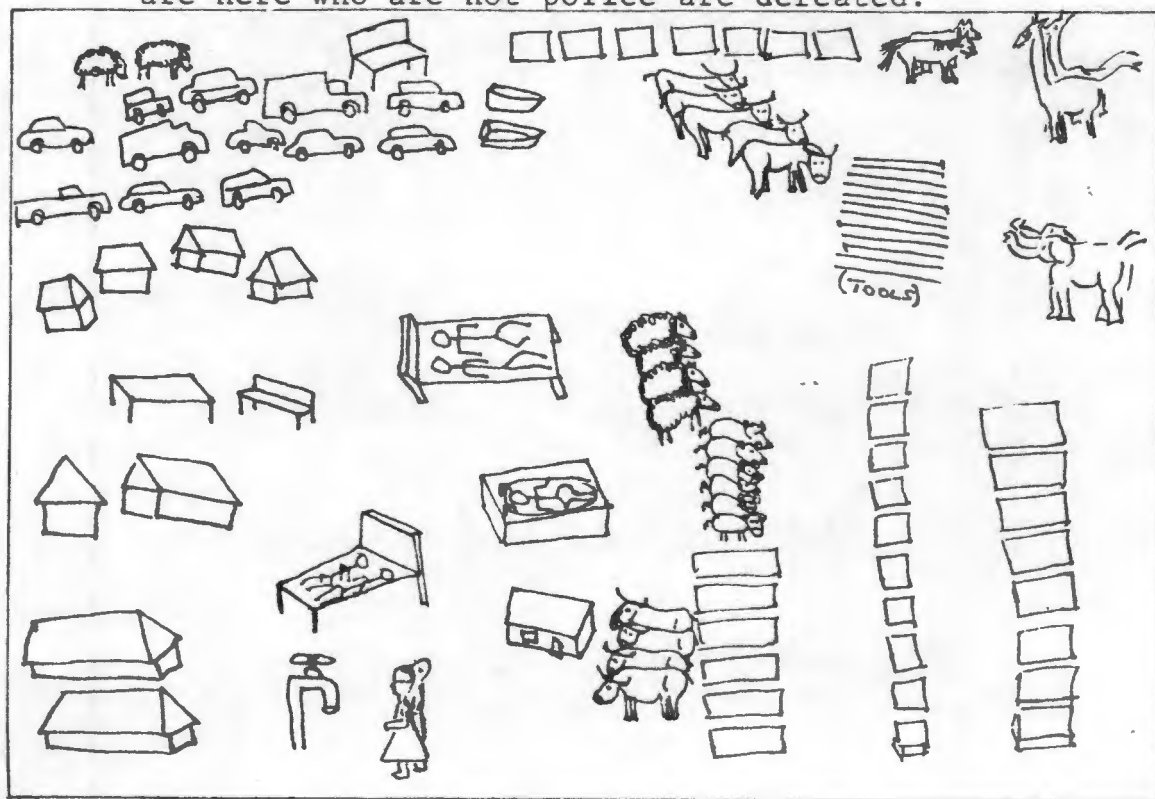


Figure 6a : Gwali's Scene of the Town, Suburb and Countryside

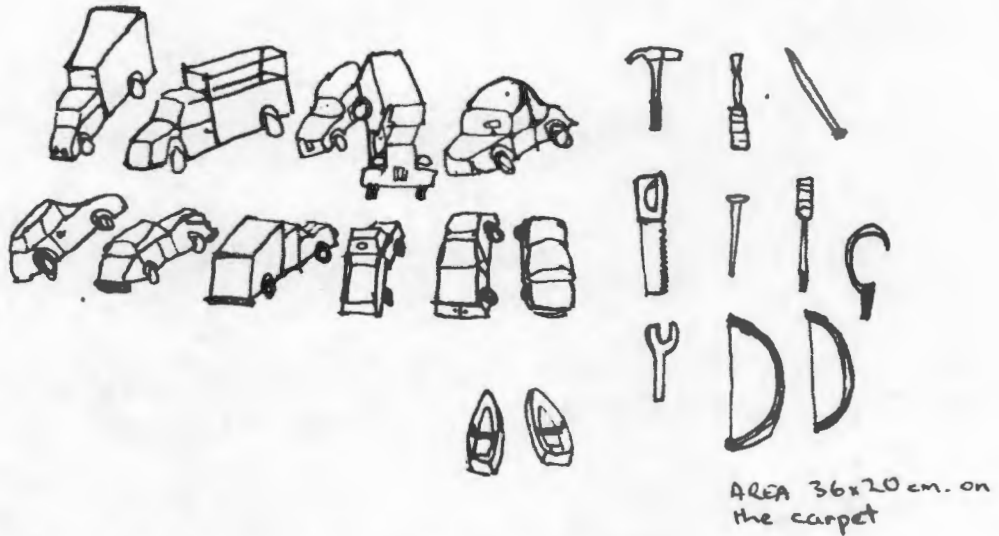


Figure 6b : Gwali's Scene of an Accident

For her second scene, (Figure 7) Lungiswa sat on the floor and placed some furniture saying that the excitement was the dressing table with a bottle of perfume upon it. Nearby, twelve cars are lined up side by side facing a building. She said:

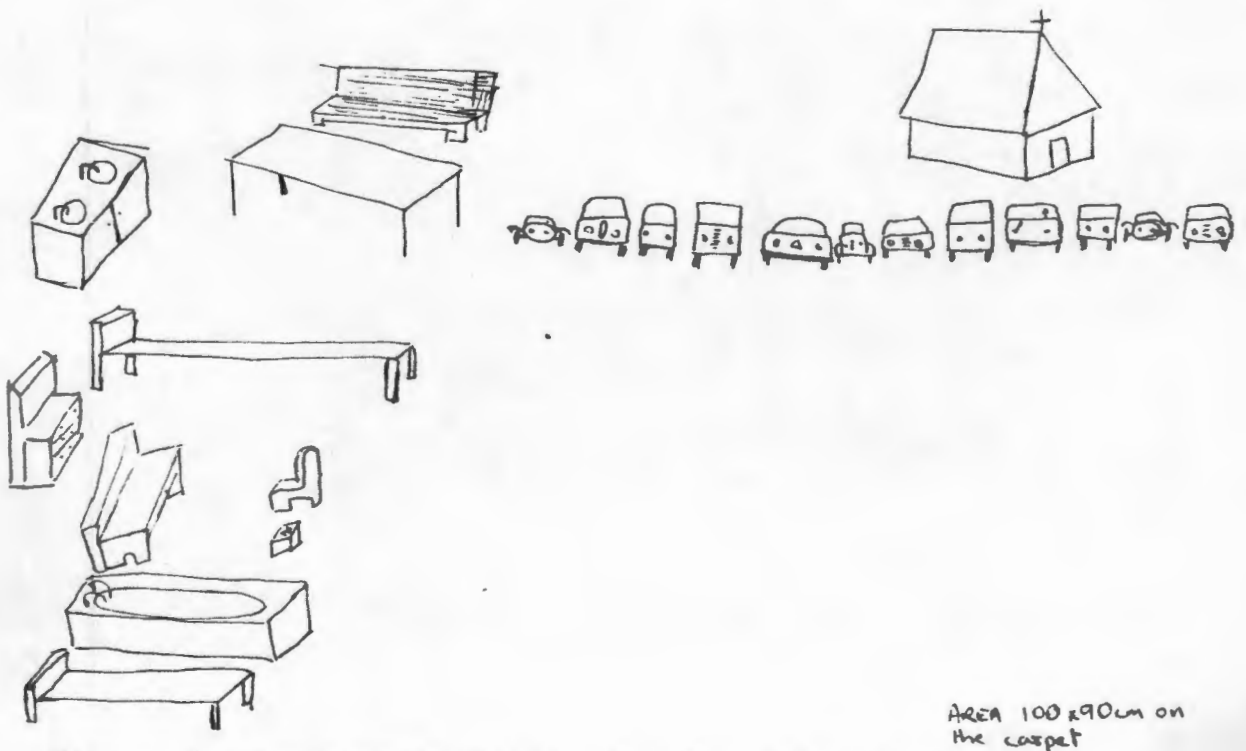


Figure 7 : Lungiswa's Scene of a Furnished House and a Police Raid

"The cars are police coming to Noxolo School to shoot the people. I saw that. The people were singing. It is the Roman Catholic Church in the Green House [next to the school]. Some people are inside, some are outside. The Crossroads people are black. The police are white men."

Mlawu said of his scene (Figure 8):

"It is a raid at Crossroads. The children of the riots burnt the cars. Here are the adults and children of Black Power. They are the people of the shacks. The cars are the landrovers of the Boers.\* They have come to raid. They are coming to take people to jail."

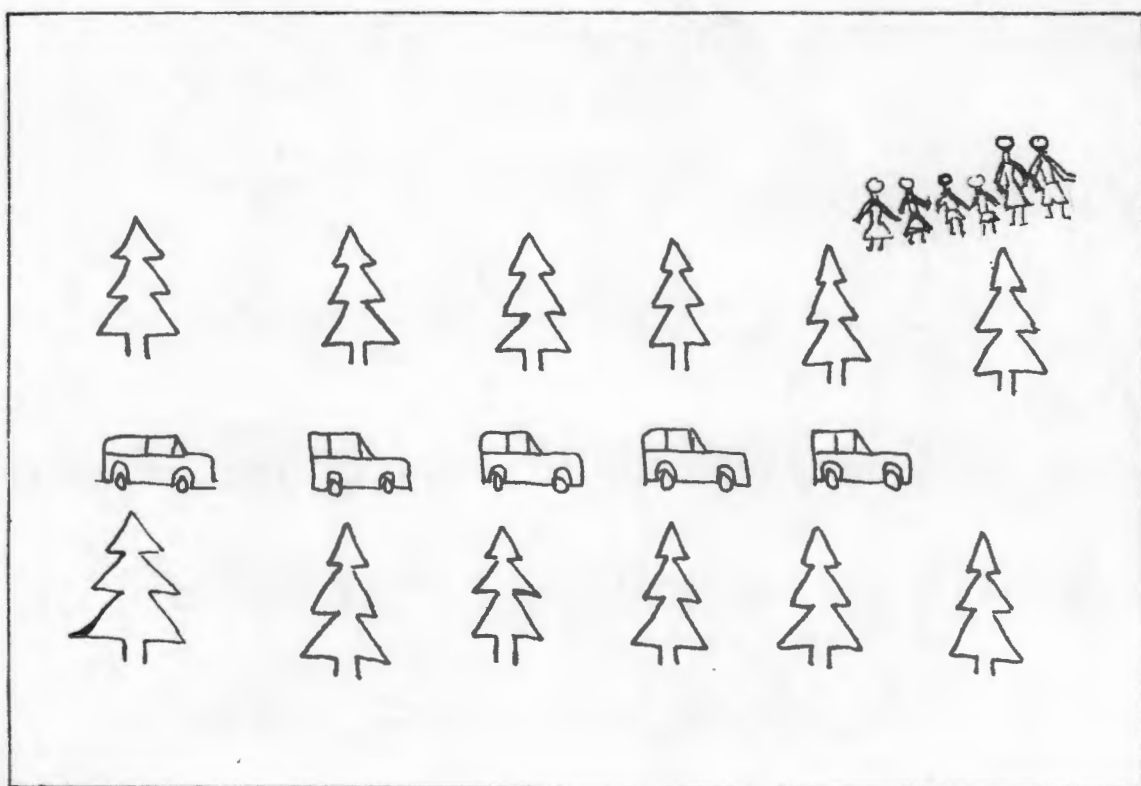


Figure 8 : Mlawu's Scene of a Raid and a Riot

\*Boers means farmer in Afrikaans but is often used to mean all Afrikaaners.

The above configurations were made before the two men died after being stoned and burnt as they drove past Crossroads on 11 August, 1980. On the Monday following the week of incidents, Hintsu came to my room and was asked to make a scene. He prevaricated. I prodded a little and he said, "One thing that happened was the trouble of Monday." I said, "All right, make that." He fiddled with the cars, took a blue one and placed it in the middle of the table saying, "The people have run away. The man has been taken to hospital. Only the car is left with the wheels up." (Figure 9).

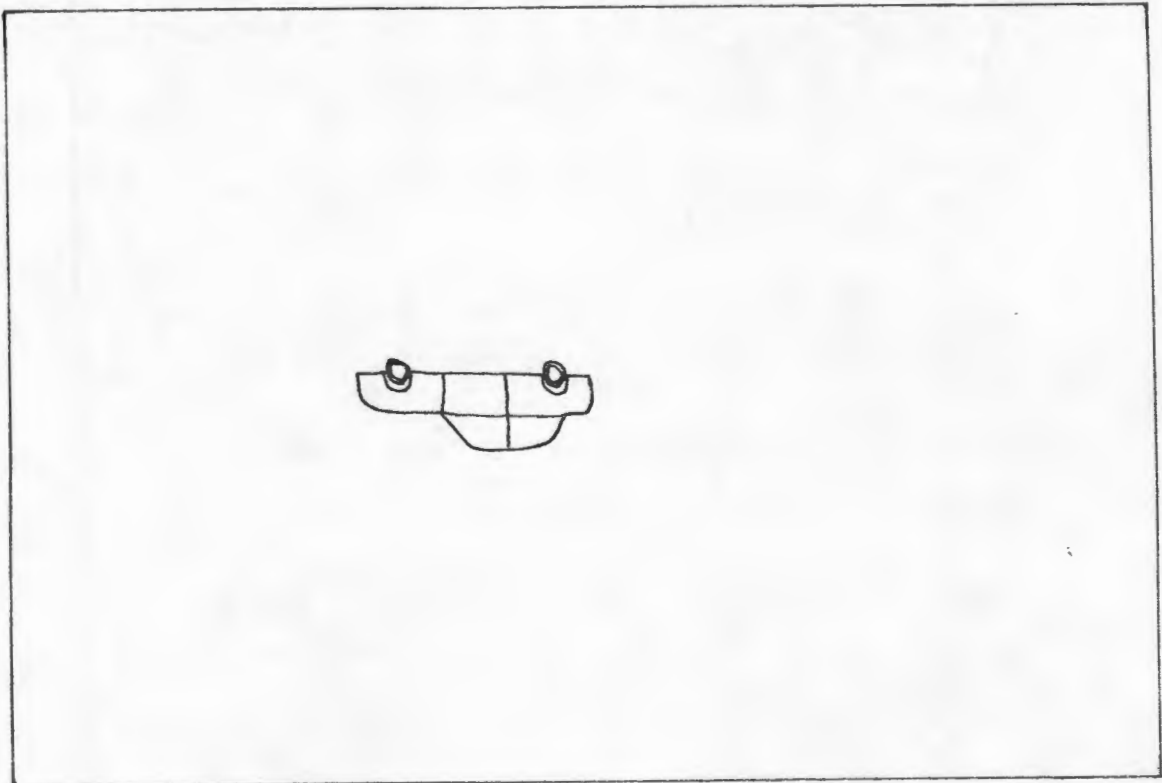


Figure 9 : Hintsu's Scene of the Overturned Car

On the next day, Yameka made a scene (Figure 10) of which she said:

"It is the Black Power. There are the township children throwing stones at the cars. There is the car burning. Those are saws, the children are using them as weapons. The cars are in the road. They are stopped because of the burning. The police came and chased the children."

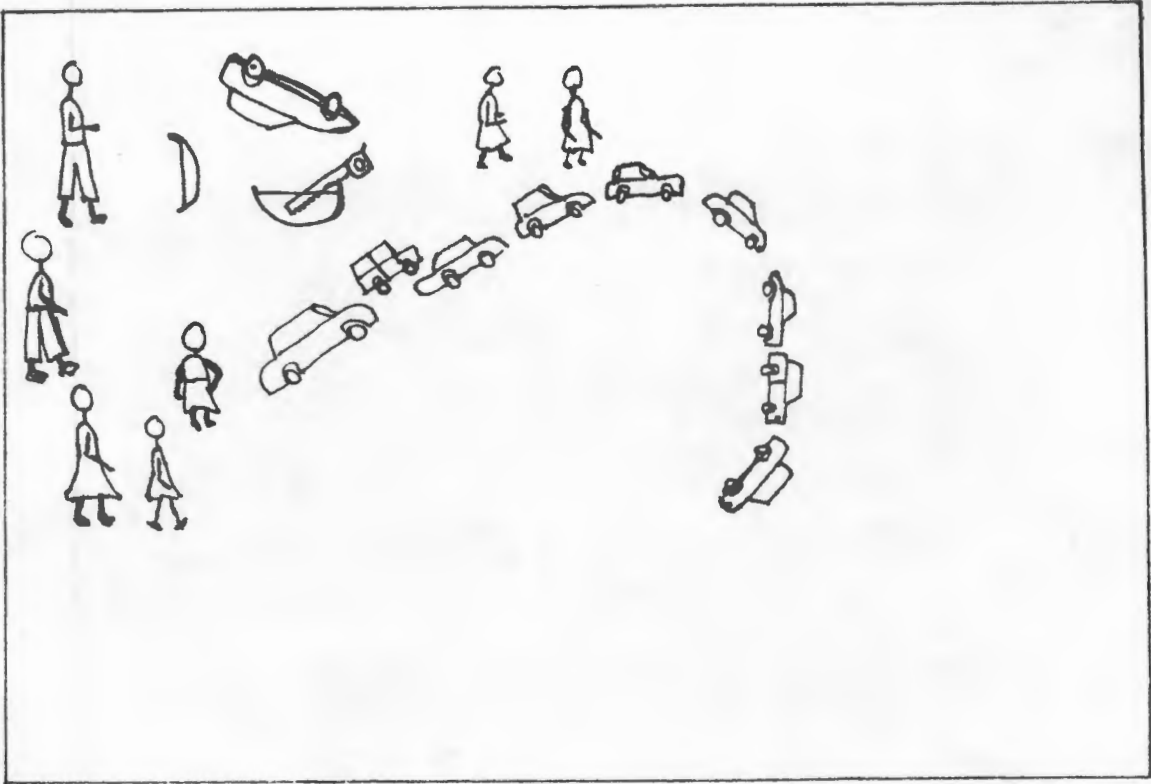


Figure 10 : Yameka's Scene of the Students of Black Power

Twice Phalo, an igqira, visited me just as a child had finished making a scene. On the first occasion, Nukwa had placed fifty-four animals side by side on the edge of the table facing away from him. In front were two giraffes. The igqira's interpretation, unsolicited, was that "The child has been called (to be an igqira). He should not go to school if he rejects it. His gift lies between the animals: between the wild and the domestic." He then launched into an hour and a half description of being called. The igqira did not know that Nukwa had dropped out of school.

On the second occasion, Saliswa who does not go to school and whose mother - herself an igqira - said she too had been called, had just made her second scene. It was a simple enclosure in the middle of the table with walls made of furniture; there was no entrance and four dolls were lying in bed. Outside, thirteen cars stood beside each other facing away from the house (Figure 11). She described it thus:

"It is a small house for the dolls.  
It is in Crossroads. The dolls are  
father and mother and children. It  
is a zinc house. The cars are going  
to Claremont, past Claremont."

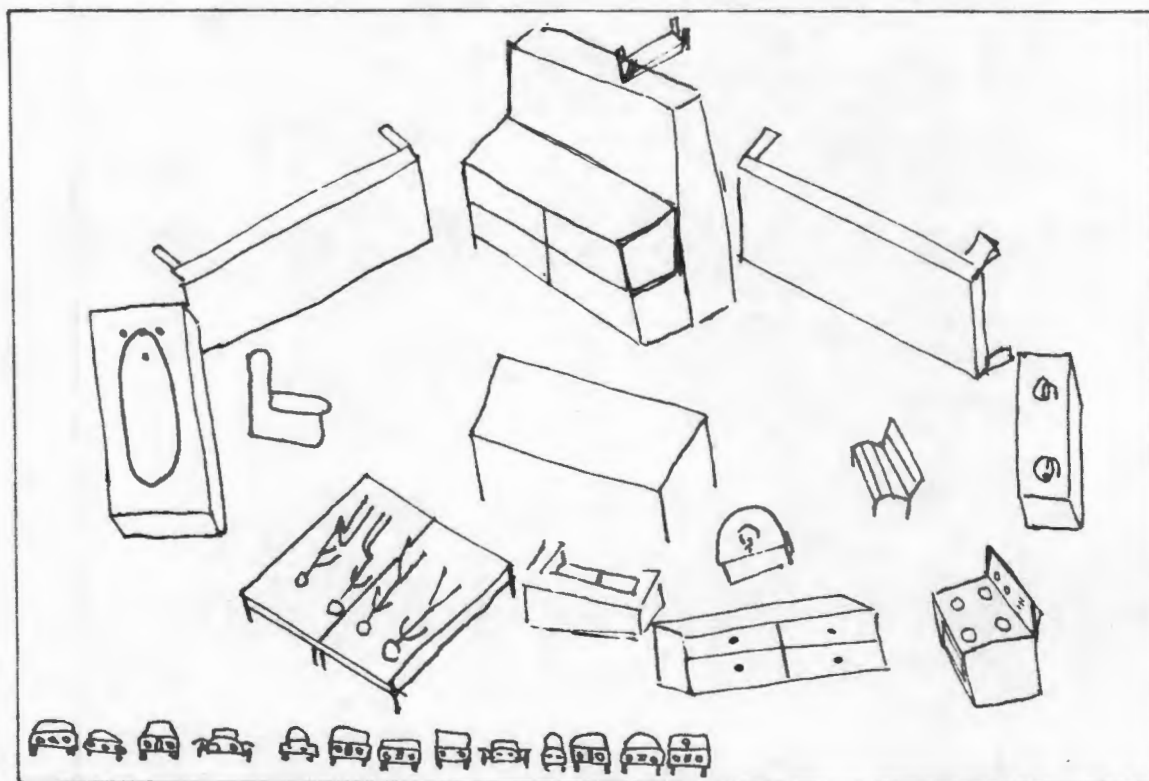


Figure 11 : Saliswa's Scene of a House in Crossroads

The iggira said:

"She should not have used the cars. One of her gifts is to build a house and to put the furniture inside. It is her gift now to be a homemaker. The cars are for fun: they have no meaning. She will be a worker especially in the home. She will not be called; one of her children might. Notice her order. Her soul likes nice things."

I quote the above to suggest that "doctors", Erik Erikson in California and Phalo in Crossroads, interpret from within their own contexts. There may be more in common between the attitudes of male doctors across continents than differences between the play scenes of girls and boys.

## SUMMARY OF THE FOUR SECTIONS TO DO WITH SPACE

The tasks described early in the chapter support the observation that children's competence is easily obscured by other factors in any given situation. This seems to be particularly so in a society in which people's attention is not focused on the need to perform to rule on school-type tasks. The maps on felt were fair representations of the children's range within Crossroads and awareness of their environment as shown on guided walks. The children seemed to ignore boundaries, external landmarks, and path destinations and origin points. Their relative freedom to range was not reflected in their walks or maps. In the next section, it was suggested that Piaget's Three Mountain task tests a complex of strategies that are closely related to experiences such as reading. In the final section, no sex differences along the lines detected by Erikson were found and the impact of current happenings in society were seen to affect the content of children's play scenes.

## CHAPTER 7 : THE CHILD AND KINSHIP

According to van Warmelo (1935), the Cape Nguni include those groups which have been in the Transkei and Eastern Cape for centuries (Xhosa, Thembu, Mpondo, Mpondomise and Bomvana) and Fingo and other recent immigrants (Mfengu, Bhaca, Xesibe and Ntlangwini).

The following observations about kinship are taken from Hammond-Tooke (1969:86-87). The social structure of the Cape Nguni tribes is similar in broad outline. Its main features are ideally polygynous families, patrilineal descent groups and the apparent absence of any form of preferential marriage or formal age-regiment system.

Homesteads show a great variety of structure, from nuclear to compound and extended forms, and a feature (since the 1960s) is the high percentage of widows as homestead heads. Marriage is patrilocal with a strong tendency to settle in the neighbourhood of the father's homestead (formerly actually in the homestead) and effects a transfer of both rights in uxorem and in genetricem to the groom's group.

Cape Nguni kinship terminologies are broadly similar, being of the bifurcate merging type, i.e., the terms for "father" and "mother" are also applied respectively to father's brother and mother's sister. Parallel cousins are thus equated with own siblings except that, among the Xhosa, the term kanina is used between men only for children of the mother's sister. Separate terms are used for mother's brother (malume) and father's sister (dadebobawo) and all cross-cousins are referred to as mza or mzala. Spouses of father's brother and mother's sister are called "father" and "mother" respectively : spouses of father's sister are called "father" [bawo, bobawo (Xh.)] and the wife of the mother's brother is termed malumekzai or "mother." Emphasis on relative age is strongly marked. Father's elder brothers are distinguished terminologically from father's younger brothers, elder brothers

from younger brothers and elder sisters from younger sisters (between siblings of opposite sex). Generally speaking all kin of the first ascending generation are classed either as "father" or "mother's brother" and all females as "mother." Cousins are either assimilated with siblings or distinguished as "cross-cousin." Both paternal and maternal grandfathers are termed bawomkulu and both grandmothers makhulu except among the Mpondo, who do not make a sex differentiation and call both makhulu. There is a terminological confusion between father's elder brother and father's father (both bawomkhulu). In the first descending generation the terms "son" and "daughter" are applied to children of parallel cousins and, apparently, those of cross-cousins (these relationships have not been recorded in the literature). Thus all children in the first descending generation are classified as own children. Great grandparents are all classified as khokho (male) or gogo (female) and the reciprocal (grandchild) is the non-sex-denoting mzukulwana. The system reflects the lack of discreteness of the nuclear family in Cape Nguni social structure. Among all the Cape Nguni the family is embedded in a wider kinship group, the lineage and, ultimately, the clan.

This chapter focuses on children's kinship concepts. The material comes from a variety of interviews and exercises conducted with the fourteen sample children over a year. The interviews include three replications of studies done by J Piaget (1928), R Levine and D Price-Williams (1974) and S Haviland and E Clark (1974). Piaget's purpose in analysing children's kinship concepts was to use them in describing their grasp of the logic of relations. Through such studies, he claimed to have supported his theory of "Childish realism, i.e., the inability to grasp the relativity of notions or ideas (which) is one of the principal obstacles to the development of childish reasoning." (Piaget, 1928:96). Piaget (1928:97) interpreted the difficulties that children have in handling the logic of relations as due to the egocentrism of child thought.

LeVine and Price-Williams adapted the Piagetian approach to suit a non-Western sample of children. Like Piaget, their aim was to describe an aspect of cognitive development. LeVine and Price-Williams (1974:25) begin their report with the following description of approaches to the study of cognition, by anthropologists and psychologists:

"Anthropologists typically approach cognition from the environmental side, emphasizing the institutionalized rules that are products of collective cognitive experience and form parts of the cultural environment in which individuals function. Psychologists, on the other hand, typically make their approach from the side of the individual organism, emphasizing the mental capacities that enable individuals not only to acquire cultural categories but also to use them in adaptive activities such as problem-solving. Rarely do the two approaches meet. "From the viewpoint of understanding adaptation, there are strengths and weaknesses in both approaches. The anthropological emphasis on cognition as cultural product helps explicate some of the distinctive information processing rules recognized in a particular cultural environment, but it can lead to the construction of ideal normative models that shed little direct light on the adaptive process of individual thinking. Psychologists, in emphasizing individual capacities reflected in measurable performance, deal more directly with the information - processing activities themselves, but often base evaluations of adaptive success and failure on inadequate knowledge of cultural standards of competence and performance. It has been obvious for some time that a third approach is needed, one concerned with individual cognitive process in cultural context ...."

The third replication was of an interview series conducted by Haviland and Clark in their attempt to test a semantic acquisition hypothesis among three to eight year olds in the U.S.A. In the process, they confirmed that the stages in the development of the children's ability to handle rational kinship terms that Piaget identified for "brother" and "sister," applied to fifteen other kin terms, not all of which were symmetrical.

My interest in replicating the three interviews was twofold: one was to test the sample children's ability to handle relational kinship terms and the other was to use the interview schedules as tools with which to elicit the children's knowledge and application of kinship terms. Besides replicating the three interviews, I recorded at various times the lists given to me by the children of whom they thought were members of their families and of their households. I also noted their use of kinship terms during observation sessions and informal interaction. Finally, I devised an exercise using puppets to test the children's use of kin terms of address. The three replications will be reported on first.

#### JEAN PIAGET'S TEST

Piaget (1928) reported research that he carried out on a set of relational concepts including the two kin terms brother and sister (frère and soeur). In this study, he asked 240 French-speaking Swiss children, aged four to twelve years, a number of questions about brothers and sisters. Among them was "What is a brother (sister)?" The children's answers suggested to Piaget that there were three stages in the development of what he called the concept of a term like brother.

Stage One consisted of the most primitive definitions, e.g. a brother was simply a boy, a sister, a girl. In addition, children at this stage of definition often maintained that adults could not be brothers or sisters.

Stage Two definitions were relational in nature in that the child would maintain that there had to be more than one child

with the same parents. The relationship was not reciprocal, however, because the term brother was applied exclusively to only one of the siblings involved. In addition, the restriction excluding adults rarely continued to operate at this stage.

Stage Three definitions were both relational and reciprocal in that the title brother (or sister) was now allowed to apply to all the siblings. In other words, the child understood that in order to BE a brother, you had to HAVE a brother or sister. Most of Piaget's subjects reached Stage Three by about the age of nine or ten.

In addition to Piaget's original study of brother and sister, there have been two replications of this work with English-speaking children. Elkind (1962) did an exact replication of Piaget's study with 210 American children aged five to eleven years. He obtained results identical to Piaget's. The other replication was within a slightly more extensive study by Danziger (1957). He asked forty-one Australian children, aged five to eight years old, questions about five different kin terms: brother, sister, daughter, cousin, and uncle. He also found three stages in the children's definitions which he labelled Categorical, Concrete Relational and Abstract Relational. These three stages correspond very closely to the three stages identified by Piaget (1928). Danziger also noted that some of the youngest children in his study simply named a specific person when asked, for example, "What is an uncle?" He therefore postulated an even earlier stage in the learning of such terms which he called Pre-categorical. All the kin terms tested by Danziger seemed to go through these stages, not just the terms brother and sister (the only ones examined in the two other studies). (The summary is taken from Haviland and Clark, 1974:24.)

The questions that Piaget asked each child were:

1. How many brothers have you? And how many sisters? (let us suppose that the child has a brother A and a sister B,) And how many brothers has A? And how many sisters? And how many brothers has B? And how many sisters?

2. How many brothers are there in the family? How many sisters? How many brothers and sisters altogether?
3. There are three brothers in a family: Auguste, Alfred and Raymond. How many brothers has Auguste? And Alfred? And Raymond?
4. Are you a brother (or a sister)? What is a brother (or sister, according to the sex of the child)?
5. Ernest has three brothers, Paul, Henry and Charles. How many brothers has Paul? And Henry? And Charles?
6. How many brothers are there in this family?

The ages at which at least 75 per cent of the children of the same age answered each question (or test, as Piaget called them) were:

<u>Age</u>	<u>Test passed*</u>
5	0
6	<u>2</u>
7	2
8	2, <u>3</u>
9	2, 3, <u>4</u> .
10	<u>1</u> , 2, 3, 4, <u>5</u> , <u>6</u>

\*Tests are underscored at the age at which they were first passed.

As LeVine points out, Piaget's analysis of the answers is focused on the child's growing capacity to take the role of the other person and understand that a term like "brother" is not a static attribute of a person (like "boy") but a relation between two persons, and in particular, a symmetrical relation such that if X is Y's brother, Y is also X's brother. Like the Hausa terms (studied by LeVine and Price-Williams), but unlike the English and French terms for brother, the Xhosa term is not symmetrical and therefore cannot be used to indicate the child's development of the capacity to understand the logical concept of symmetrical relations. The term for elder

brother is umkhuluwe and for younger brother, umninawe (Hunter, 1936:29). The same linguistic term is used for elder and younger sisters. According to Hunter (1936:34), either udade wethu or umnt'akwethu may be used for both younger and older sister. LeVine and Price-Williams point out that, "The assumptions that sibling relationships are conceptualized as symmetrical and that there is a nuclear family unit of unambiguous reference were exposed as ethnocentric when imported into the Hausa context." Therefore they chose to study the same cognitive phenomena, particularly the growth of relativistic thinking, as did Piaget through different kinship concepts using asymmetrical terms.\*

Despite the problems replicating Piaget's study in a society in which the kin terms for brother are asymmetrical, I decided to administer the test to see how the children would handle the logic of relations and to ascertain whether or not they used the traditional asymmetrical terms for older brother and sister, and for younger brother and sister, or whether they used the terms current in Crossroads that had been adopted from Afrikaans, that is bhuti for brother and sisi for sister.\*\*- Besides, I was interested in seeing how the children handled the test format.

The test revealed that children aged seven and eight in Crossroads use the terms ubhuti and usisi as reference and address<sup>†</sup> to older brothers and sisters only. The rule seemed to be more firmly entrenched for the former than the latter term. Besides, they are used about or to siblings somewhat older than themselves and there seems to be no fast rule as to

---

\*For comments on children and their use of kinship terms in !Kung and Aborigine groups see: Draper (1973) and (1976), Kaberry (1939), Konner (1977 and 1976) and Lee and DeVore (1976), Leiderman et al. (1977), and Marshall (1976).

\*\*Note on origins of the two terms : bhuti came from boetie and sisi is short for usisiomdala (older sister) or usisiomcinci (younger sister), so my Crossroads informants said. Sisi is derived from the Afrikaans 'sussie.'

<sup>†</sup>In the vocative case there is no prefix.

how much older a brother or sister should be before he or she is deserving of the form of reference or address under consideration. Bhuti and sisi are terms of respect that recognise the hierarchical ordering of relationships within the family.

For the first question, one could not replace the question, "How many brothers have you?" with two questions asking "How many older brothers have you?" and "How many younger brothers?" as one might assume to be possible given the traditional asymmetrical terms, because the children would have (and did) denied that they had any of the latter. Younger brothers and sisters are simply called "child of the house" umtwanabendlu or "child of my mother."

The test was thus rendered more difficult. For example, question 1c asks how many brothers has one of the subject's brothers (in the following, the same applies to sisters)? In order to reply the child must either include or exclude himself as a brother of his brother depending on his age relative to that brother. The question is a more searching test of a child's ability to take another's point of view (decenter) than Piaget's original one.

Question 3 is also made more difficult. The question sets an abstract problem:

"There are three brothers in a family. Sipho, Geza and Malusi. How many brothers has Sipho? And Geza? And Malusi?"

According to the children's use of the term brother, there ought, in that family, to be another child to whom all three are brothers. Some handled the problem by disregarding their usual use of the term and some tried to assign seniority and gave answers accordingly. Questions 5 and 6 presented similar difficulties.

Question 6a asks, "Are you a brother?" Most children replied taking into account their position in the family. Question 4b asks, "What is a brother?" and the definitions offered largely concentrated on relative sibling position not on links

established via parentage. For example, a girl defined a sister by describing her own position in the family. "I am a sister to the young ones. An old girl." Others used the phrase "child of the house" assuming it to be an adequate definition of brotherhood or sisterhood.

Usage in Crossroads, 1980, differed from that in Langa (a black township in Cape Town), 1963, as the following quotation illustrates:

"Udade wetu, still used by pagans and Christian alike in the country for sister, has been replaced in town by usister wam, which is applied in a more limited sense. 'Our sister' becomes 'my sister' and the stress is on the intimate tie between siblings alone. Sisi ... without any possessive pronoun, is in general use as a polite form of address by a woman to a senior contemporary. It is used by a bride for all her sisters-in-law over puberty, replacing 'mother-of-so-and-so' in address, and indodakazi in reference, and in the country it is used by all unmarried girls in addressing young married women, whereas traditionally, they would have used the clan name (isiduko), which is a polite form of address to a married woman.

"But in town the stress tends to be on relative age, rather than on the difference in status of married and unmarried."

Quoted from Wilson and Mafeje (1963:88).

I did not hear usister wam in use in Crossroads but found that sisi or usisi, with the possessive pronoun, frequently replaced udade wethu. However, sisi was also used in the ways noted by Wilson and Mafeje. The same authors (1963:89) wrote about the use of the term bhuti (which they spell buti):

"uButi ... has all but replaced the traditional umkhuluwe (elder brother, man speaking) and umnakwethu (brother, woman speaking) in town, and sex and age differences, formerly stressed, are blurred. It is also used in an extended sense just as usisi is."

The children of Crossroads used the term only for older brothers. It seemed to be used in an extended sense less often than was sisi.

Apart from the above, anticipated, problem that was peculiar to the social context and age of the children tested, the questions seem to demand a use of number that assumes a conceptual grasp or confidence beyond that possessed by some of the children. The test's applicability across cultures is therefore limited. The test demands that the child pay attention without the help of activity or material aids through eighteen questions. It is probable that some societies demand and train children to concentrate on intense verbal exchanges more than do others. Therefore, inattention in certain circumstances could be due to an absence of cultural emphasis on its value under such conditions.

The questions were more difficult for those children with large families, especially if some members lived elsewhere. For example, Saliswa's mother's son, aged eighteen, was living with them in Crossroads. He was one of the children born of Mrs Qasana's husband whom she had left ten years previously. Saliswa counted the boy as a brother yet when she was asked how many sisters he had, she replied, "Two. I don't know their names but they belong to my mother." Some children were puzzled as to whether or not to include older siblings born of only one parent.

Another source of confusion was the fact that the terms bhuti and sisi are sometimes used across a broad spectrum that includes cousins and clan members. For example, Togu mentioned as his brother a boy who I knew was not his brother and when asked who he was, he said:

"He is a boy. His clan is also N-. Our relationship is from the Transkei. I call him brother."

As a result children other than brothers, as defined in the context of Piaget's test, were sometimes included. Gedja, who has a younger brother and who lives with her mother's family amongst many children who are her mother's brothers and sisters, could not or would not separate herself and her brother from the wider family. As LeVine and Price-Williams (1974) found among the Hausa, children are often encouraged to address (and categorize) certain persons in the compound with kin terms that indicate a desired social relationship rather than in accordance with accepted definitions of consanguinity and affinity. This occurs among a wide variety of peoples.

As Piaget pointed out, the test is limited in that only children with at least one brother and one sister can answer all the questions. One is not then able to estimate the differences that being the only child in a family may have upon the use of kinship terms. After the study of the use of fifteen kin terms, Haviland and Clark (1974) concluded that personal experience had little effect on the results. This is contrary to Piaget's anticipation in 1928. His emphasis on the impact of social factors then was greater than in his later works. For example, Piaget (1928:71-72) said, "Social intercourse ... modifies the structure of thought" and "... formal thought is really dependent on social factors."

According to Piaget's scoring method, no child in the Crossroads sample succeeded on the test. As I knew the children's families well, I could judge as to whether or not they were using terms for brother and sister in strict accord with their own usage. Scoring thus, Lungiswa obtained full marks, Tozama one less, Zuziwe three less and Peliswe four less. The scores are shown on Table 1.

The next interview to be discussed is an adaptation of Piaget's test, using a naturalistic approach among a non-Western group of children.

Table 1 : Results on Piaget's Kinship Test

	Lun.	Toz.	Zuz.	Pel.	Tog.	Nuk.	Sal.	Hin.	Yam.	Ged.	Nom.	Gwa.	Ceb
Scores according to Piaget's definitions	12	10	11	10	8	7	4	7	5	5	3	2	2
Additional marks awarded for use of kin terms in accord with children's definitions	6	7	4	4	4	5	7	2	1	0	1	2	1
Total out of 18:	18	17	15	14	12	12	11	9	6	5	4	4	3

#### R. LeVINE'S AND D. PRICE-WILLIAM'S TEST

The authors' aim was to explore the ways in which individuals, particularly children, use cultural categories to conceptualize their experience. Like Piaget, they selected kinship and family as means through which to explore the topic. LeVine and Price-Williams (1974:26) claim that,

"Kinship involves the child's social environment and is extremely familiar to him. Like other semantic domains, it entails representations of environmental features that can be assessed independently by the investigator, and - perhaps more than most domains - its conceptual units are readily identifiable. Furthermore, we assumed on theoretical grounds the special importance of kinship concepts in the child's psychosocial development as an indicator of his cognitive capacities for categorizing interpersonal experience at each stage in the process of socialization."

They set out to devise an approach applicable to the study of children's concepts in a society where kin terms are not symmetrical and a nuclear family system is not the norm. Their specific aims were to discover the extent to which children's verbal reports concerning kin relations in their homes would reveal developmental trends in an environmental influence on (a) relational thinking, (b) informational accuracy, and (c) the salience for the child of compound residents in certain relationship to him.

Procedures. A single set of questions was administered individually to fifty-three Hausa children aged four to eleven in rural Nigeria. The authors' description follows, (LeVine and Price-Williams, 1974:39):

"In the interview, which was entirely taped, the child was first asked who lives in his compound. He would give several names spontaneously. When he stopped, the interviewer asked him 'Who else?' A distinction was made between the spontaneous list and the elicited list. These lists are of great interest in themselves, not only in terms of how accurate the child is in reporting the membership of his compound, but in terms of which person he omits (if anyone) and which he mentions early and which later.

"Next, the interviewer went down the list the child had given and asked, 'who is' each person on it; the child could identify the person in any way he chose. A major purpose here was to see whether kin terms were used in identifying persons, and if not, what kinds of attributes were mentioned.

"The interviewer then went down the list again, this time asking about each person for whom a kin term had not been given already, 'How is he related to you?' If a child had not spontaneously identified the person with a kin

term but knew the term applied, he could use it now. We could check the terms he gave against the rules of Hausa kinship terminology applied to the adult census material. The interviewer reviewed the list a final time asking for pairs of adjacent persons. 'How is this one related to that one?' Here the purpose was to tap the child's capacity to view kin relations from a decentered perspective, taking the role of the other relative.

"In the final part of the interview, the child was asked to define three kin terms, including ones he had used (if any) and including a general term for 'grandparent.'"

The authors conclude that the technique yielded results that suggest that further work along these lines should be encouraged and that the interview produced data that made theoretical and ethnographic sense. They believe that it tapped formal aspects of children's thought processes and some of the content of childhood experience, particularly the acquisition of domestic norms of social distance and the emotional salience of certain kin for the developing child. Finally, they say that the approach forms their proposal for a "comparative phenomenology of child experience, in which ideational data from children of diverse cultures could be brought to bear on issues of broad theoretical significance." (LeVine and Price-Williams, 1974:42.)

The exercise confirmed Piaget's major findings, that is to say, LeVine and Price-Williams (1974:34) claim that the kinship interview taps age-related abilities that can plausibly be interpreted as involving relational concepts and the growth of a decentred perspective in the domain of kinship. However, LeVine and Price-Williams (1974:33) admit that the approach proved to be "fraught with unanticipated problems that could not be resolved without further work." In administering the interview to children in Crossroads, I, too, found it to be fraught with problems but that these very problems were informative as to the way in which children use cultural categories to conceptualize their experience.

The set of questions is not ideal for a situation such as the one in Crossroads. In essence, it requires the child to list the members of the household, give each a kin term, describe the relationships of adjacent pairs and define three kin terms. An immediate problem in a squatter camp in South Africa is the shifting nature of household compositions. It is hard for anyone to keep up with changes in membership and even more difficult to keep track of relationships. A new member could be a relation of either the family head or his wife, or a member of their clan, or a neighbour from their country home - a home-man, or simply a lodger. During the year, I would occasionally check household membership and frequently I found changes in persons and in number. For instance seven households had the following number of members at different times:

Mlawu's in March, 13 and in May, 15  
 Togu's in March, 11 and in November, 19 (a new house)  
 Nukwa's in March, 13 and in August, 6 (a new house)  
 Nomvula's in March, 16 and in May, 21  
 Zuziwe's in March, 14 and in June 18  
 Gedja's in May, 9 and in November, 12  
 Tozama's in March, 12 (composed of 3 adults and 9 children)  
 and in May, 12 (composed of 4 adults and 8 children)

Different marital patterns exacerbated possible confusion: one man, Mr Ketshe admitted to having two wives and children by each; five parents had had children by someone other than the child's other parent; nine families had at least one child living away from home; one child's father had died and his father's brother was head of the household; three others lived without their fathers and one of them without either her father or mother. Not many of the above complications occurred according to set patterns that were accessible to the child's mind. Two examples of confusion follow:

1. Saliswa's parents each had had children before they met each other and produced progeny together. They did not admit to their former unions to those, at least, outside the family. Saliswa thought that her brother, a few years

older than she, was the child of her father but not her mother whereas he was the child of both.

2. Tozama was asked to describe the relationship between two of her brothers(X and Y) who were born of her mother and another man. She said, "They are not related, they come from the same house. X calls Y bhuti." Her mother did not admit to the early union with a man other than Tozama's father and the child was unable to work out the nature of the kinship ties.

The composition of the household was rendered more difficult for the child to grasp by the nature of work patterns. Some found it difficult to say whether someone was a member of the household or not, because he or she seemed to be away most of the time. Gedja, for example, did not include her grandmother in the list, "Because," she said, "she is working." Yet she did include her mother who was away at work all week and only returned for the weekends.

In attempting to clarify the relationship to the family of someone listed, I sometimes found that I was asking the child to discuss delicate issues that were either not common knowledge or not discussed openly before children. This was particularly true of parentage. Lungiswa, for example, claimed that her youngest brother was the child of a different father from the rest of the children while her mother denied this. I was wary of enquiring too closely as to whom an "uncle" (malume) was from certain children as mother's current man friend was often introduced as such to the child. The true parentage of a child must eventually be revealed if only because obligations (for example, the son's traditional anticipation that his father will assist in making his marriage payments) and rights (for example the father's over his daughter's ikhazi) may be later pressed and possibly contested. The question raises interesting ethical issues: traditionally did the child have the right to know who begat her even if the appropriate rites to place her under the protection of her maternal grandfather's ancestors had been fulfilled? What would the modern view be on that issue?

It is a thorny topic in Western societies when an adopted child's rights are in question and English law has recently altered giving the child the right to such knowledge in early adulthood.

In administering the interview I came upon certain problems inherent in its format and acknowledged by the authors. The test varied in difficulty according to the size of the household in which the child lived. With a large household, one could easily confuse or tire the child. I was not sure whether one ought to prompt the child when eliciting household membership. If one did not, the rest of the test would be less searching. For example, Hintsá did not name any children under either question 1 or 2 which asked for a list of members of the household. Early confusion between the child and me as we sought to clarify names and relationships may have led to passive resistance and the effective end of the interview. One source of such confusion was the variety of names by which a person would be known: a man might be known by an English name; a Xhosa name; a clan name or a nickname; a woman might be known by the same range plus a married name.

Question 1 and 2 (who lives in your house?) yielded fairly accurate lists of occupants though, as was to be expected, those from larger households forgot more members than did those from smaller. The following is a table showing the number in each household and the figure beneath the name represents the number listed by that child.

Yameka and Togu lived in a single room which was part of a large household with twenty-four and nineteen members, respectively. They could not, nor did they attempt to list everyone in the house. Yameka lived in one room with her mother's brother, his wife, their child and a lodger. Six people in a room 5 x 4 meters. I was not aware of there being a baby but having a lodger live in the same room as the family yet pay rent to the owners of the house probably ensures a frequent turnover of lodgers. I checked the numbers in each household during the month in which the kinship interviews were given, but I could have been out of date on some moves.

Table 2 : Household Membership

	Yam <sup>+</sup>	Tog	Zuz <sup>+</sup>	Nom	Sal	Toz <sup>+</sup>	Ged	Hin	Lun	Pel	Ceb	Nuk <sup>+</sup>	Gwa
Child's March 1980 list	4	5	8	10	1 (3)	8	8	3	1 (7)	5	3 (6)	2	6
Child's Nov. 1980 list*	6	7	13	14	14	11	13	9	8	7	8	9	7
No. in household: my Nov. 1980 count	24	19	17	16	14	12	12	9	8	7	7	6	6

+ Ego included in each count although 9 children did not include themselves - those without a +.

() Brackets represent the number listed after prompting.

\* It should be noted how many more members per household were named by the children in November than in March. Given that many psychological tests are administered only once to each subject, the disparity is noteworthy. Had the children "learned" by November how to respond to my questions on the basis of their experience in March? Or had their familiarity with me and my interests rendered them less shy and thus more willing or able to provide full answers, or, indeed, to be more observant of their surroundings in relation to my interests? The methodological question is : how much impact do test experiences or familiarity with context have on children's performances? The question was discussed in Chapter 5.

Togu had six people living in his room : his parents, his younger brother, his father's brother's son and his mother's sister. The latter came only at weekends. He listed his mother, brother, his father's brother's son and three others from the wider household. Children within a household even adults on occasion occupy different rooms for varying amounts of time and even sleep in various rooms. I give the two examples above to illustrate the imponderables that can skew even the list of occupants of a single room.

Nukwa and his mother had moved house within Crossorads in May. His brother remained at the first house where his guardians (his father's brother and mother's sister who were husband and wife) lived. In listing the members of his household, Nukwa drew on both houses. None of the houses to which the children in the sample belonged were occupied only by members of the nuclear family. In Saliswa's house there were members of the nuclear and extended family and of her father's clan besides a patient of her mother's and lodgers.

Nine of the children listed their mothers in question 1 which asked for a list of members of their households. Two others included her in response to question 2 which asked who else lived in the house. Yameka, who lived with her mother's brother and his wife, listed the latter under question 1. Nukwa did not list his mother but included her sister as mama and his father's brother as tata in his initial response. Later in the interview when I enquired about the relationship between his mother (using her name) and himself, he said, "None. I am not related to anyone. No one (even) in the Transkei." This is interesting in the light of his earlier denial that Nbala, his fourteen-year-old brother, was his brother, and his refusal to countenance having his mother to live with him when he grew up (see Chapter Four). Twice he refused to identify himself with materials in play situations when he was asked to imagine that a cardboard figure or a clay figure represented himself (see Chapter Five).

Five children included father in the list under question 1 and two under question 2. Of those without fathers living in

the household, Nukwa, as mentioned above, listed his father's brother and Yameka named her mother's brother, both in response to question 1; Gedja did not name her father but later in the interview she referred to her grandfather (mother's father) as tata; nor did Lungiswa list her father but named two uncles, one her mother's brother and another, whom I did not know, as malume in response to question 1.

Neither Togu nor Nomvula listed their fathers and the latter child referred to her mother as mamkaZukiswa, that is, her sister's mother. The term is a traditional form of polite address. Saliswa named her parents by their respective clan names.

Wilson and Mafeje (1963:87-89) found that the extended use of kinship terms indicating seniority was changing in town. uMama in 1963 was restricted to the speaker's own mother, though in the country it is used in address to mother's sister, and also mother's contemporaries. Traditionally ma, rather than mama, was used in this extended way, but ma was also the formal address to mother. Similarly, bawo was used by a man to his father, formally, and to no one else. Girls were using tata, the equivalent of the more familiar "daddy", rather than "father," and tata is used in the extended sense, by both men and women, for father's brothers and senior men, but not bawo as it was traditionally.

There were incidents among the boys and girls of Crossroads in which the extended use of mama could be heard. This happened often in Cebo's home, where his mother and her elder sister shared a house: the children of both women called them both mama. However, there were indications that the term was used in a more restricted sense. For example, the following conversation between Gwali and his friend John, who was not related to him, was overheard. On an evening in October, Gwali's mother was calling him home for supper.

John: "Mother calls you, Gwali."

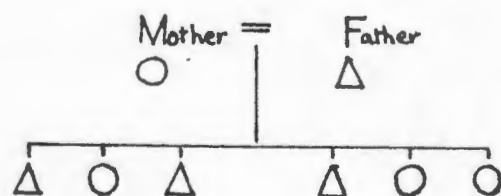
Gwali (angrily): "What do you mean, John?"

John: "I mean auntie, who is your mother."

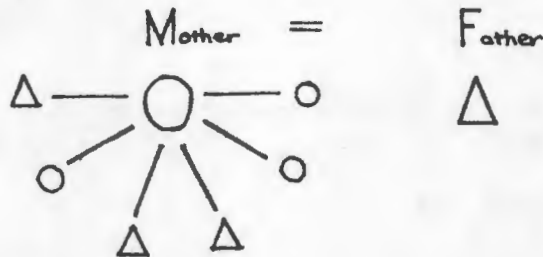
The Crossroads children used utata much more often in speaking about or to their fathers than ubawo. They used utatomkhulu rather than ubawomkhulu for grandfather.

From an analysis of the persons omitted from the children's census reports, LeVine and Price-Williams (1974:38) found that 38 per cent of girls omitted their fathers and concluded that, "This undoubtedly reflects the great social distance between the sexes in Hausa compounds, which is in fact weaker between boys and their secluded, home-bound mothers than between girls and their remote and mobile fathers. Thus boys and girls, although living in the 'same' compound, may conceptualize their domestic environments differently based on sex-differentiated patterns of interactive experience." In the Crossroads sample, if substitute figures for mothers or fathers are taken into account, every child listed a "mother" and nine of the thirteen listed a "father" in response to either question 1 or 2. There are data derived from other exercises conducted with the children during the year that show that the two children who omitted to list their fathers (Togu and Nomvula) had particularly close relationships with their fathers. It would be interesting to compare similar data with urban and rural samples to see if living conditions in town alter the salience of certain kin. However, one must be cautious in assigning qualitative value such as salience to data gathered in interviews.

Questions 3 and 4 will be dealt with together. The former asks the child who is each of the persons she has named and the next question asks how he or she is related to the child (that is, for each name not given a kin term in response to question 3). The most striking feature of these answers was that the children related people through a parent, usually the mother, rather than themselves. The usual kinship diagram looks something like this:



in which siblings are tied together, as it were, and then linked to the parents. A diagram that better represents these children's scheme might look like this:



in which the children define their relationship to each other through their mother and to the father through their mother. Lungiswa, for example, defined a mother thus:

"You call someone a mother if you are a child to her."

and a father thus:

"You don't call his name (hlonipha) because he is your mother's husband."

No child used the words for son or daughter. More often the phrase "child of the house" (umtwanabendlu) was used. Saliswa called her elder sister "An old child of my house," and Togu described his younger brother as being, "from the same house." The word used for house was indlu. In traditional Xhosa households a number of such units made up an umzi, home-stead, at the head of which would be the senior male relative. Indlu was used by these children to refer to the children of one mother much as would be done in a traditional umzi in which each married woman would have her own house and property.

Kinship terms for grandchild, cousin, niece or nephew were not used although the opportunity arose. Only Lungiswa and Peliswe used the word for husband and only the latter used the word for wife. The following ten terms were used by the children during the test:

<u>umama</u>	- mother
<u>utata</u>	- father
<u>usisi</u>	- sister
<u>ubhuti</u>	- brother

<u>utatomkhulu</u>	- grandfather
<u>umakhulu</u>	- grandmother
<u>umyeni</u>	- husband
<u>umalume</u>	- mother's brother
<u>udadebobawo</u>	- father's sister
<u>umakazi</u>	- mother's sister

Terms such as father of ..., mother of ..., were often used.

Question 5 asks of adjacent pairs of persons in the lists given earlier. "How is this one related to that one?" Six children gave no acceptable replies (Saliswa, Nukwa, Gedja, Hintsa, Nomvula and Cebo) and two gave one, although each gave a one-way definition. Yameka said of her mother's brother and his child: "She is his baby."

Gwali said of his mother and brother: "My mother is Loyiso's mother." He denied that there was a relationship between his father and his brother. Saliswa, as mentioned earlier, also denied that her brother was related to her father, and Nukwa said that the twins, his mother's sister's grandchildren, were not related to each other.

The other five children each gave three adequate definitions of the relationship between two family members (Togu and Zuziwe) and three (Lungiswa, Peliswe and Tozama). Togu described the relationship between his younger brother and his father's brother's son thus. The latter (he gave the name), "has his own mother in the Transkei. His father is also N- (clan name)." Peliswe said of her parent's relationship "Mother is father's wife." (Is father mother's wife) "No ... father is mother's husband (indoda)." Lungiswa said of her mother's relationship with her own brother, "He is Anna's mother's child. He says sisi to my mother. She does not say bhuti to him." When Cebo was asked how he was related to his mother's sister's husband and mother, said "Well!"

Finally, question 6 asked for the definition of three kin terms, ones used by the child and a general word for grandparents. Only two children, Lungiswa and Tozama gave meaningful definitions. Lungiswa's have been quoted above and Tozama's were:

Mother: "I don't know. A person is a mother because she has children."

Grandmother: "A person who has got grandchildren. Mama says 'mama' to grandmother."

Brother: "It is an older boy of the house. At his home there are girls."

Gedja's definition of mother as "She is the mother of everybody in the house" is telling for its suggestion that the position entails a position of social status and not simply kinship. Gedja calls her mother either by her English name, Jane, or sisi and when asked: (Who is Jane?) she answered,

"A girl."

(What relationship is she to you?)

"I don't know."

(Is she your mother?)

"Yes."

(What are you to her?)

"Her child."

Gedja knew her relationship to Jane and her grandmother whom she sometimes called mama, yet she did not always define it accurately. She could not define her relationship to her mother's sisters and brothers, some of whom were younger than her, except to say that they were all the children of grandmother.

Wilson and Mafeje (1963:89) recorded the same use of the terms umama and usisi in Langa among families of migrants, and among town families who send their children to the country to be brought up by grandparents. The grandmother, they note, who has charge of the children may be called mama, and the real mother, who only sees them from time to time, sisi. They observe that the substitutes are a direct reflection of change in everyday behaviour. It is of interest, in Gedja's case, that both she and her mother were born in Cape Town and that both live with Gedja's grandparents in the city.

Conclusions on the results of this interview will be discussed shortly. First, let us examine the children's response to the third test.

## S. HAVILAND'S AND E. CLARK'S TEST

Another set of questions was asked based on the study of the acquisition of English kin terms. The questions asked for the definitions of fifteen kin terms from fifty children between the ages of three and eight. The kin terms were: mother, father, grandmother, grandfather, son, daughter, grandson, granddaughter, brother, sister, aunt, uncle, niece, nephew and cousin. Haviland and Clark (1974:36) assumed that the relative semantic complexity of the entries would be the main factor in their acquisition by the child. They also wondered whether other factors such as the child's own experience and the child's own roles might affect acquisition. However, on the last point they concluded that experience with kin does not affect acquisition. (Haviland and Clark, 1974:43.) They concluded, too, that children's definitions for all fifteen of these kin terms seemed to go through the four stages outlined by Danziger (1957), with only a few minor exceptions (1974:43), and their third major finding was that a very important factor in determining the order in which kin terms are learned relative to each other is their degree of semantic complexity (1974:47).

In administering the interviews, Haviland and Clark (1974:37) found that younger children sometimes showed signs of boredom but that, "Fortunately, the older children were eager to show off their knowledge. Interviews with children over five years and nine months invariably yielded complete protocols." It was the reaction of the seven- and eight-year old children in Crossroads to such an interview format that I was interested in observing. It seemed clear that the responses would not be sustained by many children when requested to define so many terms. Xhosa culture does not encourage children to "show off their knowledge" especially to strange adults. Besides, the children were not accustomed to systematic questioning by strangers. I was, of course, interested in the problems to which the authors had sought answers, but I predicted a low level of response.

The interview was given at the end of a lengthy session when the children may have been tired already.

Results. Six children (Hintsá, Saliswa, Nukwa, Nomvula, Cebo, and Yameka) gave no replies at all. Togu and Gwali tried to give definitions but none beyond stage 1. Gedja and Peliswe gave one definition each at the level commensurate with their ages, and Tozama, Zuziwe and Lungiswa, all of whom are girls, gave four or five definitions at stage 3 level. Tozama's definition of father's sister (umakazi) illustrates the use of some kin terms beyond actual kinship:

"An aunt is a person who stays in the same house and instead of using her name you say makazi. Some are related and some are not. If I belong to clan M- and the person is also of that clan, then she is makazi."

The child defined the term as it is used for kin, household members and clan members which, in fact, is quite common in Crossroads. Traditionally (Hunter, 1936:53-57), father's sister, udadebobawo, was distinguished from mother's sister, umakazi, and mother's brother's wife, umkamalume. Wilson and Mafeje (1963:87) found that in Langa some informants still distinguished udadebobawo, but many did not and that many people used one new term uanti, from the English auntie, for all three relationships. The term was also extended to mother's contemporaries. I seldom heard the term uanti used by children in Crossroads. Umakazi seemed to be used instead. This, possibly, reflects a class difference in the use of kin terms in town: further research is needed before a firm conclusion can be made.

Lungiswa; whose parents live apart, gave a revealing definition of a daughter:

"A daughter is the girl of a mother."

(Who else can have a daughter?)

"Fathers do have daughters and leave them with their wives. They also have sons."

Her definition of a grandfather illustrates a point made earlier to the effect that kin relations are often traced through a mother:

"A grandfather is the husband of your mother's mother."

As predicted, the interview format yielded very little. Performance was poor but this cannot be taken as a true reflection of competence as the technique used was alien to the children's experience.

The three tests so far described have two features in common. They each test reference kin terms and none of them uses material or activity. To examine the use of terms of address and to provide concrete aids, I devised a test using the family of puppets with which the children and I had played during the year. There were five puppets: an old man - Bhololo; his wife, an old woman - Nosipho; their daughter - Thandeka; and her son - Zolani, and daughter - Nopinki. The father was away working on the docks of a small port. They were, of course, black. The children named them. I used them to discuss aspects of the children's experience indirectly such as the journey from the Transkei to Cape Town, the arrival in Crossroads, shopping in the city, fighting in the home.



24: Playing with Puppets

The following was the format used with each child. We took out the puppets, handled them and reminded each other of their names and kinship. I then said that we were going to play a game in which each puppet in turn was to call each of

the others but was not allowed to use their names. It was practise for hlonipha (ritual avoidance). One puppet would be placed on the child's hand and Mary and I would have the others on our hands. The child might have the mother. I would say, "Thandeka wishes to call the family to come and have supper. Zolani and Nopinki are playing on the road; Nosipho is washing in the yard and Bhololo is buying vegetables from a hawker. Thandeka is not allowed to use their names, how does she call Zolani?"

The children seemed relaxed and they enjoyed the game although Nomvula and Hintsa gave up after three puppets had called the others.

There were a limited number of address forms that could be used. They were:

mother	<u>mama</u>
grandmother	<u>makhulu</u>
grandfather	<u>tatomakhulu</u>
brother	<u>bhuti</u>
sister	<u>sisi</u>
my child	<u>mntwana wam</u>
my daughter	<u>ntombi</u>
my son	<u>nyana</u>
grandchild	<u>mzukulwana</u>
husband	<u>myeni (ndoda)</u>
wife	<u>nkosikazi</u>
mother of ...	<u>mama ka ...</u>
father of ...	<u>tata ka ...</u>

A point was given for each correct address form used in the twenty calls. The above forms are those commonly used in Crossroads. (See Table 3).

Peliswe got full marks and Tozama two less; five children got over half marks. Fifty per cent of all possible points were scored whereas on Piaget's test, only 36 per cent was scored. Although the range of possible kin terms was limited, just as many were used as in the LeVine and Price-Williams interview where the possible range was far greater. Given the complicating factors in family life for children living in a

South African urban squatter camp, I suggest that variations of the use of puppets could prune away some extraneous foliage from family trees and allow a more accurate measure of children's use and understanding of kinship terms to be made. If a list of members of the household is desirable, it could be elicited by using objects such as models.

Table 3 : Use of Kin Terms in Address

Scores on Puppet Calls (Total Possible - 20):

Pel	Toz	Lun	Yam	Tog	Ceb	Nuk	Sal	Gwa	Ged	Zuz	Hin	Nom
20	18	15	12	12	8	7	7	7	7	7	6	3

In writing up his study of kinship, Piaget (1928:92) remarks on the fact that children handle relational problems on the plane of action long before they do on the verbal plane. This is because the child has not yet become "quite definitely and consciously" aware of the distinction between membership (we are three brothers) and relation (I have two brothers). He, therefore, warns against using concrete forms at least for the problems set in his interview. However, although the puppets represent concrete forms and their membership as a family is given as well as their reference kin identities from the point of view of the mother puppet, the subject still has to work out relations within a fairly complex network and so demonstrate her ability to handle the symbolic system. For example, while the subject is told that the puppet called Nosipho is the mother of the children's mother, she is not told what kin term the grandmother should use to call her grandchild(ren). Further, while Nosipho and Bhololo are known to be Thandeka's parents, the subject is not told what kin terms they use to address each other.

The 1928 study carried one of Piaget's strongest statements on his view of childish egocentrism. He stated that until the age of seven or eight the child always takes his own point

of view as something absolute and remains ignorant of the habits of relativity and comparison and that his field of consciousness is still restricted. For example, Piaget (1928:89) says the child "has always considered his brothers and sisters from his own point of view, calling them brothers and sisters, counting the family only as a whole. But the thought of their individual viewpoints has never crossed his mind ...." It is this last comment that the play with puppets questions.

There is no ego involved in the puppet kinship play, but it is interesting to see that when either of the puppets representing the children, Nopinki and Zolani, were asked to call, the success rate was high as is shown in Table 4.

Table 4 : Puppet Play and the Use of Kin Terms

The number of children who called family members correctly using kin terms when holding each puppet in turn

Puppets Names:	Kin Identity:	Number of Possible Terms				
		4	3	2	1	0
Nopinki	Daughter	5	8			
Zolani	Son	4	8			1
Thandeka	Mother	5			2	6
Nosipho	Grandmother	2		1	2	8
Bhololo	Grandfather	2		1	3	6

The chart shows how many children called the other puppets using the correct kin term when pretending to be each puppet in turn. For example, when the children were holding Nopinki, five of these called all the others and eight called three of the four others correctly. Six of the eight failed to call Nopinki's brother, Zolani, correctly. When holding Zolani seven of the eight failed to call his sister, Nopinki, correctly. This fits in with the particular use of terms for brother and sister noted earlier. I had not defined which puppet child was older

than the other, preferring to allow each child to decide for himself or herself during earlier play sessions.

A child holding Nopinki or Zolani (the puppet son or daughter), would use the correct kin term more often in calling the others than when an adult puppet was held. Perhaps a fairer description of Piaget's notion of egocentricity in childhood would be the term child-centricity. Child-centricity eliminates some of the secondary meanings that have been loaded onto the term egocentricity. After all, how many adults successfully perceive the world from the point of view of the child? In concluding their study, Haviland and Clark (1974:46) suggest that a child should have less difficulty in taking the viewpoint of another child than in taking that of an adult. They add that "it is clearly a factor that should be explored further." The above study lends support to their suggestion.

The puppet test does not demand a firm conception of number as does the Piagetion test.

#### COMMENTS

In August in preparation for a task that involved estimating the relative size of their family (see report in Chapter Five) each child gave me a list of the members of her family. The lists highlighted the number of variables that had to be taken into account. A child may have had to decide whether or not:

- a) to include members of the nuclear family whether or not they lived in the same house or area (i.e., parents and/or siblings);
- b) to include members of the wider family whether or not they lived in the same house or area;
- c) to include members of either parents' clans;
- d) to include a parent's "husband"/"wife" if other than the child's parent and/or their offspring;
- e) to exclude other household members.

Seven children listed every member of the nuclear family while six did not, as some members lived away from the Crossroads home. Eight children named at least one member outside the

nuclear family. With four children (Togu, Nukwa, Saliswa and Nomvula) it was difficult to establish for certain whether or not they were clear as to who belonged to the nuclear family. It took questioning using a tape recorder, an exercise with clay figures, a life history interview, kinship interviews to establish that each did know who was a member of the immediate family group. On some occasions Togu and Nukwa each denied having a brother (the latter denied having any kin on one occasion); Nomvula usually insisted on including her father's brother's daughters as her sisters; and Saliswa was sometimes confused as to exactly which parent begat which child in her large, complex family. The point to be made is that a child's conception of family membership is not easily traced when family composition alters in the face of change. However, comments such as the one made by Seagrim and Lendon (1980:200) about the cognitive concepts of Aborigine children are unacceptable in the light of the above findings. Their comment was made as part of their explanation of how the "Aboriginal mode" affects their (lack of) quantitative thinking. Their first reason for the absence of such thinking is that "... the Aboriginal infant is brought up in a society in which the notions associated with personal ownership are largely lacking: his care-takers are numerous and largely interchangeable and even the kinship terms used to designate each equivalent person (mother and mother's sister) are the same ...." The authors link non-ownership of possession to the number of child care-takers and the equivalence of kin terms. Yet they do not record from the child's point of view just how interchangeable the care-takers are nor how equivalent in value. They fail to plumb the depths of the fiction.

Before concluding, the following conversations recorded during observations of children at home will be offered as illustrations of points made earlier in the chapter. One such point was that within families emphasis is placed on seniority among brothers and sisters and the respect due from those younger. van Warmelo (1931) observed that, "Brothers everywhere scrupulously observe the prerogatives of primogeniture. To

lack respect towards an elder brother is a great offence and easily leads to blows .... The same applies to the relations of sisters among themselves."

Observation on 11.11.1980 at 5:20 p.m. outside Tozama's home:

Tozama: "I have seen Makhosi kicking my ball. What can I do to find it?"

Friend: "It is easy for you to ask him to give you the ball for it doesn't belong to him. It belongs to you so he must return it to you."

Tozama: "Hey! Makhosi, kindly give me that ball as I want to play with it."

Makhosi (her brother aged 18): "I am not your size. You must not call me like that. I am older than you, you must have 'respect' for me." (Respect was said in English).

Tozama: "What's that? What's 'respect'? Tell me, brother, I want to know that English word that you said to me."

Makhosi: "I mean having no manners, a child who is naughty like you is a child who has got no 'respect', no manners. Do you hear what I say?"

Tozama: "Yes, I do understand your explanation of the word."

In the same family on the evening of the following day, this conversation was recorded.

Tozama's mother upbraids her sister, aged fourteen, for losing a bottle of Permanganate of Potash which she needs to mix in medicine required by people for the journey to the Transkei at Christmas. The girl, Nomvuyo, is asked by makoti (her brother's new bride) to wash dishes but she plaintively says that she has to find the Permanganate of Potash although she is not at all certain that her mother gave it to her to keep. Tozama interrupts her plaint, saying:

"Oh, no Nomvuyo, stop talking nonsense about Mama."

Nomvuyo (angrily): "What, Tozama, what do you say? I'll hit you if you are naughty. You must not be naughty. You must know that you are a child. I am older than you."

The following record some instances in which the term brother was used: The first came from Cebo's home and reflects the way in which Cebo uses brother to address or refer to his cousin (his mother's sister's son, aged fourteen). At 8:30 p.m. on 10.11.80, Cebo had eaten and his aunt (mother's sister) was dishing up for her son, Mxolisi.

Cebo: "I am also going to eat again with Mxolisi. He is my brother, I must eat with him."

Mother: "When you eat your own food, he is not your brother, you do not think of him; but when he is having his own food, he is your brother."

Cebo: Laughs.

At 7:10 p.m. on 15.11.80, Mxolisi was returning home and upon seeing him, Cebo called out -

"Here is Mxolisi coming. Here is my brother. Mama, here is my brother. He is back from the evening prayer, he is back. What have you got in your pockets, let me see."

At 6:00 p.m. on the next day, Cebo's mother asked Mxolisi, her sister's son, "Where is my brother, Mxolisi?" meaning his father, her sister's husband.

And on the following day, Cebo's father returned from work at 7:30 p.m. He asked his wife if he could have a fire tin in his bedroom and she said that it was a waste to have one there as well as in the sitting room where everyone was gathered. Father, said, in a hurt tone: "But I am wet."

Mother: "Oh! I didn't know that you are wet. Please forgive me then. Let me make a fire for you, my daddy."

Mother's sister: "Here. Take my fire."

Father: "Thank you my swaer,\* my wife was a bit rude to me though she can see that I am a little wet."

---

\*In Afrikaans, swaer means brother-in-law and is often used in addressing a friend similar to the English "mate."

Mother: "Cebo, go and take the heater from my sister's room."

Cebo: "Mama, Mama, it is heavy for me to carry."

Mother: "Mxolisi, help him please my dear son.

Hurry up. Here is a cup of coffee for you daddy."

Father: "Thank you, mama."

Mxolisi: "Here is a chair for you to sit, on daddy."

In the above, kin terms are frequently used and not always in strict accord with nuclear ties, e.g., Mother calls her sister's son, 'my dear son' and he calls his mother's sister's husband, "father." On 19.11.80 in Togu's home, a man who belongs to the same clan as Togu's father addressed the boy as "my brother's son" and Togu addressed that man's son as "my brother."

Two examples will suffice to suggest the wide use to which the term mother can be put.

In Zuziwe's home at 8:00 p.m. on 27.10.80, the lodger, Mimi, is preparing a bottle for Zuziwe's three-year-old brother, Sonwaba. Mimi teases him lightly because he addresses her, using her name:

Sonwaba: "Make a bottle for me, Mimi."

Mimi: "Who is Mimi?"

Sonwaba: "My mother is Mimi."

On the following day at 6:00 p.m., Zuziwe is singing and dancing like an iggira. She says to her sister:

"I want to dance for Pamela. I wish to do this so that she can see that I am a tribal dancer. I will do the dances of the Xhosa."

Her sister bothers her, and Zuziwe asks:

"Why do you come and disturb me?"

You do not want me to dance for my mother when she comes."

Many such examples could be given. They support one of the conclusions of the paper that the use to which kinship

terms are put by children is not easily ascertained through the medium of formal interviews. Attention must be paid both to their use of the terms in address and reference and to the context.

#### SUMMARY

One of the features of a changing society is the change in kinship terminology. Among the Xhosa, as Hunter (1936) and Wilson and Mafeje (1963) observed, change is not recent. English and Afrikaans words have been extensively assimilated. This study confirms the changes that were recorded by the last two authors in Langa: that is, changes in the use of terms for father's sister, mother's sister, mother's brother's wife, a man's elder brother, a woman's brother, and different, less extended, uses of mother and father. However, terms that were replacing them in Crossroads were different from those in Langa. Umakazi was used not uanti; tata or umalume not ompie; sisi not usister wam; and tata rather than bawo; usisi and ubhuti were used in the same extended way in Crossroads as in Langa. The use of umakhulu had remained the same. Three points must be emphasized. Seventeen years separated the publication of the research on Langa and my fieldwork; the class composition of the Crossroads population differed from that of Langa - the latter having a larger group with more years of schooling and another of migrants without their families; and, thirdly, my informants were children. The effective time gap may be longer than seventeen years in as much as the Langa informants were adults and the Crossroads' informants children. Nevertheless, the trends were similar and the issues they raise worthy of closer study. That change in kinship terms was occurring and that their use possibly varied according to class, age and urban status should caution researchers against drawing hasty conclusions based on set interviews amongst sample groups. Change affects family composition, traditional attitudes towards kin ties and responsibilities. These must all be taken into account in the study of kinship terminology.

The abstract nature of the interview technique and its reliance (in Piaget's version) on number conception make it difficult to administer to some child populations. The complexity of household membership in Crossroads made the gathering of a census through children a task more difficult than the one LeVine and Price-Williams faced with Hausa children.\* Similarly, lists of family members were difficult

---

\*In the context of research in Lesotho, Murray (1976:54) asks

"By what criteria, then, is the household defined? It is not a co-residential group, nor does it engage in joint activities, for the energies of household members are divided between participation in agricultural production in Lesotho and participation in industrial production in South Africa. Nor can it be defined by criteria of kinship for, although its members are almost invariably kin of one sort or another, there is striking variation in actual kinship composition both between households and within households over time. A pragmatic interim approach is to regard the household as an aggregation of individuals within which are concentrated the flows of income and expenditure generated by the activities of its members."

It is difficult, he adds, to distinguish clearly between the householder's tangible manifestation as a partially co-residential group and its overall functional manifestation in terms of income generating activities. Murray points out that

"... it is clearly important in assessing the sociological implications of oscillating migration to understand whether a household is discussed in the sense that includes absent members or in the sense that excludes them."

He says (1976:136) that one must take into account criteria of consumption, co-residence, production and reproduction in the analysis of the domestic group.

(See, also Goody, J., 1972; Gluckman, 1950; and Preston-Whyte, 1974). Spiegel (1980:8) suggests the need to focus on individuals and their networks, both rural and urban, as basic analytical units.

to obtain from children because of family disbursement and changing patterns of work, residence and marriage.\*

It seemed to me that children aged seven or eight were aware of the implications behind the use of kinship terms. They understood the emotional nuances that choice among possible terms might imply. Sometimes I suspected, on the basis of the use of kin terms, that a child did not know his or her exact relationship to a caretaker but other incidents demonstrated that this was not so. Imputations about emotional salience and the child's understanding of the kinship system cannot be reliably drawn from single tests based on the use of kin terms.

---

\*Spiegel (1980:1) gives references to the writings of historians and anthropologists on a body of work that is emerging that deals with

"the manner in which ordinary people, caught up in the rigours of the migrant labour system, have come to cope with the pressures on them and their families."

## CHAPTER 8 : DREAMS

Like the Mpondo about whom Monica Hunter (1936) wrote, the Xhosa, "... believe in the survival of the dead, and in their interest in, and power over the life of their descendants. All 'old people' (abantu abadala) who die become amathongo (ancestral spirits), and can influence the lives of their descendants." Hunter, (1936:231). The amathongo manifest themselves to their descendants in dreams. Thus dreams represent a vital link in the Xhosa system of beliefs. "The diviner", wrote Hunter, (1936:238), "is in particular close relationship with his amathongo, and he has many dreams directing his initiation and teaching him medicines. In his capacity of diviner he also interprets the will of the amathongo of people of other families."

Dreams also function in Xhosa ritual as the medium for the expression of confession. A pregnant woman, for example, is ritually washed with a particular plant (isihlambezo) to help to ensure that the child in her womb will flourish and, during the ritual, she is expected to confess (ukulawula) her dreams. (Hunter, 1936:148). Likewise, a woman who is troubled by dreams of an izulu (or impundulu), a familiar that is said to be possessed by a female witch, is treated by an ixhwele (a herbalist) and an essential preliminary of the treatment is a full confession of dreams, and of relations with the izulu, (Hunter, 1936:285). Part of the treatment of a novice undergoing training as an igqira is the confession of dreams. She is expected to confess everything she sees emaphupheni, that is, in sleeping or waking dreams (Hunter, 1936:325). The confession of dreams clearly plays a part in cleansing body and mind, implying either the existence of unconscious desires not sanctioned by society or some measure of complicity with forces of evil.

Among the people of Crossroads, it seemed to me, dreams still played a powerful role in the lives of many. In working with the children, I sought to discover to what extent they,

at the age of seven or eight, consciously acknowledge the beliefs held about dreams by adults in their society. I was interested in the content of their dreams, their attitudes towards them and their thoughts about the dream process. I tried, too, to find out their families' understanding of the role of dreams and their reaction to their children's dreams.

Half way through the year, I began to ask the fourteen children to tell me their dreams. In six months, they told me thirty dreams (three of the children never offered any). Once Nukwa said, "I dream but I cannot remember any to tell you", and on another occasion, "I never have dreams. I know that others have dreams." Yameka said, "I sleep without dreams", and Gedja told me, "I have never seen a dream." In view of the fact that father was the person most often dreamt about by the other eleven children, it is of interest that none of these three lived with his or her father.

Half of the thirty dreams seemed to be happy and the other half seemed to instil some fear or distress in the dreamer. From Zuziwe, Cebo, Hintsa and Peliswe I have only fearful dreams and from Gwali I have only happy ones. Together we would discuss the dreams and pursue any associations. Towards the end of the year, I interviewed each child about dreams, structuring the questions around Jean Piaget's (1921) early research on dreams. First, I shall report on the children's dreams then on the results of the interviews and, finally, I shall summarize the analysis of dreams given to me by an igqira in Crossroads.

This section on dreams should be read in the context of the thesis, that is, as part of the ethnographic record of seven-year-old Xhosa children. It is not a full study but it suggests that there is an area of research that can be fruitfully exploited cross-culturally. That the children told me their dreams indicates that there was some degree of trust between us. It suggests that work on dreams is possible even with children so young. It is clear that cultural symbols appear in the dreams of seven-year-old Xhosa children living

in an urban environment: themes such as the brewing of beer; the slaughtering of a goat; the entering of rivers and forests; and the use of black cow skins all occur. Themes that recur in all dream analysis are also represented in the children's dreams, for example, themes of death, birth, the shedding of blood, snakes and nakedness. I have not attempted to interpret the dream symbols.

The main point of this chapter echoes one that recurs throughout the thesis: the analysis of any aspect of childhood is likely to be only as deep as the researcher's understanding of the child's reality in terms of her culture and the socio-economic conditions of the community in which she lives. Notions of reality and thus of dreams are culturally informed. Children are initiated into some of the culture's notions at an early age and their understanding of phenomena relates to that initiation in complex ways.

There is another point in this section that reflects a theme in the thesis: the accuracy of analysis of any aspect of childhood is reliant upon the methodology used in enquiring into that aspect. Direct interviews, as used by Piaget in his dream research, were relatively unproductive when used with the children of Crossroads. The point will be discussed shortly.

I used to offer my dreams to the amagqira with whom I worked to obtain a feel for the process of interpretation. I was impressed by the ingredients for psychological care embedded in the interpretations. (For a detailed explication of the ingredients, see Bührmann, 1981a, 1981b, 1981c, 1981d and 1982a.) There is an intricate detail in the tapestry of dreams as interpreted by amagqira. To some extent, it is a matter of choice or need that determines whether or not an individual pays much heed to the detail. The dreams of the children and the interpretations given to them by their kin suggests that they too take advantage of the culture's ideas about dreams eclectically.

## THE CHILDREN'S DREAMS

A quarter of the dreams featured the child's father. Mother appeared in only one tenth of the dreams. Gwali dreamt (31.7.80) that a large shack was being built for him and that only he and his father would live in it. In discussing the dream, he said that his mother, brother and Gedja (his mother's sister's daughter) would stay in the old shack and Gedja's mother would come to cook and clean for him and his father. He added, "I like my father very much and spend a lot of time with him. We talk together about ordinary things."

Nomvula had this dream about her father (3.10.89):

"I dreamt that my father had hurt his hand and was bandaging it. He hurt it in a car accident. I was afraid as there was a lot of blood. Nobody was helping him."

She explained that, when she is awake, she is often afraid that he will be hurt.

Togu once dreamt (9.9.80) that his father was stabbing his mother. Later, I asked his mother about the dream and she recalled that he had awoken crying. She had comforted him saying, "No, you are growing up now my child." This was a phrase often repeated to children and it means that it is natural that one should face difficulties as one grows : it is a sign of growing. It is said in consolation. Togu had another dream about his father (5.5.80):

"I dreamt that my father had a new car. It was pink. It was like yours except for the colour. It had three seats, father drove it home. I was in the car. We were coming back from the garage where we bought it : back to the house. I was feeling happy. I was proud."

Saliswa had three dreams in which her father appeared. Once (16.9.80) she dreamt that he received letters from the Transkei (reported in Chapter Four). In the morning she awoke

and told her mother the dream. Later that day, a kinsman brought letters for her father from the Transkei. The dream was interpreted by her mother as further proof of Saliswa's having been called to be an igqira. Although the other two dreams are similar in content, they provoked different emotions in the child. On 8.8.80 Saliswa reported having had this dream during the previous night:

"Father told me to take a taxi to a farm. I used to go to the farm with a bride from our house. It was a happy dream. We used to visit people on the farm [at Kuils River]. I would take a taxi alone without being afraid if my father told me to."

Yet on 24.10.80 she told me another dream:

"I can remember a really bad dream. I dreamt that my father told me to take a taxi and go to Grassy Park [an area designated 'coloured']. I said, 'I don't want to' because my father had said before that I must not go in taxis to Grassy Park. Nothing else happened. I was afraid. I don't know of what. I was really sleeping, not taking a taxi. I don't know why a frightening dream should come."

Although Lungiswa had not lived with her father for some years, she dreamt of his sister (30.9.80):

"I dreamt that we visited father's sister's (datata) grave at Fish Hoek. After we came back from the graveyard, there were people fighting outside the house at Fish Hoek. That is all."

She explained that in the dream, the people fighting were her uncle, the husband of her father's sister, and a man who

was drunk. Her father's sister is still alive and lives and works in Fish Hoek. Lungiswa had never been there. Nor had she been to a graveyard even though her sister and brother had.

Do children who live most of their lives away from their fathers dream of them as much or more or less than do children who live with their fathers? It might be possible through an analysis of the appearance of kin in children's dreams to either check or supplement the notion put forward by Levine and Price-Williams (1974) that the emotional salience of kinsmen can be estimated on the basis of the use of kinship terms by children (see Chapter 7).

Tozama and Saliswa had dreams that were interpreted as being messages from the shades. Tozama had a dream that was interpreted as a prediction of her father's and mother's illness and as the first sign of her having been called to be an iggira. Mother and child told me the dream on separate occasions. Her mother said (1.5.80):

"She dreamt that a man was standing next to her bed saying that she must not look at him and that he was going to kill her. She woke and ran to our room and told us the dream. We said that she must sleep on the couch in the sitting room. The dream was repeated.

"The next week, both her father and I were ill. An iggira cannot treat her own family so we took her to another iggira who said, 'The dream foretold your illness. She is called. Whatever she does in the house you must not shout at her. You must allow her to do or say what she likes. You must not beat her nor punish her like other children.'"

Tozama's delight at the doctor's instructions have been recorded elsewhere (see Chapter 4). She told me (25.7.80) another dream that she recalled from the past:

"I dreamt as if the beer had been made and the fathers (obawomkhulu) were there. I was sick and a goat was slaughtered for me, and my father's sister (udadebobawo) was there."

Besides telling me the dream, she wrote about it and drew it in her book on her own initiative. She drew herself, her father's sister and a goat beside which she wrote ibhokhwe (goat).



Figure 1 : Tozama's Drawing of the Ritual with the Goat

On the opposite page, she wrote the following in two columns\*:

---

\*On this occasion she demonstrated an ability to write that was far superior to any ability she had shown during formal test sessions, including one conducted four months later (see Chapter 5).

<u>ndiPhuPhe</u>	- I dreamt ( <u>ukuphupha</u> to dream)
<u>ingathi</u>	- as if
<u>Kusiliwe</u>	- with beer brewed ( <u>ukusila</u> - to brew)
<u>umqombothi</u>	- beer
<u>kuKhootata</u>	- at our father's place
<u>ngenywe</u>	- one (by one ...)
<u>imini</u>	- afternoon
<u>ndandigula</u>	- I was sick ( <u>ukugulisa</u> - to sicken; <u>gulayo</u> - sick)
<u>ndaxhelelwa</u>	- was slaughtered for me ( <u>ukuxhela</u> - to slaughter)
<u>ibhokhwe</u>	- goat
<u>odadobawo</u>	- father's sister ( <u>udadebobawo</u> )

Mrs Ketshe confirmed her daughter's dream and said that as a result of it the family had slaughtered a goat on her behalf in 1979. The ritual was seen as an introduction of the child to the shades. She was seven years old at the time. The incident affords an example of a child's dream that resulted in the focusing of family and/or communal attention on the child's needs in a manner that is likely to bring satisfaction to all parties.

In another dream (25.8.80) Tozama saw that the Anglican clergyman of Crossroads, whose intentions to marry had recently been announced, would have a baby boy. In July, 1981, a boy was born to the clergyman and his new wife. It was an obvious prediction but what was interesting was the seriousness with which the dream was treated by the child and some adults : a mock seriousness, perhaps.

Saliswa's dreams were also seen as signs that she had been called. Two examples were the dreams in which she foretold that letters would arrive for her father from the Transkei and in which dogs bit her (see Chapter 4). Her mother told me (16.9.80) that her daughter had dreamt of entering a river and, in another dream, she had been deep in a forest. She commented, "These dreams have meaning especially the one of the river : it means that she is called." All three themes - the river, the forest, the biting dogs - are widely interpreted as calls from the shades. Saliswa would wake crying from the dreams and her mother said that she would listen to the account of them and comfort her.

There is a suggestion that each of the girls' mothers, who were themselves amaggira, had chosen a bright, sensitive, strong child from her family and had sought signs, especially in dreams, that the child would follow her profession. I do not mean to suggest that it was wholly a conscious search. In Chapter 4 some evidence of the mothers' opinions of each girl's sensitivity and good sense is given.

Not all mothers paid attention to their children's dreams. Mrs Dyani, Lungiswa's mother, said (11.9.80), "She has no nightmares. She tells me her dreams but I always think she is joking. She is too young to remember them." I recorded six of Lungiswa's dreams, three of which she described as distressing. Mrs Gonya said (8.9.80), "Nomvula does not have bad dreams and does not tell me her dreams. She is too young yet to tell them." Nomvula told me two dreams, one of which, quoted above, was about her father being hurt and the other was a happy one about her sisters returning from the Transkei. Mrs Bhurhu said (11.9.80), "Peliswe dreamt that she was walking on black cow skins. I tend to ignore what she tells me of her dreams as I cannot listen being always too worried." Peliswe had told us the dream to which her mother referred on 25.7.80:

"I dreamt two nights ago that I was walking with my mother's brother, his child and Tozama in the forest. We were walking on our knees. There were black and white skins on the ground. Then I woke up. It was frightening."

On the same day, she told me another dream:

"On Tuesday, I dreamt that I was in the forest with my two sisters. We went and went and went and saw a snake. It pulled me by the leg into a hole. I cried. My sisters cried and ran to tell my mother. While I was crying; I went to a house nearby and while I was there, my mother and sisters arrived carrying my clothes as I was wearing only a pantie. That was the end."

After the dream, she said, she had woken with fear in the night but had not woken anyone else. She had fallen asleep again. In recounting their dreams, the children sometimes used story telling styles common to iintsomi (folk tales); for example, the repetition and the ending in the above dream. The dream is ripe for interpretation by an iggira or an analyst.

Other dreams revealed the characteristics of a child : three examples will suffice. Mlawu's love of little children was expressed in a dream. For the first half of 1980, a woman with twin babies lodged in his house. He often played with them with absorption and gentleness. Soon after the lodgers moved, he dreamt that the twins returned and that he took care of them. Another dream in which he was disturbed at being late for school illustrated his conscientiousness. Zuziwe's fear of violence was shown in two dreams in which an older boy beat her. Cebo's nervousness, which he camouflaged behind a front of bravado, came through in a dream in which children stole his wire car and ran off with it into the forest; he dared not enter because he was afraid of skollies (ruffians).

Some of the children's other dreams are reported in various contexts. For instance, Lungiswa's dream of a baby being born is in the discussion of birth in Chapter 4; another of her dreams and one of Hintsu's on violence in Crossroads are given in Chapter 4.

We have seen, thus far, that while the dreams of young children are often ignored, some are interpreted as meaningful and portentous. Comfort is offered to a child distressed by a bad dream when an adult gives the dream shape and form and, often, a meaning opposite to the tone of the dream content. We have seen that Togu's mother comforted him saying not that the dream of his father stabbing her was unreal or immaterial or even past but that Togu was growing up, indicating that he must handle conflict such as ambivalence or rivalry and accept the compensations that increased age affords. In the following section, the results of interviews with the children based on Piaget's early work on dreams will be given.

In the interviews the children were confused as to how to interpret questions on the reality of dreams (kwenyani - real; eneneni - really; ubuqinisa - reality). One moment they might see dreams as being real (in the sense that any psychological phenomena are real) and then as unreal because they could not be shared nor seen by others and did not exist except in the sleeping head of one person. We must consider what reality Xhosa culture allows dreams to possess.

#### THE DREAM INTERVIEW

Jean Piaget (1921:88) called dreams "the most subjective of all phenomena" and he was interested in children's understanding of them for he felt that, "... the explanation of the dream supposes the duality first of the internal and the external, and secondly of thought and matter." (1921:88) He described the technique used in studying children's ideas about dreams as delicate and he focused his enquiry on four points which will be described shortly. Piaget (1921:91) classified the children's answers into three distinct stages which he summarized thus:

"During the first stage (approximately 5 to 6 years) the child believes the dream to come from outside and to take place within the room and he thus dreams with his eyes. Also, the dream is highly emotional : dreams often come 'to pay us out', 'because we've done something we ought not to have done', etc. During the second stage (average age 7 to 8 years) the child supposes the source of the dream to be in the head, in thought, in the voice, etc., but the dream is in the room, in front of him. Dreaming is with the eyes; it is looking at a picture outside. The fact that it is outside does not mean that it is true : the dream is unreal, but consists in an image existing outside, just as the image of an ogre may exist, without there actually being an ogre. Finally, during the third stage (about 9 to 10 years), the dream is the product

of thought, it takes place inside the head (or in the eyes), and dreaming is by means of thought or else with the eyes, used internally."

The published results of his early interviews with children have been heavily criticized for being too loosely structured, too anecdotal, too difficult to replicate. He developed a methodology that emerged from this work but one that pivoted around activity on the part of the child. Despite its shortcoming, the dream interview offers a format to follow and some basis for comparison. I used it for these reasons although I had a particular purpose in mind: I wanted to see whether or not the children assigned an origin and a meaning to dreams that was in accord with the traditional interpretation of origin and meaning within Xhosa culture. Piaget's loose format was followed in interviews with each child and questions pertaining to Xhosa beliefs were added at the end.

The interviews were conducted in late October and I was curious to see how the children would respond to a set of questions that were unrelated to any material or activity. In the event, I was glad that I had not relied on direct questioning in working with the children as it is surprisingly depressing to hear andiyazi (I don't know) repeated many times. That is not to say that nothing was learned, only that the going was heavy. Nomvula, Gedja and Yameka would say almost nothing while Hintsa, Zuziwe, Nukwa and Togu were not very responsive. It is likely that the intelligence and originality of reserved children such as Yameka, Zuziwe and Togu may have been hidden if interviews had been the primary medium used. The reason for children's reserve has, presumably, something to do with the place that children are assigned in the adult world. Unlike children in the West, Xhosa children are not invited to express opinions on a wide range of topics or to participate in sustained verbal exchanges with relative strangers. When adults converse, children are not supposed to stay close. Tozama's sister, aged 12, was heard reprimanding

her for refusing to go outside to play. She said, "You do not want to go and play because you are listening to what people are talking about, and then you answer whether or not you are addressed."

Sometimes an adult, perhaps an iggira or a Crossroads Committee member or a crèche leader, would come to my room while I was working with a child. It would have been rude to turn anyone away and the children and I had to learn to accept interruptions as part of life's natural hazards. While the visitor and I talked, I would observe the child's reactions. Although she might politely take up some activity and appear not to be involved in the conversation, she would steal quick glances and sometimes re-act to what was being said; it was clear that some close attention was being paid.

I suspect that children listen more carefully and more often than adults, whether the adult be anthropologist or indweller, care to acknowledge. I had hoped to observe and record children's behaviour near conversing adults but being white in a black community in South Africa made me too conspicuous, too disruptive to enable me to merge with any background. Observing children's behaviour in my presence, I noted that they would come forward to greet me, hover a while with blatant curiosity, drift off on their own business and return shortly to skirt the arena of my exchange with the adults.

Piaget loosely tied questions on dreams to four areas to do with a) the origin of dreams; b) the place of dreams; c) the organ with which one dreams and d) the reason behind dreams. Among the fourteen children, Lungiswa was the only one who suggested an origin for dreams; she said that they come from God. Cebo said later in the interview that they are made in Heaven. Both children had been told so by their mothers. Gwali's reply was apposite, "I don't know where dreams come from because it is a long time since I dreamt." There was no spontaneous suggestion that dreams come from the shades.

In response to questions as to where dreams occur, five children said that they happen inside the head and four outside. The replies of the four follow:

Cebo : "It is there. It is outside the head. It is in the room near my eyes in the bed."

Gedja : "In the house. It is far from me."

Peliswe : "The dream, I think, is in the Transkei. It seems as if it is outside the head. It is inside the room."

Hintsa : "Outside. It is on the bed. It really happens. I am asleep when the dream is happening."

The remaining five children said "Andiyazi."

When asked about the organ of dreams, that is, with what does one dream, five said with the head, three with the eyes and one with the mouth. The last was Cebo's reply and when asked:

(What does the dream come out of?) He replied,

"It comes out of the stomach."

(How does it get there?)

"Nicely!"

Tozama thought the dream came by air.

There were no answers to any of the why questions: no suggestion that they might bear messages from the shades or from God.

Piaget asked his subjects a number of questions pertaining to the reality of dreams. He asked, while you dream, where is the dream? and if the response was that it was in front of the dreamer, he would ask, Is it truly in front or does it only seem to be? and Is there really something in front of us, or is it only make-believe?; While you are asleep, is the dream there?; Can two people have the same dream?; Is the dream real?

The children at Crossroads varied in their interpretation of the concept of reality. Five of them were firm in asserting the unreality of dreams: Togu, Nukwa, Gedja, Lungiswa and Zuziwe. The last said, "It is not really happening. I am in bed while I dream. It happens in my head." Four others were sure that dreams were real. Hintsa, Peliswe, Tozama and Saliswa. Peliswe, for example, said in reference to her dream

of being in the forest, "Yes it was real. It seemed as if (ifana bonakala 'ngathi) I was in the Transkei. It seemed as if I was in the forest. I was really in my house in bed. Yes, it was a dream in my head." Both she and Zuziwe believed that their dreams happened in their heads, yet one asserted the dreams' reality and the other their unreality.

Cebo, Gwali and Saliswa gave contradictory replies. Cebo, for instance, in response to the question, While you dream, where is the dream? said, "It is there. It is outside the head. It is in the room near my eyes in the bed. It seems to be there but is not really there. It is real not make-believe." Yet, in reply to a question about the reality of a nightmare, he said, "No. It is not real. It does not happen. I don't know why we are frightened."

With reference to a dream of his in which he had chased boys who had stolen his wire car, I asked, "Where were you, asleep or running?" He replied, "I was sleeping and I was running. I was really sleeping. I was really running. Mother could not have seen me run." The children's thoughts on the question of the reality of dreams did not accord with the stages to which they were assigned in accordance with their overall responses.

Every child said that no one could see another's dream. Only Gwali suggested that a dream could be shared but changed his mind after further questioning. Half of the children said that dreams only come at night and not if one sleeps during the day.

According to Piaget's criteria, two-thirds of the children who gave enough replies to allow for a fair estimate to be made were in Stage III (that is 8 out of 12 children). Two were Stage II and another two in Stage I. It is of interest that so many of the sample reached Stage III in their understanding of dreams although, on the basis of a Genevan sample, Piaget anticipated that the third stage would only be reached by children aged 10 or 11. The four children whose replies placed them in Stages I and II (Hintsisa, Gedja, Gwali and Cebo) were the ones who often achieved the least well on most tasks given them during the year.

Thus far in the interview, only one child had mentioned that dreams could come from the shades or carry messages. This was so despite being asked the questions : Is the dream sent by someone? and What sends the dream? In answer to the first question, each child said "no" except Cebo, who said that Jesus sends us dreams and they are made in Heaven. Only Peliswe gave a reply to the second question saying that the shades (izinyanya) sent them.

To Piaget's basic set of questions, I added the following : Does the dream come from the shades?; Can there be a message in a dream?; Can a dream tell about the future?; and, Xhosa diviners (amaggira) believe that it can - are they correct? Eight of the children allowed either that the shades do send dreams (Tozama and Cebo) or that dreams can bring messages or predict the future (Zuziwe, Mlawu and Nukwa) or that amaggira are correct in believing in the predictive power of dreams. None of them was consistent in replying to these questions.

Tozama said that dreams came from the shades but do not bear messages. We discussed her dream which had been interpreted as having predicted her parent's illness and as a sign of her calling. She looked shamefaced and smiled saying:

"Yes. It is right. There are messages. There are always messages."

(If you have a simple dream of playing outside, will there be a message in the dream?)

"I don't know."

(Who knows if a dream has a message?)

"My mother."

(Does she always see a message or only sometimes?)

"Always."

(Can you see messages in dreams?)

"Yes. I can see it."

(After or before your mother tells you?)

"Mother does not tell me."

(How, then, can you understand the message?)

She gave no reply.

Cebo, too, agreed that dreams came from the shades but denied that they carried messages or predicted the future or that amagqira's beliefs were correct. I asked him if Jesus was a shade and he replied, "Yes. He was a black man."

Zuziwe said, "A dream can tell about the future. I don't know who sends messages." Mlawu and Nukwa replied similarly. Gwali responded with negatives to the first two questions yet he said that the amagqira's beliefs were correct. Peliswe was similarly confused. Saliswa denied that shades sent dreams or that dreams could carry messages or predict the future. When I asked her if the amagqira's beliefs were correct, I added that her mother (an igqira) probably believed as they did. She replied:

"Yes, she does. There are messages."

(Who sends them?)

"I don't know."

(The shades?)

"Yes."

(So they can send messages in dreams?)

"Yes."

(Have you had a message from the shades?)

"No."

(Has your mother?)

"Yes."

(Your mother says that you have been called to be an igqira. Is that right?)

"Yes."

(Then they must have sent you a message?)

"I don't know."

Piaget (1921:116) felt that suggestion had little effect on a child's thinking even at Stage II. Yet, when reminded of their mothers' opinions, Saliswa and Tozama altered their own.

Both Togu and Hintsa had been firm in their earlier denials that there was a source for a message in dreams, yet both replied more cautiously with andiyazi to this set of questions.

Gedja was sure of her disbelief and Lungiswa reaffirmed her understanding that dreams come from God. Neither Yameka nor Nomvula gave any replies.

The dream interviews support suggestions that have been made in some other pieces of research that maturational processes can be detected in children's understanding of dreams but that they learn their societies' beliefs and adopt them so that they override the former. There seemed to be an effort on the part of some children to switch consciousness when faced with questions that reflected others' actual beliefs. Piaget concluded his chapter on dreams with a call for the repetition of the study in different countries in order that the part played by adult influences may be more definitely separated from the spontaneous and constant conviction of the child. On the basis of a number of studies done in various European centres, Piaget (1921:122) asserted his belief that the child's conviction maintains a constancy and spontaneity that preponderates over the effect of adult influence. I suggest that the context in which one questions a child including the manner in which the questions are put, that is, whether they are generalized queries or tied to particular beliefs held by adults in the child's world, affects the child's responses. There is, obviously, a need to understand the theories about and the uses of dreams in a society before an analysis of children's conceptual grasp of the phenomena can be analysed.

#### AN IGQIRA'S VIEWS ON DREAMS

The third section of this chapter is a resume of an igqira's views of childhood and dreams. The igqira, whom I shall call Phalo, lived in Crossroads but travelled widely across the Republic. He had had very little formal schooling but had taught himself to read and write. He was born in Cacadu, in the Transkei on 3.5.1933 and as a young teenager he had, he said, spent long periods alone in the forest and with the river people in the process of becoming an igqira. Phalo had thought deeply about childhood and its place in the cosmic whole. He was curious about Western notions of child development and medical treatment and had formulated ideas as to how they

differed and what aspects of them might be seen to supplement or contradict each other. It is not easy to estimate to what extent one igqira's views represent those of others because it is unethical to discuss the ideas offered to one in trust with potential or actual competitors. In order to do justice to the description of Xhosa theories about dreams and childhood, a full study would be necessary. Phalo's views, which follow, offer a sketch of the kinds of ideas to which a Xhosa child in Crossroads may be introduced.

Phalo told me that:

"An infant is born with her fists clenched. In both hands are her gifts. In the right fist she holds her future as an adult and in the left her dreams. Dreams come from the shades. A child dreams because she is the creation of all the people. Dreams give signs of what the child will be. Every dream is in accord with a person's origin, language and customs. Dreams may even direct the play of a child. The child's life plan is revealed through dreams, even details such as when she will walk. Parents should not, therefore, be concerned about variations in the age at which development occurs.

"Children have power through their dreams whereas adults do not. Adult teaching can result in the loss of the dreams' strength and revelations. Gifts are diluted when parents teach a child to use their minds. The child must respond to teaching with an inner receptiveness or she will learn nothing. Adults should allow the child space and freedom in which to grow and use her gifts. Too, often, the will of adults dominates the child's mind.

"If a child cries in her sleep, she is dreaming of the shades. The shades are visiting the new person in the family. They are strangers to the child and she is naturally afraid. Laughter in a child who is asleep is a sign of the child's

love of people. As an adult, she will have peace among people and never be lonely. Troubled dreams may signify that the child has been called to become an iggira. These dreams are often of animals. In order to interpret the dreams accurately, the child's origin must be known. This should include her position in her mother's womb and the strengths and weaknesses of her parents when they formed her. Throughout the process of her initiation, the child will dream. When she is old enough, she will tell her dreams.

"The interpretation of dreams varies. Some themes recur. For example, if a child dreams of flying like a bird, Xhosa custom says that it is a dream of growing up. A dream of being bitten by a dog represents recognition by the shades : that child will keep the customs [see Mrs Qasana's interpretation of Saliswa's dreams in this chapter]. Dreams come through difficulties and reflect the child's needs. If a child dreams of water and wakes crying and running, it is a sign that as an adult she will be alone, unloved and uncared for."

#### SUMMARY

Earlier sections of the chapter recorded that some children by the age of eight had had their attention drawn to facets of the detail in dream interpretation within Xhosa culture. It was suggested that there may be different levels of consciousness among children in their understanding of dreams. Sigmund Freud said that

"for a child, like an adult can produce phantasies only from material which has been acquired from some source or other ....., " (Freud, 1925,529)

and

"... a child catches hold of his phylogenetic experience where his own experience fails him. He fills in the gaps in individual truth; he replaces occurrences in his own life by occurrences in the life of his ancestors. I fully agree with Jung in recognizing the existence of this phylogenetic inheritance; but I regard it as a methodological error to seize upon a phylogenetic explanation before the ontogenetic possibilities have been exhausted." (Freud, 1925:577)

Freud wanted us first to explore the ontogenetic possibilities that is, the mechanisms of growth (or the origin and development of the individual being). The igqira, Phalo, is closer to Jung in holding that the mechanisms of growth cannot be understood unless the "origin, roots, language and customs" of the people are known. Jung and Phalo would agree that these inform the unconscious and are expressed through both action and dreams. Piaget (1973:166) exhorts us to formulate "a solid third position" that explores "the mechanisms of growth (ontogenesis) in their relation with heredity and above all the phylogenetic relation between heredity and milieu." The dreams of children in different cultures may offer a format for such an exploration.

## CONCLUSION

To write an ethnography of childhood one must draw on the techniques of the disciplines of anthropology and psychology. Anthropologists have addressed themselves to a set of problems, topics such as the family, kinship, the nature of early law, and have learnt what questions to frame in relation to those problems. That set of questions needs to be related to the world of children. However, in the main, anthropologists have used techniques for studying children that either rely on common sense interpretations or apply a set of assumptions adopted along with an established psychological approach. The need is to apply their techniques of observation, classification and comparison to the world as experienced by children. In order to elicit children's understanding of their world, anthropologists must invent or adopt new methods.

Psychologists offer an inexhaustible supply of tests that purport to measure aspects of children's development. Their ingenuity in persuading children to respond is admirable. Both disciplines share two dangers : the possibility of imposing preconceived notions, and bias in the interpretation of results. Two studies done by psychologists in South Africa will serve as illustration.

In 1939 Fick (1939) used a variety of non-verbal tests with 557 black school children; he concluded that the mental age of South African blacks was substantially less than that of whites. Biesheuvel (1943) published a critical analysis of Fick's study pointing out errors, internal inconsistencies and basic flaws in the assumption that black and white groups in South Africa could be found who had experienced equivalent social conditions or opportunities. He refuted Fick's findings and stated that his purpose was to direct attention to problems to be solved before a conclusive study of African intelligence could be made. In his book he claimed that,

"The ground has been cleared, the issues stated, the relevant environmental facts regarding the Union African population

set out ... (and) ... an attempt has been made to assess precisely the degree of inferiority of the African environment, in so far as it affects the growth and development of intelligence."

Biesheuvel arrived at the conclusion that, "to all intents and purposes, the mean African social environment could be held to lie more than 3 S.D.s below the mean European social environment." (Biesheuvel, 1943:223)

It is, no doubt, unfair to quote Biesheuvel's early work without reference to his later work but his is a classic statement on the deficit culture point of view while Fick's work is a classic example of the inferior innate ability approach. In the South African context, both are worth recalling as both are still represented in academic and public life. In 1980, for example, the Minister of Posts and Telecommunication, Mr Hennie Smit, said in Parliament that the "thought processes (of blacks) are slower than most of us here," that they do not have "specific concepts" and that because of their psychological background blacks react more slowly than "we do here." (Acott, 1980:1)

Evans-Pritchard (1961:12) calls for a sociology of social anthropologists "for what anthropologists inquire into, observe, and record, and the inferences they draw from their observations, also change from generation to generation." We need, too, a sociology of psychologists and politicians and, perhaps, an inquiry into why their inferences do not change from generation to generation.

It seems to me there is an extraordinary underestimation of the extent to which children in Western cultures are trained to perform the kinds of tasks that schools and psychological tests measure. The training is both conscious and unconscious and is given by adults, peers and the media. Practice in related tasks is widely offered and there is, in general, easy access to the necessary tools. The conventions of current

learning theories obscure the role of such training and render comparisons impossible to interpret. For example, developmental psychologists have fostered a set of beliefs that see cognitive growth as occurring in fixed stages tied to physical maturation and they have made insufficient attempts to separate out environmental influences. Psychology's romance with numbers means that too often theories about individual growth are interpreted according to the results of tests that measure the "average" child.

#### Towards an Ethnography of Childhood

Social anthropologists and psychologists agree that the ethnographic description of children's lives should be an ingredient in the exploration of cognitive development. Yet neither discipline has accumulated a body of methodological guidelines for the study of children across cultures. Some fine beginnings exist notably in the writing of psychologists such as Scribner, Cole, Price-Williams, Deregowski, Jahoda, Dasen and Lloyd. However, a perusal of many articles in current psychological journals convinces one that the guidelines that do exist are frequently ignored. Psychologists continue to commit the blunders made by members of the Torres Straits Expedition at the turn of the century (see *The Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition*, 1979). Few researchers allow themselves either sufficient time or a broad enough canvas on which to tackle the relationship between society and cognitive growth, yet they often incorporate assumptions about that relationship in their research methods and frequently imply conclusions about it in the interpretation of their findings.

In reply to my query as to why a psychology department in a major South African university ignored cross-cultural psychology as either a degree course or a field of research, the Professor replied, "It is too messy."

It is, in my opinion, imperative that social anthropologists supplement the work of psychologists in the cross-cultural examination of cognitive development. Anthropologists can fruitfully apply their field techniques, particularly the

intensive experience of participant observation, to the world of children. They must create environments in which researchers can explore the store of knowledge from which children draw their ideas of reality. For, as Heidegger (1962:191) insists, "knowing is grounded in something we grasp in advance - in a foreconception." Anthropologists are trained to piece together societies foreconceptions and to realise that that is only the first step towards understanding. Leach (1969:88) reminds us that "... the technique of anthropological comparison ... depends upon the kind of 'meaning' which we are prepared to attribute to ethnographical evidence." Anthropologists need to persuade psychologists to be more cautious in attributing meaning to ethnographical evidence.

In working with children, there are particular problems that researchers must consider. For example, it is obviously necessary to work with adults (parents, teachers, community leaders) as well as directly with children. The fact that the subjects are children and that their growth is a series of chameleon-like transformations should be a challenge to anthropologists in re-considering the age-old problem of the relationship between the individual and society. We need, in both disciplines, more case studies of individual life patterns.

There is a need for an improved theory of learning and a need to interpret more carefully patterns of traditional learning. The last is an area woefully neglected by anthropologists in relation to child learning. We need improved methods of data collection and to realise that there are few short cuts.

Not surprisingly, in writing an ethnography of children I am most impressed by the complexity of their lives, a complexity compounded by their existence in a South African squatter settlement. I am, too, impressed by the temerity of psychologists who interpret where angels must fear to measure.

The impact of political incidents can be clearly seen on the lives of the squatter children through their dreams, their fantasies and their play. Sometimes even through their responses

to test items. Links with current social mores can be seen in their ideas (for instance about birth and the origin of dreams), their ambitions, their use of kinship terms and in their behaviour.

In South Africa, there is a need for much more work on excavating the reality of children's experience. We ought to know what the real impact of discrimination, migration, relocation and repatriation are on children. We ought to know how many childhood years each child spends with his or her mother and father; their access to the props of Western society; the physical conditions under which they live; their mobility; the continuity of their school experience; the quality of their education in the classroom. We ought to enable the children to speak. The problems in the country compound the difficulty of research. It may, therefore, be sensible for researchers to concentrate initially on fairly small numbers of children so that theoretical issues and methodological approaches can be minutely examined before large scale projects are undertaken.

#### On Methodology

Learning is like a tap dripping. It is hard to concentrate on each drip or catch one in mid air. Thus the study of the relationship between cognitive development and society is difficult to isolate and describe. Danziger (1971:133) is scathing about anthropologists' accounts of cross-national differences in child training. He observes that

"Unfortunately, the step from these twentieth century versions of travellers' tales to systematic research on the role of cultural factors in the parent-child relationship has proved to be a most difficult one to take and two decades of effort have yielded little but an improved understanding of the many pitfalls that await the research worker in this area."

Members of the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition, University of California at San Diego (1979:827), including Michael Cole, gloomily conclude a survey of the state of cross-cultural research with the following statement:

"... for the most part, cross-cultural research has failed in its ambition to increase the generality of psychological laws. It has proved an untrustworthy tool for unraveling the twisted knot of variables affecting growth. Its clearest lesson is that variables of interest to developmental psychologists are rarely, if ever, independent."

Psychologists, they believe, now all agree that the specification of psychological processes represents a specification of environment-organism interactions and that, in order to exploit the potential of cross-cultural research they must vastly increase their power to describe environments for behaving. They identify the goal of observations of children outside laboratory settings as being to increase the range of contexts to which psychologists can legitimately generalize (1979:832).

Price-Williams (1980:75-87) argues for a shift of emphasis away from comparative cross-cultural studies towards the idea of a cultural psychology because "certain psychological variables can be fully understood only in their context." On another tack, Murphy (1973:101) bemoans the fact that naturalistic observations of children have for the most part been applied only to a homogeneous sample of white middle-class children. "We have," she adds "little data on a wider variety of samples of children from different subcultural, ethnic and socio-economic groups."

In an introduction to cross cultural psychology published recently, Cole and Means (1981) indicate the approaches that they themselves find most promising. Gardner (1982:84-89) reviewing the book notes that

"These tend to be highly technical procedures relying on mathematical modelling, computer

simulation and microscopic analysis. Their discussions, quite challenging to follow, raise the vision of an excessively technocratic and formalistic mode of psychological analysis. But certainly the authors are reflecting contemporary trends when they embrace cognitive scientific approaches.

"For that reason it is surprising to find them recommending, in the end, the use of more real-life ethnographic methods. Moreover, Cole's own work has now moved away from decontextualised tasks towards immersions in the complexities of daily life. I find it difficult to reconcile the two diverging impulses."

Gould's (1981) review of two centuries of measurement of man's intellect cautions scholars about the dangers inherent in cognitive scientific approaches. The central questions in any attempt at cross-cultural comparison of cognition are still to do with meaning. What are the implications of questioning, testing, probing, responding in a particular society? How does one ensure the legitimacy of interpretations of results?

My purpose was not to contribute to psychology in terms of validating or expanding tests, but was to borrow, to lean on a century of insight and effort in one discipline to highlight interest in another. In *Crossroads*, I tried to describe as closely as possible the world through the eyes of a seven-year old. My aim was to contribute to the development of an empirical scheme for the collection of systematic observations in this area.

Methodologically, I was interested in tracing the links between child thought and the states of consciousness represented in adults' formulations about society. There is no one consciousness to which adults introduce children. Durkheim held that,

"There exists a social solidarity which comes from a certain number of states of consciousness which are common to all the members of the same society."

As quoted by Shils, 1972.

And William James observed that,

"The word introspection need hardly be defined - it means, of course, the looking into our minds and reporting what we there discover. Everyone agrees that we there discover states of consciousness."

As quoted by Grünbaum, 1981.

Anthropologists, particularly in South Africa have sometimes distinguished between a "western" (urban) and "tribal" (rural) consciousness and have implied that people switch from one to another depending upon circumstances. Kiernan (1980:12) criticized that view saying,

"... it has always seemed unsatisfactory to suppose that the migrant cognitively shuttles between two separate universes of meaning, only one of which is deemed to be his own. The more likely options are that he either extends his own world outlook to cover his new circumstances (Mayer, 1961), or he constructs afresh a single model which caters for the real expansion of his social horizon."

It seems equally likely that there is no single model or outlook but that connections are made and re-made among a vast network of notions. Therein lies the possibility for both individual and social creativity.

That the mind houses a number of states of consciousness and that connections among ideas can be made and re-made fits Sahlins' proposed reversal of the mode of discourse that gives mind all the powers of "law" and "limitation" thus placing culture in submission and dependence. He ponders on another conception of mind in which,

"The structures of the mind ... appear not as the imperatives of culture but as its implements. They constitute a set of organizational means and possibilities at the disposition of the human cultural enterprise, which remains at liberty to variously engage them or not, as also to variously invest them with meaningful content." (Sahlins, 1977a:179)

Mind does not determine culture therefore the constraints of a particular culture cannot be taken as representing the limitations of mind. Cultures may variously facilitate access to the structures of mind as implements but membership of a particular culture does not bar one from using the tools of another. The question for society then becomes : How best can children be introduced to the structures of mind that are valued and rewarded in current society?

#### Sketches of the Children's Lives

Implications that relate to particular aspects of the study of children across cultures are given in the text. As my primary intention was to compile an ethnography of one year of childhood, I shall conclude with a sketch of the children's lives. The sketches are given here to remind the readers that behind the particulars that have been discussed in relation to the child's existence in time and conceptions of order, space, kinship and dreams, is a whole child. The particulars are only meaningful within the context of the forces that shape life for the Xhosa people in the 1980s in South Africa.

#### Yameka

Soon after Yameka's birth, her mother was recalled to her natal home because Yameka's father had failed to pay any lobola. As her parent's union had not been sanctioned in a culturally acceptable fashion, Yameka was not protected by the ancestors of her father's family. Her mother's family ought to have

propitiated their ancestors and asked them to accept the child within their ambit. Yameka's guardian in Crossroads, her mother's brother, said that the appropriate ritual was planned.

In 1979, Yameka was brought by her mother's brother to Crossroads to help his wife care for their small child. Yameka was called a "child of the family" and seemed happy enough. She was expected to accomplish many tasks efficiently and quickly. Her tasks included child-minding and the selling of fish cooked by her uncle's wife. The family of four shared a small room with another lodger. The room was part of a rambling shack that housed twenty-four people. Neither Yameka's uncle nor his wife had permits to live and work in the city and as a consequence, he was often without work. His wage was seldom more than R25,00 a week. Yameka owned very few clothes and little else apart from a black plastic bangle and a mug. Occasionally she attended church in another township with the family but went on few other excursions beyond the boundaries of the settlement.

Yameka had many friends who lived in the neighbourhood and she was frequently to be seen playing, singing and dancing in a group. Nevertheless, she is a reticent child. She watches life closely and absorbs a great deal. Although she has never been to school and has lived in greater poverty than have most of the children in the sample and was less secure in having neither her father nor her mother living with her, she ranked on all tasks accomplished during the year as fourth out of the fourteen children (See Chapter 5). On the Purdue Perceptual Motor Co-ordination test, if the score for writing is removed, she ranked second. She failed the first Piagetian number conservation test but succeeded on both the following trials. In June, 1980, she was one of the five children in the sample who conserved on every Piagetian task (except for the Class Inclusion test). Only five of the twenty-five children in the control group did as well. That is to say, out of thirty-nine children of whom 90 per cent were attending school, only 25 per cent conserved on all the tasks and Yameka was one of them. Her success on these and other exercises suggest that she was

a clever child. However, her I.Q. based on Koppitz's scoring manual for human figure drawings (See Chapter 5) was measured as being low average to average on the first drawing, low average on the second and mentally retarded on the third.

When, at the end of our work together, I sought her uncle's wife's permission to enroll her in school and pay for the fees and uniform, her response was "And who will look after my child?" Yameka attended school for most of 1981 until she was sent back to her mother in the Transkei. Sometime in 1982, she contracted tuberculosis. She no longer goes to school.

#### Nukwa

Nukwa grew up in the Transkei. His father was killed in an accident when he was five years old and in 1979 he was brought by his mother to Crossroads to stay with his father's brother. She came to the city, she said, for medical treatment. Nukwa is a thin, small child (he weighs below the Boston Third Percentile). He has a quiet charm. His father's brother supports three families on his earnings of R35,00 a week. Nukwa's mother sold sweets and brewed beer in Crossroads. For most of 1980, she ran a small shebeen with a friend. Nukwa was left to his own devices for much of the time and he dropped out of school half way through the year.

At the end of the year, Nukwa's uncle sent his mother back to the Transkei as her behaviour was tarnishing the family reputation. Nukwa joined his elder brother as a member of his uncle's household. In early 1981, the family moved to a brick house in New Crossroads. Nukwa only sees his mother when she can afford the bus fare from the Transkei to Cape Town. In 1981, he returned to school and, by the end of 1982, was ready to enter Standard One.

His performance on a variety of tasks attempted during sessions with me fluctuated. In February and June he failed to conserve on Piaget's number test but succeeded in November. He did well on the physical section of the Purdue test and ranked ninth among the fourteen children on the whole test. On all tasks during the year he was placed eighth. He shopped successfully but his accuracy on the felt map exercise was poor

and he was unable to do the simplest seriation task. The scores based on his drawings suggested that he was seriously emotionally disturbed, that he was unlikely to achieve well at school, and his I.Q. ranged from mentally retarded to average. It was his play scene that an iggira saw as a sign of his having been called to be a diviner. Perhaps because he was so thin and ill-dressed and quiet, I did not expect him to perform well but was often surprised by his wit and ability.

#### Zuziwe

Zuziwe is the third child of Pumza and Bhuqa Hleke. Her mother, a tall and beautiful woman, was kidnapped by her father at the age of seventeen. After a stormy marriage, her parents divorced in 1981. Pumza was given custody of the children. In December, 1982, she and the children, her two sisters and an assortment of other kin were occupying the Crossroads shack. The shack is registered in Bhuqa's name and, as he refused to give the officials permission to demolish it when the family was allocated a brick house in New Crossroads, Pumza could not move. The officials offered her a small house but she did not take it as she has four children to accommodate. She continues to reside and work in the original settlement.

In 1981, Zuziwe and her eldest sister were sent to board in a mission school in the Transkei. When Zuziwe returned to Crossroads for her holidays, her mother was shocked to see that she had scabies, an unhealthy texture to her skin and a distended stomach suggesting poor nourishment. She wrote to the mission authorities requesting an improved diet and the authorities dismissed her children from the school. The girls now lodge with Pumza's brother's wife in the Transkei and attend a day school. This woman has been deserted by her husband and maintains a family of four on her teacher's salary. She has no security of tenure as she is a married woman.

At the end of 1982, Zuziwe passed Sub B with an examination result of 85 per cent. She is a bright child and certainly should not have spent three years in the first two preparatory classes of school. She succeeds admirably on tasks that interest her but refuses to try hard on those that do not.

She was the only child to conserve on Piaget's number tasks on every trial and was one of the five who conserved on all the tasks set, except the class inclusion test. She performed poorly on the shopping and the mapping exercises and, therefore, ranked only sixth among the fourteen children. Her drawings yielded a score suggesting that her I.Q. falls between low average to average (80 to 110). There were no signs that she had emotional problems or would not achieve well in school. She showed some signs of distress in her dreams.

#### Mlawu

Mlawu is the third child and first son of Nocululu and Siphon Anta. He is a child of gentleness and dignity. His father holds to traditional values of discipline and order and is strict with him. His mother is devoted to her family and works hard, long hours on their behalf. In 1980, Mlawu was always carefully dressed in school uniform and only the potatoes (holes) in his socks suggested poverty. His father is the man who refused to talk to me. At the end of 1980, Siphon sent his wife and children back to the Transkei to work a plot of land on an irrigation scheme that he had inherited from his father. In 1981, Siphon moved into a brick house in New Crossroads.

At the end of 1982, Mlawu passed Standard One. He and Tozama were the only children in the sample ready to enter Standard Two in 1983. In the year that white children turn ten, they are expected to enter Standard Three.

Among the sample children, Mlawu ranked second on all tasks. He, like Zuziwe and Yameka, succeeded on all the Piagetian tests except the first trial and class inclusion. He was one of the best at handling number. He had a devoted teacher that year - the one who smuggled the daily lessons into the classroom despite students' threats that they would burn down her house if she failed to comply with the school boycott. (Zuziwe, too, benefitted from her teaching until she moved to the other school half way through the year.)

The scores based on an analysis of Mlawu's human figure drawings yielded an I.Q. somewhere between 70 (low average) and

110 (average). Two of his drawings showed signs of emotional disturbance and one suggested that he might be a low achiever at school. One of his play scenes was of the "children of the riots" burning cars and the "landrovers of the Boers" arresting the people of Crossroads.

Mlawu now lives in a homeland, a thousand miles from his father whom he sees for only a few weeks each year. His mother is responsible for both the daily care of their children and the productivity of their land.

### Saliswa

Saliswa is the twelfth of the fourteen children born to her mother. Four of the children died and six had another father. (See the data on the Qasana family on page 64). Her parents "marriage" is described on page 81. Her mother is an iggira: her plans and hopes for Saliswa are given on page 215. She describes Saliswa as being sweet, happy, quiet and a hard worker. She thinks that the child will be too sensitive to handle marriage as, "There is no good behaviour in marriage; there is too much force and too many rules to obey." She hopes that Saliswa will live with her when she grows up. She says that Saliswa has been called to be an iggira.

In 1980, the Qasana home was a merry one. A mock fight involving adults and children is described in the text and so is a morning of dance and song in their home. Saliswa suffered quite severely from asthma as a small child; she was frequently hospitalized. Her asthmatic condition is aggravated by tear gas that is used periodically to quell trouble in Crossroads. Like Hintsa and Zuziwe, Saliswa did not talk about trouble that she had witnessed in the settlement. All three had been tied on their mothers' backs as they ran from the police across the dunes of Crossroads. As a toddler, Saliswa had been imprisoned with her mother. All three children had lived in the settlement since its inception.

While in the Transkei in early 1981, I went to Saliswa's paternal grandmother's home. Saliswa had recently been sent to live with her. On page 84 I record how I found the usually

happy child - sad, alone and ill. During 1982, her parents separated and Saliswa returned to live with her mother and her mother's boyfriend (also an igqira) in Crossroads.

#### Gwali

Gwali is a comic. He is always full of laughter. He is short and has a large head and a huge smile. He achieved the least well of all the children on almost every task. In 1980, he did not attend school but spent his time roaming across the sand dunes of the settlement with his brother and their friends. His brother is slightly retarded: Gwali's care and love for him are recorded in the text. I observed many incidents of his kindness and generosity to others.

His father is careful, serious and religious and his mother is jolly and hard-working. The children were left largely unsupervised during week days as both parents worked outside Crossroads. The family has moved to new Crossroads.

#### Nomvula

Nomvula is one of five girls in her family. Her father is a tailor and works at home. Her mother, an attractive, slim woman, is often weak and ill with diabetes. Her husband treats her and the children rather harshly (see page 218). Nomvula expressed fears of death, punishment and the Thikoloshe (see pages 217-8). She is not a talkative child: she sits quietly and watches. She is cheerful, though, and has many friends.

In 1983, she and her family moved to a brick house in New Crossroads. Her mother has given birth to her sixth child and is thin and ailing.

#### Togu

Togu has a round, cheerful face with small scars on his forehead. The scars resulted from razor cuts made during treatment of an eye infection. He had double pneumonia as a baby and spent the first five months of his life in hospital. His father used to visit him every day. Togu often expressed

his love for his father and his jealousy of his young brother whom he felt had stolen his place in his father's affections. His father had recently lost a relatively well-paid job and was unemployed for much of the year during which I worked with Togu. His mother had had a number of operations. The trauma of one move immediately after her return from hospital is recorded in the text.

Togu is shy. It took some time for him to trust me but, once he did, our relations were easy and fruitful. He is an able child and ranked fifth of the fourteen children on a series of tests. In 1981, he was sent to live with his grandparents in the Transkei and, at the end of 1983, was still with them.

#### Tozama

Tozama is a lovely girl with a dimpled smile and dark, laughing eyes. She is warm and responsive and moves with dignity yet there is a touch of humour in all that she does. Of the fourteen children she placed first in a series of tests (see page 356). She is articulate and observant: she gave the detailed accounts of a ritual in Crossroads (see page 203) and of the white man's death (see page 224ff).

Her father is very dear to her and she often expressed her love for him and her fears for his safety (see, for example, page 210). When he returned dusty and tired from work, Tozama used to fetch a bowl of water and wash his feet. She once said to him, "Daddy if you die, I will die too."

Both of her parents were prominent community leaders. Her mother is an igqira and a woman of strength, courage and great charm. On page 206 she gives her interpretation of Tozama's dream and lassitude as the first signs of her calling to be an igqira. An account of her parent's marriage is given on page 87.

In early 1982, Tozama was sent to live with her maternal grandmother in the Transkei; her parents hoped that the schooling available there would be of a higher quality than the schooling in Crossroads. By mid-1983 she had returned to

live in Crossroads with her parents in time to witness a faction fight between rival political groups in the settlement. One evening, the group that Tozama's father supported was meeting in one of the school buildings. The members of the other group surrounded the building, set it on fire and attacked the men when they attempted to flee. Many were killed and many more injured. Some nearby shacks burnt too, including Tozama's home. She was unhurt but her father was badly burnt and he could not use his hands for six months.

### Hintsa

Hintsa is tall and thin. He has large, soft eyes that make him resemble a frightened deer. He is often teased by other children. His parents are both away from home during working hours and there is not much supervision of the children. Hintsa was with his mother when one of their shacks was bulldozed. He was extremely upset when his mother was imprisoned for a night because she had no pass, and when he was caught in a clash between Crossroads settlers and the police at the school (see page 216).

My assistant recorded that there was frequently insufficient food to feed all the family members in Hintsa's home. I recorded (page 359) one instance when there was no supper because Hintsa's father had been ill and had no money with which to buy food.

It was difficult to draw Hintsa out: he refused to talk about events that had troubled him (see page 213). He admitted to being afraid of elephants and police and, initially, me. In the play scene (page 418) he represented the death of Jansen by placing a single car upside down on the table. On the scores from a series of tests Hintsa ranked eleventh.

His drawings, as interpreted according to Koppitz, showed signs of both aggressiveness and extreme shyness, insecurity and withdrawal (see page 358). In my opinion, Hintsa, Cebo and Nukwa were the three most troubled children.

Lungiswa,

Lungiswa, like Tozama, is a bright and articulate girl. Her maternal grandfather, who was an igqira, lived in Crossroads. It was he who, having seen the distress resulting from his eldest daughters' arranged marriages, resolved to allow his younger daughters to select their own husbands. Lungiswa's version of the family history (the date of her parents' separation and the paternity of her young brother) differed from her mother's: the child firmly asserted the truth of her version. At the age of seven, she had already lived apart from her father from three to five years.

Sometimes Lungiswa has asthmatic attacks. On page 205 there is an account of a dream of one attack. She recounts another dream (see page 223) in which she is burnt during a riot. One of her play scenes was of a police raid on Crossroads. Lungiswa is quick, extrovert and enterprising. To earn money, she hawked old clothes for a neighbour. An aspect of her nature is revealed in the following. One day in November 1980, she took some crayons from my room, and distributed them among her friends. I said to her that she ought not to have done that and told her to clean the windows of my room as a punishment. After school, Lungiswa arrived with Tozama, Peliswe and another friend in tow. She had informed her friends that I had ordered them to clean my windows. The girls were armed with buckets, window cleaning soap and cloths and they set about their task in a festive mood. Upon completion, Lungiswa said, "Last Friday I had planned to clean your windows but you were not here." Not only had she, like Tom Sawyer, inveigled her friends into completing a job assigned to her, but she had even assumed the initiative for the punishment.

In 1983, Lungiswa was still living with her mother in Crossroads and was still attending the community school.

## Cebo

Cebo is small and stocky. He has a winning smile and delightful ways. He is often in trouble and causes his parents much anxiety: they are torn between the need to curb his naughtiness and their desire to shield him (see, for example, pages 220 and 234). He frequently wets his bed and has some nervous mannerisms.

I recall being a little impatient with him once but I have forgotten why - perhaps he had stolen some marbles or bullied another child. On the following day, I was walking through the settlement berating myself for having been short with him when I felt a hand slip into mine. On turning, I saw Cebo with his huge, apologetic grin.

Of all the children, I felt Cebo would be the most likely to benefit from a series of physical and psychological tests. He seemed bright, quick and creative yet he ranked almost last on the tests scored during the year. His drawings as measured against the Koppitz protocol reveal a troubled child (see page 357 for a summary of the findings). The Purdue Motor Co-ordination test showed signs of imbalance and unco-ordination in his movements.

By age seven, Cebo had lived apart from his parents for three years. He spent most of that time with his mother's mother in the Transkei. He enjoyed life in the countryside and had persuaded his grandmother to conspire with him against the need to attend school regularly. In 1981, his parents moved to New Crossroads and he returned to live with his grandmother. At the end of 1983, he was still living with her.

## Gedja

Unlike the other thirteen children in this survey Gedja grew up in Cape Town. Since her birth, she has lived with her mother and her maternal grandparents in Nyanga East. In 1978, to relieve the overcrowding in the Nyanga East home she and her mother moved to Crossroads to stay with her mother's sister. According to both her mother and herself,

she has few fears and has been little troubled by disturbances in either the township or the squatter settlement. She did not attend school in 1980.

She is a cheerful and confident girl and is allowed a greater range of freedom than are the other girls in the sample. Gedja's parents are not married. Apart from the first two years of her life, she has spent little time with her father. However, in 1981 she was sent to live with his parents in the Transkei. In 1983 she returned to live with her mother and her maternal grandparents in Nyanga East. She is now attending school.

#### Peliswe

Peliswe was a slip of a girl with a pretty, fine featured face. She was delicate in her movements and always neatly dressed. She was full of fun and had a number of close friends. She was the much loved youngest child in the family and her movements were carefully monitored by her mother.

Her mother made the family shack into a very attractive home, despite having watched four of her shacks demolished by bulldozers. The demolitions must have contributed to her high level of anxiety. She articulated her bitterness about the black man's fate in South Africa. In 1979, her brother had been killed in a car accident and her son injured. She attributed the paralysis that temporarily afflicted one side of Peliswa's face soon after the accident to the distress that the child had felt.

On the series of tests used to rank the sample children, Peliswe was placed seventh. Her scores fluctuated rather, seeming to depend in part on her interest in the task at hand. She was generous: on receiving a gift of an angel puppet, she ran to my room to give it to me to add to the collection of puppets with which we played. I recall with delight her curiosity and surprise in exploring my home and sharing in my children's exploits when she and Tozama visited for a weekend.

In 1981, Peliswe was run over and killed by an ambulance as she played outside her classroom. What cruel irony that the most carefully tended child in Crossroads should be killed.

A review of the lives of the fourteen children in December, 1982, follows. One was killed by an ambulance as she played in the school grounds; one has pellagra; one has tuberculosis; and one has scabies. Six of their families still live in shacks in Crossroads and seven have houses in New Crossroads. The former include Yameka's guardians who now have permission to live and work in Cape Town and are on the waiting list for a brick house in the new township. Gedja and her mother are both living with her maternal grandparents in Nyanga East. For most of 1982, the thirteen children were not all living with their parents. Table 1 shows whether each child was living with either or both parents in 1980 and in December 1982.

Table 1 : Children Living With or Without Their Parents in 1980 and 1982

Number of children living:-\*

Year	with both parents	without either parent	with father	without father	with mother	without mother
1980	10	1	10	4	13	1
1982	3	5	3	10	8	5

\*Holidays, when children may join a parent or parents, are not taken into account in the table.

From the table, it can be seen that whereas in 1980 only one child was living without either of her parents, in 1982 five were. And that whereas in 1980 only four were living without their fathers, in 1982 ten were. In 1982, five of the children were living in the Transkei: one with her mother; one with her mother's brother's wife; two with their father's mothers and one with her mother's mother. One child (the fifth living without either parent) was staying in New Crossroads with his father's brother and his mother's sister. Three of the children were living in the city with their mothers and three others with both parents.

Since 1980, the Hlekes have divorced and the Qasanas have separated. Two of the children did not attend school in 1982, nine were in either Sub A or Sub B for the year and two completed Standard 1. During the time that I worked with the children, I developed a profound respect for the intellect and learning capacity of at least half of the sample children - Tozama, Yameka, Mlawu, Zuziwe, Togu, Lungiswa and Peliswe. The above review reminds us that the children continue to change residence, caretakers and schools. In terms of health, they remain at some risk. I fear for their future but celebrate their wholeness.

In considering the nature of the children's lives, it is worth recalling what Piaget (1935:173) said on the question of environmental influence on development. He said that the characteristics of the various stages of cognitive development "... are always related as much to the particular surroundings and atmosphere as to the organic maturation of the mind ...." Erikson (1950) said that society must learn to minimize trauma in childhood. South African society seems neither to care about the surroundings and atmosphere that it offers children nor does it attempt to minimize their trauma.

## CROSSROADS CHRONOLOGY\*

February 1975: Crossroads rises: area bounded by Klipfontein Road, Lansdowne Road and Mahobi Drive near D.F. Malan Airport.

"This shanty-town arose among the wattles during February, March and April of this year, largely at the instigation of Divisional Council inspectors, who seem virtually to have rounded up the Africans from a number of camps scattered round the fringes of Greater Cape Town. The inspector told these people that they could build again at Crossroads, which was to be a special area for them. Thus they were conveniently collected together in a place which the Bantu authorities evidently saw in a different light, in fact as a transit camp."<sup>1</sup>

March 1975: The Bantu Affairs Board try to remove the people in an attempt to clear Crossroads by the end of April. Groups of residents go to the Advice Office<sup>2</sup> asking for help. Each case is recorded in detail. "Hopefully, but acutely insecure and with an urgent awareness of some basic human right to peaceful dwellings with their families and within reach of a livelihood, these people have shown remarkable community spirit and courageous determination to pull together.

"It is found that some people who have put up shacks at Crossroads have done so simply because they cannot find the lodging to which they are entitled in the overcrowded townships. Many more houses are needed for people who are lawfully here on a permanent basis, and clearly such people have the first claim on housing schemes. But few indeed are those with no good reason in terms of plain humanity for being here, and the picture which comes through is a facet of our inflationary times. It is one of extreme need in impoverished rural areas, with hunger,

---

\*The first section of the chronology from February 1975 to February 1978 was compiled by S. Raynham (SAO, Feb. 1978) the second from 16 January 1978 to 20 November 1978 by L. Ntloko (1980); and the third from April 1979 to November 1980 by me.

fear and loneliness driving the women to seek out their menfolk where the jobs are, and where they can reach hospitals for ailing children."<sup>1</sup>

April 1975: Incidents reported of harassment of residents, apparently so they would move themselves.

May 1975: Police and officials arrest 142 residents on charges of "Trespass" and "Harbouring" wives and families. From this time on arrests become a part of the life of Crossroads people. At the request of residents every effort is made to provide legal defence in all cases. "While the women are most frequently charged in terms of Section 10(4) of the Act (being in the area for more than seventy-two hours without permits), the men are mostly here legally, either qualified as residents in terms of the Act but without accommodation for their wives, or as annual contract workers. These men are being arrested in large numbers too, and are charged with "introducing" or harbouring their wives, under Section 11, or with staying without permission in a place other than a location set aside for them (Section 9(9)(a)). Some of these men are old and frail. It is very moving to experience their appreciation of the sadly small amount of help we are able to offer. Upright and law-abiding by inclination (with exceptions no doubt, as in any haphazard group of people, but less so than commonly) the residents of Crossroads are not given to defiance, but few of them accept the suggestion that they should go away from the Peninsula. Here they are and here they intend to remain. This is their own often-repeated statement. We observe that many of the shanty-dwelling women have come to join their husbands from white-owned farms to which they will not be readmitted. Very many families have no homes and no footholds anywhere except among the bushes of the Cape Flats. These are 'displaced persons' and with the majority of 'squatters' they are candid about their plans for the future.

"In the words of an elderly resident of Crossroads: 'I have been in Cape Town a long time and never have I seen such hardships as now. The inspectors keep saying that the husbands

must be arrested because they have no permission to be in Crossroads. How can a wife be separated from her husband? The minister in the marriage service says that he shall be guilty on earth and in heaven who separates a man from his wife.'"<sup>3</sup>

June 1975: Legal defence of individuals in court has the effect of slowing removals.

The Bantu Affairs Administration Board start demolishing Crossroad shanties.

Mr Justice van Winsen grants an interdict on behalf of two residents restraining the BAAB from demolishing their shanties.

July 1975: Trial of Mrs Amelia Ndamase of Crossroads. Evidence showed that Mrs Ndamase was legally entitled to be in Cape Town - she was told by inspectors to go to Crossroads - she had tried to get accommodation elsewhere but had found nowhere else to go. She was found guilty and fined R10 or twenty days. Her case goes on appeal. (The appeal was later upheld.)

August 1975: State continues with prosecutions of residents. Men mainly on charges of trespass and women on being illegally in the area. (Section 10(4)).

"When a person was convicted in terms of Section 10(4) of the Act, a removal order under Section 14 would be made by the court, empowering inspectors to put that person physically on to a train after two weeks. This happened to a number of women, some of whom crept back to the Peninsula while others reached their allocated destinations. Whichever procedure they adopted, fresh sagas of complications ensued in their efforts to retrieve their belongings. Shacks emptied in this way were then demolished by the BAAB."<sup>3</sup>

October 1975: Court hearing the Lilian Peter case.

(A woman legally in the area but charged with living illegally in an area - Crossroads - which did not form part of a "Proclaimed Bantu Township").

Through expert witnesses evidence was put before the court on conditions in the Transkei which caused Africans to seek work in the cities, of conditions in the urban areas particularly the housing shortage, and the effect of this on a

family such as the Peter family. Mrs Peter was convicted of trespassing. An appeal was lodged with the Supreme Court. The eviction and demolition order was suspended pending the outcome of the appeal.

November 1975: All other trespass charges against residents postponed pending outcome of Peter appeal. The appeal of another Crossroads resident, Mrs Tuni Sera, against her conviction for trespassing and resisting arrest, succeeds in the Supreme Court.

February 1976: Lilian Peter appeal upheld in Supreme Court judgement, the BAAB having failed to establish its ownership of the land on which Crossroads was situated.

March 1976: Publication of draft legislation setting out new measures to prevent illegal squatting. The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act No. 72 is a threatening cloud hanging over close to two hundred thousand people of whom nearly half are Africans. All are liable to lose their homes, while the Africans have family disruption and forcible removal to poverty-stricken rural areas to dread as well. The Act lays down heavy penalties for both squatters and owners of the land on which shanties are built.<sup>4</sup>

Penalties: R200 or six months or both if landowners allow squatters' dwellings to be erected on their property; R500 or twelve months if they fail to demolish such dwellings; R10 a day or seven days in prison for every day they fail to demolish such dwellings after conviction. Payment of the cost of demolition if it is done by the Department of Bantu Administration or Community Development or a local authority.

There is no mention in the Act of the need to find alternative accommodation for families whose houses are destroyed.

The Act functions retroactively making all previous interdicts and orders invalid.

In terms of the Act residents in squatter areas no longer have legal redress or any power to stop the demolition of their shanties.

April 1976: BAAB officials continue to arrest residents in raids at night and in the early hours of the mornings.

May 1976: The Divisional Council of the Cape makes a court application for the Crossroads area to be demolished on health hazard grounds. The application was opposed by Mr Johnson Ndayi, one of the leaders of the Crossroads community. In a signed affidavit\* he provided an accurate summary of the way the residents viewed the situation, and urged that Crossroads be declared an emergency camp.<sup>5</sup>

The Divisional Council states that it would consider establishing an emergency camp if authorised to do so by the Minister.

June 1976: Court refused Divisional Council application for the removal of squatters from Crossroads. Crossroads self-built school demolished by Divisional Council workers. After a complaint was made the Council admitted that an error had been made and immediately rebuilt it - in a sturdier form.

Divisional Council takes a unanimous decision to declare Crossroads an emergency camp. Piped water, refuse removal and night soil sanitation service will be provided. Shanties may not be enlarged, or change hands, or stay vacant. Contravention of the rules will result in a demolition of the shanties involved.

R10 per month levy imposed for emergency services provided. Residents feel this is too high for their shanty dwellings compared to rents paid for houses in other Cape Flats Townships.

Noxolo<sup>6</sup> School opens with two teachers and twenty pupils - to increase to two hundred two months later.

August 1976: While unrest and disturbances sweep the rest of the Cape in the wake of the Soweto upheavals there is comparative peace and security at Crossroads, and little hostility is shown towards the authorities.

---

\*The affidavit is reproduced in Appendix C.

Emergency camp status has given residents temporary security of tenure. For the Crossroads community it signified the beginning of a period of building and progress in a variety of self-help schemes.

September 1976: Health Department of Divisional Council moves into the area to provide basic health services. Mobile clinic visits Crossroads twice a week.

Residents no longer harassed, months that follow are peaceful; school grows; adult and pre-secondary classes start; teaching staff is increased; day and night literacy classes start. By December Noxolo School has 300 pupils.

February 1977: While there is a continuation of efforts to improve community life at Crossroads other squatter areas become the focus of concern and public debate. Four Government Departments announce concerted action "to clear up the illegal squatting problem."

The Minister of Community Development, Mr Marais Steyn, states that squatters' shacks won't be bulldozed. 15 000 Modderdam squatters are given eviction notices. The public begins, through press publicity, to feel the impact of the squatter situation.

March 1977: Great increase in community projects such as commerce, small shops, stalls and home industries.

June 1977: The Students' Health and Welfare Centres Organization starts a medical clinic run by doctors and students in the Anglican Church of Crossroads.

July 1977: The Urban Problems Research Unit offers to improve the existing school by providing better building material. School is rebuilt by voluntary labour of residents. Some adults begin studying informally for Junior Certificate and Matric classes.

August 1977: The Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act, now law, swings into action.

Modderdam is demolished.<sup>7</sup>

Monthly service levy per Crossroads shack reduced from R10 to R7.

September 1977: Post demolition arrests of squatters caught "illegally in the area." Night time raids on church properties sheltering squatters.

November 1977: Official opening of the Noxolo Community Centre consisting of a hall, four classrooms, soup kitchen and office. The centre was built by Crossroads residents, assisted by the Urban Problems Research Unit, the Urban Foundation, and officials of the Divisional Council. Rumours circulate that Crossroads will be demolished in the new year.

January 1978: Publication of a report on a sample survey conducted at Crossroads.<sup>8</sup> Findings show that the average length of stay in the Cape Peninsula for each head of household at Crossroads is 18,2 years. Their wives have been in the area for an average of 11,7 years. (See statistical findings reprinted in Appendix D).

February 1978: The Urban Problems Research Unit releases a study on the Crossroads community.<sup>9</sup> It finds that there are 3 038 shacks housing an estimated 20 000 people, about 90 per cent of the household heads have full time employment; the average income of each household head is R35 per week.

There is press speculation that Crossroads may be the next squatter camp in the Peninsula to be demolished.

When approached for comment, Brigadier J.H. van der Westhuizen, Chairman of the Peninsula Bantu Affairs Administration Board, said no decision had been taken yet on Crossroads. But, he added, it was common knowledge that most of the people in the camp did not qualify to be in the Peninsula in terms of Section 10 of the Bantu Urban Areas Act.

"The proportion of unqualified people at Crossroads could be as high as 90 per cent," he added, "and these people cannot expect to be left there indefinitely."

Brigadier van der Westhuizen said a decision on the future of Crossroads would eventually have to be taken by the government departments concerned.

"This is a difficult matter and one that will have to be decided at government level," he said. (Cape Times 8.2.78).

Families are warned by the Divisional Council that shacks would be demolished in seven days if outstanding rentals (service levies) are not paid.

"The Shelter fund has been told at the highest level that no guarantee can be given that residents of the Crossroads emergency camp will be allowed to remain in their homes, should Shelter offer to stand surety for the amounts owed by them for essential services provided at the camp." (Argus 18.2.78)

Ten Crossroads residents apply for an interdict against the Divisional Council forbidding the Council from demolishing their shacks. The action was later settled without opposing affidavits being filed by the Divisional Council. The Council agreed not to go ahead with immediate demolition of shacks where seven day periods of grace had expired.

The following statements appeared in the press:

"The Crossroads squatter camp - home of an estimated 20 000 people - will definitely be demolished, Mr H.J. Kriel, former chairman of the Cape Divisional Council and present MPC for Parow, has told the Argus.

"Although Mr Kriel was not able to give an exact date on which demolitions would take place - this date would have to be set by the authorities concerned with demolitions - it is presumed by community workers that demolition will take place before winter." (Argus 21.2.78)

"The Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development,<sup>10</sup> Dr W.L. Vosloo, yesterday squashed any hope that the Crossroads squatter camp, which has about 20 000 people, would get a reprieve and said 'It will be treated in exactly the same way as Unibel.'" (Cape Times 22.2.78)

A deputation comprising the Chairman of the Concerned Citizens Action Committee and Church leaders see the Deputy Minister of Plural Relations and Development, Dr W.L. Vosloo.

"Today's deputation consisted of Owen Cardinal McCann, the Most Revd. Bill Burnett, the Revd. Abel Hendricks, Professor Ahrens and Dr Margaret Nash, as education officer of the South African Council of Churches, who is consultant to the committee.

"Professor Ahrens said Dr Vosloo had explained that he was new in the field and that he would welcome further information.

"The deputation handed Dr Vosloo a working paper on aspects of social and economic activity in Nyanga and Crossroads which has been prepared by the urban research unit of the University of Cape Town. A preface to the report, which has just been published, says that it is hoped that it will provide fresh insights into problems facing urban communities.

"In addition to the working paper, further information will be sent to the Deputy Minister.

"Dr Vosloo said after the interview that it had been an open discussion during which certain facts had been explained to him. He was prepared to receive information and representations, but had not committed himself." (Argus 22.2.78)

Important official rethinking is suggested by the Afrikaans political columnist Pollux. He writes: "I understand that those in government circles are thinking deeply about another approach to the squatter problem. What the new thinking amounts to is that sound control of squatter camps might be preferable to demolishing them. This school of thought takes the following line. Up to now we have viewed the squatter problem through our own eyes and judged it according to western standards, instead of looking at it from the squatters' point of view. We have moved squatters out of what appear to us to be desperate conditions, but which the squatter might prefer to the environment to which he is moved.

"He is taken from his community 'like an ant out of its nest' and is subjected to a complete dislocation of his lifestyle. It might be better to improve his living conditions

in the place where he feels at home, rather than to build a house he doesn't want elsewhere. Instead of demolishing squatter camps indiscriminately, we should rather keep uncontrolled squatting in check and improve conditions by making roads, planting trees and providing essential services. Rather than breaking down his hut, he must be helped to improve his accommodation. Besides, for the state to build a house for everyone, would be attempting an impossible task .... If this new view becomes official policy then there would be hope for the people of Crossroads." (Rapport 19.2.78)

Sources: Press reports and interviews with community workers.

<sup>1</sup>Athlone Advice Office Annual Report, October 1974 to September 1975.

<sup>2</sup>Advice Office (is) run jointly by the Black Sash and the South African Institute of Race Relations.

<sup>3</sup>Athlone Advice Office Annual Report, October 1975 to September 1977.

<sup>4</sup>Athlone Advice Office Annual Report, October 1976 to September 1977.

<sup>5</sup>The full text of this affidavit was printed in SA Outlook, June 1976.

<sup>6</sup>Noxolo means Peace.

<sup>7</sup>See SA Outlook August 1977.

<sup>8</sup>Johann Maree and Judith Cornell. "Sample Survey of Squatters in Crossroads" Saldru Working Paper No. 17, December 1977.

<sup>9</sup>K. Weichel, L. Smith and M. Putterill "Nyanga and Crossroads - Some aspects of social and economic activity." UPRU University of Cape Town, February 1978.

<sup>10</sup>"Bantu Affairs and Administration" renamed "Plural Relations and Development."

16 January, 1978: Demolition of Unibell started at a rate of 150 shacks per day. About 20 000 people were left homeless. The then Prime Minister, Mr B.J. Vorster, refused to discuss the matter. Families camped in the bus. A food shortage developed and the Department of Public Works warned that no food supplies would be permitted into the camp.

20 January, 1978: Demolition of Unibell was completed.

24 February, 1978: Crossroads was granted its first reprieve as a result of pressures from anti-Government critics.

1 April, 1978: A survey showed that only about 100 of about 3 000 families living in Crossroads would "qualify" for other housing in the Cape Peninsula in terms of the existing legislation.

2 May, 1978: In the House of Assembly, Dr Vosloo said "People living in Crossroads will have to move by the end of 1978. If they do not move of their own free will every method available to the Government will be used to make them move. I have made a study of the situation and one thing is clear, and that is that the news media, academics, intellectuals, churchmen and humanists are purposely conducting a well thoughtout campaign to discredit the Government by extra-parliamentary methods."

4 May, 1978: The Transkei Government warned that ties with South Africa would worsen if Crossroads were demolished.

June 1978: Two massive pre-dawn raids were conducted. Top-level police officers, policemen and Bantu Administration officials took part. Shots were fired in the air and teargas was used to disperse stone-throwing crowds.

Amidst Government warnings and threats new suggestions were constantly put forward by critics of the Government. But Government officials kept on trying to gain support for their inhumanity.

30 July, 1978: This day was declared a world day of prayer for the fate of squatters in South Africa, especially those in Crossroads. Support was pledged by the Pope and the Archbishop of Canterbury. A petition to save Crossroads was drawn up. It reads: "We, the people of Crossroads,

appeal to the authorities not to demolish Crossroads and appeal to the wider community to support us in our struggle to maintain family life." More than 30 000 Whites signed the petition.

August 1978: Professor R E Kirsch (of the University of Cape Town Medical School and in charge of the UCT clinic at Crossroads) challenged the chairman of the Peninsula Administration Board on the allegation that Crossroads presented a serious health hazard. He said that health conditions in Crossroads compared favourably with those in the rest of the Peninsula. And "health conditions are considerably better than those in the homelands - the intended destination of displaced squatters."

Several clergymen who had taken part in a multiracial religious service at Crossroads on July 30 were threatened with prosecution under the Riotous Assemblies Act. The prosecution would have constituted the largest single action taken against the Christian Church in South Africa to date.

21 August, 1978: Mr P W Botha, now Prime Minister but then Minister of Defence, reaffirmed that Crossroads would be demolished.

22 August, 1978: Dr Connie Mulder, Minister of Plural Relations, said "Those illegally in Crossroads will not be tolerated there, and no pressure from anywhere in the world can move us."

28 August, 1978: The Attorney-General of the Cape withdrew charges against four clergymen who attended the church service at Crossroads on July 30.

5 September, 1978: There was a massive raid on Crossroads: 400 men, women and children were arrested. The raid started at 11:45 p.m. and lasted until 6 a.m.

15 September, 1978: Another raid took place. This time a person was shot to death, three people were treated for gunshot wounds and 300 were arrested.

23 September, 1978: Dr Connie Mulder said in Pretoria: "People will not be forced to leave Crossroads until alternative accommodation can be provided."

After the two raids and court actions against arrested squatters, more than R40 000 was paid by Crossroads residents in fines.

Then the scandal surrounding Dr Connie Mulder and his former department of Information surfaced. Dr Connie Mulder resigned as Minister and Dr Piet Koornhof was appointed in his place.

20 November, 1978: Demolition of Crossroads was suspended. This was followed by a statement by Dr Koornhof that the plans to demolish Crossroads had been shelved indefinitely.

April 1979: A new dispensation is given to the people of Crossroads allowing them to stay in the Peninsula. A new town is planned to house them. Dr Piet Koornhof, Minister of Manpower and Development (later renamed Development and Co-operation) granted the dispensation in a statement issued on 5 April.<sup>1</sup>

November 1979: Faction fighting within Crossroads culminates in a murder and thereafter, at least until December 1980, the group in power dominates local politics.

January 1980: Temporary permits expire and are extended for twelve months.

March 1980: Eight prominent Crossroads citizens are charged with fraud and theft.<sup>2</sup>

April 1980: Crossroads is declared to be a township and falls under the Bantu Affairs Administration's purvey.

May 1980: The first shots in mounting unrest are fired. Unrest in the Peninsula is to do with boycotts and protests by black, coloured and Indian pupils and students at schools and universities across the country. Two die and three are injured as police open fire on school children who stone "white" vehicles passing along Halt Road.<sup>3</sup>

June 1980: The school boycott begins in Crossroads (see Appendix E for a chronology of countrywide events during the first months of the boycott). Pupils from township schools order school principals and teachers to stop giving lessons.

A bus boycott begins. (It followed the decision by the National Transport Commission in March 1980 to allow

City Tramways Limited, which has a monopoly of bus transport in Cape Town, to increase its fares by between 30 and 100 per cent.)

"Cape Town's African and coloured community responded jointly to the news of the increase. Representatives from forty community-based organisations met to form the Bus Action Committee (BAC) which decided on Sunday, May 25 that buses should be boycotted from Monday, June 2 'until the fares come down.'"<sup>4</sup>)

A boycott of red meat continues. (It began in May "when 800 Cape Town meat workers from seventeen factories went on strike after management of two of the factories refused to allow their workers to choose their own form of representation. This was an issue close to the heart of Cape Town's disenfranchised masses and the workers' call for a boycott of red meat to add muscle to their demands was met with an enthusiastic response."<sup>5</sup>)

The three boycotts cause widespread inconvenience in Crossroads but are firmly adhered to for some weeks more. On Monday 16 there is a massive response in the Peninsula to the call on employees to stay away from work, as part of a planned two-day commemoration of the 1976 unrest in Soweto. "Then" writes a Cape Times reporter "came Black Tuesday, with its shooting and looting, arson and stonings."<sup>6</sup> Riots cause widespread disruption and damage to property. Officials estimate that thirty-four people died while the Cape Times (June 20, 1980) estimate forty-two.

July 1980: The boycotts continue. The authorities crack down on "pirate taxis" - one of the main forms of alternative transport used by black commuters. Legal action against drivers is severe. In many cases bail is refused and vehicles confiscated. Those convicted receive sentences of R200 fines or six months imprisonment.<sup>7</sup> Some Crossroads residents are fined.

August 1980: Tension rises with the approach of the fourth anniversary of the beginning of unrest in Cape Town -

August 12 - following the Soweto troubles.

In the early morning of August 11, the authorities conflict with commuters concerning the bus boycott at the Nyanga East Terminus. At 9:00 a.m. the loudspeaker used by the Crossroads Committee calls on residents to go to the terminus to identify bodies. A post office maintenance van and a lorry are set alight in Nyanga. A crowd is dispersed with tear gas. At 12:00 a.m. young people are heard singing as they approach Crossroads from Nyanga East. Whites are warned by residents to leave the area immediately and to avoid the Klipfontein Road.

In the afternoon, the youth attack two vehicles passing the settlement. One driver dies at the scene of the violence and another dies in hospital. A reporter describes the scene:

"Black smoke curled high into the sky from the direction of the Klipfontein Road side of Crossroads. At the intersection ... traffic police had blocked the road.

"About 400 metres up Klipfontein Road was the wreck of Mr Jansen's overturned bakkie, at the side of the road and slightly damaged by fire. A bloody Mr Jansen sat in a pool of water nearby, his empty briefcase beside him and documents, carrying the letterhead of the City Council, scattered around.

"Riot police in plain clothes had already arrived and were trying to attend to his injuries.

"Other policemen, one armed with a machine-pistol and another with a R1 rifle, watched a growing crowd come closer on all sides. At one stage they told the crowd to move back, and some disappeared back amid the sand-dunes of the shanty township.

"About 200 metres up the road the scene of the other attack was visible. At 4:00 p.m. an ambulance, escorted by a police van, picked up the body of the dead man and then came to where the injured man waited. Police then withdrew from the area."<sup>8</sup>

On Tuesday 12, one man is killed and two are seriously injured as violence flares again near Crossroads.<sup>9</sup> Arrests are later made.

October 1980: The Crossroads Committee resists the proposed move to New Crossroads calling the brick houses "those toilets." Residents are confused.

The school children still receive virtually no instruction except from a couple of teachers who risk the students' wrath.

November 1980: On Wednesday, 26, the first eight of the 5 000 families move from the old Crossroads to brick houses in the new township. So far, 106 of the 1 731 houses in phase one of the R14 million New Crossroads township have been completed. By 1982, 3 000 houses should be ready. The rentals payable will be R18,20 a month for heads of households earning up to R50,00 a month; R20,70 a month for those earning between R51 and R150 a month and R23,50 for those earning R151 and more.<sup>10</sup>

Sources are all from The Cape Times. Details appear below:

<sup>1</sup>Koornhof's Answers on Crossroads. 22 March 1980, p. 11.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid.

<sup>3</sup>Williams, R. What Happened to the Fairest Cape This Week? 20 June 1980, p. 11.

<sup>4</sup>McGregor, L. The Black Bus Boycott - Ten Weeks Old. 14 August 1980, p. 10.

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Williams op. cit.

<sup>7</sup>McGregor op. cit.

<sup>8</sup>Wrottesley, S. Man Burnt to Death by Mobs. 12 August 1980, p. 1.

<sup>9</sup>Ellias, L. and Wrottesley, S. 1 Killed, 2 Injured in New Violence. 13 August 1980, p. 1.

<sup>10</sup>First Families in New Crossroads. 27 November 1980, p. 17.

## THE LAW REGULATING MOVEMENT TO TOWN\*

Restriction on entry into Cape Town began in 1926. Before that, in 1901, a proposal to exclude Africans had been rejected, and though warnings were issued from time to time about the difficulty of obtaining employment, there was no actual prohibition on entry. In 1926 the municipal area of Cape Town was declared a "proclaimed area" in terms of Section 12 of Act 21 of 1923. All Africans coming into Cape Town were required to report to the registering officer within forty-eight hours of arrival, while all male Africans employed in the municipal area had to obtain a registered contract of service or a casual labourer's permit. Registered parliamentary voters, the owners of certain properties, and certain other specified groups were exempted from these provisions. The local authority could not refuse registration if accommodation was available, and it had to provide accommodation for work-seekers. The right of women to travel to and live in an urban area was not restricted, so that a man could have his family living with him.

Act 25 of 1930 amended the Act of 1923 so as to enable the local authority to apply to the Governor-General for a proclamation limiting the entry of Africans into an urban area under prescribed conditions. Another amendment enabled any municipality to prohibit the entry of a female African without permission of the local authority, but it could not deny permission to a woman whose husband or father had lived and worked in the area for not less than two years, where accommodation was available. Proclamation 231 of 1932 applied some of the restrictions to Cape Town, for instance by limiting the entry of Africans under eighteen years of age. But the Council did not use the powers granted to limit the entry of women, nor did it ask the government to apply the more stringent restrictions envisaged by the amending statute.

---

\*M. Wilson and A. Mafeje. Langa, A Study of Social Groups in an African Township, Cape Town;OUP, 1963.

The Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 was further amended by Act 46 of 1937. Its general purport was to vest in the central government the powers of restricting the entry of Africans into urban areas in which the local authority had failed to take such action. One amendment required a woman who wanted to enter an urban area to obtain a certificate of permission from the magistrate of her home district as well as a permit from the local authority. Acting under the powers conferred by the Act of 1937, the government issued Proclamation No. 105 of 1939 in terms of which no African, other than an exempted person, could lawfully enter Cape Town unless he came there to take up employment, or on a temporary visit, or to seek work with the permission of the City Council. The Natives (Urban Areas) Acts were consolidated in 1945 by Act 25. Proclamation 74 of 1946 reapplied the restrictive provisions of the Act to Cape Town, and extended the City Council's jurisdiction under the Act to include the entire Cape Peninsula.

In 1946 the provisions of War Measure 81 of 1943 were applied so as to restrict the sale of railway tickets to Africans wishing to travel by rail from the Cape eastern districts, bounded by De Aar in the north and Mossel Bay in the west, to stations in the Cape western region. Tickets could be sold only to Africans who satisfied the local magistrate that employment was waiting for them at their destination. Exceptions were made for bona fide temporary visitors, scholars, and women wishing to join their fathers or husbands, if they had permits issued by the registering officer of the area to which they wished to travel. After 1 January 1947, the provisions of Section 11(1) of Act 25 of 1945 were applied to Cape Town. As a result, Africans who, having satisfied a magistrate that employment awaited them in the Peninsula, were allowed to travel to Cape Town, could not take up work there unless the employer guaranteed to repatriate them on discharge from employment.

Proclamation 105 of 1939 applied to both sexes, but African women living in Cape Town were not obliged to undergo

registration. In practice, therefore, the restrictions imposed by the proclamation did not affect them. They were, however, prevented by the War Measure from travelling to Cape Town by rail unless they satisfied the prescribed conditions, and those wishing to take up residence with husbands or fathers had to produce certificates from the City Council to show that suitable accommodation was available for them.

A radical change in the position of urban Africans resulted from the substitution of a new section for Section 10 of Act 25 of 1945. The change was made by Act 54 of 1952, and it became an offence for any African to remain in an urban area for longer than seventy-two hours, unless he either fell within the scope of a narrow range of exceptions, or received a temporary permit from an official to be in the area.

The exempted categories consist of Africans born and permanently resident in the area, persons who have worked continuously in the area for one employer for at least ten years, persons who remained for at least fifteen years in the areas, and their wives, unmarried daughters, and sons under eighteen years of age. It should be noted, however, that exempted persons are not immune from expulsion from the urban area under other sections of the Act. With the Representation of Natives Act of 1959 the special rights of registered voters are obliterated.

In 1954 the City Council began to issue permits to women under Section 10 of Act 25 of 1945, and to prosecute women for contravening Section 10(4) of the Act, which makes it an offence for an African to be in the area without the prescribed permission or exemption. A reason given at the time for the issue of permits was that employers of African women wished to protect themselves against the danger of prosecution for breach of Section 10bis of the Act, which makes it an offence to employ an African who is not lawfully resident in the area.

However, the extension of pass law control to women in the Peninsula acquired a new significance from an address given by Dr Eiselen, the Secretary for Native Affairs, at

the annual conference of the South African Bureau of Race Relations (SABRA) in January 1955. He announced that his Department's policy regarding the immigration of Africans in the western Cape was to expel all "foreign" Africans, maintain strict supervision over the influx, repatriate families that had recently come into the area, rehouse the lawful residents in municipal houses with the hope that the African population will gradually diminish, and restrict further immigration to migrant and temporary workers.<sup>1</sup>

An even more emphatic expression of a determination to expel Africans from the western Cape was contained in a statement by Dr Verwoerd, when Minister of Native Affairs, in 1956, to a deputation from the Christian Council, which interviewed him on the subject of migrant labour and the position of Africans in the western Cape in particular.<sup>2</sup> In 1961 the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration and Development reiterated the official policy, that Africans must gradually and systematically be withdrawn from the western Cape.<sup>3</sup> Movement to town is also controlled through prohibitive rents. In the married quarters of Langa sub-economic rents are charged to the poorest, who pay R2,25 a month for two rooms, and only the more affluent pay the top rent of R9 a month for four rooms with electricity. But in the newly built Nyanga (Guguletu) a flat rate of R8,05 is charged for a four-roomed house without electricity. This, together with the fare, amounts to 38 per cent of an unskilled worker's earnings.

<sup>1</sup> SABRA Referate, January 1955, pp. 118-19.

<sup>2</sup> South African Outlook, March 1956, pp. 40-3.

<sup>3</sup> In an address to Tygerberg Afrikaanse Sakekamer, Bellville. Cape Times, 14 March 1961.

## CROSSROADS FROM THE INSIDE\*

The following is an affidavit signed by Mr Johnson Ndayi. It forms part of the reply of the residents of Crossroads, near Cape Town, to the Divisional Council Application for a Court Order to demolish the shacks and remove all the people. The headings to certain paragraphs were not part of the original affidavit. The first four paragraphs have been shortened.

This affidavit provides an accurate summary as to the way the residents themselves view the immediate situation and was used in the court case prior to the welcome decision by the Divisional Council to declare Crossroads an Emergency Camp.

## Affidavit

I, the undersigned, Ntoyi Johnson Ndayi, do hereby make oath and say that:-

1. I am a resident of the area known as "Crossroads"....
2. I was born in King Williams Town on the 5th August 1916 and came to Cape Town in 1942 ....
3. I am in full-time employment ....
4. I am married and live at Crossroads with my wife and five children ....

## People Told to go to Crossroads

5. I came to Crossroads in and during February 1975, having been told that inspectors in the employ of Applicant (The Divisional Council of the Cape) were directing people to go there. I heard the story repeatedly from people who had been squatting in other areas that the Divisional Council inspectors had told them to go to Crossroads and, indeed, it

---

\*The above article is reprinted, with permission, from The South African Outlook, Vol.110, No.1261, June 1976.

appeared that the authorities were content to allow people to establish dwellings there.

6. Because I am an elderly man and one of the early residents of Crossroads, people living there seem to regard me as someone to whom they can bring their problems and talk to and I am, therefore, perhaps in a better position than most to speak for the inhabitants of Crossroads and to try to convey to this Honourable Court the circumstances prevailing there.

#### 10 000 People Living There

7. I am not able to say what the precise number of people is who live at Crossroads, but I would not argue with the estimate that approximately 10 000 people live there in about 2 300 dwellings. It is also true that with the passage of time the population at Crossroads has increased substantially and I do not deny that there exists a health hazard. However, I do wish to make the following observations with regard to the allegations made in support of Applicant's application:-

#### Crime Rate Lower Than Other Areas

- 7.1. There is a strong community spirit amongst the people at Crossroads who tend to help one another in many different ways and, whilst there is naturally a degree of crime and vandalism, I believe that the crime rate is far lower at Crossroads than in many other parts of the Cape Peninsula.

#### People Have Nowhere Else to Live With Their Families

- 7.2. The people at Crossroads are in the area because one or more members of the household work in the Cape Peninsula. There are many people like me who are lawfully in the area

who simply do not have another home to go to, and there are many families who have come to join husbands who work as contract labourers in the area and likewise, have no other accommodation within the Cape Peninsula. It is true that many of the people are illegally in the Cape Peninsula, but the fact is that the vast majority of them have been there for some time and regard this as their home, and I believe that if they are removed from Crossroads they will simply squat somewhere else nearby, not because they wish to defy authority but simply because they wish to remain together in family units and have nowhere else to go.

#### The People Are Working in Cape Town

- 7.3. Because virtually every household has a breadwinner, people in the area are, for the most part, financially able to care for themselves and in particular, children have adequate food and clothing and are well cared for by their parents.
- 7.4. Whilst the dwellings can be described as shacks, they are for the most part well constructed with tin and zinc materials, having flooring and they are sealed against the elements.
- 7.5. As stated above, it is my experience that there has been a great deal of co-operation amongst people at Crossroads, particularly in the construction of dwellings, so that much ingenuity and varied materials have been employed to bring into existence habitable dwellings.

## Authorities Failed to Provide Adequate Sewerage and Other Facilities

- 7.6. The community spirit has also manifested itself in co-operation in keeping the area clean and tidy. Hitherto, people were careful about using litter bins and used the facilities provided in the form of bins and lavatories. Unfortunately, as time passed, the authorities have taken no interest in providing adequate facilities and more and more people have come to Crossroads so that the water, latrine and refuse removal facilities, which were never adequate, are now hopelessly inadequate.

## There Will be no Health Hazard if Facilities are Provided

- 7.7. If inadequate water, latrine and refuse facilities exist, then any community affected will become a health hazard and Crossroads is no exception. On the other hand, if these facilities are installed, the health hazard will, I submit with respect, be removed in a very short space of time.

## People Will Co-operate With Authorities to Instal Facilities

- 7.8. Because of the co-operation in the community to which I have referred, I verily believe that people will co-operate in every way necessary or desirable to alleviate the existing health hazard should the authorities seek their co-operation. People will certainly use any facilities that are provided and if some dwellings have to come down in order to establish these facilities, I believe that the people concerned will be prepared to move.

### People Should Not be Moved Unless Better Accommodation is Provided

8. Presumably, this Honourable Court would not grant an order for the removal of people from Crossroads unless and until it is satisfied that alternative and adequate accommodation exists at the place to which they are to be removed. I submit that it would be a vast undertaking to find alternative accommodation in the short space of time and, indeed, it would appear unnecessary. The Crossroads community exists as a fact and with the goodwill and co-operation of the authorities, I submit that the health hazard could be removed at relatively little cost and at vastly less cost than would be incurred in removing the community to another place.

### The Bantu Affairs Board and Divisional Council Should Co-operate to Remove Health Hazard

9. I have been informed and verily believe that there is some confusion surrounding the ownership of Crossroads. Applicant states that it is the registered holder of the property but that the Bantu Affairs Administration Board ("the Board") has become the owner under the deeming provisions in Section 12 of Act 45 of 1971. I believe that in a recent case (The State v Lilian Peter) the Cape Provincial Division of the Supreme Court of South Africa found that the Board had not established ownership under the above enactment. I submit, however, that the question of ownership of the land should not be an obstacle in the way of solving the immediate problem, namely the removal of a health hazard, if the Applicant and the Board are prepared to co-operate to that end.

### Crossroads Should be Declared an Emergency Camp

10. Section 6 of Act 52 of 1951 provides for the establishment of emergency camps for the purpose of accommodation of homeless persons and I respectfully submit that Crossroads falls squarely within the kind of community that the legislature had in mind when passing that enactment. I submit that there is no reason why Crossroads, itself, cannot be declared an emergency camp which would enable Applicant:-
- 10.1. to make regulations, with proper approval, providing for the administration, maintenance, sanitation and health of the emergency camp and the control thereof;

### The People are Willing to Pay Rent

- 10.2. to levy fees or charges in respect of the accommodation of people at Crossroads and the provision of services which I, myself, know they would be more than willing to pay;
- 10.3. to lay down penalties in respect of the contravention of such regulations which would have the force of law. These very powers are contemplated and provided for in Section 6 and would enable Applicant in conjunction with the Board to remove the health hazard.
11. If the emergency camp is established as suggested above, then I respectfully submit that there can be no room for misinterpretation by the Courts, for the providing of facilities will take place in terms of and pursuant to the provisions of Section 6 of Act 52 of 1951.

### The People Should Not be Removed

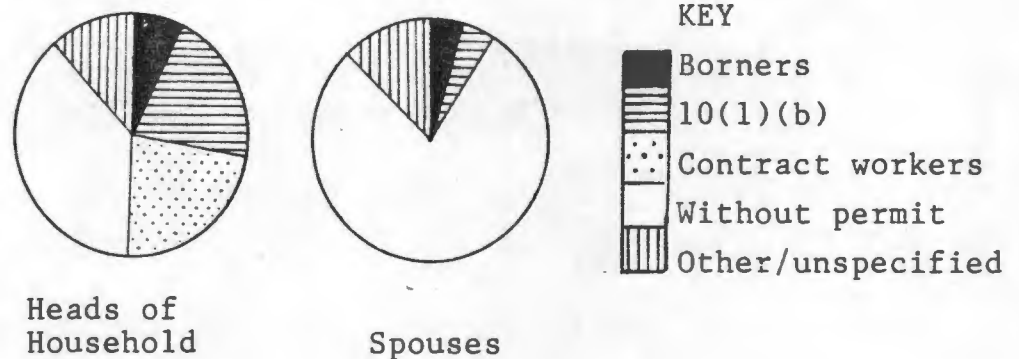
12. In the circumstances, I respectfully submit that there can be no good reason for the Orders sought by Applicant in this matter and humbly pray that

the application be declined by this Honourable Court. Alternatively, I humbly pray that this Honourable Court make no Order for the removal of persons at Crossroads or for the demolition of dwellings unless and until this Honourable Court is satisfied that alternative accommodation is made available to all the inhabitants of Crossroads which should enjoy all the necessary facilities to ensure that no further health hazard will come into existence.

## CROSSROADS - THE STATISTICAL PICTURE\*

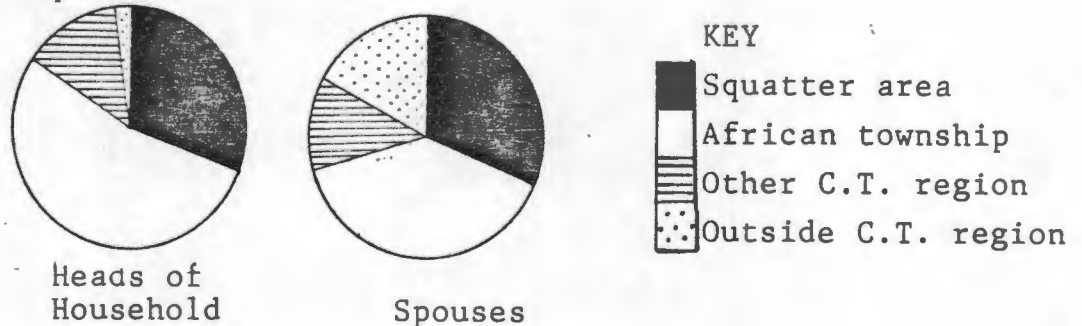
The information in the diagrams printed below is drawn from a survey of Crossroads by Johann Maree and Judith Cornell, Sample Survey of Squatters in Crossroads, (Saldru Working Paper No.17, Cape Town, December 1977).

Figure 1: Legal Status of Heads of Household and Spouses



Source: Saldru, Crossroads, Table 2, p.9.

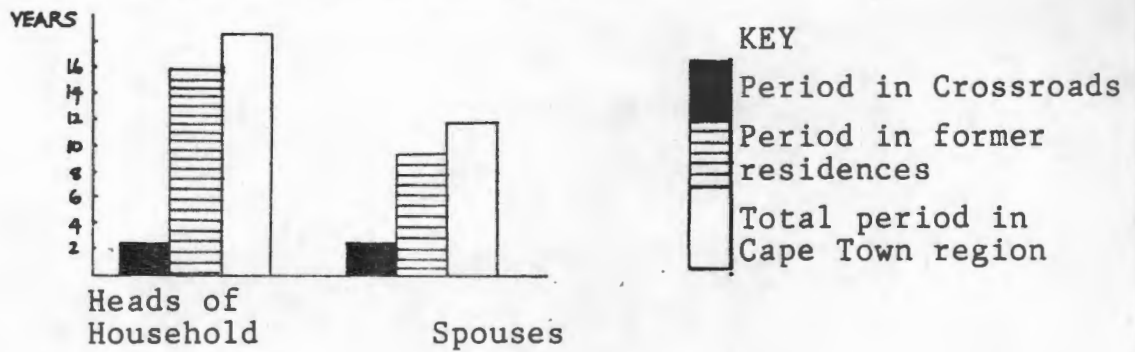
Figure 2: Prior Residential Area of Heads of Household and Spouses



Source: Ibid, Table 9, p.13.

\*The above article is reprinted, with permission, from The South African Outlook, 108 (1280), February, 1978.

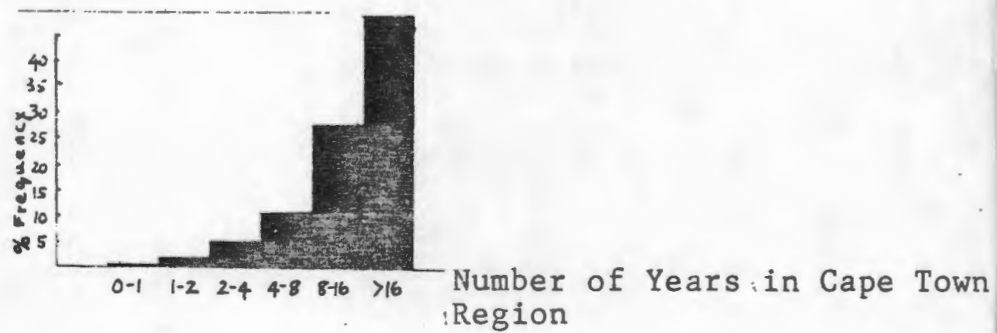
Figure 3: Average Period of Residence in Cape Town Region:  
Heads of Household and Spouses



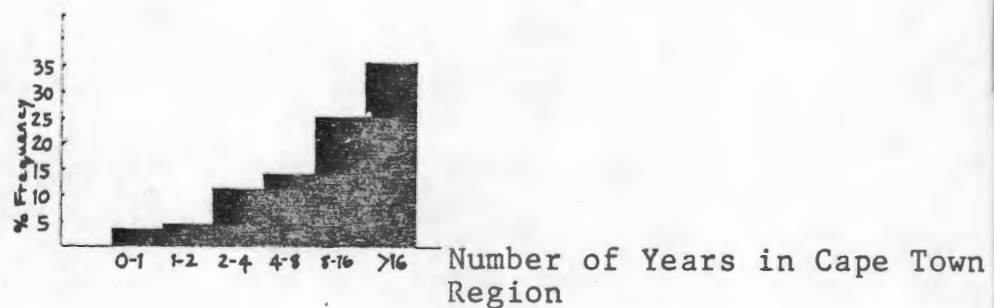
Source: Ibid, Table 12, p.16.

Figure 4: Distribution of Residence Period in Cape Town

(1) Heads of Household

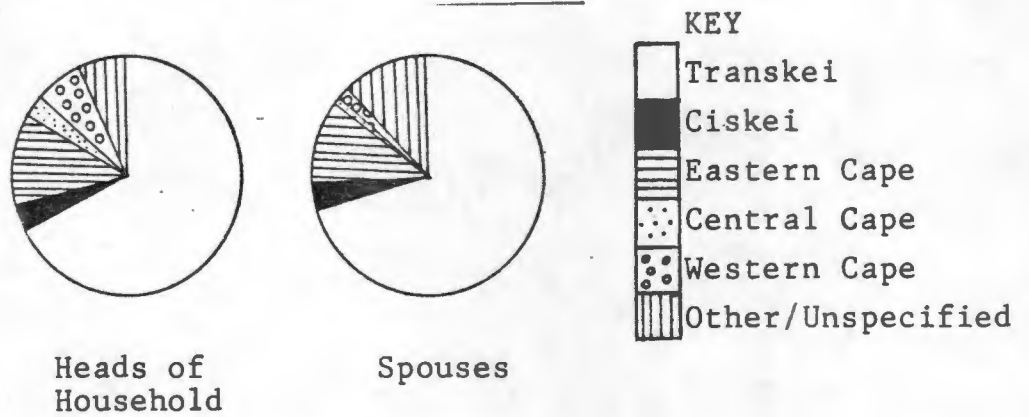


(2) Spouses



Source: Ibid, Table 13, p.16.

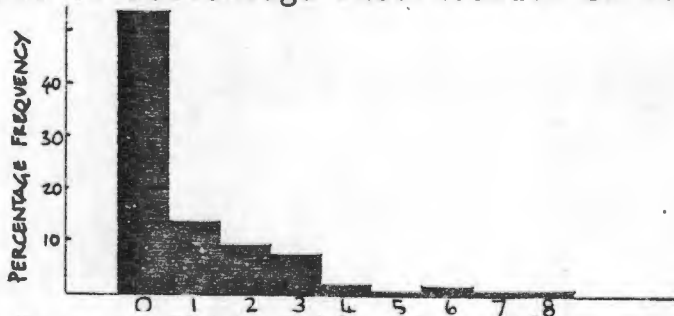
Figure 5: Residential Area Before Coming to Cape Town<sup>(1)</sup>



Source: Ibid, Tables 14 and 15, p.17.

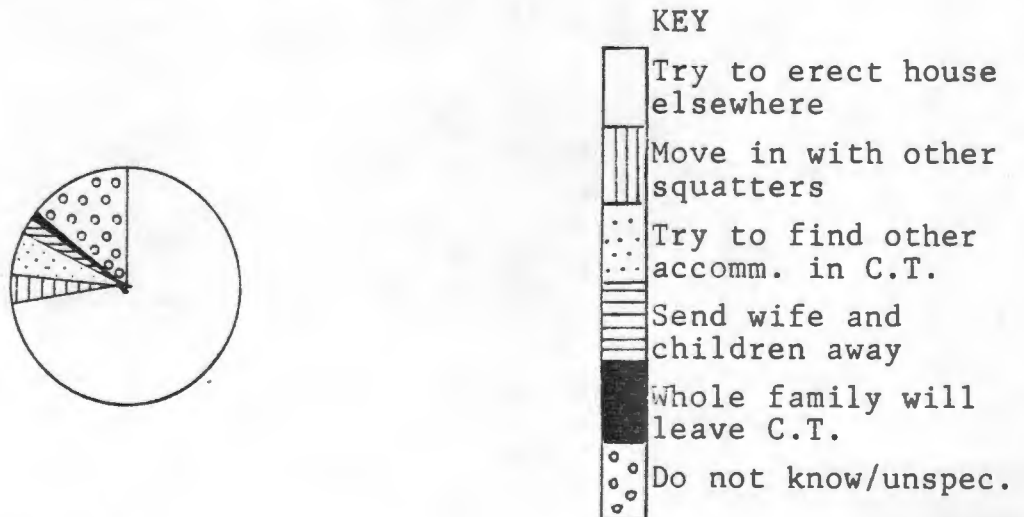
Note (1): Figures obviously exclude heads of household and spouses born in Cape Town.

Figure 6: Percentage Distribution of Number of Prior Demolitions



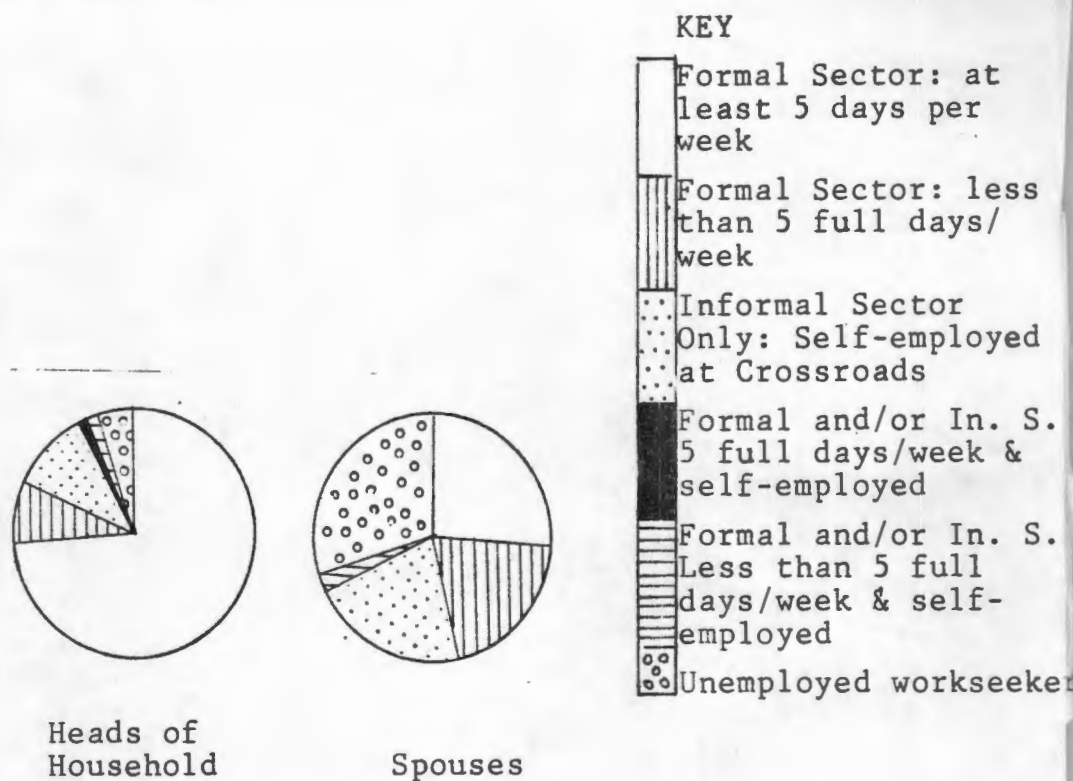
Source: Ibid, Table 16, p.18.

Figure 7: Intended Move in Case of Demolition



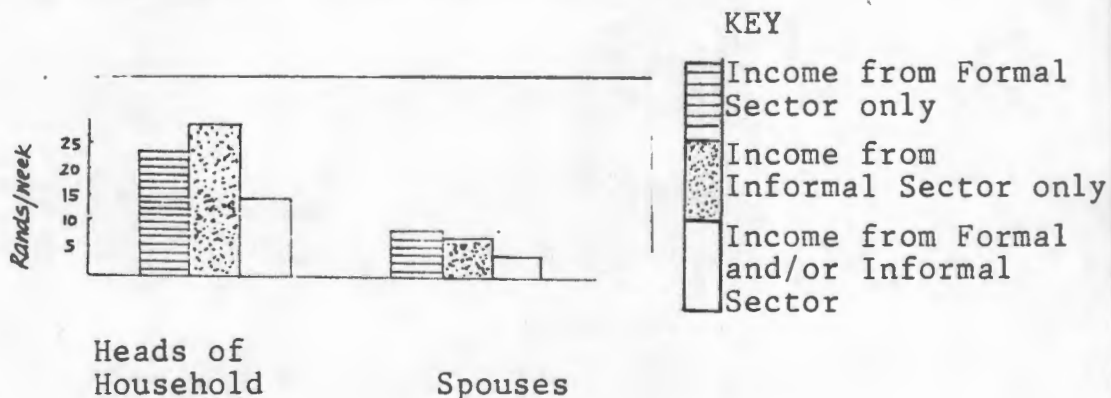
Source: Ibid, Table 17, p.18.

Figure 8: Employment Situation



Source: Ibid, Table 3, p.10.

Figure 9: Average Weekly Income of Residents



Source: Saldru, Crossroads, Table 4, p.11.

### CHRONOLOGY OF AN EDUCATIONAL CRISIS\*

The following factual overview of the school boycott is reprinted from Intergroup (Bulletin No.3) by courtesy of the Centre for Inter-group Studies at the University of Cape Town.

February 2: 2 000 parents and pupils at Regina Mundi Cathedral call on Soweto students to boycott classes until national servicemen teachers are removed from African schools. Free education, the establishment of student representative councils (SRC's) and the readmission of Africans barred from schools for being "too old" are also demanded.

February 12: Pupils at Hanover Park's Mountview High School (Cape Town) boycott classes to protest against school conditions and the lack of stationery. The next day the pupils return to school after the Coloured Affairs' chief inspector of schools gives his assurance that corrective steps will be taken immediately.

February 14-21: 800 pupils at Fezeke High School in Gugulethu (Cape Town) stay away from classes to protest against wearing "expensive and unnecessary uniforms," the increase in school fees, the shortage of textbooks and the lack of student representation. The school committee, with many parents, declare these grievances to be "rather genuine" and after talks the pupils return to classes.

March 13: At a mass meeting in Hanover Park coloured students and parents discuss grievances such as the deplorable condition of their schools and the forced payment of voluntary fees. They appoint two committees to investigate these complaints.

Mountview and Crystal High Schools resemble "bombed sites," strewn with physical reminders of the 1976 unrest - administration blocks remain wrecked, classroom windows are

---

\*The above article is reprinted, with permission, from The South African Outlook, 110 (1310), August, 1980.

broken, and often there are no ceilings. Neither school has electricity.

March 17: 300 pupils at Uitenhage High School walk out to draw attention to school conditions. They return the next day when the Administration of Coloured Affairs agrees to look into the matter.

5 000 pamphlets rejecting "gutter education" and calling for solidarity among black students, parents and workers are distributed throughout the Cape Peninsula: "We are forced to work as cheap labour because our parents cannot afford to maintain us at school."

March 20: At a second Hanover Park meeting 600 pupils, teachers and parents air their dissatisfaction with "inferior ethnic education" and elect a deputation to "confront" the Department of Coloured Relations. Students cite their specific grievances as:-

- the high cost of "free schooling"
- the employment of unqualified/incompetent teachers
- the shortage of textbooks
- the misuse of corporal punishment
- the expulsion of pupils not wearing school uniforms.

The meeting also demands the resignation of the principals and several "inept" teachers at Mountview and Crystal, and threatens to initiate a widespread class boycott.

March 22: Pupils at Newell and New Brighton High Schools in Port Elizabeth walk out in protest against school conditions.

March 26: Mr F.A. Sonn, president of the Union of Teachers' Association of SA (UTASA), claims that regular appeals regarding school conditions had been made to the Administration of Coloured Affairs, "but all we were given were promises and the authorities will have only themselves to blame if things turn out badly."

March 28: Three white teachers are dismissed from Crystal High and complain of victimisation for having openly supported their pupils' demands.

March 30: Student representatives from Crystal and Mountview call for the unconditional re-instatement of the three teachers and warn of a possible class boycott: "the dismissals are forcing us into direct confrontation with the authorities."

April 7: Representatives from nineteen coloured high schools in the Cape Peninsula (including Rylands High for Indians) meet and pledge "to fight the education system at all levels." The proposed school boycott is again agreed upon if certain demands are not met by the government. The students issue a statement specifying demands similar to those of Hanover Park pupils - the repair of riot-damaged schools, the supply of outstanding textbooks, and a pay increase for their teachers.

April 9: The principal of Crystal High, Mr C. Fortuin, is removed from his post, following the transfer earlier of the Mountview High principal, Mr M. Aymster, to a post at Mitchell's Plain. The three former Crystal teachers lodge complaints with the Director of Coloured Education about their dismissals.

April 12: At a second meeting the nineteen student representatives decide to give the authorities until the end of April to meet their demands: "The steps taken by Mr Steyn to supply proper textbooks and to keep the school buildings in good repair are the run-of-the-mill things any good administration should do. What we are dissatisfied with is the general low standard and poor conditions surrounding coloured education."

April 14-18: A wildcat boycott of classes centering on black students' common grievances begins at five Peninsula high schools and gathers momentum. By the end of the week at least thirty high schools in the Western Cape join the boycott, involving an estimated 25 000 pupils.

On Friday a solidarity march by 2 000 coloured high school students in Johannesburg is peacefully halted by the police.

April 19: Representatives from sixty-one Peninsula high schools, colleges and the University of the Western Cape (WC) meet and decide to continue a symbolic protest against "inferior and racial education." The "Committee of Sixty-One" also issues a statement demanding immediate action on the original and additional grievances:-

- the disparity in government expenditure on the education of different race groups
- the absence of autonomous SRC's
- the security police's free access to school premises
- the permit system for admittance to educational institutions.

April 21-25: In a second week of mass rallies and marches dispersed by police baton-charges and teargas, the boycott at black educational institutions spreads to rural Cape areas, the Transvaal and Natal. An estimated 100 000 pupils and students are now involved. At nation-wide protest meetings, parents, Cape and Transvaal teacher and principal associations, the Labour Party and many other civic and religious bodies express "total support" for the students' rejection of an inferior educational system.

April 26: Student representatives meet throughout the country and resolve to continue their boycott "until there is tangible evidence that our grievances will be redressed."

April 28: 900 African pupils in Fingo Village (Grahamstown) join the boycott. 1 500 pupils from four schools in Pretoria's Mamelodi Township are sent home and nine arrested after a protest march in solidarity with coloured and Indian students. In Johannesburg police baton-charge and arrest 714 coloured pupils gathered outside Westbury High, under the Riotous Assemblies Act.

April 29: 1 200 Coloured and Indian teachers and lecturers from Peninsula Educational institutions unanimously dedicate themselves to "the achievement of a single, non-discriminatory, non-racial society within which no racially stratified educational system can function."

April 30-31: Police use teargas to break up demonstrations by 1 300 pupils from five African schools in Kwa-Mashu (near Durban).

May 1: Twenty members of the Committee of Sixty-One are rounded up by the security police in Athlone and informed that the Minister of Police would like to hold talks with them. The committee rejects the minister's invitation as well as Marais Steyn's "open door" offer: "It would appear that the only door he is talking about is the prison door."

1 000 teachers and lecturers from Cape Town's coloured and Indian educational institutions "down tools" and involve themselves in non-curricular "awareness programmes" only. Thousands of Peninsula primary school pupils carry out a one-day stay-away from classes.

May 3: A meeting of UTASA representatives reject Steyn's threat to expel boycotting students at training schools, colleges and technikons. The teachers also express "pride and admiration for the disciplined manner" of their pupils' conduct.

May 5: 5 000 pupils and students from more than thirty-seven schools, colleges and universities decide to end their boycott at a mass rally at the University of Natal, Durban.

May 6: Protest marches by African students boycotting classes at the universities of the North and Fort Hare are dispersed by baton-wielding police using teargas.

May 13: African pupils at Langa High, I.D. Mkize High and Sizamile Secondary Schools in Cape Town begin a class stay-away as the boycott at neighbouring Fezeka High continues into its third week.

May 14: A vigilante group member, Mr Alfred Soya, is stoned to death by African youths in Grahamstown. This follows "the Peacemakers" attempt to force pupils to end their boycott.

May 16: A meeting of 600 pupils in Kwa-Mashu is dispersed by police, who use teargas after they are stoned by the gathering.

May 19: Pupils and students throughout the Western Cape heed the decision by the Committee of Sixty-One to return to classes as "a consolidation of our forces." But the committee warns that unless their short-term demands (listed in a widely circulated manifesto) are met within three weeks they will take further action: "We pledge ourselves to work harder in conscientising the community and in transforming the issue of education into an issue of the fight for fundamental human rights."

The University of Fort Hare is closed down indefinitely and its 2 800 students ordered off campus. The rector's decision follows his earlier appeals to the students to end their boycott.

May 22: Three days after the return to classes, Western Cape pupils and students resume the stay-away in response to the Committee of Eighty-One, the steering committee regulating the boycott. This action is to protest against the closure of Fort Hare, the mass arrest of 153 African pupils (Grahamstown), "the violent response of the authorities in Kwa-Mashu" to the boycott, and the sacking of meat workers on strike in Cape Town.

May 23: For the second day, pupils in Bloemfontein's townships go on the rampage. They assault a white national conscript, damage buses, police vehicles and administration board offices and barricade streets.

May 24: Thousands of pupils participate in a Peninsula-wide attempt to disrupt shopping at major complexes. Police baton-charge pupils at two shopping centres, injuring many, and arrest 134 students.

May 26: The renewed class boycott at black educational institutions gathers momentum throughout the country. "Awareness programmes" again replace normal curricular activities. Police use batons and teargas to disperse UWC students meeting in the campus cafeteria.

May 27: In Elsie's River (Cape Town), police baton-charge a crowd, vehicles are stoned, and a petrol bomb is thrown at a police van.

A demonstration by 2 000 pupils in the Qwa-Qwa homeland is dispersed by police using batons.

May 28: Police fire on a crowd, killing two youths and injuring six others, amidst further incidents of stoning in Elsie's River.

The Committee of Eighty-One appeals to pupils to "avoid direct confrontation with the police in the light of the new strategy which entails complete non-violence and the mobilisation of the broader community."

In Uitenhage, police arrest 275 African pupils under the Riotous Assemblies Act, ending a protest march.

May 29: After vehicles are stoned in Ravensmead (Cape Town) police again open fire on a crowd and injure a man.

1 000 pupils from surrounding African townships hold a rally at Fezeka High, Gugulethu.

May 30: 2 000 pupils gathered in Maritzburg city centre (Natal) are dispersed by baton-wielding police.

May 30-June 1: Unrest continues in the two coloured areas of Elsie's River and Ravensmead. Arsonists destroy a tyre-retreading firm and a funeral parlour, cars are set alight, and police use teargas to disperse stone-throwing mobs.

June 2: A two kilometre procession of 12 000 mourners follows the funeral cortege of the two youths shot by police in Elsie's River. Students at the University of Transkei begin a boycott of lectures.

Many buses are damaged on the Cape Flats in incidents of stone-throwing as black commuters boycott City Tramways to protest against increased fares.

June 3: Several classrooms and the administration block of Manenberg's Edenvale Primary School (Cape Town) are destroyed by arsonists.

June 4: In Cape Town, the unrest escalates. Bus drivers and passengers are stoned and hundreds of bus windows

smashed during the City Tramways boycott. In Mbekweni Township (Paarl), ten students are arrested and six injured when police baton-charge a group of 300 pupils.

The Committee of Eighty-One decides in principle to call off the school boycott and to resume classes the following week. This decision is still to be ratified by the individual institutions represented though.

June 9: Sixty schools and colleges decide to continue their boycott in the Western Cape. Students at forty-five educational institutions in the Eastern Cape also continue their boycott, regulated by the newly formed "Committee of Forty-One."

200 suspended Indian pupils of Durban's Ghandi-Desai High are arrested after attempting to disrupt classes there. Police baton-charge stone-throwing pupils at Bellville South High (Cape Town), injuring twenty, and arrest forty-one students.

Thousands of black commuters in the Peninsula continue their bus boycott, amidst unabated stonings of bus drivers, passengers and windows.

June 12: Rectors and Principals of Training and Technical Colleges refuse to carry out a government instruction to expel boycotting students.

June 19: School term ends.

June 20: A delegation of prominent "coloured" and white personalities has a discussion with Prime Minister P.W. Botha about the unrest.

June 24: Franklin Sonn, President of the Cape Professional Teachers' Association, calls for an end to the boycott which he says has become counter productive.

July 17: Committee of Eighty-One decides to suspend the boycott.

## SCORING MANUAL FOR THIRTY DEVELOPMENTAL ITEMS ON HFD's OF CHILDREN\*

1. Head: Any representation, clear outline of head required.
2. Eyes: Any representation.
3. Pupils: Distinct circles or dots within outlines of eyes required. A dot with a line over it is scored as eyes and eyebrows.
4. Eyebrows or eyelashes: Either brows or lashes or both.
5. Nose: Any representation.
6. Nostrils: Dots or nostrils shown in addition to representation of nose.
7. Mouth: Any representation.
8. Two lips: Two lips outlined and separated by line from each other; two rows of teeth only are not scored.
9. Ear: Any representation.
10. Hair: Any representation or hat or cap covering head and hiding hair.
11. Neck: Definite separation of head and body necessary.
12. Body: Any representation, clear outline necessary.
13. Arms: Any representation.
14. Arms in two dimensions: Both arms represented by more than a single line.
15. Arms pointing downward: One or both arms pointing down at an angle of  $30^{\circ}$  or more from horizontal position or arms raised appropriately for activity figure is engaged in; arms extending horizontally from body and then turning down some distance from the body is not scored.

---

\*The above is an extract from Koppitz (1968).

16. Arms correctly attached at shoulder: Indication of shoulder necessary for this item, arms must be firmly connected to body.
17. Elbow: Distinct angle in arm required; rounded curve in arm is not scored.
18. Hands: Differentiation from arms and fingers necessary such as widening of arm or demarcation from arm by sleeve or bracelet.
19. Fingers: Any representation distinct from hands or arms.
20. Correct number of fingers: Five fingers on each hand or arm unless position of hand hides some fingers.
21. Legs: Any representation: In case of female figures in long skirts this item is scored if distance between waist and feet is long enough to allow for legs to be present under the skirt.
22. Legs in two dimensions: Both legs represented by more than single line.
23. Knee: Distinct angle in one or both legs (side view) or kneecap (front view); round curve in leg is not scored.
24. Feet: Any representation.
25. Feet two dimensional: Feet extending in one direction from heel (side view) and showing greater length than height, or feet drawn in perspective (front view).
26. Profile: Head drawn in profile even if rest of figure is not entirely in profile.
27. Clothing: One item or none: No clothing indicated or only hat, buttons or belt or outline of garment without details.
28. Clothing: Two or three items: The following items are scored for clothing: pants, skirt, shirt or blouse (upperpart of dress separated by belt is scored as blouse), coat, hat, helmet, belt, tie, hair ribbon, barrette, necklace, watch, ring, bracelet, pipe, cigarette, umbrella, cane, gun, rake, shoes, socks,

pocketbook, briefcase, bat, gloves, etc.

29. Clothing: Four or more items: Four or more items listed above present.
30. Good proportions: Figure looks right even if not entirely correct from anatomical point of view.

EXPECTED AND EXCEPTIONAL ITEMS ON HUMAN FIGURE DRAWINGS OF BOYS AND GIRLS AGE FIVE TO TWELVE\*

Expected Items	N	Age 5		Age 6		Age 7		Age 8		Age 9		Age 10		Age 11 & 12	
		Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
		128	128	131	133	134	125	138	130	134	134	109	108	157	167
Head		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Eyes		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Nose		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Mouth		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Body		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Legs		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Arms			X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Feet					X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Arms 2 dimension						X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Legs 2 dimension							X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Hair					X		X		X		X	X	X	X	X
Neck											X	X	X	X	X
Arm down												X	X	X	X
Arms at shoulder															X
2 clothing items													X		X
Exceptional Items															
Knee		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X
Profile		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X		X		
Elbow		X	X	X	X	X	X	X	X						
Two lips		X	X	X	X	X	X	X			X		X		
Nostrils		X	X	X	X	X		X		X					
Proportions		X	X	X	X	X									
Arms at shoulder		X	X	X	X										
4 clothing items		X	X	X	X										
Feet 2 dimension		X	X												
Five fingers		X													
Pupils		X													

\*The above is an extract from Koppitz (1968).

SCORING MANUAL FOR THIRTY EMOTIONAL INDICATORS ON HFD'S  
OF CHILDREN\*

(All Emotional Indicators are considered valid for boys and girls age five to twelve unless otherwise indicated.)

1. Poor integration of parts (Boys 7, Girls 6): One or more parts not joined to rest of figure, part only connected by a single line, or barely touching.
2. Shading of face: Deliberate shading of whole face or part of it, including "freckles", "measles", etc.; an even, light shading of face and hands to represent skin colour is not scored.
3. Shading of body and/or limbs (Boys 9, Girls 8).
4. Shading of hands and/or neck (Boys 8, Girls 7).
5. Gross asymmetry of limbs: One arm or leg differs markedly in shape from the other arm or leg. This item is not scored if arms or legs are similar in shape but just a bit uneven in size.
6. Slanting figures: Vertical axis of figure tilted by  $15^{\circ}$  or more from the perpendicular.
7. Tiny figure: Figure two inches or less in height.
8. Big figure: (Boys and Girls 8): Figure nine inches or more in height.
9. Transparencies: Transparencies involving major portions of body or limbs single line or lines of arms crossing body not scored.

Special Features

10. Tiny head: Height of head less than one-tenth of total figure.

---

\*The above is an extract from Koppitz (1968).

11. Crossed eyes: Both eyes turned in or turned out; sideways glance of eyes not scored.
12. Teeth: Any representation of one or more teeth.
13. Short arms: Short stubs for arms, arms not long enough to reach waistline.
14. Long arms: Arms excessively long, arms long enough to reach below knee or where knee should be.
15. Arms clinging to body: No space between body and arms.
16. Big hands: Hands as big or bigger than face of figure.
17. Hands cut off: Arms with neither hands nor fingers; hands hidden behind back of figure or in pocket not scored.
18. Legs pressed together: Both legs touch with no space in between, in profile drawings only one leg is shown.
19. Genitals: Realistic or unmistakably symbolic representation of genitals.
20. Monster or grotesque figure: Figure representing non-human, degraded or ridiculous person; the grotesqueness of figure must be deliberate on part of the child and not the result of his immaturity or lack of drawing skill.
21. Three or more figures spontaneously drawn: Several figures shown who are not inter-related or engaged in meaningful activity; repeated drawing of figures when only "a" figure was requested; drawing of a boy and a girl or the child's family is not scored.
22. Clouds: Any representation of clouds, rain, snow or flying birds.

#### Omissions

23. No eyes: Complete absence of eyes; closed eyes or vacant circles for eyes are not scored.
24. No nose (Boys 6, Girls 5).

25. No mouth.
26. No body.
27. No arms (Boys 6, Girls 5).
28. No legs.
29. No feet (Boys 9, Girls 7).
30. No neck (Boys 10, Girls 9).

## LIST OF EMOTIONAL INDICATORS ON HFD's OF CHILDREN\*

(All of the Emotional Indicators are considered valid for boys and girls age five to twelve unless otherwise indicated.)

Quality Signs

- Poor integration of parts of figure (Boys 7, Girls 6).
- Shading of face.
- Shading of body and/or limbs (Boys 9, Girls 8).
- Shading of hands and/or neck (Boys 8, Girls 7).
- Gross asymmetry of limbs.
- Slanting figure, axis of figure tilted by 15° or more.
- Tiny figure, two inches high or less.
- Big figure, nine inches or more in height (Boys and Girls 8).
- Transparencies.

Special Features

- Tiny head, head less than one-tenth of total figure in height
- Crossed eyes, both eyes turned in or out.
- Teeth.
- Short arms, arms not long enough to reach waistline.
- Long arms, arms long enough to reach knee line.
- Arms clinging to side of body.
- Big hands, hands as large as face of figure.
- Hands cut off, arms without hands or fingers (hidden hands not scored).
- Legs pressed together.
- Genitals.
- Monster or grotesque figure.
- Three or more figures spontaneously drawn.
- Clouds, rain, snow.

---

\*The above is an extract from Koppitz (1968).

Omissions

No eyes

No nose (Boys 6, Girls 5).

No mouth.

No body.

No arms (Boys 6, Girls 5).

No legs.

No feet (Boys 9, Girls 7).

No neck (Boys 10, Girls 9).

## PONDOLAND HERD-BOYS' COMMENTS ON THE LEARNING OF THE NAMES OF THINGS

Of the ninety children who I interviewed in Pondoland, twenty-eight were girls. On each occasion there were three or four children and we usually spent some hours together. There were five children aged five; seventy-five aged six to fourteen; and ten over age fourteen. The children told me their ages and Nozizwe and I checked what they said against our own estimates.

Most of the children were boys because we spent much of our time in the veldt amongst herd boys. This was intentional as I wanted to obtain a rough idea of how much they knew about birds, trees and colours. Traditionally, it is the boys who learn more about these things. I was particularly interested in discovering from whom they learnt to classify. The seven-year olds in Crossroads knew the names of very few trees or birds and could identify only four or five colours: they did not know the colours specifically used to identify cattle of which Monica Hunter recorded fifty-seven in the 1930s. However, I wanted to obtain an idea of how much of such traditional learning still occurred in the country and how it was transmitted.

From talking with herd boys, I learnt thirteen names for colours that are used to distinguish cattle; fifty for birds and thirty-four for trees. That was from casual enquiry during conversation prior to which none of us had met. It was the ten-to-twelve-year olds who knew most names, but younger boys took pride in displaying their knowledge. I quote below conversations held with some of them because the conversations support my thesis about child learning that both the teaching and the learning are more ordered and more formal in a traditional world than is usually allowed.

Near Enkodusweni on 7th January, 1981, we met a seven-year-old herd boy named Kholikile in Sub B, who named twenty-three birds and twenty-three trees. He could describe them and gave many uses for the latter. I asked him who had taught him. He said:

"I hear from the older boys, the herd boys and our parents. From my father - I listen when they talk. I listen while we are at the fields."

(To whom does your father talk in the fields?)

"He talks to us. He is not actually teaching us but we hear while he talks. He is telling us. He does not teach us about plants or trees. I know about trees. I hear from the other boys."

This characterizes, for me, the whole problem of listening and hearing and teaching and learning. The Xhosa say that they do not teach; the children watch and listen. Yet it happens that young children are in the fields with their fathers and there is no other adult and he talks about the birds and they listen. He does not teach and they do not learn, but he talks and they know.

On the same day, another boy gave me a good answer. I had, in an attempt to make some boys articulate their thoughts on change, asked whether they thought that they, as herd boys, knew more or less about the veldt than did the people of long ago. A child replied:

"We know more about the veldt than those of long ago because we are still learning and they have forgotten."

Touché

On 8th January, 1981, we spent much of the day with four herd boys at Mpotsholo in Mpande Bay. The boys were: Cebisile, aged twelve in Standard 2; Notani, aged ten in Sub B; Andile, aged seven or eight, going into Sub A; and Nomliliti, aged five and the brother of Cebisile. They named thirty-two birds, seven trees (I rather interrupted their list) and twelve colours. On learning the names of birds, Cebisile said:

"No one special teaches these names. We were born and these birds were here already and people were calling their names. And by seeing these birds we get to know their names."

(Who calls these names?)

"It is the older boys."

(When ....?)

"Sometimes you go out to hunt and you catch a bird and they will tell you what you have caught."

(Do fathers tell you?)

"Yes."

(When?)

"Sometimes you ask when you see the bird and then they tell you."

(And mothers?)

"Mothers are not so good at telling the birds, but they know the kinds that catch the chickens."

(He named three.)

I pressed the conversation further in relation to learning the names of trees. Cebisile said:

"Sometimes we learn from the adults. We go to chop wood and then we hear the name of that wood. The adult tells us especially. They tell us which trees to use for sticks."

Again, the language belies the incident. He said that they "hear" the word, whereas it is most specifically being taught to them. In listing the names of trees, the boys mentioned umthathi (Pleroxy Pon "sneeze wood") which recalled a saying to Nozizwe's mind: Umthathi uzala umlotha. (Ukuzala - to produce, give birth. Umlotha - ash.)

The phrase, as she explained it, means that you may give birth to someone who does not believe in Christianity whereas you do. The person may be a fine product of the parent who is of poor mettle, or vice versa. I was interested in discovering what characteristics the boys assigned to the tree and asked for a description. All four immediately pointed to a tree some way off, even the five-year old. One ran off and returned with a sprig and another sprig from the umsimbithi (Milletia) tree from which good sticks are carved. They told me that the leaves of the former are fed to cattle sick with gall. They give them diarrhoea which expunges the gall.

The leaves of the two trees were similar in size, in arrangement on the stalk and in colour. I asked how they told them apart. Cebisile said:

"The leaves differ from each other. You can see that this is a darker green than the other one. And these are bigger than those and you can watch the bark of this tree peeling."

(Who taught you to look so closely at the differences?)

"Seeing that we are used to the trees, we can easily tell the difference."

(Can this child - the five-year old - tell them apart?)

They laughed and said no. The child in question took umbrage and pointed, saying:

"There is an umsimbithi tree."

Cebisile shrugged, saying:

"Aye, I don't know who teaches. There is no specialist."

(I understand that but I think that the older ones teach the young ones carefully!)

"I agree."

(You see, what I need to know is who teaches and when.)

"We get to know the names from the older people. Sometimes you go to the forest and you are told not to destroy that tree or the foresters will make trouble."

I left off just a little and asked a silly question. Sometimes one must. I asked:

(Who is the lucky child: the one whose father is at home or the one whose father is making money in Johannesburg?)

"I would say that those who are always with their fathers are lucky because, as a boy, one goes to the veldt or the forest with one's father and learns. Those who do not have a father with them do not get a chance."

Nozizwe asked:

"Your name means to advise. Would you like to be a magistrate?"

"No. I would not like to listen to people and sentence them."

In the Transkei I learnt more about the pattern of children's days, their play and their ability to tell stories. Most important, however, was that I learnt that children in the countryside or, as Holden called them in 1866, "these denizens of the wilderness", are not very different in many ways from those in town. Besides, I found hints to confirm the hypothesis that the traditional learning process has a plan, a rationale behind it that is formal if not consciously expressed. This matters because I believe that when traditional processes fall away, the modern educational process often fails to replace it in terms of the quality of tutorial relationship, the amount of practise offered and relevance to life situations.

## SELECT BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ACOTT, M. (1980). "Repudiate Smit, PM Urged." The Cape Times, 5 June.
- ADAM, H., ed. (1971). South Africa: Social Perspectives. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- ALBERTI, L. (1815). Alberti's Account of the Xhosa in 1807. Tr. by William Fehr. Cape Town: A.A. Balkema (1968).
- ALLEN, G. et al. (1979). "Developmental Issues in Cognitive Mapping: The Selection and Utilization of Environmental Landmarks." Child Development 50:1062-70.
- ALLISON, J. (1940). "Some Aspects of Urban Native Administration." Race Relations 7(4).
- ALTMAN, I., RAPAPORT, A. and WOHLWILL, J., eds. (1980). Environment and Culture. New York: Plenum.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and WOHLWILL, J., eds. (1978). Children and the Environment. New York: Plenum.
- ALVERSON, H. (1978). Mind in the Heart of Darkness. London: Yale University Press.
- ARCHER, S. (1973). Peverse Growth and Income Distribution in South Africa. Visitor's Seminar Paper, Sussex: IDS.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1980). "Redistribution Issues and Policies in the South African Economy." In: Van Zyl Slabbert, F. and Opland, J., eds. South Africa: Dilemmas of Evolutionary Change. Grahamstown: Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and SAUNDERS, C., eds. (1978). Africa Seminar: Collected Papers vol. 1. Cape Town: Centre for African Studies.
- ARDENER, S., ed. (1981). Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps. London: Croom Helm.
- ARGYLE, J. and PRESTON-WHYTE, E., eds. (1978). Social System and Tradition in Southern Africa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- ATHLONE ADVICE OFFICE. (1981). Annual Report, October 1980-December 1981. Cape Town: Black Sash and SAIRR.
- AUERBACH, F. (1979). Measuring Educational Development in South Africa. Johannesburg: SAIRR.

- BARTHES, R. (1957). Mythologies. Selected and tr. by A. Lavers. St. Albans: Granada (1973).
- BATESON, G. (1979). Mind and Nature: A Necessary Unity. London: Wildwood House.
- BEINART, W. (1980). Conflict in Qumbu: Rural Consciousness, Ethnicity and Violence in the Colonial Transkei (1880-1913). Seminar paper delivered at the Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.
- BELL, A., ed. (1980). The Diary of Virginia Woolf, vol. 3, 1925-1930. London: Hogarth Press.
- BERGER, P. and LUCKMANN, T. (1971). The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- BERGLUND, A.I. (1976). Zulu Thought Patterns and Symbolism. London: C. Hurst.
- BERRY, J. (1980). "Ecological Analysis for Cross-Cultural Psychology." In: Warren, (1972), op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_ and DASEN, P., eds. (1974). Culture and Cognition: Readings in Cross-Cultural Psychology. London: Methuen.
- BHANA, K. and BHANA, A. (1975). "Colour Concept Attitudes among Indian Pre-school Children as a Function of Black Nannies." Journal of Behavioural Science 2(3):115-20.
- BIESELE, M. (1976). "Aspects of !Kung Folklore." In: Lee and I. DeVore, eds., op. cit.
- BIESHEUVEL, S. (1943). African Intelligence. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1952a). "African Culture Patterns and the Learning of Abilities and Skills." In: Irvine, S. and Sanders, J. Cultural Adaptation within Modern Africa. New York: Columbia Teachers' College Press (1972).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1952b). "The Study of African Ability." African Studies 2(2 & 3).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1962). The Human Resources of the Republic of South Africa and their Development. Lecture delivered at the University of Witwatersrand. Johannesburg: University Press (1963).
- \_\_\_\_\_ (1966). The Development of African Abilities. Lecture delivered at the University College of Rhodesia and Nyasaland. Salisbury: University Press (1967).

- BLACKING, J. (1964). Black Background. The Childhood of a South African Girl. New York: Abelard-Schuman.
- BLIGNAUT, S. (1981). Statistics on Education in South Africa, 1968-79. Johannesbrug: SAIRR.
- "Black Identity and Self Esteem. A Review." (1979). Annual Review of Sociology 5:53-74.
- BLOCH, M. ed. (1975). Marxist Analysis and Social Anthropology. London: Malaby Press.
- BLUESTEIN, N. and ACREDOLO, L. (1979). "Developmental Changes in Map Reading Skills." Child Development 50:691-97.
- BLURTON-JONES, N., ed. (1972). Ethological Studies of Child Behaviour. London: Cambridge University Press.
- BOCK, P.K. (1980). Continuities in Psychological Anthropology: A Historical Introduction. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman.
- BOTVIN, G. and MURRAY, F. (1975). "The Efficacy of Peer Modeling and Social Conflict in the Acquisition of Conservation." Child Development 46:796-99.
- BOUDON, R. (1974). Education, Opportunity and Social Inequality. New York: John Wiley.
- BOWER, E., ILGAZ-CARDEN, A. and NOORI, K. (1982). "Measurement of Play Structures. Cross-cultural Considerations." Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 13(3):315-29.
- BOWER, T. (1977). The Perceptual World of the Child. Glasgow: Fontana.
- BOZZOLI, B., ed. (1979). Labour, Townships and Protest. Studies in the Social History of the Witwatersrand. Johannesburg: Rowan Press.
- BRAINERD, C. (1977a). "Response Criteria in Concept Development Research." Child Development 48.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1977b). "Cognitive Development and Concept Learning: An Interpretative Review." Psychological Bulletin, 84(5):919-39.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978). "Learning Research and Piagetian Theory." In; Siegel and Brainerd, op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1979). "Markovian Interpretations of Conservation Learning." Psychological Review 86(3):181-213.
- BRANDEL, M. (1958). "Urban Lobola Attitudes." African Studies 27:34-51.

- BRANDEL-Syrier, M. (1978). First-borns and Younger Sons: Culture Change and Sibling Relations. Johannesburg: Africa Institute of South Africa.
- BRINDLEY, M. (1976). Western Coloured Township: Problems of an Urban Slum. Johannesburg: Rowan Press.
- BROWNLEE, F. (1923). The Transkeian Native Territories: Historical Records. Lovedale: Lovedale Institution Press.
- BRUNER, J. (1981). "Review and Prospectus." In: Lloyd, and Gay, eds. op cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_, GOODNOW, J. and AUSTIN, G. (1967). A Study of Thinking. New York: John Wiley.
- \_\_\_\_\_, JOLLY, A. and SYLVA, K., eds. (1976). Play: Its Role in Development and Evolution. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- BRYANT, P. (1974). Perception and Understanding in Young Children: An Experimental Approach. London: Methuen.
- BUDOW, M. (1976). "Urban Squatting in Greater Cape Town 1939-1948." B.A. Honours Dissertation, University of Cape Town.
- BUHRMANN, V. (1977a). "Dream Therapy through the Ages." Psychotherapeia 3(1):16-18.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1977b). "Xhosa Diviners as Psychotherapists." Psychotherapeia 3(4):17-20.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978). "Tentative Views on Dream Therapy by Xhosa Diviners." Journal of Analytical Psychology 23(2): 105-21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981a). "Exploration of the Meaning of Songs Sung during an Inthlombe." Journal of Analytical Psychology 26(4).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981b). "Growth and Development of Xhosa Amaggira." Humanitas 17(4).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981c). "Inthlombe and Xhentsa: A Xhosa Healing Ritual." Journal of Analytical Psychology 26(2): 187-201.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981d). "The Inthlombe (ritual dance) as Applied to Dream Material." Journal of Analytical Psychology 26(4).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981e). "The Xhosa Healers of South Africa, 4 parts." Journal of Analytical Psychology 26 and 27 (1982).

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982a). "Indigenous Healers: Mental Health and Ill-Health." In: Freed, ed., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982b). "Thwasa and Bewitchment." South African Medical Journal. June 5.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982c). "Training, Growth and Development of Xhosa Amagqira." Humanitas 8(1).
- \_\_\_\_\_, and NQABA GQONFA, J. (1982). "The Xhosa Healers of Southern Africa: A Family Therapy Session with a Dream as Central Content." Journal of Analytical Psychology 27:41-57.
- BUNDY, C. (1977). "The Transkei Peasantry c. 1890-1914: Passing Through a Period of Stress." In: Palmer, and Parsons, eds., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1979). The Rise and Fall of the South African Peasantry. London: Heinemann.
- BURGESS, A. (1981). Earthly Powers. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- BURMAN, S. (Forthcoming). "The Changing Relationship Between African Woman and Property in Urban South Africa."
- BURNS, S. and BRAINERD, C. (1979). "Effects of Constructive and Dramatic Play on Perspective Taking in Very Young Children." Developmental Psychology 15(5): 512-21.
- BURTON, A. and RADFORD, J., eds. (1978). Thinking in Perspective: Critical Essays in the Study of Thought Processes. London: Methuen.
- Cape Town Engineer's Department. (1977). Facing the Squatter Crisis. Cape Town: City Engineer's Department.
- CAPLAN, P. (1979). "Erikson's Concept of Inner Space: A Data Based Reevaluation." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 49(1):100-08.
- CARTER, G., KARIS, T. and STULTZ, N. (1967). South Africa's Transkei: The Politics of Domestic Colonialism. London: Heinemann.
- CHIGWEDERE, A. (1982). Lobola - The Pros and Cons. Harare: Apex Holdings.
- CLARKE, L. and NGOBESE, J. (1975). Women without Men. A Study of 150 Families in the Nqutu District of KwaZulu. Durban: Institute for Black Research.
- CLYDE-MITCHELL, J. (1966). Theoretical Orientations in African Urban Studies. ASA monograph. London: Tavistock.

- COHEN, D. and STEM, V. (1975). Observing and Recording the Behaviour of Young Children. New York: Teachers College Press.
- COLE, M. (1978). "Ethnographic Psychology of Cognition - So Far." In: Spindler, op cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. (1977). Soviet Developmental Psychology: An Anthology. White Plains, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and GAY, J. (1972). "Culture and Memory." American Anthropologist 74:1066-84.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and MEANS, B. (1981). Comparative Studies of How People Think: An Introduction. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- COLES, R. (1974). Children and Political Authority. Cape Town: University of Cape Town.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and HALLOWELL, J. (1980). Women of Crisis. Lives of Work and Dreams vol.2. New York: Seymour Lawrence.
- Community Action. (1977). Special Issue: Squatter Problem Solved? Cape Town: Foundation for Social Development 4.
- "Community Theatre." (1980). South African Outlook 110 (1309).
- COOPER, C. and ENSOR, L. (1980). The African Woman's Handbook on the Law. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- CRAMER, P. and HOGAN, K. (1975). "Sex Differences in Verbal Play Fantasy." Developmental Psychology 2:145-54.
- CRAPANZANO, V. (1980). Tuhami: Portrait of a Moroccan. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and GARRISON, V. (1977). Case Studies in Spirit Possession. New York: Wiley Interscience.
- "Crossroads." (1976). South African Outlook 110(1259).
- "Crossroads." (1978). South African Outlook 108(1280).
- "Crossroads - The Statistical Picture." (1978). South African Outlook 108(1280):30-32.
- CURTIS, J. and PETRAS, J. (1970). The Sociology of Knowledge: A Reader. London: Duckworth.
- "The Czech Connection." (1982). South African Outlook 112(1332).

- DANZIGER, K. (1957). "The Child's Understanding of Kinship Terms: A Study of the Development of Relational Concepts." Journal of Genetic Psychology 91:213-32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1971). Socialization. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- DASEN, P., ed. (1977). Piagetian Psychology: Cross-Cultural Contributions. New York: Gardner.
- DAVENPORT, J. and HUNT, K. (1974). The Right to Land. Cape Town: David Philip.
- DAVENPORT, T. (1971). The Beginnings of Urban Segregation in South Africa: The Native Urban Areas Act of 1923 and its Background. Grahamstown: Institute of Social and Economic Research, Occasional Paper no. 15.
- DAVIE, R., et al. (1972). From Birth to Seven: The Second Report of the National Child Development Study (1958 Cohort). London: Longman.
- DENT, G. (1940). An Investigation of Certain Aspects of Bantu Intelligence. Pretoria: Department of Education, Arts and Science.
- DEREGOWSKI, J. (1980a). Illusions, Patterns and Pictures: A Cross-Cultural Perspective. London: Academic Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980b). "Some Aspects of Perceptual Organization in the Light of Cross-Cultural Evidence." In: Warren, op. cit.
- DESMOND, C. (1978). Limehill Revisited: A Case Study of the Long Term Effects of African Resettlement. Natal: DSRG/MPN.
- DIOCESE OF CAPE TOWN. (1975). "Crossroads Squatter Camp. A Report of the Disruptions of African Family Life." Cape Town: Board of Social Responsibility.
- DOLGIN, J., KEMNITZER, D. and SCHNEIDER, D. eds. (1977) Symbolic Anthropology. A Reader in the Study of Symbols and Meanings. New York: Columbia University Press.
- DONALDSON, M. (1979). Children's Minds. Glasgow: Fontana/Collins.
- DONOHUE, J. (1982). "Some Facts and Figures on Urbanization in the Developing World." Assignment Children. A Journal Concerned with Children, Women and Youth in Development. Geneva: UNICEF 57/58.
- DOUGLAS, M. (1975). Implicit Meanings: Essays in Anthropology. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978). Cultural Bias. London: Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, Occasional paper no. 35.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980). Evans-Pritchard. Glasgow: Fontana.
- DOWNING, J. (1970). "Children's Concepts of Language in Learning to Read." Educational Research 12:106-12.
- DRAPER, P. (1973). "Crowding among Hunter-Gatherers: The !Kung Bushmen," Science 182:303.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1976). "Social and Economic Constraints on Child Life among the !Kung." In: Lee and Devore, op. cit.
- DUNN, J. (1977). Distress and Comfort. Glasgow: Fontana.
- DURKHEIM, E. (1898). "Individualism and the Intellectuals." Tr. by S. and J. Lukes. Political Studies 17:(1969).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1922). Education and Sociology. Tr. by S. Fox. New York: Free Press of Glencoe (1956).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1925). Moral Education: A Study in the Theory and Application of Sociology and Education. Tr. by E. Wilson. New York: Free Press of Glencoe (1961).
- EISSLER, R., et al., eds. (1977). An Anthology of the Psychoanalytic Study of the Child. Psychoanalytic Assessment: the Diagnostic Profile. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- ELKIND, D. (1962). "Children's Conceptions of Brother and Sister: Piaget Replication Study V." Journal of Genetic Psychology 100:129-36.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and FLAVELL, J., eds. (1969). Studies in Cognitive Development. London: Oxford University Press.
- ELLEN, R.F. and REASON, D. (1979). Classifications in the Social Context. London: Academic Press.
- ELLIS, G. et al. (1977). The Squatter Problem in the Western Cape. Some Causes and Remedies. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- ERIKSON, E. (1968). Identity, Youth and Crisis. New York: W.W. Norton.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1950). Childhood and Society. Harmondsworth: Penguin (1965).

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1951). "Sex Differences in the Play Configurations of Preadolescents." American Journal of Orthopsychiatry 21:667-92.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974). "Once More the Inner Space: Letter to a Former Student." In: Strouse, ed., op. cit.
- ERNY, P. (1973). Childhood and Cosmos: The Social Psychology of the Black African Child. Washington, D.C.: Black Orpheus.
- ETHNOLOGICAL AND LINGUISTIC STUDIES IN HONOUR OF N.J. VAN WARMELO. (1969). Ethnological Publications 52 Pretoria: Government Printer.
- EVANS-PRITCHARD, E. (1940). Nuer Religion. London: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1961). Anthropology and History. Manchester: University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1963). The Comparable Method in Social Anthropology. London: Athlone Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981). A History of Anthropological Thought. London: Faber & Faber.
- FICK, M. (1939). The Educability of the South African Native. Pretoria: South African Council for Educational and Sociological Research, Research Series no. 8.
- FINLEY, G. and LAYNE, L. (1971). "Play Behaviour in Young Children: A Cross-Cultural Study." Journal of Genetic Psychology 119:203-10.
- FOUCAULT, M. (1966). The Order of Things. An Archeology of the Human Sciences. New York: Vintage Books (1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1976). The History of Sexuality. Vol. 1: An Introduction. Tr. by R. Hurley. New York: Vintage Books (1980).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980). Power/Knowledge. Selected Interviews and Other Writings 1972-77. Ed. by C. Gordon. New York: Pantheon Books.
- FOULKES, S. and STEWART PRINCE, G., eds. (1969). Psychiatry in a Changing Society. London: Tavistock.
- FREED, E., ed. Aspects of Psychiatry among the Black Population of Southern Africa. Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand Press.
- FREIRE, P. (1972). Cultural Action for Freedom. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974). Education: The Practice of Freedom. London: Writers and Readers Publishing Cooperative.
- FREUD, A. (1982). Psychoanalytic Psychology of Normal Development 1970-1980. London: Hogarth Press.
- FREUD, S. (1918). "Infantile Neurosis." In: Collected Papers, vol. 3. Tr. by A. and J. Strachey. London: Hogarth Press (1925).
- GARDNER, H. (1982). "People Who Don't Think Alike." Psychology Today, Jan., 84-89.
- GARVEY, C. (1977). Play. Glasgow: Fontana.
- GEBER, B. and NEWMAN, S. (1980). Soweto's Children: The Development of Attitudes. London: Academic Press.
- GEERTZ, C. (1973). The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays. New York: Basic Books.
- GELFAND, M. (1979). Growing Up in Shona Society. From Birth to Marriage. Gwelo: Mambo Press.
- GINSBERG, H. and OPPER, S. (1979). Piaget's Theory of Intellectual Development. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- GLUCKMAN, H.M. (1936). "The Realm of the Supernatural among the South-Eastern Bantu." PhD Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Oxford University.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1950). "Kinship and Marriage among the Lozi of Northern Rhodesia and the Zulu of Natal." In: Radcliffe-Brown and Forde, eds., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1963). Custom and Conflict in Africa. Oxford: Blackwell.
- GOLDBERG, S. (1977). "Mother-Infant Interaction and Development." In: Leiderman, et al., op. cit.
- GOODENOUGH, F. (1926). Measurement of Intelligence by Drawings. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1928). "Studies in the Psychology of Children's Drawings." Psychological Bulletin 25:272-83.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and HARRIS, D. (1950). "Studies in the Psychology of Children's Drawings, II: 1928-1949." Psychological Bulletin 47:369:433.
- GOODNOW, J. (1972). "Everyday Concepts of Intelligence and its Development." In: Warren, N., ed., op. cit.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1977). Children's Drawings. Glasgow: Fontana.
- GOODY, E. (1973). Contexts of Kinship: An Essay in the Family Sociology of the Gonja in Northern Ghana. London: Cambridge University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1975). Towards a Theory of Questions. Malinovski Lecture. London: School of Economics.
- GOODY, J., ed. (1971). The Developmental Cycle in Domestic Groups. Cambridge: University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1972). Domestic Groups. New York: Addison Wesley.
- GORDIMER, N. (1982). "The Child Is the Man. Aké: The Years of Childhood by Wole Soyinka." The New York Review of Books 24(16).
- GORDON, L., ed. (1981). Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1980. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- GOULD, S. (1981). The Mismeasure of Man. New York: W.W. Norton.
- GRAAFF, J. and MAREE, J. (1977). Residential and Migrant African Workers in Cape Town. Cape Town: SALDRU, Working paper 12.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and ROBB, N. (1978). Black Sash Survey of Crossroads. Cape Town: Black Sash.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and WEICHEL, K. (1978). Employment Survey of Black Workers Living in Crossroads. Cape Town: SAIRR and UPRU.
- GREENBAUM, C, and KUGELMASS, S. (1980). "Human Development and Socialization in Cross-Cultural Perspective: Issues Arising from Research in Israel." In: Warren, N., ed., op. cit.
- GRIESEL, R., ed. (1980). Malnutrition in Southern Africa. Pretoria: University of South Africa.
- GRUNBAUM, A. (1981). "Letter." New York Review of Books. March 5: 40.
- HABERMAS, J. (1968). Knowledge and Human Interests. Tr. by J. Shapiro. New York: Beacon.
- HALLPIKE, C. (1979). The Foundation of Primitive Thought. Oxford: Clarendon.
- HAMEL, B. (1974). Children From Five to Seven: Some Aspects of the Number Concept. Rotterdam: University Press.

- HAMMOND-TOOKE, W. (1955-56). "The Tribes of Mount Frere District." Ethnological Publication 33. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1962). Bhaca Society: A People of the Transkeian Uplands, South Africa. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1969). "The Present State of Cape Nguni Ethnographic Studies." In: Ethnological and Linguistic Studies in Honour of N.J. van Warmelo, op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. (1974). The Bantu-speaking People of Southern Africa, 2d ed. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- HARRIS, D. (1963). Children's Drawings as Measures of Intellectual Maturity. New York: Harcourt, Brace and World.
- HAVILAND, S. and CLARK, E. (1974). "This Man's Father Is My Father's Son: A Study of the Acquisition of English Kin Terms." Journal of Child Language 1:23-47.
- HEIDEGGER, M. (1962). Being and Time. New York: Harper and Row.
- HEIM, A. (1970). Intelligence and Personality: Their Assessment and Relationship. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- HELLMAN, E. (1935). "Native Life in a Johannesburg Slum Yard." Africa, 8:34-62.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1937). "The Native in the Towns." In: Shapera, ed., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1948). Rooyard: A Sociological Survey of an Urban Native Slum Yard. Rhodes-Livingstone Paper No. 13. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1967). "The African Family Today." Paper Delivered at a Regional Conference of the SAIRR and Witwatersrand Christian Council, Johannesburg.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1971a). Soweto: Johannesburg's African City. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1971b). "Social Change among Urban Africans." In: Adam, ed. op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974). "African Townswomen in the Process of Change." South African International Journal 5:14-22.

- HENDRIKZ, E. (1965). "A Cross-Cultural Investigation of the Number Concepts and Level of Number Development in Five Year Old Urban Shona and European Children in S. Rhodesia." M.A. Dissertation, University of London.
- HIRST, P. (1974). Knowledge and Curriculum: a Collection of Philosophical Papers. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- HOLDEN, W. (1866). The Past and Future of the Kaffir Races. Cape Town: C. Struik (facsimile reprint, 1963).
- HOOK, R., ed. (1979). Fantasy and Symbol: Studies in Anthropological Interpretation. London: Academic Press.
- HOOPER, F. and DEFRAIN, J. (1980). "On Delineating Distinctly Piagetian Contributions to Education." Genetic Psychology Monographs 101:155.
- HORRELL, M. (1969). A Survey of Race Relations. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1975). The Rights of African Women: Some Suggested Reforms, 2d. ed. rev. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978). Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa, 1948-1976. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- HOUGHTON, H. (1960). "Men of Two Worlds; Some Aspects of Migratory Labour." South African Journal of Economics 28(3):77-90.
- HOUSIADSA, L. and BROWN, L. (1980). "Egocentrism in Language and Space Perception: An Examination of the Concept." Genetic Psychology Monographs 101:183-214.
- HOWE, G. (1982). Squatter Crisis Cape Town: Centre for Intergroup Studies, Occasional Paper 3.
- HSU, F. (1978). "Passage to Understanding." In: Spindler, ed. op cit.
- HUBBARD, M. (1971). African Poverty in Cape Town 1960-1970. (Pamphlet).
- \_\_\_\_\_, HUMPHREY, J. and DOMINGO, V. (1975). Squatters. A Report on Some Socio-Economic Characteristics of Four Squatter Settlements in Greater Cape Town. Cape Town: SAIRR.

- \_\_\_\_\_, and MAREE, J. (1975). "Strikes. African Workers: Negotiation or Conflict?" Proceedings of a Seminar Organized by SAIRR, June 1.
- HUNKIN, V. (1950). "Validation of the Godenough Draw-a-Man Test for African Children." Journal of Social Research 1:52-63.
- HUNT, R., ed. (1967). Personalities and Cultures: Readings in Psychological Anthropology. New York: Natural History Press.
- HUNTER, M. (1936). Reaction to Conquest. Effects of Contacts with Europeans on the Pondo of South Africa. London: Oxford University Press.
- IBSEN, I., in a letter to Ludwig Passarge, the first German translator of Peer Gynt, 1880.
- INHELDER, B., SINCLAIR, H. and BOVET, M. (1974). Learning and the Development of Cognition. Tr. by S. Wedgwood. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- IRVINE, S. and CARROL, N. (1980). "Testing and Assessment across Cultures. Issues in Methodology and Theory." In: Triandis, op. cit., "Methodology" vol. 2, ed. by Triandis and J. Berry.
- JAHODA, G. (1979). "The Construction of Economic Reality by Some Glaswegian Children." European Journal of Psychology 9:115-27.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980). "Theoretical and Systematic Approaches in Cross-Cultural Psychology." In: Triandis, op. cit., "Perspectives," vol. 1., ed. by Triandis and Lambert, W.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981a). "The Development of Thinking about Economic Institutions: The Bank." Cashiers de Psychologie Cognitive 1:55-73.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981b). "Pictorial Perception and the Problem of Universals." In: Lloyd and Gay, op. cit. 41.
- JOHNSON-LAIRD, P. and WASON, P., eds. (1977). Thinking. Readings in Cognitive Science. Cambridge: University Press.
- JOUBERT, E. (1980). The Long Journey of Poppie Nongena. Johannesburg: Jonathan Ball.
- JOYCE, J. (1937). Ulysses. London: Bodley Head.
- KABERRY, P. (1939). Aboriginal Woman: Sacred and Profane. London: G. Routledge.
- KAMLIN, L. (1977). The Science and Politics of I.Q. Harmondsworth: Penguin.

- KATZ, R. (1976). "Education for Transcendence: !Kia-Healing with the Kalahari !Kung." In: Lee and DeVore, op. cit.
- KEATS, J., COLLIS, K. and HALFORD, G., eds. (1978). Cognitive Development: Research Based on a Neo-Piagetian Approach. New York: John Wiley.
- KIDD, D. (1906). Savage Childhood. A Study of Kafir Children. London: Adam and Charles Black.
- KIERNAN, J. (1980). "The World about Us: The Cosmic Model in an Expanding Universe." Anthropology Conference Paper, Rhodes University.
- KOHLER, M. (1941). "The Izangoma Diviners." Ed. and tr. with N.J. van Warmelo. Ethnological Publications 9. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- KONNER, M.J. (1972). "Aspects of the Developmental Ethology of a Foraging People." In: Blurton-Jones, op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1973). "Newborn Walking: Additional Data," Science 179:307.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1976). "Maternal Care, Infant Behaviour and Development among the !Kung." In: Lee and DeVore, op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1977). "Evolution of Human Behaviour Development." In: Leiderman, et al, op. cit.
- KOPPITZ, E. (1968). Psychological Evaluation of Children's Human Figure Drawings. New York: Grune and Stratton.
- KRADER, L., ed. (1974). The Ethnological Notebooks of Karl Marx. Assen: Van Gorcum.
- KRIGE, E. (1936). "Changing Conditions in Marital Relations and Parental Duties among Urbanized Natives." Africa 2:1-23.
- KUPER, A. (1982). Wives for Cattle: Bridewealth and Marriage in Southern Africa. London: Routledge.
- KUPER, C. (1965). An African Bourgeoisie. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- LABORATORY OF COMPARATIVE HUMAN COGNITION. (1979). "Cross-Cultural Psychology's Challenges to our Ideas of Children and Development." American Psychologist 34(10):827-33.

- LANHAM, L. and PRINSLOO, K., eds. (1978). Language and Communication Studies in South Africa. Current Issues and Directions in Research and Inquiry. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- LAUBSCHER, B. (1937). Sex, Custom and Psychopathology. A Study of South African Pagan Natives. London: George Routledge.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1975). The Pagan Soul. Cape Town: Howard Timmins.
- LAURENDEAU, M. and PINARD, A. (1970). The Development of the Concept of Space in the Child. New York: International Universities Press.
- LEACH, E. (1969). Genesis as Myth and Other Essays. London: Jonathan Cape.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1976). Culture and Communication: the Logic by which Symbols Are Connected. An Introduction to the Use of Structuralist Analysis in Social Anthropology. London: Cambridge University Press.
- LEE, D. (1977). "Lineal and Nonlineal Codifications of Reality." In Dolgin et al., op. cit.
- LEE., R. and DEVORE, I., eds. (1968). Man the Hunter. Chicago: Aldine.
- \_\_\_\_\_, eds. (1976). Kalahari Hunter-Gatherers. Studies of the !Kung San and their Neighbours. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.
- LEIDERMAN, P., TULKIN, S. and ROSENFELD, A., eds. (1977). Culture and Infancy: Variations in the Human Experience. New York: Academic Press.
- LEVI-STRAUSS, C. (1958). Race and History. Paris: UNESCO.
- LEVIN, R. (1946). "Marriage in Langa Native Location." M.A. Dissertation, Department of Anthropology, University of Cape Town.
- LEVINE, R. (1977). "Child Rearing as Cultural Adaptation." In: Leiderman et al., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and PRICE-WILLIAMS, D. (1974). "Children's Kinship Concepts: Cognitive Development and Early Experience among the Hausa." Ethnology 13(1):25-44.
- LEVINE, S. (1979). Mothers and Wives: Gusii Women of East Africa. Chicago University of Chicago Press.

- LEVY-BRUHL, L. (1975). The Notebooks on Primitive Mentality. Tr. by P. Riviere. Oxford: Blackwell.
- LITTLE, K. (1973). African Women in Towns: An Aspect of Africa's Social Revolution. Cambridge: University Press.
- LLOYD, B. (1981). "Cognitive Development, Education and Social Mobility." In: Lloyd, and Gay, eds. op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and GAY, J., eds. (1981). Universals of Human Thought: Some African Evidence. Cambridge: University Press.
- LOCK, A., ed. (1978). Action, Gesture and Symbol: the Emergence of Language. London: Academic Press.
- LONGABOUGH, R. (1980). "The Systematic Observations of Behaviour in Naturalistic Settings." In: Trandis, op. cit., vol. 1, ed. by Trandis and Berry.
- LONGMORE, L. (1959). The Dispossessed. A Study of the Sex Life of Bantu Women in Urban Areas in and Around Johannesburg. London: Jonathan Cape.
- LUGG, H. The Practice of Lobola in Natal. Reprinted from African Studies, vol. 4, March 1945.
- LURIA, A. (1971). "Towards the Problem of the Historical Nature of Psychological Processes." International Journal of Psychology 6:259-72.
- LYNCH, K. (1960). The Image of the City. Boston: M.I.T. Press.
- MAASDORP, G. and HUMPHREYS, A. (1975). From Shantytown to Township. Durban: Jura.
- MACHOVER, K. (1949). Personality Projection in the Drawing of the Human Figure. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C. Thomas.
- MACKWORTH, N. and BRUNER, J. (1971). "How Adults and Children Search and Recognise Pictures." Human Development 13:149-170. Reference in: Deregowski, J. (1980). "Some Aspects of Perceptual Organization in the Light of Cross-Cultural Evidence." In: Warren, N., ed., op. cit. 2:89.
- MACLEAN, C. (1906). A Compendium of Kafir Laws and Customs, including Genealogical Tables of Kaffir Chiefs and Various Census Returns. Reprinted in abridged form. Grahamstown: J. Slater.
- MAIR, L. (1969). African Marriage and Social Change. London: Frank Cass.

- MALHERBE, G. (1977). Education in South Africa, vol. 2 (1923-1975). Cape Town: Juta.
- MALINOWSKI, B. (1927). The Father in Primitive Psychology. London: Kegan Paul.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1931). "Culture." In: The Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences 4:623.
- MANDLER, L. et al. (1980). "Cross-Cultural Invariance in Story Recall." Child Development 51:19-26.
- MANONA, C. (1980). "Marriage, Family Life and Migrancy in a Ciskei Village." Anthropology Conference Paper, Rhodes University.
- MARCUS, B. and MATRAVERS, D. (1977). Spatial Characteristics of Squatter Housing. Cape Town: UPRU Working paper no. 7.
- MARÈ, G. (1980). African Population Relocation in South Africa. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- MAREE, J. (1978a). "African and Coloured Squatters in the Cape Town Region: 1975-1978." Paper delivered at a History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978b). "Squatters in Cape Town." Community Action, Foundations for Social Development 4.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and CORNELL, J. (1977). Sample Survey of Squatters in Unibell, September, 1977. Cape Town: SALDRU Working paper 14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978). Sample Survey of Squatters in Crossroads, December 1977. Cape Town: SALDRU Working paper 17.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and DE VOS, P. (1975). Underemployment, Poverty and Migrant Labour in the Transkei and Ciskei. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- MARKOVA, I., ed. (1978). The Social Context of Language. Chichester: John Wiley.
- MARKS, S. (1976). Large Mammals and a Brave People. Subsistence Hunters in Zambia. Seattle: University of Washington Press.
- "Married to a Migrant." (1978). South African Outlook 108(1289).
- MARSHALL, L. (1976). The !Kung of Nyae Nyae. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press.

- MARWICK, M. (1978). "Household Composition and Marriage in a Witwatersrand African Township." In: Argyle, J. and Preston-Whyte, E., eds., op. cit.
- MATHEWS, K. (1950). Memorandum on Some of the Effects of Implementation of the Native Urban Areas Consolidation Act, the Group Areas Act and Other Restrictive Legislation. Cape Town: SAIRR.
- MATHEWSON, J. (1959). "Impact of Urbanization on Lobola." Journal for Racial Affairs 10:72-76.
- MATZKY, L. (1978). "Crossroads: What is Happening?" Pamphlet, 17 September, 1978.
- MAUSS, M. (1950). Sociology and Psychology: Essays. Tr. by B. Brewster. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (1979).
- \_\_\_\_\_, and JANET, P. (1933). [Debate on the Relationship between Sociology and Psychology, 1931]. "Cohesions Sociales et Divisions de la Sociologie." Extrait du debat faisant suite aux communications de Pierre Janet at ed Jean Piaget a la troisieme semaine internationale de bynthese. L'individualite (Paris).
- MAYER, P. (1971). Townsmen or Tribesmen, 2d ed. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1975). "Class, Status and Ethnicity as Perceived by Johannesburg Africans." In: Thompson, C. and Butler, J., eds., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ed. (1970). Socialization: The Approach from Social Anthropology. London: Tavistock.
- \_\_\_\_\_. ed. (1980). Black Villagers in an Industrial Society. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- MEAD, M. (1928). Coming of Age in Samoa. New York: William Morrow.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1930). Growing Up in New Guinea. New York: William Morrow.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and WOLFENSTEIN, M., eds. (1955). Childhood in Contemporary Cultures. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- MIDDLETON, J., ed. (1970). From Child to Adult: Studies in the Anthropology of Education. New York: Natural History Press.

- MILLAR, S. (1968). The Psychology of Play. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- MILLER, S. (1980). "Assessment of Conservation of Number: An Attempt to Enhance Ecological Validity and Diagnostic Sensitivity." Genetic Psychology Monograph 101:271-85.
- MODGIL, S. and MODGIL, C., eds. (1976). Piagetian Research: Compilation and Commentary 1-7. Windsor: NFER.
- MURRAY, C. (1976). "Keeping House in Lesotho. A Study of the Impact of Oscillating Migrants." A dissertation submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, University of Cambridge.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1979). "The Work of Men, Women and the Ancestors: Social Reproduction in the Periphery of Southern Africa." In: Social Anthropology of Work ASA 19. London: Academic Press.
- MURPHY, L. (1973). "Some Mutual Contributions of Psychoanalysis and Child Development." In: Rubenstein, ed., op. cit.
- MUENSTERBERGER, W. ed. (1969). Man and His Culture: Psychoanalytic Anthropology after "Totem and Taboo." London: Rapp and Whiting.
- NASH, M. (1978). Squatter Camp Demolition: The Human Cost. Cape Town: BSR.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980). Black Uprooting from "White" South Africa. The Fourth and Final Stage of Apartheid. Braamfontein: South African Council of Churches.
- NATTRASS, J. (1981). Rural Poverty. Working Paper 1, South African Economic Commission Subcommittee on Rural Poverty.
- NEWSON, J. and NEWSON, E. (1978a). Seven Years Old in the Home Environment. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- NGUBANE, H. (1977). Body and Mind in Zulu Medicine. An Ethnography of Health and Disease in Nyuswa-Zulu Thought and Practice. London: Academic Press.
- NORBERG-SCHULZ, C. (1971). Existence, Space and Architecture, New York: Praeger.
- NTLOKO, L. (1980). "The Sage of Crossroads." Energos 2.
- OPPER, S. (1977). "Concept Development in Thai Urban and Rural Children," in Dasen, op. cit.

- OVERTON, W. and GALLAGHER, J. (1977). Knowledge and Development: Advances in Research Theory, vol. 1. New York: Plenum.
- PAGE, J. (1973). "Concepts of Length and Distance in a Study of Zulu Youths." Journal of Social Psychology 90:9-16.
- PALMER, R. and PARSONS, N., eds. (1977). The Roots of Rural Poverty in Central and Southern Africa. London: Heinemann.
- PAULME, D., ed. (1963). Women of Tropical Africa. Tr. by H.M. Wright. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- PAUW, B. (1963). The Second Generation. A Study of the Family among Urbanized Bantu in East London, 2d ed. Cape Town: Oxford University Press (1976).
- PEIRES, J. (1981). The House of Phalo. A History of the Xhosa People in the Days of their Independence. Johannesburg. Rowan Press.
- PERKIN, J. (1980). "Female Performance on Inhelder and Piaget's Tests of Formal Operations." Genetic Psychology Monograph 101:245-56.
- PETENI, R. (1976). Hill of Fools. A Novel. Cape Town: David Philip.
- PETITTO, A. (1982). "Practical Arithmetic and Transfer: A Study among West African Tribesmen." Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 13(1).
- PIAGET, J. (1921). The Child's Conception of the World. Tr. by J. and A. Tomlinson. Totowa, N.J.: Littlefield, Adams (1972).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1928). Judgement and Reasoning in the Child. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1935). Science of Education and the Psychology of the Child. Tr. by D. Coltram. New York: Orion Press (1970).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1936). The Origin of Intelligence in the Child. Tr. by M. Cooke. Harmondsworth: Penguin (1977).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1941). The Child's Conception of Number. New York: W.W. Norton (1965).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1947). The Psychology of Intelligence. Tr. by M. Piercy and D. Berlyne. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (1950).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1948a). The Language and Thought of the Child. New York: W.W. Norton (1952).

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1948b). The Moral Judgement of the Child.  
Tr. by M. Gabian. New York: Free Press (1965).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1951). Play, Dreams and Initiation in Childhood.  
Tr. by C. Gattegno and F. Hodson. New York  
W.W. Norton (1962).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1953). Logic and Psychology. Tr. by W. Mays  
and Whitehead. Manchester: University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1964). Six Psychological Studies. New York:  
Vintage (1968).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1965). Insights and Illusions of Philosophy.  
Tr. by W. Mays. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul  
(1972).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1966). The Psychology of the Child. Tr. by  
H. Weaver. New York: Basic Books (1969).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1967a). Biology and Knowledge. Tr. by  
B. Walsh. Chicago: University Press (1971).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1967b). Etudes Sociologiques. Geneva:  
Librarie Droz.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1968a). On the Development of Memory and Identity.  
Worcester, Mass.: Clark, University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1968b). Structuralism. Tr. and ed. by  
C. Maschler. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul  
(1978).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1969). "Autobiography." In: Furth, H.  
Piaget and Knowledge. Theoretical Foundations.  
Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1970a). Genetic Epistemology. Tr. by  
E. Duckworth. New York: W.W. Norton (1971).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1970b). Main Trends in Inter-Disciplinary Reserch.  
London: George Allen and Unwin (1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1970c). Psychology and Epistemology: Towards  
a Theory of Knowledge. Tr. by P. Wells. Harmondsworth:  
Penguin (1972).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1972a). The Child and Reality: Problems of Genetic  
Psychology. Tr. by A. Rosin. London: Frederick  
Muller (1974).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1972b). The Child's Conception of the World.  
Tr. by J. and A. Tomlinson. Totowa: Littlefield,  
Adams.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1972c). "Intellectual Evolution from Adolescence  
to Adulthood." Human Development 15.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974a). The Grasp of Consciousness. Tr. by S. Wedgwood. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (1977).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974b). Success and Understanding. Tr. by A. Pomerans. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (1978).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1975). The Development of Thought: Equilibration of Cognitive Structures. Oxford: Blackwell.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1976a). Behaviour and Evolution. Tr. by D. Nicholson Smith. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul (1979).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1976b). Piaget Sampler. An Introduction to Jean Piaget through His Own Words. Ed by Campbell, S. New York: John Wiley.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and INHELDER, B. (1948a). The Child's Conception of Space. Tr. by F. Langdon and J. Lunzer. New York: W.W. Norton (1967).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1948b). The Early Growth of Logic in the Child. Tr. by J. Lunzer and D. Papert. New York: W.W. Norton (1964).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1966). The Psychology of the Child. Tr. by H. Weaver. New York: Basic Books (1969).
- PINNOCK, D. (1980). Elsie's River. Cape Town: Institute of Criminology, University Press.
- PLATZKY, L. (1978). Crossroads. What is Happening? Cape Town: Cape Western Region Black Sash, March (mimeo).
- POPPER, K. (1976). Unended Quest. Glasgow: Fontana/Collins.
- POTTINGER, B. (1982). "Koornhof's Bill Sparks Concern." South African Outlook 112(1333).
- "The Power of Truth." (1982). South African Outlook 112(1333).
- PRESTON-WHYTE, E. (1973). "The Making of a Townswoman: The Process and Dilemma of Rural-Urban Migration Amongst African Women in Southern Natal." Sociology: Southern Africa.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974). "Kinship and Marriage." In: Hammond-Tooke, ed., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978). "Families Without Marriage: A Zulu Case Study." In: Argyle and Preston-Whyte, eds., op. cit.

- PRICE, R. and ROSBERG, C., eds. (1980). The Apartheid Regime. Political Power and Racial Domination. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- PRICE-WILLIAMS, D. (1975). Explorations in Cross-Cultural Psychology. San Francisco: Chandler and Sharp.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980). "Towards the Idea of a Cultural Psychology: A Superordinate Theme for Study." Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology 11:75-87.
- \_\_\_\_\_, et al. (1974). "Kinship and Relational Thinking among Rural Hawaiian Children." American Psychological Association (abstract).
- RADCLIFFE-BROWN, A. and FORDE, D., eds. (1950). African Systems of Kinship and Marriage. London: Oxford University Press.
- RAUM, O. (1940). Chaga Childhood: A Description of Indigenous Education in an East African Tribe. London: Oxford University Press (reprinted 1967).
- RAUME, O. and DE JAGER, E. (1972). Transition and Change in a Rural Community. A Survey of Acculturation in the Ciskei, South Africa. Fort Hare: University Press.
- READ, M. (1968). Children of their Fathers: Growing Up among the Ngoni of Malawi. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- READER, D. (1961). The Black Man's Portion. History, Demography and Living Conditions in the Native Locations of East London, Cape Province, Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- REID, J. (1966). "Learning to Think about Reading." Educational Research 9.
- REYNOLDS, N. (1981). The Design of Rural Development: Proposals for the Evolution of a Social Contract Suited to Conditions in Southern Africa. Cape Town: SALDRU working paper 40.
- ROACH, E. and KEPHART, N. (1966). The Purdue Perceptual Motor Survey. A Direct Action Approach to Nonachiever Problems. Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill.
- ROBINSON, J. (1960). Collected Economic Papers, vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell.
- ROSENGARTEN, M. (1959). Intelligence Tests on Non-Europeans in South Africa. A Bibliography. Cape Town: School of Librarianship, University of Cape Town.

- ROTH, D. (1978). "Raven's Matrices as Cultural Artifacts." Quarterly Newsletter of the Laboratory of Comparative Human Cognition 1(1).
- RUBENSTEIN, B., ed. (1973). Psychoanalysis and Contemporary Science. An Annual of Integrative and Inter-disciplinary Studies, vol. 2. New York::Macmillan.
- SAHLINS, M. (1977a). "Colors and Cultures." In: Dolgin, J., et al., eds., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1977b). The Use and Abuse of Biology: An Anthropological Critique of Sociobiology. London: Tavistock.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981). Historical Metaphors and Mythical Realities: Structure in the Early History of the Sandwich Islands Kingdom. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- SAIRR, M. (1954). Memorandum on African Housing in the Peninsula. Cape Town: SAIRR.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Annual Reports, 1966-67, 1976-77, 1978-79, 1979-80, 1981-82. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- SANDAY, P. (1971). "Analysis of the Psychological Reality of American-English Kin Terms in an Urban Poverty Environment." American Anthropologist 73:555-70.
- SAUVY, J. and S. (1974). The Child's Discovery of Space from Hopscotch to Mazes: An Introduction to Intuitive Topology. Tr. by P. Wells. Harmondsworth: Penquin.
- SCHAPERA, I. (1930). The Khoisan Peoples of South Africa. Bushmen and Hottentots. London: Routledge.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. (1936). Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa. London: Routledge.
- RICHARDS, A. (1956). Chisungu: a Girl's Initiation Ceremony among the Bemba of Northern Rhodesia. London: Faber and Faber.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1970). "Socialization and Contemporary British Anthropology." In: Mayer, P., ed., op. cit.
- SCHEUB, H. (1975). The Xhosa Ntsomi. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- SCHNEIDER, D. (1968). American Kinship: a Cultural Account. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall.
- SCHWANTES, F. (1979). "Cognitive Scanning Process in Children." Child Development 50:1136-43.

- SCHWEITZER, R. (1977). "Categories of Experience amongst the Xhosa: A Psychological Study." M.A. Dissertation, Rhodes University.
- SCRIBNER, S. (1977). "Modes of Thinking and Ways of Speaking: Culture and Logic Reconsidered." In: Johnson-Laird and Wason, op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974). "Developmental Aspects of Categorized Recall in a West African Society." Cognitive Psychology 6:475-94.
- SEAGRIM, G. and LENDON, R. (1980). Furnishing the Mind. A Comparative Study of Cognitive Development in Central Australian Aborigines. Sydney: Academic Press.
- SELVAN, D. (1976). Housing Conditions for Migrant Workers in Cape Town 1976. Cape Town: SALDRU, Working paper 10.
- SERPELL, R. (1976). Culture's Influence on Behaviour. London: Methuen.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980a). "Intelligence, Education and Adaptation in a Rural Community." Paper presented at PAZ Conference, Lusaka, May.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980b). "Learning and Transfer of Specific Skills: Some New Evidence from Zambia." Paper presented to the International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology at Orissa.
- SHAPER, I., ed., (1937). The Bantu Speaking Tribes of South Africa. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
- SHARP, E. (1931). The African Child. An Account of the International Conference on African Children. Geneva: Longmans, Green.
- SHARP, J. (1980). "Can We Study Ethnicity? A Critique of Fields of Study in South African Anthropology." Social Dynamics 16(1):1-16.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and WEST, M. (1982). "A Rejoinder from Anthropology." Journal of Theology for Southern Africa 39:64-69.
- SHILS, E. (1972). The Intellectuals and the Powers and Other Essays. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- SHOSTAK, M. (1976). "A !Kung Woman's Memories of Childhood." In: Lee and DeVore, op. cit.
- SIEGEL, L. and BRAINERD, C. (1978). Alternatives to Piaget. Critical Essays on the Theory. New York: Academic Press.

- SILK, A. (1981). A Shanty Town in South Africa. The Story of Modderdam. Johannesburg: Rowan Press.
- SIMKINS, C. (1978). Socioeconomic Characteristics of 16 Squatter Settlements in the Cape Town Area in 1975. Cape Town: SALDRU working paper 21.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1979). The Distribution of Personal Income among Income Recipients in South Africa, 1970 and 1976. Pietermaritzburg: Development Studies Research Group working paper 9.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981a). The Distribution of the African Population of South Africa by Age, Sex and Region-Type 1960, 1970 and 1980. Cape Town: SALDRU working paper 32.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981b). The Economic Implications of African Resettlement. Cape Town: SALDRU working paper 43.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1981c). The Structure of Labour Supply in the Western Cape: Some Expectations of the Labour Situation in the Year 1990 and the Year 2000. Cape Town: SALDRU working paper 42.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982). A Note on Projecting African Population Distribution and Migration to the Year 2000. A paper submitted to the Commission on Urbanization. Johannesburg: SAIRR.
- SIMONS, H. (1958). "Customary Unions in a Changing Society." Acta Juridica (University of Cape Town).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1961). "The Status of Customary Unions." Acta Juridica (University of Cape Town).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1968). African Women: Their Legal Status in South Africa. London: C. Hurst.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and SIMONS, R. (1969). Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- SINGER, J. (1973). The Child's World of Make-Believe. New York: Academic Press.
- SKOLIMOWSKA, M. (1978). "Two Tests of Perceptual Motor Development: A Cross-Cultural Study." M.Sc. Dissertation in Clinical Psychology, University of Cape Town.
- SNOW, C. and FERGUSON, C., eds. (1977). Talking to Children. Language Input and Acquisition. Cambridge: University Press.

- SOHLBERG, S. and PORAT, D. (1979). "A Developmental Study of Three-dimensional Perception in Israeli Children." Journal of Genetic Psychology 135:245-54.
- "Solidarity with the Poor." (1980). South African Outlook 110(1312).
- SPIEGEL, A. (1980). "Changing Patterns of Migrant Labour and Rural Differentiation in Lesotho." Social Dynamics 6(2):1-13.
- SPINDLER, G., ed. (1978). The Making of Psychological Anthropology. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- "The Squatter Problem." (1977). South African Outlook 107(1269).
- STADLER, A. (1978). "Birds in the Cornfield: Squatter Movements in Johannesburg, 1944-1947." Paper delivered at the History Workshop, University of Witwatersrand.
- STARR, J. (1979). Continuing the Revolution: The Political Thought of Mao. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.
- STEYN, G. (1969). "Main Features of Educational Development in the Republic of South Africa, 1910-1967." In: 1968 Statistical Yearbook. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- STROUSE, J., ed. (1974). Women and Analysis. New York: Dell.
- THOMAS, T. (1973). Their Doctor Speaks. Cape Town: Mary Wheeldon.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1974). The Children of Apartheid. A Study of the Effects of Migratory Labour on Family Life in the Ciskei. London: African Publishing Trust.
- THOMPSON, L., ed. (1969). African Societies in Southern Africa. London: Heinemann.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and BUTLER, J., eds. (1975). Change in Contemporary South Africa. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- THORNTON, R. (1980a). "The Rise of the Ethnographic Monograph in Eastern and Southern Africa: The Moral Motive and Market for Ideas." Paper delivered at the 1980 meeting of the ASA in Washington, D.C.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980b). Space, Time and Culture among the Iraqw of Tanzania. New York: Academic Press.
- TINBERGEN, N. (1972). "Foreword." In: Blurton Jones, op. cit.
- TOUGH, J. (1976). Listening to Children Talking: a Guide to the Appraisal of Children's Use Of Language. London: Ward Lock.
- TRIANDIS, J., ed. (1980). Handbook of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 6 vols. Boston: Allyn and Bacon.
- TURNBULL, C. (1963). "The Lesson of the Pygmies," Scientific American 208(1).
- TUTU, A. (1979). "White Counselor, Black Client - Problem or Possibility." Psychology Honours Paper, University of Cape Town (unpublished).
- TUTU, D. (1980). "Tearing People Apart." South African Outlook 110(1312).
- TWALA, R. (1951). "Beads as Regulating the Social Life of the Zulu and Swazi." African Studies 10:113-123.
- UNESCO (1972). A Statistical Study of Wastage at School. Paris Geneva: UNESCO IBE.
- VAN DER HORST, S. (1964). African Workers in Town: A Study of Labour in Cape Town. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- VAN RENSBURG, J. (1938). The Learning Ability of the South African Native Compared with that of the European. Pretoria: South African Council for Education and Social Research.
- VAN TROMP, J. (1948). Xhosa Law of Persons: A Treatise on the Legal Principles of Family Relations among the AmaXhosa. Cape Town: Juta.
- VAN WARMELO, N. (1931). "Kinship Terminology of the South African Bantu." Ethnological Publications 2. Pretoria Government Printers.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1935). Preliminary Survey of the Bantu Tribes of South Africa. Pretoria: Government Printer.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1936). "Grouping and Ethnic History." In: Schapera, I., ed. op. cit.

- VAN VELSEN, J. (1967). "The Extended Case Method and Situational Analysis." In: Epstein, V. Craft of Social Anthropology. London: Tavistock.
- VERRYN, T., ed. (1975). Church and Marriage in Modern Africa. Groenkloof: Ecumenical Research Unit.
- VERSTER, J. (1965). "The Trend and Pattern of Fertility in Soweto: an Urban Bantu community." African Studies 24:3-4,131-98.
- VERSVELD, B. (1978). "Africans in Cape Town." South African Outlook 108(1289).
- VIKAN, A. (1980). "An Experimental Approach to Specification of Types of Decentration." Genetic Psychology Monograph 101:257-70.
- VILIKAZI, A. (1965). Zulu Transformations: A Study of the Dynamics of Social Change. Pietermaritzburg: University of Natal Press.
- VUYK, R. (1981). Overview and Critique of Piaget's Genetic Epistemology 1965-1980, 2 vols. London: Academic Press.
- VYGOTSKY, L. (1962). Thought and Language. Ed. and tr. by E. Hanfrann and G. Vakar. Cambridge Mass.: M.I.T. Press.
- WALKER, C. (1982). Women and Resistance in South Africa. London: Onyx Press.
- WARREN, N. (1972). "African Infant Precocity." Psychological Bulletin 78(5):353-67.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1980). "Universality and Plasticity, Ontogeny and Phylogeny: The Resonance between Culture and Cognitive Development." In: Sants, H., ed. Developmental Psychology and Society. London: MacMillan.
- \_\_\_\_\_, ed. (1980). Studies in Cross-Cultural Psychology, vol. 2. London: Academic Press.
- WELCH, M. (1978). "Childhood and Socialization Differences in African and NonAfrican Societies." Journal of Social Psychology 106(11-15).
- WELSH, D. (1971). "The Growth of Towns." In: Wilson and Thompson, op. cit.
- WERNER, H. (1940). Comparative Psychology of Mental Development. New York: Harper Bros.

- WERTHEIMER, M. (1945). Productive Thinking. New York: Harper and Row.
- WEST, M. (1980). "The 'Apex of Subordination': The Urban African Population of South Africa." In: Price, R. and Rosberg, C., eds. op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982a). "From Pass Court to Deportation: Changing Patterns of Influx Control in Cape Town." African Affairs 81(325):463-77.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1982b). "Total Onslaught in Cape Town." South African Outlook. 112(1337):171-78.
- WHITE, N. (1978). "The Nutritional Status of Children in Crossroads and Nqutu." Paper delivered at the SALDRU Conference on the Economics of Health Care in Southern Africa.
- WHOOLEY, P. (1975). "Marriage in Africa: A Study in the Ciskei." In: Verryn, op. cit.
- WILBERTS, J. and FLORQUIN, F. (1977). [Fluctuations of Relative Importance in Variables of Intelligence and Perceptual-Motor Structuring of Space while Learning to Read in the First Primary Year"]. Revue Belge de Psychologies et de Pedagogie 39:75-84.
- WILSON, D. (1981). "Langa Barracks Highlight Influx Control Inhumanities." SAIRR News 43(5).
- WILSON, F. (1971). "Farming, 1866-1966." In: Wilson, M. and Thompson, L., eds. op. cit., vol. 2.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1973). "Focus on Family Life." South African Outlook.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1975). "The Political Implications for Blacks of Economic Changes Now Taking Place in South Africa." In: Thompson, L., and Butler, J., eds., op. cit.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1976). "International Migration in Southern Africa." International Migration Review 10(4).
- WILSON, M. (1948). "Some Possibilities and Limitations of Anthropological Research." Inaugural Lecture, Rhodes University College.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1969a). "Changes in Social Structure in Southern Africa: The Relevance of Kinship Studies to the Historian." In: Thompson, L., ed. op. cit.

- \_\_\_\_\_. (1969b). "The Thousand Years before Van Riebeeck." Raymond Dart Lecture 6, Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1977). For Men and Elders. Change in the Relations of Generations and of Men and Women among the Nyakyusa-Ngonde People 1875-1971. London: International African Institute.
- \_\_\_\_\_. (1978). "Ritual Resilience and Obliteration." In: Argyle and Preston-Whyte, op. cit. 160-61.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and MAFEJE, A. (1963). Langa: A Study of Social Groups in an African Township. Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- \_\_\_\_\_, and THOMPSON, L., eds. (1971). The Oxford History of South Africa, 2 vols. Oxford: Clarendon Press.
- WOBER, M. (1975). Psychology in Africa. London: International African Institute.
- WOLFF, K., ed. (1960). Enide Durkheim, 1858-1917: A Collection of Essays, with Translations and a Bibliography. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.
- YELLEN, J. and LEE, R. (1976). "The Dobe-/Du/da Environment." In: Lee and DeVore, op. cit.
- ZASLAVSKY, C. (1973). Africa Counts: Number and Pattern in African Culture. Boston: Prindle, Weber and Schmidt.