

Research Report

A Social Survey of Dzivaresekwa Township, Salisbury

The purpose of this survey was to discover the social composition of an African township, as there have been no such investigations of Salisbury townships. The data obtained were also intended to provide a demographic basis for a health study among Africans, which has now been completed. Dzivaresekwa was considered to be the most suitable for this purpose because it enjoys the presence of a clinic run by the Medical School of the University of Rhodesia. The field-work for the study took place between November 1966 and July 1967, and it is hoped that the data will be useful for future comparative studies.

Dzivaresekwa township is situated to the south of the city of Salisbury, about eleven miles from the city centre. The 940 acres (370 ha) of land on which the township has been built was bought by government for the purpose of providing accommodation for African urban workers. Accommodation in the township is broadly of three kinds:

1. Most of the accommodation is under the direct supervision of the township, and consists of:

(a) *Full Units*. There were 20 families living in houses occupied by one family each. The rent varies between \$5.00 and \$9.20 (families subsidized by government pay \$5.00; the economic rent is \$9.20).

(b) *Half-Units*. Here two families share the same house which has been sub-divided into A and B. Rent for the subsidized families is \$3 and the economic rent is

\$4.60. The total number of houses was 169.

(c) *Single Units*. There were 22 houses for unmarried persons.

2. An Aided Self-Help Scheme provides housing of a relatively high standard in this area; at the time of this survey there were 28 such houses. The mortgage payments per month are \$6.57, and the total cost of each house is in the region of \$660.

3. A Squatter Section (known as Side Residents) provides for the poorest section of the community. Its residents are allowed to construct their dwellings with poles and dagga walls. \$2.00 is charged per month for the plot. There were 100 dwellings in this section.

The first buildings were constructed in 1961 and a government primary school was opened in 1962. The total enrolment at the beginning of 1967 was 570 pupils. There were sixteen teachers and a headmaster. The medical school of the University of Rhodesia runs a small clinic which during the time of this survey was open one evening per week. The nearest hospital is at Harare, about 10 miles away.

Clubs in the township include a women's club, where women are taught such things as sewing, hygiene and cookery. A football club has been formed. At week-ends boxing fans usually organize tournaments, and concerts and cinema shows are sometimes held. The important centre of social life is the beerhall which has recently been enlarged. There are two general dealers' shops and a butchery.

PROCEDURE

Sampling was by random digits using Snedcor tables of random numbers (Mueller and Schuessler, 1961, p. 422). All the houses in all three sections of the township were numbered serially, and then from the corresponding table of random digits as many different numbers (combination of digits) were drawn as there were cases to be included in the sample. The cases whose serial numbers corresponded to those drawn from the table constituted the sample.

Thus all figures quoted are given in terms of the sample which was a little over 10 per cent of the houses in the township. The total number of houses was 339 and 60 are included in this sample. Four household heads refused to be interviewed.

RESULTS

Age and Sex Structure

Table I shows the age and sex structure of the *de facto* population. Females outnumber males in the age range of 0-29. This preponderance of females over males is greatest in the age range of 15-29. This is mainly due to the fact that boys who are no longer in school tend to leave home and get jobs and accommodation elsewhere in Salisbury. In comparison with other Salisbury African townships Dzivaresekwa has two main disadvantages from the point of view of work seekers. Firstly, transport between the township and the Salisbury city centre is poor and relatively expensive. Most buses travel between the township and the nearby European suburbs of Mabel-

reign, Meyrick Park and Marlborough. When employment is found in these suburbs wages are relatively low, so that most men try to find more lucrative work elsewhere. Secondly, those who get employment in Salisbury city and the adjoining industrial areas find it difficult to obtain accommodation in Dzivaresekwa township because of its history. Dzivaresekwa was established mainly for the purpose of accommodating African domestics and labourers working in the suburbs of Meyrick Park, Mabelreign and Marlborough. Thus young men of Dzivaresekwa tend to look for work and accommodation in other parts of Salisbury, leaving their female relatives of the same age range behind.

Table II

SEX RATIO

(Males per 100 Females)

Age in years	1967
0-14	82
15-29	56
30-44	146
45 and over	450

Another reason which accounts for the high ratio of females to males in the 15-29 age category is the tendency for men to marry women younger than themselves.

There is a large proportion of young children under ten years of age. This is partly due to the fact that Dzivaresekwa is a township of comparatively young men and women in their early stage of marriage. There are no women over the age of fifty in the studied population, and men over this age constitute 1.2 per cent of the males in the sample population. In the sample 76.8 per cent of the people are below the age of thirty.

Table I

AGE SEX STRUCTURE

Age in Years	Males		Females	
	(N)	%	(N)	%
0-4	40	12.2	49	15.0
5-9	24	7.4	28	8.7
10-14	20	6.1	26	7.9
15-19	7	2.1	13	3.9
20-24	1	0.3	10	3.1
25-29	15	4.7	18	5.6
30-34	14	4.3	10	3.1
35-39	16	4.9	9	2.8
40-44	8	2.4	7	2.1
45-49	5	1.5	2	0.6
50-54	3	0.9	0	0.0
55-59	1	0.3	0	0.0
60 and over	0	0.0	0	0.0
TOTAL	154	47.1	172	52.8

Effective sample = 326

Household Composition

The average household is made up of 5.4 persons (Table III). A household was defined as all those people living within a certain housing unit and eating together. The majority of the households consist of an elementary family (Table IV). This type accounts for 76 per cent of all the households. A large number of men working as domestics or labourers in European suburbs live at their employer's residence and visit the family at week-ends. For the purpose of this study such men have been recorded as present in the township. Twenty per cent of the households consist of extended families which are those households

Table III
HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

Age in years	Children		Co-residents		Totals		Totals
	M	F	M	F	M	F	
0-4	40	49	—	—	40	49	89
5-9	22	25	2	3	24	28	52
10-14	15	21	5	5	20	26	46
Adults	66	66	4	3	70	69	139
TOTAL	143	161	11	11	154	172	326
PER HOUSEHOLD					2.6	2.9	5.4

which contain persons who are not members of the nuclear family. These are school children staying with relatives while attending school in Dzivaresekwa and adult relatives. The remaining households, 3.9 per cent of the total, consist of fragmentary elementary families, in which one parent is absent; the absent parents are mostly women living in the rural areas.

Table IV
HOUSEHOLD TYPE

Household Type	(N)	%
Elementary Family	42	76.0
Fragmentary Elementary Family	6	3.9
Extended Family	12	20.0
Age in years	60	99.9

The high percentage of households consisting of an elementary family is due to a number of factors. Firstly, houses in the townships are relatively small, the majority consisting of only two rooms. It has therefore been made illegal by township authorities for a householder to accommodate persons other than members of his family without permission of the town manager.

The percentage of extended and fragmentary families seems to be open to seasonal variation. During the ploughing, weeding and harvesting season the influx of rural relatives into town is small. Similarly a large number of children is likely to be away in the rural areas during school holidays. Other factors which are likely to affect family structure include income, education, place of origin and the degree of commitment to urban life of the householders.

A number of children of women in the township were away from home (Table V). The majority of the absent children are in the rural areas. Out of the 64 children who were living elsewhere during the time of the survey, 43 were in the rural

areas, 17 in towns, and 4 were at boarding schools (Table VI). Rural upbringing is considered by many parents to be better and safer for children. Some parents send children away because they cannot afford to support them in town; others are sent away because there is not sufficient room for them in the house. In the sixty households surveyed there were 22 children who are not those of the women in the sample. All of them were relatives of either the household head or his wife. The majority of these children had come to Dzivaresekwa in order to attend school.

Table V
AGE AND SEX GROUPS OF ABSENT CHILDREN

Age	Males	Females	Totals
0-4	6	3	9
5-9	5	8	13
10-14	3	7	10
15 years or more	21	11	32
TOTALS	35	29	64

Table VI
PLACE OF RESIDENCE OF ABSENT CHILDREN

Present Residence	Males	Females	Total
In rural areas	19	24	43
In towns	13	4	17
At boarding schools	3	1	4
TOTALS	35	29	64

Origins of Population

Table VII shows the country of birth of the parents in the sample. Sixty-five per cent of them were born in Rhodesia; 13.3 per cent. in Malawi; 12.5 per cent. in Zambia; and 9.2 per cent were born in Mozambique. With this influx of a variety of peoples some mixing of the tribal groups is inevitable and this is reflected in the inter-tribal marriages in the township:

<i>Marriage between</i>	<i>Num- ber</i>	<i>%</i>
Rhodesian men and women	29	48,3
Rhodesian men and alien women	7	11,7
Rhodesian women and alien men	13	21,6
Aliens	11	18,3
	60	99,9

Table VII

ORIGINS OF POPULATIONS
(Parents only)

<i>Place of Birth</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>	<i>(N)</i>	<i>Totals %</i>
Rhodesia	36	42	78	65,0
Malawi	11	5	16	13,3
Zambia	7	8	15	12,5
Mozambique	6	5	11	9,2
TOTALS	60	60	120	100,0

The majority of these urban dwellers have not come to Dzivaresekwa directly from their home districts. They have come from other urban areas particularly Mabelreign and Meyrick Park in Salisbury. Of the parents in the sample, 63,3 per cent have been in towns for more than ten years, and only 3,3 per cent have not yet completed a year's stay (Table VIII).

Table VIII

LENGTH OF RESIDENCE IN THE URBAN AREAS
(Heads of Households)

<i>Years</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>
0-5	7	11,6
6-10	15	25,0
Over 10 years	38	63,3
TOTAL	60	99,9

Of the household heads 73,3 per cent do not have land in the rural areas. The majority of those who do have land in the rural areas are Rhodesians. Only two aliens have land in their home countries and both are from Malawi. Those who have land in the rural areas generally send their wives to the rural home at certain times of the year to cultivate and harvest the crops. Some have relatives who look after their lands; only in one case was the land not being cultivated.

Education, Occupations and Earnings

About sixty-six per cent of the people in the sample have received some education but only a few have attained relatively high standards. A breakdown of the sample population into age groups, however, shows that illiteracy is decreasing (Table IX).

The level of education reached by the Dzivaresekwa population is probably lower than that reached by other African communities around Salisbury, but until the other townships have been surveyed, it is difficult to be sure. Certainly it is lower than that of two villages in the Chinamora Tribal Trust Land about 25 miles from Salisbury which were surveyed at the same time as Dzivaresekwa; the two villages had 110 households and 576 people living in them, and 69 per cent of the population had received some education. The relatively low standard of education attained by the Dzivaresekwa population is connected with the history of the township. As mentioned earlier the township was built mainly for the purpose of providing accommodation for domestic servants and labourers. Thus 83,3 per cent of the household heads in the sample are domestics and labourers (Table XI).

Another reason which may account for the relatively low level of education in Dzivaresekwa is connected with the origins of the population. Table X breaks down the levels of education according to country of origin of the parents in the sample: 29,3 per cent of the parents from Rhodesia were illiterate compared to 55 per cent from Malawi; 64,3 per cent from Zambia and 72,7 per cent from Mozambique. It is interesting to note that the general level of education attained by Rhodesian parents in Dzivaresekwa compares well with that of the two villages mentioned above, but that it is the parents from other countries who have attained relatively low levels of education.

Occupation

The breakdown of occupations (Table XI) is based on the categories of McCulloch (1956). Domestics include cooks, house and garden servants and waiters. In the labour category are included all persons working at all kinds of tasks which require no special knowledge other than that which can be picked up in a few days on the job such as office cleaners, messengers, and office boys. Skilled workers include drivers, bricklayers and carpenters. White-collar workers include clerks and welfare assistants.

Table IX
EDUCATION BY AGE GROUPS

	5-9	10-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	+ 51	Total
Nil	17	2	6	5	20	17	4	71
Sub A	18	0	1	0	0	0	0	19
Sub B	8	5	0	4	1	0	0	18
Std. 1	6	7	1	5	5	2	0	26
Std. 2	2	7	0	3	4	1	0	17
Std. 3	0	11	1	5	6	1	0	24
Std. 4	1	12	2	9	6	1	0	31
Std. 5	0	2	5	6	4	0	0	17
Std. 6	0	0	4	7	3	0	0	14
Total Educated	35	44	14	39	29	5	0	166
Total Population	52	46	20	44	49	22	4	237*
Per cent Educated	67,3	95,7	70,0	88,6	59,2	22,7	0,0	65,8

*89 children were below the age of 5

Table X
ORIGINS OF POPULATION AND LEVEL OF EDUCATION
(Parents only)

Country of Origin	Illiterate			Primary School			Total	
	M	F	% of Total	M	F	% of Total	M	F
Rhodesia	10	12	29,3	23	30	70,7	33	42
Malawi	6	5	55,0	6	3	45,0	12	8
Zambia	5	4	64,3	3	2	35,7	8	6
Mozambique	5	3	72,7	2	1	27,3	7	4
TOTAL	26	24		34	36		60	60

Table XI
OCCUPATION AND EDUCATION
(Heads of Households)

Education	Domestic	Labourer	Skilled	White-Collar	Total All Occupations
Illiterate	14	6	1	—	21
Sub A or Sub B	1	0	0	0	1
Std 1 or Std 2	0	8	0	0	8
Std 3	3	6	1	0	10
Std 4	1	5	1	0	7
Std 5	1	3	2	0	6
Std 6 and above	0	2	1	4	7
TOTAL	20	30	6	4	60
PER CENT	33,3	50,0	10,0	6,6	99,9

The largest number (50 per cent) of people are labourers; 33,3 per cent are domestics; 10 per cent are skilled workers; and 6,6 per cent have white-collar jobs. All the white-collar workers in the sample had Standard Six (Grade 5) certificates. Among the domestics and labourers, 40 per cent were illiterate. On the other hand two labourers had Standard Six certificates. The skilled workers had a level of education lower than that of white-collar workers.

Earnings

In collecting data on earnings, the desired return was the basic weekly cash wages and rations. A large number of employees, however, are given housing allowances, and domestics, labourers and some skilled workers get ration allowances in cash or kind. There were consequently some difficulties, and some men did not know how much of their wage was the basic

Table XII
OCCUPATION AND BASIC MONTHLY EARNINGS
(Heads of Households)

Occupation								
Earning \$	Domestic		Labourer		Skilled		White-Collar	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Under 10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10-20	18	90,0	18	66,6	—	—	—	—
21-40	2	10,0	9	33,3	5	83,3	1	25,0
41-60	—	—	—	—	1	16,6	2	50,0
69-120	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	25,0
	20	100,0	27*	99,9	6	99,9	4	100,0

Table XIII
RELIGION
(Parents only)

Religion	Males Females		Total	
	N	%	N	%
Roman Catholic	15	15	30	25,0
African Dutch	—	—	—	—
Reformed	7	8	15	12,5
Methodist	6	8	14	11,7
Traditional	7	3	10	8,3
Salvation Army	5	6	11	9,2
Anglican	5	5	10	8,3
Apostolic Faith	3	3	6	5,0
Assembly of God	3	3	6	5,0
Watchtower	3	3	6	5,0
Other	6	6	12	10,0
TOTAL	60	60	120	100,0

wage. Thus the figures in Table XII give the gross monthly income. The majority of domestics and labourers receive between eleven and twenty dollars per month; skilled workers largely receive between twenty-one and forty dollars; and the majority of white collar workers get between forty-one and sixty dollars per month.

This survey was carried out when Dzivaresekwa was still a relatively small township. The government announced at the time of the survey its plans to build several hundred more houses in the township. Work is already in progress. It will be interesting in future years to see what effects this will have on the social structure of Dzivaresekwa.

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