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EARLY SCHOOL-LEAVING AND OCCUPATIONS OF NATIVE JUVENILES IN JOHANNESBURG.

Thesis submitted for D.Phil.

by

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SECTION 1

INTRODUCTION. (Method).

I commenced this investigation, the two main reference terms of which are "the causes of early school-leaving among Native children" and "the occupational opportunities open to Native juveniles", in April, 1937. As my academic training was anthropological and my subsequent field work mainly concerned with problems of culture contact, I had first to familiarise myself with the organisation of a Native school and to ascertain what records were available. To this end I spent the best part of a month at St. Cyprians and St. Magdalenes, the senior and junior divisions respectively of a large school of some thirteen hundred pupils in Sophiatown.

The investigation of record books proved disappointing. The most reliable records are those given in the daily attendance registers. These registers are standardised, in use in every registered school, and from them are taken the quarterly returns which the principal of a registered school is obliged to lodge within two days after the close of term. There is, however, no column for pupils' addresses, and accordingly some teachers keep a record of the addresses of their class while others do not. Most schools keep admission registers, although their accuracy and reliability depends greatly on the circuit inspector and varies according as to whether the inspector lays value upon their being up-to-date or not. Some schools use the same admission register as is used by European

/schools

schools (from which the material for transfer cards is taken). These admission registers provide columns, inter alia, for the pupil's name, age, address, the parent or guardian's occupation, the name of the last school the child attended and the date at which the pupil passed each standard. The extent to which the required information is given under the various headings varies from school to school. The other type of admission register, more generally in use in Native schools, has far fewer headings, has no column for the child's address, name of school last attended nor the parent's occupation. It does make provision for entering the dates at which the child passed the various standards, but as this information is not noted in its entirety, no satisfactory tables as to time taken to attain certain standards could be compiled. Finally, a log book is kept. This varies considerably according to the temperament of the principal, but usually contains a fairly stereotyped account of the date of term commencement, number of pupils enrolled, absences of teachers, and events such as a visit to the Empire Exhibition or a school concert.

At the commencement of this enquiry I was informed that, as attendance registers are kept open for a fortnight after term commencement, the teachers at the end of that period visited the homes of all pupils in the standards whose names appeared in the previous term's registers and who had not returned to school. To me this seemed a unique opportunity of obtaining the material I required, and as I was impressed with the urgency of using this opportunity I drew

/up within

up within twenty-four hours a questionnaire (1) for the use of teachers when home-visiting. At a staff meeting of ten teachers I handed out these questionnaires after explaining them and the purpose for which they were to be used at length. The response was extremely poor. The teachers brought in fifteen questionnaires of which five had to be discarded as unreliable as was evidenced by the manifest contradictions in the answers to the questionnaire. Subsequently an unemployed teacher from Randfontein brought me over forty completed questionnaires of which thirty-one, relating to children who had left school, could be used. I found that, although the teachers professed to understand the questions completely, the whole structure of the questionnaire was too complicated and too wide in its scope. In addition, events proved that home-visiting was by no means a regular procedure. Occasionally teachers did visit the home of a child; frequently the class in general was asked what had become of a particular child and the answer vouchsafed was accepted; and in most cases, if a child on the previous term's register did not return to school, no further cognisance was taken of the matter.

As an experiment, the questionnaire, with suitable deletions, was submitted to the pupils of Standard VI and above at St. Peters and to the Standards VI and VII pupils at St. Cyprians. In the latter school, I went over each questionnaire individually with the subject. At St. Peters I took some classes and the teachers kindly set the questionnaire to the others. The greatest value in setting the questionnaires

/to

(1)See specimen copy, Appendix I.

to school children lay in the means they afforded of contacting scholars and of obtaining incidental material and observations on reactions which, though not susceptible to statistical treatment, were very informative.

From the dismal failure of the questionnaires designed to be used by teachers, it became apparent that short-cut methods of this nature would not provide me with the material required. School records, although an occasional remark such as 'gone to farm' or "working" appeared opposite the name of a pupil withdrawn from the attendance register or under the "remarks" column of the admission register, were not sufficiently uniform to give reliable information. In no school were school leaving reasons given for every pupil who had left school. In the majority of schools the causes of school leaving were not recorded at all.

As an experiment, in November, 1937, I went through the previous term's registers in conference with all the teachers of a school in Alexandra Township in order to see if combined discussion would give information relating to larger numbers of children than is possible by the method of individual investigation. Only the page of the attendance register on which the names of the pupils appear was exposed to view. In a number of cases the teachers, including the class teacher, passed a pupil as being present, when the record on the opposite page showed that the pupil had been withdrawn during the previous term. Doubtless the extreme mobility of the school-going populace is an important cause of this lack of contact, in all but actual tuition, between teacher and pupil. The fact,

(1)

(1)In fact, even this contact is slight when compared with the teacher-pupil classroom relationship in a European school.

too, that a Native principal[1] has, in addition to the duties incumbent upon his position as principal, to teach a class makes his work onerous and leaves him little, if any, time to concern himself with such school matters as are not obligatory. Finally, the tradition of service and of true devotion to teaching as a profession requires nurturing in Native schools. But with the present low salary scale for teachers it is perhaps presumptuous to expect Native teachers to find the sustenance for a healthy idealism.

As reliable material relating to the causes of school leaving could not be obtained from record books nor by means of group discussion with teachers, I set about collecting my own material.[2] At the beginning

(1) The Native principal of the Pinville Government School is the only exception to this rule in those schools which I visited.

(2) A comment on the inadequacy of facts and figures regarding Non-Europeans is the inevitable introduction to any investigation of this nature. Cf. Ray E. Phillips, "The Bantu in the City", p.

Cf. also the following statements:
"In Johannesburg there were 70,000 children running wild because there were insufficient schools". (Report of address by Rev. A.A. Wellington, President of Methodist Conference.) Star, 9-6-1937.
"On the Rand there were 90,000 Native children of whom 18,000 went to overcrowded schools. The other 72,000 were growing up in the gutter." Report of speech by Senator C.H. Malcomess in debate on Railways and Harbours Part Appropriation Bill. "Bantu World". 1[illegible]-3-1938.
"Mrs. Deneys Reitz reminded her hearers that on the Reef there are 80,000 Native children with school accommodation for less than 20,000." "Star", 8-4-1938.
"The Manager of the Johannesburg Non-European Housing and Native Administration Department stated that there were in October, 1937, 40,000 children of school going age in Johannesburg and only 14,200 of these have any provision made for them in the way of education. This is only 35.15% of the total." Ray E. Phillips, "The Bantu in the City" page 152.

Beginning of May, 1937, Conference Setlogelo, a Moroleng with a good knowledge of Bantu languages as well as fluency in English and Afrikaans, became my interpreter and research assistant. He matriculated and had one year's academic training in Edinburgh. For two and a half months he accompanied me daily in the course of my home visits in the Western Area and in Orlando. For our first twenty visits we utilised the questionnaire. Thereafter we discarded the questionnaire entirely. Enquiries, after due explanation and an appeal for co-operation had been made, were conducted in as conversational a manner as possible. Relevant questions were inserted, irrespective of order, at the most opportune juncture. If a question aroused visible opposition, I did not persist in the query and, if other approaches failed to elicit the required response, I omitted it. These interviews were taken down as nearly verbatim as possible, transposed onto type-written sheets and, later, for more practical handling tabulated on printed sheets,(1) one sheet per family.

After accompanying me for two and a half months on home visits, Setlogelo commenced independent family investigations. At first I checked his reports daily and in so doing pointed out omissions which necessitated return visits. Later, his records were checked and transposed at lengthier intervals. Setlogelo's help proved very valuable, not only as

/interpreter

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(1) See Appendix 11 for specimen copy. Obviously very few of the sheets were complete. As will be seen, many of the questions refer to time periods and it was extremely difficult to obtain dates from informants.

interpreter and assistant, but also as informant. He continued as my assistant until February, 1938, at which time my enquiry was directed towards an attempt to establish the occupational opportunities for Native juveniles.(1)

The object of the family investigations was to gain as complete a picture as possible of the child's economic and social background in a comparatively brief space of time. Some interviews took only half an hour and others three hours and longer. In many cases the first visit had perforce to be explanatory only, in order to give the informant an opportunity of discussing the advisability or otherwise of giving information with other members of the household. We encountered a certain amount of opposition but by enlisting the support of informants favourably disposed towards the enquiry, it was frequently overcome. In a small number of cases we were consistently refused an interview or regaled with a lengthy and palpably untrue discourse.

Whether this extensive method of enquiry yields results comparable with those achieved by the intensive method, whereby a sample number of families is observed for a lengthy period and every effort is made to gain trust and confidence, is a very debatable point. I felt and still submit that for an enquiry of this nature it is imperative to cover a wide area and contact, even if not intensively, a large number of families.(2) It is obvious that this

/single-visit

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(1) See Section IV for method of approach.

(2) The total number of families investigated by me and/or Setlogelo and school teachers, after making

/necessary

necessary eliminations, is only 344, made up of 100 sample areas, 158 school-leavers, 28 economically better and 58 families for whom questionnaire 1 was filled out. This number may appear to be and actually is small and the statistics taken from them suffer from the same deficiency. I am acutely conscious of these small numbers and feel impelled to point out - in extenuation but not in justification - that it was impossible in the time and with the facilities at my disposal, in view of the difficulty of tracing families and of the time wastage due to ferreting informants out, to investigate greater numbers of families.

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single-visit method of investigation, lacking the close checking of more intensive studies, opens the way to considerable inaccuracy and evasion on the part of informants. The diversity of subjects discussed, however, and the cross-check which discussions of various aspects of family affairs in themselves provided make me confident of reasonable accuracy and conformity to fact. A number of family reports were discarded because statements on the same subject but related in different contexts were contradictory. A number of families were investigated at intervals of several months, reports being taken from different members of the family. The manner in which such reports corroborated each other provided welcome proof of reliability.

In the majority of cases the mother of the family was the informant, frequently assisted by an ad hoc council composed of a grandmother and such children and other relatives as were present. The father of the family was the informant in only a small number of cases, as the investigations generally took place during the week at which time most men are at work. Setlogelo made investigations on Sundays among those families only in which both mother and father were absent on employment on all week days.

/I restricted

I restricted my visits on Saturday afternoons and Sundays to those families with whom I was sufficiently acquainted to know that my presence during such times would be welcome.

From among a number of schools - both aided and private - I visited, the following twelve registered schools were selected as a sample representative of the various districts of Johannesburg: (1)

School.	Controlling Body	District	No. Pupils
St. Cyprians	Anglican	Sophiatown	591
St. Mary Magdalene	Anglican	Sophiatown	739
	Dutch Reformed Church	Sophiatown	298
St. Mary's Anglican	Anglican	Orlando	521
	Methodist	Orlando	536
George Goch	American Board Mission	East.N.Township	300
	Salvation Army	East.N.Township	191
Government Native	Wit. School Board	Pimville	1242
	Roman Catholic	Pimville	259
ex.Amalgamated	A.M.E., Zionist, Bantu Methodist	Alexandra Township	515
	Methodist	Alexandra Township	493
Holy Cross	Roman Catholic	Alexandra Township	1021
St. Peters	Anglican	Rosettenville	337

I was given access to the attendance registers, quarterly returns, admission and log books in all these schools. From these records the tables referring to schools, number of teachers, withdrawals and average ages are taken. Records were taken for the term ending March 25th. When attendance registers for this term were not available, which was rarely the case, I had to take the register nearest in time sequence. (2) From all these schools, with the

/exception

(1) Figures taken from quarterly returns for term ending March 25th, 1937, for all except Lourdes Holy Cross, which is for term ending July 2nd. 1937.

/(2)

(2) That class average ages vary very greatly is evidenced by the tables for individual schools given in Appendix III. The following average ages for four terms given in the quarterly returns of the Pimville Government School (the only Native school which, as it uses the same forms as European schools, is obliged to give average ages in its quarterly returns) show that there is no regular progression (~~time~~) from term to term.

Standard.	BOYS				GIRLS			
	Term ending 2-10-36	11-12-36	25-3-37	2-7-37	Term ending 2-10-36	11-12-36	25-3-37	2-7-
Sub-Std.A.	8.9	8.10	9.7	9.2	9.2	9.6	9	9.
Sub-Std.B.	10.11	10.2	10.2	11.4	11	10.8	10.8	11.
Std. 1.	12.9	12.8	12.2	12.6	12.6	12.6	12	12.
" 2.	13.8	13.11	13.10	14	12.9	12.11	13.5	13.
" 3.	14.	15	14.2	15.4	13.10	14.4	14.1	14.
" 4.	15.4	15.6	15.9	15.6	14.3	14.5	14.9	15.
" 5.	16.3	16.3	16.1	17.11	14.	15.8	15.6	16.
" 6.	16.8	16.11	17.1	17.3	16.3	16.5	16.9	17

exception of the Pimville Government, the Dutch Reformed School in Sophiatown and the Roman Catholic School in Pimville, lists of the names and addresses of children who had either been withdrawn during term time or who had failed to return to school at the commencement of the then current term were requested. Three other schools in Alexandra Township - those conducted by the Swiss Mission, the Lutheran Church and the Church of the Province - also provided such lists. The admission register of the Pimville Government School, in which all addresses are recorded, in itself provided the information I required. At this school all pupils who have been absent for eight weeks are withdrawn and are entered in the admission register as having left. Furthermore the date of leaving of all children who figured on the previous term's register and did not return is recorded in

/the admission

the admission register.(1) The lists provided by the principals were followed up and each family was investigated according to the method described above. Although the lists were lengthy, they were by no means exhaustive, as the addresses, especially of sub-standard children among whom many do not know their

/addresses,

(1) At the Pimville Government School the attendance registers are, according to regulations, kept open for 8 weeks after term commencement. Thereafter, the previous terms' registers are checked through and any children who have not returned are included in the quarterly returns for the current term as "pupils left during term". In registered schools, attendance registers are kept open for two weeks after term commencement and children absent for four weeks are withdrawn from the attendance registers, but corresponding entries in the admission register are frequently omitted. Furthermore, those pupils who fall out between the end of one term and the commencement of the next are not included in the quarterly returns.

The attendance registers of a school in Sophiatown for the two terms ending March 25th and July 2nd, 1937, respectively, were compared. The following table shows in Column 1 the number of children who appeared in the register for the March term and not on the register for the July term,
in Column 2 the number of withdrawals entered in the attendance register for the March term,
in Column 3 the number of withdrawals entered in the attendance register for the July term,
in Column 4 total enrollment for March term,
in Column 5 total enrollment for July term.

Standard.	1	2	3	4	5
S.S.A.	31	7	7	136	159
S.S.B.	7	2	1	30	29
Std. 1.	12	7	-	50	53
2.	13	11	2	48	38
3.	1	-	1	20	23
4.	1	-	-	17	17
5.	-	-	-	5	5
6.	-	-	-	10	10
Total	65	27	11	325	334

The quarterly returns showed under the heading "number of pupils withdrawn during present term" 30 for the March term and 11 for the July term.

addresses, were not given. This accounts for the fact that sub-standard children are not proportionately represented. Furthermore, faulty addresses and removals accounted for the very rapid shrinkage of these frequently lengthy lists. In Orlando and, to a very limited extent, in Alexandra the lists given by principals were supplemented by lists of known school-leavers compiled by location indunas and a Health Committee clerk respectively. Here again faulty addresses cut the lists down to about one quarter of their original length. In addition to children traced from lists supplied by schools and by indunas, this group which I call the "school-leavers'" group also includes the families of a number of juveniles who were casually encountered during my location rounds and who were prepared to give their home addresses.

In order to see whether the group of school-leavers' families presented any observable difference from what could be classed as a normal section of the urban Native community a sample selection of one hundred families in Orlando was made the subject of a similar investigation. Orlando was chosen as the venue for the sample for a number of reasons. Even in June, 1937, with a population of about twenty thousand - a population which was swelling weekly - it was the largest municipal location in Johannesburg. It is planned eventually to accommodate eighty thousand Natives there and Orlando will undoubtedly become the Native urban city of the future. In addition, owing to the distance of ten miles which separates it from the centre of Johannesburg, it is far more self-contained than the Western or Eastern

/Native

Native locations. In these latter townships, to quote one example, children need not necessarily and do not all attend a school in the location. The schools in Martindale and Sophiatown draw a large proportion of their pupils from the Western NATIVE LOCATION. Pimville was excluded as its eventual fate is under review and has yet to be decided upon.

I did not follow the orthodox sampling method of selecting one house in forty or fifty, as the case may be, and so covering the whole location. I was concerned only with families in which there were children of seven and over and excluded from the sample childless families, families in which the children were below school-going age and families in which all the children were resident in the country. Hence, as the location office records cannot be used as a guide,(1) it would have been impossible to compute the sampling ratio in advance. Furthermore, much time would have been spent unproductively in covering distances in the large area which Orlando covers, bearing in mind the fact that many families had to be visited six and seven times until an informant could be found on the premises. After discussion with the superintendant and head induna,

/three

(1) The location cards, one of which is kept for each house, show the composition of the family group when the house was first rented. Subsequent alterations, such as the arrival of relatives or of children who had been left in the country or the sending of children to the country, are not shown. In some cases a man, on leaving Orlando, hands over the house to a friend without reporting to the office and re-registration is not effected. On checking through the records of my sample group families with the location office cards, I found many cases in which there was no correspondence whatsoever between the two.

three different areas in the location were selected for the sample. One area is in the oldest part of the location, having been in existence since 1932; the second area has been in existence two and a half years and the third one year. At the time the sample was taken, Orlando had no specially demarcated areas which could be defined as "respectable" and "quiet" or as "disreputable" as is the case in the Western Native Location. Since the removal of the inhabitants of Prospect Township to Orlando, this position, according to the testimony of residents of five years standing, may have changed. Later in the year, twelve of these families, recently removed from Prospect Township and settled in the then newest part of the location, were included. Altogether some two hundred families were interviewed for the purpose of this sample of whom, after childless families, families with children under the age of seven and those with all their children resident in the country, and dubious informants had been excluded, one hundred families formed the final "sample group".

A small group of twenty-eight families comprise the "economically-secure" group. These included all families with children over the age of seven living in the married quarters of the W.N.L.A. and Robinson Deep compounds, and families living in Alexandra whom Ambrose Moatsi, a clerk on the Health Committee and well acquainted with conditions in the Township, referred me to as being "better class" and "well-off". The male heads of the families living in the compounds earn from £3.10.0. to £10.0.0. per month; they pay no rent and, as they are given free rations, their food expenditure is very small.

/With

With such advantages they cannot but be regarded as being economically favoured. The same method of investigation by interview was applied to these families.

With twelve families I had more intensive contact for periods varying from three months upwards. To two families Mr. Rathebe introduced me, and they introduced me to their friends in the same or other locations. With some women I built up a relationship of friendship after meeting them initially at a family investigation. For three months I visited some of these homes very frequently - at periods even daily. The relationship then established has continued to date with five of these families. Contact with these families - and here again it was the women with whom I chiefly associated - assisted greatly in complementing the bald outlines obtained by rapid and comparatively numerous family investigations.

Apart from planned family investigations, every effort was made to contact juveniles found playing in the streets, congregated at shop corners or going errands in the locations. Such juveniles were suspicious of my motives and hence on the whole unreliable as informants. Many were prepared to discuss school-leaving reasons, history of employment and personal questions, but not such matters as the economic position of their families. Their evidence, the bulk of which could not be checked as they were usually not prepared to give their home addresses, has been used with reserve. But in their general comments, they greatly illuminated for me the

/attitude

attitude of urban youth.

In February, 1938, a questionnaire (1) was submitted, by class teachers, to all pupils attending Standards V and VI at the Pimville Government School and at the four large Native schools at Alexandra. These two townships were chosen as the venue for this experiment as in these two areas the Native population is composed of stand-owners and tenants, a difference which, it is generally accepted, reflects a difference in economic position.

I also offered prizes for essays on set subjects to children in Standard VI or above at St. Peters, the Pimville Government School and three schools in Alexandra Township. The following titles were given:

(1) Why children leave School.

(2) Why I go to School.

(3) My Home.

(4) My Parents.

(5) What I intend to be when I leave School.

(6) How I spend my day.

The teachers who set the essays were asked to give no further directions to the children beyond stating the title and in No. (5) emphasising the word "intend" as contrasted with "wish".

To supplement the material obtained from family investigations, perusal of school records and from questionnaires, I had interviews with numerous school principals and teachers, with Advisory Board

/members

(1) See specimen copy, Appendix 4.

members and with many Europeans and Africans who had been recommended to me as observant and enlightened commentators on present-day urban conditions. In the course of these interviews, juveniles formed the central theme; education of children, their recreations, their attitude towards parents and authority, their growing insubordination, employment, unemployment and occupational opportunities. Other aspects of urban Native life, such as the necessity for the mother to go out to work on account of the low wage scale obtaining for men, the number of unmarried couples living together and unsatisfactory marital conditions in general, were discussed in their relation to the juvenile problem.

Location superintendants likewise granted me the courtesy of interviews and gave me such data as were at their disposal. Miss M. Janisch and Mrs. Henderson of the Welfare Department helped me by placing such information as they thought useful to me at my disposal. Labour Department and Trade Union officials were most helpful. Mr. Max Gordon in especial assisted me greatly with information and advice and Dr. M. Gluckmann read part of the manuscript in draft. Mr. E. Loppert assisted me in preparing the sheets onto which the family records were transferred. He also compiled many of the tables given in Sections 3 and 4. To all these, both European and African, too numerous to mention individually, who so generously gave me of their time, their interest and their advice I make grateful acknowledgment.

My grateful thanks are due to the National Bureau of Educational and Social Research for financing this investigation. To the Adviser of the

/Institute

Institute of Race Relations, Senator Rheinallt Jones, I express my gratitude for his valuable assistance in suggesting lines of approach and methods of enquiry and for the interest and helpfulness which, despite the pressure of his work and the multifariousness of his activities, he so readily extended to me. And finally I wish to record my debt of gratitude to Mrs. A.W.Hoernlé who read part of the manuscript in draft and gave me the benefit of her suggestions and criticism. In this investigation, as in all my previous work, Mrs. Hoernlé has given me encouragement and her generous interest.

SECTION II.

THE BACKGROUND.

Part 1. The Home.

The biological family consisting of mother, father and children is the basic unit of all known human societies. It was the basic social unit of Bantu society in its tribal state long before Europeans and their culture had come to impinge on it. It is so to-day, both in the country and in the towns. But even if, basically, the structure of the family remains the same, its rural and urban settings are so different as to reset on relationships within the family.

Under the Bantu tribal system it was usual to find a homestead composed of a man, his wife or wives, his sons with their wives and children, unmarried daughters, a number of other relatives and possibly also unrelated dependants. Among the Nguni peoples the homestead was likewise the local group. In olden days the household group or umsi among the Nguni contained twenty to forty adult men related in the paternal line. To-day the average umsi is said to contain four or five adults.(1) Among the Sotho peoples, villages, ranging from the small village of Basotholand to the large stad of Bechuanaland, are found in place of the Nguni homestead. "The inhabitants of a motse (village) are mostly relatives and

/chiefly

(1) A. Winifred Hoernlé, "Social Organisation in The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa". Ed. I. Schapera, page 75.

chiefly in the paternal line though not necessarily so. Each close group of relatives builds its huts round the _lesaka_ or cattle kraal, so that in a large village the individual groups can be distinguished by the little paths separating the different hamlets from one another."(1)

The individual family then, among both Sotho and Nguni peoples, despite the present day tendency for the homestead to decrease in size, does not form an isolated unit. Within this homestead the child grows up in a group composed of brothers and sisters, physiological and classificatory. The principle of seniority is very strongly marked, more especially among the Nguni, and although the child owes respect to the siblings senior to him, he in turn is paid the tribute which his seniority demands from those younger than him. To what extent this mechanism of giving and receiving respect reacts on the child must be determined by the psychologist. The probability, however, is that this compensatory mechanism, by allowing the child a certain amount of prestige and authority and the general inflation of self esteem, deflects the hostility and resentment which continual submission to authority is bound to evoke.

Within the homestead the child is surrounded by relatives. Most of them, as the configuration of the society is emphatically patrilineal, are relatives of his father, more especially his father's brothers,

/to whom

(1) Ibid, page 82

to whom the child must accord respect and obedience. But the mother's relatives are by no means completely cut off. They are frequent visitors to the child's home, and many a child spends years at his mother's home. The original home of his mother often provides an asylum to a child who for one or another reason has run away from the parental home. To his maternal relations the child stands in a very different relationship from that to his paternal relations. The relationship is freer; there is less constraint and restraint; it is jocular. The mother's brothers, in especial, are indulgent and kindly to their sister's child, and the grandparents, tasting the joys without sharing the responsibility of rearing their daughter's children, spoil them.

Much emphasis in literature is laid upon the closeness of the bond which unites Bantu mother and child. There is no doubt that the mother lavishes an extraordinarily indulgent and tender care on her suckling child. The patience of the Bantu mother far exceeds that of the European mother, and the Bantu child, during a lengthy lactation period extending up to three years, enjoys a far milder regime than the European child. The Bantu baby, compared with the European baby, is laved in kindly indulgence. There are no rigorous hours of feeding for the Bantu infant; nor is there any insistence on bodily cleanliness until he can walk. "How should a child understand?", asks the mother. When he cries, he is given the breast, no matter how often he voices his demands. He is continuously nursed

/in warm

in warm security on his mother's back or in the arms of his mother or another relative. But when the suckling period ends there appears to be a sharp break[1] in the mother-child relationship. Usually another baby is born at about this time. The child - now aged two to three years - is turned over to an older child who acts as his nurse and is mainly responsible for him.

I do not mean to imply that the mother's love for her child lessens with his increasing years. But the open expression of this love ceases. Bantu behaviour patterns in general do not encourage demonstrativeness. Husband and wife observe all decorum in the presence of others, and the modern European pattern of behaviour between husband and wife which allows of superficial intimacies in public and has even developed a jargon of endearing terms would be considered in the worst of bad taste in Bantu society. The tendency of young Africans in urban areas to walk arm in arm, to call each other by European pet names and even to kiss in public is very revolting to the older generation.

Towards the father the child shows obedience and deference, sometimes even admixed with awe. Towards the mother the child's attitude is less constrained but, although her love be great, she does

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(1) According to Mrs. Henderson the Southern Sotho believe that a child is only water till it walks and talks. But thereafter it behoves the parent to guard against the jealousy of the spirits. By showing too much love for the child the parents will anger the spirits and court disaster.

not encourage familiarity and confidence.(1) The main emphasis lies on respect and obedience. The friendly relationship of easy camaraderie and confidence between parent and child - an ideal of behaviour according to modern teachings(2) - is not found in Bantu society. Towards the paternal relatives senior to the father the demand for respect is increased. Towards paternal relatives junior to the father the insistence on respect is less, deference is toned down. But it is the maternal relatives who temper the severity of the behaviour pattern between parents and paternal relatives and child. Their relationship to the child has far less of authority in it, far more of playful and easy familiarity.

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(1) According to Mrs. Henderson the Southern Sotho hold that a child must believe that his parents hate him; otherwise the child would think that he is the equal of his parents.

(2) Although present day literature deals at great length and enthusiastically advocates these modern educational methods, I do not know to what extent they are being adopted among the various classes of European society. Apart from an American and a Viennese study of modern European communities, I know of no literature which could be used both for comparative purposes and to correct any personal bias. Although I aim at objectivity, it is possible that my discussion, more especially of parent-child relationships and of parents in relation to the school and the educational progress of these children are influenced by my own environment. Sociological studies of the South African European community, especially comparative studies of different economic classes, are very necessary.

The child is gradually moulded to the norms of the society in which he lives by these different sets of people. He pays respect to those in authority over him; on the other hand, he has an outlet for his demands for familiarity and he is likewise in a position to demand respect from those junior to him. The whole system appears to be balanced and to allow of the expression of the child's natural desires without undue thwarting or repression.

The whole setting of the biological family is completely different in a large industrialised urban area like Johannesburg. Here the immediate family consisting of husband, wife (1) and children, forms an individual unit. It lives in its own house or room surrounded by other similarly constituted families. If relatives live nearby, this is usually fortuitous, not designed. Urban conditions, in which a family has little choice but to take a vacant house in a location or a vacant room in a slum-yard, make it nearly impossible for relations to settle in close proximity to each other. Hence, although kinship sentiment has by no means broken down among urban Natives and kinship bonds do survive to an almost surprising extent, the fact that they are

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(1) Polygamy is very rare in urban areas. In the sample area there were two families out of one hundred in which the husband had two wives - one legally married and the other really a concubine - living in the same house. On the other hand, unrecognised and secret concubinage is frequent and adultery, on both the husband's and the wife's part, extremely common.

not reinforced by local bonds has disrupted the practical solidarity of the extended family.(1)

In Johannesburg the family units of the same kinship group have been torn asunder. The individualism of the family - now beginning increasingly to show itself in marked form in individuals too - is one of the major differences between urban and rural Bantu. The interdependence of the kinship group living and working together in a homestead no longer exists. The wage-earners, absorbed by the industrialism of Western culture, function as independent units. It is true that relatives still help each other very greatly, especially in times of distress. A certain religious interdependence exists in that the male head of the family must or should act as officiator when sacrifice is offered. The strength of adherence to such customs, however, varies greatly and the exigencies of urban life have caused a relaxation of what used formerly to be strict rules of procedure. A certain amount of visiting between rural and urban kin takes place and children are often sent for a period to the country and vice versa. But despite the numerous

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(1) The territorial dispersion of the kinship group often causes a shift in relationship emphasis. For example, one Orlando woman, on an occasion of great domestic dissension, turned for assistance to her mother's brother's son, who was the relative living nearest to her. Later, when she moved to Natal, her father and his brothers were her councillors and guardians.

If people who are very distantly related happen to live close together their relationship frequently becomes a very much more intimate one than that of two closely related families living at some distance from each other.

exceptions which are found, the family consisting of father, mother and children is the stock unit in urban areas. It is an economic unit and very largely independent of its kin for other purposes as well.

The parent-child relationship in urban areas, as far as I can judge from the literature and from discussions with field workers (1) in rural areas, does not differ from the rural pattern. There is the same all-embracing indulgence of the suckling child, although there is a tendency in urban areas for the lactation period to be curtailed, chiefly for economic reasons. The same sharp break at weaning occurs. Thereafter the parent demands obedience and deference from the child, but not trust and confidence. The parent's attitude towards the child is strict, stern and unbending. Only rarely did I encounter families in which the mother made any attempt to level the difference between her children and herself by encouraging discussion with them and by attempting to enter into their interests and to understand their problems. And these mothers were quite exceptional women, greatly advanced and in a measure incomprehensible to the average town-dweller. The father, who leaves early in the morning and returns home from his work late at night fatigued and tired, does not come into contact with his children very much during the week. Over the week-ends, when many of them are free, they in most cases look for leisure-time entertainment or complete rest away from the disturbance of the

/children.

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(1) Dr. H. Gluckmann, in particular, described the Zulu system.

children.

When young, children are not greatly disciplined. Provided they carry out the orders given them by their parents - to carry this or bring that, to go to the shop on an errand, to carry a message to a friend - they are left to play at their will. They have the same duty as in the country of looking after younger children, but there are no defined age sets as in the country. The play groups of the children change frequently, in keeping with the floating character of the urban population.

When the child is older, at about ten to twelve years of age, parents start feeling painfully aware of unruliness and insubordination. The usual remedy to which they turn is punishment. Children are threatened with beating; although I do not believe that parents beat their children as much as they threaten to do or as often as they maintain, the very threats incur the hostility of the child in increasing degree. When the parent is confronted with the problem of the undisciplined adolescent, the situation has got beyond parental control. Punishment, especially excessive punishment, is dangerous because, as the parents well know, escape from the home is easy. Girls can enter domestic service or form an alliance with a man who will offer temporary support. Boys can take employment or, what is probably more usual, earn sufficient to keep themselves by part-time occupations or in a number of shady ways, such as gambling, acting as isibamagothi (i.e. he buries and unearths liquor for the illicit brewer and takes up%

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himself the risk of arrest), or taking part in the stolen goods trade.

The parent-child relationship which apparently functioned satisfactorily in the country is ill suited to urban conditions. Its strictness is usually not tempered by the mildness of the relationship to the maternal relations, due to the isolation of the family in the urban environment. If paternal relatives do attempt to interfere in the rearing of the children, such interference usually takes the form of strict control. The children resent it and question the relative's right to exercise authority over them. Where the maternal grandmother lives with the family, the mother usually makes use of her freedom to engage for longer periods in wage earning. The grandmother accordingly, has practically sole charge of the children, and in the extreme of her weak indulgence loses all control over them. Many informants have pointed out to me the bad effects on the child of a grandmother's upbringing. In other words, if the system is to work, the various behaviour patterns must complement each other. Emphasis on strictness and control alone creates opposition and revolt.

The difficulty of the parent-child relationship is further increased by the difference in outlook. Children reared in an urban environment are subject to influences which have not affected their parents. Their attitudes are different; their knowledge, both scholastic and worldly, is

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wider. The gap between parents and children, created by insistence on authority and due distance between the two, is further widened by the fact that parents and children often live in two different worlds. In European society we have recently witnessed and are perhaps just emerging from a phase in which children had developed new attitudes and a totally different weltanschauung from their parents. Even if the "revolt of modern youth" is not strictly comparable in European and Bantu society, the divergent development of Bantu youth has done much to increase the difficulty of an already unsatisfactory parent-child relationship. A healthy companionship has no place in the average Bantu home in the relationship between parents and children.

Although parents love their children and often make great sacrifices to give them comforts and education, this affection is not shown. "So far as I can see my parents love me very much but don't want to show me that they love me very much", writes one child in an essay on "My Parents". A typical comment from an essay on the same subject is the following: "I can see that my parents love me because if they did not love me they would not have made me big and sent me to school to be educated, bought for me clothes, support me and give me money for school fees". In nearly all of the essays great emphasis is laid on the prime necessity to obey parents. "Those (children) who say their parents hate them is because they don't obey them",

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is a significant essay comment. In practically every essay the children stated that their parents loved them because they gave them food, clothes, school fees, etc. There was constant expression of gratitude for these material things and of a consequent obligation to look after parents when they were aged. But there was a lack of warmth and of a feeling of expressed love and companionship between parents and children.(1)

Great stress is laid upon the usefulness of a child in the home. Often childless families are lent a child by relations "because there is no one to send". In the essays on "How I spend my Days" the great number of domestic tasks which the children perform is clearly shown. The essays show no spirit of resentment at the imposition of these tasks. Neither do the children show any open resentment at their inferior status in the home.(2)

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(1) After giving a brief address on this subject to an African Women's Organisation, I asked for comments and questions. Woman after woman arose and, in a helpless fashion, recounted a particular case-history of a naughty child who, after being repeatedly punished, only grew naughtier. With the exception of one woman, none had considered any other approach, apart from punishment, of dealing with recalcitrant children. They appeared to regard my suggestion of trying to win a child's confidence instead of "hardening the heart by punishment"with interest and sympathy.

(2) Although in some families adolescent children take their meals with their parents, it is common to find even wage-earning children only eating after their parents have been served.

They accept the gulf which separates them from their parents as a normal situation. Articulate resentment is only called forth when they see their friends enjoying greater freedom and more luxuries than they do themselves. Then they ask why other children should be allowed to go out after dark, or attend dances and cinemas when their own parents forbid them such diversions. As a number of children have wrested such freedom themselves from their parents, and as in a number of families parents make little or no attempt to circumscribe the activities of their children, such discrepancies in parental treatment are becoming more marked and cause considerable ferment among the more strictly controlled children. But even if resentment is not greatly articulate, even if hostility is not openly expressed, I am convinced that the sternness of the parental attitude is the root-cause of much unruliness and lack of discipline among urban children; it is the price that is paid for repression, even unsuccessful repression.

Under tribal conditions the informal and unsystematised education of the young culminates in a formal and intense training given in the initiation school, "at the period of transition from childhood to adult life and of admission to full membership of the group".(1) According to Mrs. Krige, "every Bantu child, in addition to the education received in his own home.... passes through at least

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(1) Diedrich Westermann. "The African To-day." p. 208.

one and more often more than one school'.[1] Among many tribes circumcision is a constituent part of the initiation ritual. But it is only one element in a lengthy course of training designed to impart to the initiate knowledge of and respect for the values and standards of his society. There are likewise, in rural areas, girls' puberty ceremonies, both for individuals and for groups, and schools, such as the Lysle, during which time girls are given a certain amount of instruction in the duties they will be called upon to fulfil as adults and are made to conform to certain modes of behaviour, often ritual behaviour, which impress on them the change in status which has occurred.

In Johannesburg this final period of systematic training, with its dramatic ritual emphasising the change from childhood to adulthood, is extremely rare. Some families - those belonging to tribes which practise circumcision - send their sons home to the country at the time of puberty in order to attend an initiation school there. Initiation schools are conducted every year in the early winter months on the open veld near Pimville Township. I met three of the boys who had attended one of those schools in 1937, but I was unsuccessful in my efforts to trace other informants and so lack the material on which to base a complete account.

This school, which my three informants attended, consisted of one Sotho and eighteen Xhosa and Pondo initiates ranging in age from seventeen to

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(1) Eileen Krige. "Individual Development" in "The Bantu-speaking Tribes of South Africa", Ed. I. Schapera, p.106. See also pps. 99-107 for description and discussion of South African Bantu initiation schools and puberty ceremonies.

twenty-four years. Instructor and operator were both Xhosa, being paid 10/- and 5/- respectively by the father of each initiate. The initiates built a hut for themselves on the day of their arrival at the school. On this day they were circumcised. Thereafter, for ten days, they remained in strict seclusion, wrapped in blankets, eating only porridge and mealies, being forbidden meat, milk, water and cigarettes. They were forbidden to set eyes on a woman and if they met one accidentally they covered their faces with their blankets. They were taught secret names for certain common objects but were given no moral or sexual instruction beyond being told that their wives would be chosen for them by their parents or relatives. After ten days they went hunting hares around the farms every morning. This was a substitute for bathing in the river at dawn - the traditionally correct procedure - as there is no river suitable for this purpose at Bisville. They remained at the school for about a month. On the day of their departure they burnt their hut and the blankets they had been wearing. Men, invited from the neighbouring locations, came out that day and chased the initiates down to the dam. Thereafter the initiates greased themselves with fat, put on new clothes and went to the home of the doctor (who had performed the operation on them) where he killed a sheep for them. There they slept on the first night after leaving the school and there they had a feast with the beer and food their relatives sent. Smaller parties were subsequently held at

/the homes

the homes of the initiates who entertained each other in turn. When they reached home they put red ochre on their faces in place of the white clay which they had been wearing while at school. The first week at home each boy had to bathe in the river (or dam) before sunrise, and the second week late in the afternoon. Thereafter they were at liberty to look for work, but they were still bound to sleep at home and, if they intended paying a visit, they had to tell their parents where they were going and then return home immediately. This state of subjection continued until their parents gave them "freedom of movement" again. My three informants were given freedom of movement when they started working again, just about two months after the inauguration of the school. The names they were given at the school they retain for life.

From this condensed account of an urban initiation school it is apparent that many features of the tribal school are retained. Nevertheless, "men go primarily to these schools for circumcision and whatever is taught there is secondary", stated my informants. But it is probable, however, that the hardships suffered, the insistence on ritual behaviour and on a period of submission to strict parental control influences the attitude and behaviour of the initiates. A study of such schools, and especially of their incidence and their numerical importance, would be very valuable in

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eluciding these points.(1)

It does not seem, however, that these schools cater for anything more than a negligible proportion of urban adolescents. By far the greater number of urban puberty ceremonies are individual rites which consist simply in circumcision by an "operator". An increasing number of boys go to the non-European hospital for the operation or have it performed by a medical practitioner. For even in urban areas the belief that unless circumcised a man remains a mere boy is very prevalent and does not seem to have weakened to any appreciable extent.(2) That certain ritual values attach to the custom is undeniable. Parents, as also young men recently circumcised, reject any suggestion of having their sons circumcised as infants. "They must feel pain", they say. Furthermore, no woman can visit a boy who is in hospital recovering from the operation, and certain food taboos are observed while the wound is healing. But despite these ritual taboos, the main emphasis is placed on the actual operation and in these individual rites, the physical aspect is torn from out of what is in the tribal environment a rich context with a socially valuable educative function. How much instruction is given in tribal initiation school is a debateable point.

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(1) According to information given me some years ago, even on the veld at Pinville "usually the rite takes the form of individual circumcision. The father hires an expert to perform the operation and the boy, until his wounds heal, is secluded in a temporary lodge..." Ellen Hellman, "The native in the Towns" in "The Bantu speaking Tribes of South Africa" Ed. I.Schapera. page 417.

(2) Although inter-tribal contact and marriage in some cases causes the abandonment of this belief, in others it diffuses it. I know of a number of pure-bred Zulu who, under the influence of this belief, have undergone circumcision.

But Native informants are unanimous in stating that although the initiates would doubtless receive the instruction given in the schools during the ordinary course of events, they are not, except through the medium of the schools, subjected to a period of seclusion and hardship in which the values of the society are reaffirmed and impressed on them. A number of Natives attribute the urban youth's lack of respect for their elders and their disregard of parental authority to the absence of this final intensive period of training.

In general, then, in some way or another most sons of circumcision-practising tribes undergo the operation which makes of them men - amadoda - and not boys. Boys belonging to tribes which do not practise circumcision do not, in urban areas as far as I am aware, take part in any puberty ceremonial.

Some parents send their nubile daughters to the country, as much to protect them from the contaminating influences of town life as to take part in an initiation school. The only type of urban puberty ceremony of which I am aware is the individual seclusion of the girl at the onset of her menses. This practice is not universally followed and many mothers, beyond giving their daughters some instruction in personal hygiene and delivering a solemn warning against "playing with boys", do nothing further to signalise their daughters' attainment of full womanhood. In other families (and there do not seem to be marked tribal differences in adherence to or

/deviation

deviation from this pattern) the girl is secluded for a period varying from two days to one month and has to follow certain food taboos, chief among which is the prohibition of milk. Apart from impressing upon the girl the danger of "playing with boys" and, in some cases giving her instruction on partial sexual intercourse without permitting defloration, no other instruction appears to be given. In some cases a party is given at the termination of the seclusion period. In others, no party is given and the seclusion terminates uneventfully without any heightening of the emotional tension. The mother's vigilance over her daughter does increase after this time as she is very conscious of the possibility of a premarital conception. But the girls I know who had so been secluded showed little, if any, emotional response to the situation, no awareness of a change in status with new privileges and new responsibilities. A physical change had occurred; beyond that, they took cognizance of no other.

The general instability of home life in the present transitionary chaos of urban conditions affects the children to a very marked extent. Marriages, both recognised and unrecognised,[4] are unstable. When a marriage is dissolved, the children usually remain with the mother or remove to a new home with her. Sooner or later a new father makes his appearance; often a veritable progression of fathers sets in. Although it is rare to hear of cases of tangible discrimination by a man against the children of his wife by a former husband or lover, it is recognised

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4) The findings of the Urban Juvenile Native Delinquency Conference held in Johannesburg stress the instability of marital Unions - "the great number of men + women who live in the Native urban locations as husband + wife without any formal marital union."

by the Native community that only seldom will a man care for such children as though they were his own. Occasionally when both husband and wife have children by previous unions, unhealthy favouritism and consequent rivalry occurs.

According to the data I collected, the percentage of unmarried parents (15% for the sample area, 11% for school leavers families and 7% for the economically better group) is not very large.(1) It is in any case no reflection of the laxness of sexual morality in the urban Native community. I am not concerned with sexual morality per se; but I am concerned with its relevance to the problem of the disciplining of youth. Regard for chastity, condemnation of extra-marital relations and, above all, of pre-marital child-bearing still form part of the urban African moral code, even if not much more than lip service is paid to this code. Children are taught that this is the code to which they will be expected to conform. But on every side evidence of its disregard abounds.(2)

/Adultery

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(1) See Section III, page 128 Table 24

(2) "Here is the terrible weakness of our womenfolk. I meet a lady to-day. I ask for friendship. She gives it readily. When I ask her where she stays she gives me the address of her European employers instead of giving me her home address where I'll meet her people. I visit the place where she is employed. Soon we begin that illicit love making that has made so many men not want to marry these girls. The man on finding that he is almost as good as a husband to a girl soon has no desire to marry legally... If our girls could respect their persons and totally refuse to harbour lovers as husbands there would be less evil in this world." Extract from a letter signed A.D.Petersen in "The Bantu World", Dec.3rd. 1938. See the correspondence columns in this paper throughout 1938 for similar statements pointing to a very great change in standards of sexual morality.

Adultery is extremely prevalent and the children are not unaware of its prevalence nor of the domestic conflicts to which it gives rise. Even if the percentage of unmarried parents in this group is comparatively small, (1) illegitimacy is sufficiently widespread to make itself noticeable to all. In the following tables I have attempted to give a statistical evaluation of the extent of illegitimacy. Table 1 shows the percentage of families among whom live illegitimate children; children either of the unmarried daughters or of unmarried relatives (usually the wife's sister) of the family. (2)

TABLE 1

Percentage of families in which are Illegitimate Children (other than parents' own children).

	Sample area	Economically better	Families of School leavers
Illegitimate Children of Daughters	8	7	19
Illegitimate Children of other Relatives	8	-	6
TOTAL	16	7	25
% of above families in which parents unmarried	4	-	4
Total increase of occurence of illegitimacy	12	7	21

(1) I do not know if children are aware of the unmarried state of their parents in such cases as the marriage - though not legalised - is apparently permanent. There is certainly no observable discrimination against what would be termed the bastard in European society. Naturally, where father succeeds father, children cannot fail to realise the instability of the family configuration.

(2) I have not included illegitimate children who have died: 5% for the sample area and 12% for the school leavers families.

From this percentage I have deducted the unmarried parent couples to prevent including the same family twice. In order to give an estimate of the extent of illicit unions, the percentages of illegitimacy occurring in families have been added to the percentages of unmarried parents to give the following results:

Sample Area.....27
School Leavers Families.....34
Economically better.....14

This means that, excluding the small economically better group, roughly one third of the families number illegitimate children amongst the family group or are irregular in that parents are not married. Table 2 is an analysis of daughters aged sixteen years and over, and throws into clearer relief the extent of illegitimacy.

TABLE 2.

Marriage, Illegitimacy among daughters over age of 16 of families investigated.

	Sample area	Economically better	Families of School Leavers
Married	10 (1)	6 (1)	28 (2)
At Home. No Children	9 (4)	4 (2)	26 (12)
Employed " "	14 (10)	2	25 (11)
In Country " "	4 (3)	1	3 (1)
Living with a man (No marriage)	3 -	-	9 (1)
At Home | Had or has one or more	8 -	2 -	22 (6)
Employed | Illegitimate Children	8 (5)	-	11 (2)
TOTAL	56 (21)	17 (5)	124 (35)
Percentage girls living with a man but not married or who had or have illegitimate children	34	12	34
do. aged 17-19	14	-	26

Figures in brackets are girls aged 17, 18, 19.

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with the exception of the economically better group, one third of the girls over the age of sixteen have or have had illegitimate children. It will be noticed that the percentage of unmarried mothers is, as would be anticipated, smaller in the seventeen to nineteen years age group than in the older age group.

This rather lengthy digression on the looseness of marital ties and the prevalence of illegitimacy has, as its main purpose, a demonstration of the gap which exists between the current morality to which the society still adheres and actual practice. Children are well aware of this discrepancy. They are likewise aware that despite the existence of an accepted social or moral code, the society has, in fact, no means whereby its opprobium of actions condemned by it can be expressed. In a well integrated society, although a certain latitude is allowed, the individual dare not overstep the mark without having to face the sanctions by which the society penalises his transgressions. In Johannesburg, these sanctions have lost their force. The heterogenous character of the population, the lack of a centralised authority to which individuals are bound by allegiance and loyalty, the absence of real and permanent, as opposed to temporary, interdependence among the individuals constituting the society, have prevented a vigorous public opinion from coming into being. The fluctuating nature of the urban population, which has not yet allowed of the emergence of stable groups, militates against its development. And even when

/social

not differ in kind, may come to be merged. At present, going to jail for beer-brewing is an unlucky vicissitude; imprisonment for assault carries a totally different and condemnatory judgment. Apart, however, from the fact that detention of the statutory criminal with the real criminal is bound to affect the non-criminal element, there is a dangerous possibility that social stigma may come to apply less and less to all classes of criminals. As it is, theft from a European is not condemned by a large section of the Native community. The European is the common enemy and, as such, deserves no protection. If this were not the case, the enormous trade in stolen goods could not so satisfactorily be carried on in the locations. I have seen the most respected of African citizens buying and selling goods which, by their very cost - less than South African landed cost - must have been stolen. But a tacit and diplomatic acceptance of this fact made questions unnecessary.

Many location residents partly attribute the great increase in juvenile delinquency to a certain class of parents who, while carefully avoiding embarrassing questions, accept any monies their children bring home. Some parents encourage their sons to gamble and provide them with a little money to serve as initial capital. Teachers, too, are emphatic in their assertions that parents, poverty-stricken as they are and little bound by a social code, are only too anxious to accept money from

/their

their children, irrespective of its origin. In some cases parents believe that the money was honestly earned by running errands, caddying or helping temporarily in a Native shop. Others, even if they evade honest realisation, nevertheless know that it is stolen or derived from the sale of stolen goods. While yet others are said to have full knowledge of the illegal origin of their children's earnings and to condone it. But even tacit condonation verges perilously near encouragement.

One of the greatest hardships which the urban family faces in its attempts to build up an integrated family life and to retain its hold on the children is the inability of the majority of the men to earn sufficient to support their families.(1) A sample survey taken from the information given on application forms for municipal cottages in the Western Native Location in 1928-1929 gave an average wage for five hundred men of 89/8 per month. A sample of a further five hundred men for the same location in 1935 gave an average of 95/4d., although the majority were earning less. An investigation of Rooiyard, a slum yard, in 1933 showed 1?/1d. to be the average weekly wage of one hundred men. Dr. H. Phillips in a survey conducted in Orlando and the

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(1) The following minimum wage rates for unskilled work laid down for various industries in which Natives are employed in large numbers are illustrative of the wage position:

Building	22/-	per week.
Furniture	24/-	" "
Motor Industry	20/-	" "
Textile Manufacturing	20/-	" "
Laundering, Cleaning and Dyeing	22/6	" "

Western Native Township found the median wage of 7460 weekly-paid workers and of 1194 monthly-paid workers to be 20/- per week and £3.0.6d. per month respectively. The total 3654 earned a median monthly wage of £4.6.8d.(1) It is now generally accepted that a wage of 20/- per week cannot cover the minimum requirements of a Native urban family. As far back as 1932 Mr. Cook submitted evidence to the Native Economic Commission that a minimum of £6.0.0. per month is essential to the well-being of a Native family of four persons (husband, wife and two minor children) residing in a location or Native village in Johannesburg.(2) This evidence has not been challenged. Native needs, moreover, are increasing as Natives become more subject to the influence of Western culture.(3)

/Average

(1)Ray S.Phillips. "The Bantu in the City". page 91.

(2)U.G.22/1932. Addendum. par. 233.

(3)The following Weekly budget is considered by members of the African Laundry Worker's Union to meet the minimum requirements of a family consisting of husband, wife and three minor children:

Food	£1.5. 9.
Rent	7. 6.
Transport	3. 0.
Clothing	4. 6.
Taxes	11.
Medical Attention	1. 3.
Fuel and Light	2. 0.
Sundries (Household)	1. 6.
Sundries (Personal)	4. 0.
	£2.9. 8.

(Memorandum submitted to Wage Board by African Laundry Worker's Union: 1938.)

According to Dr. Phillips £4.5.0. is the cost (at location prices) of the food ration given by the Crown Mines to an average family consisting of husband, wife and 2.64 children. This is a ration evolved in the course of years and now "so satisfactory that they (families resident in the Crown Mines married quarters) have no need to go out and buy food, and yet not so overgenerous that they have anything left to throw away".

Ray S. Phillips. "The Bantu in the City". page 35.

Average Native wages, although a slight rise seems to have been effected in the last few years, have by no means bridged the gap betwee the male-head's earnings and minimum family expenditure. The responsibility for bridging this gap falls on the wife and mother of the family. The importance of a wife's contribution to the family income cannot be minimised. For the greater number of women wage-earning is not a matter of choice; it is a matter of imperative necessity. The keenest realisation of the importance of the wife's contribution to the family income was forced on me when I saw the acute want in which many families found themselves when the wife was ill and accordingly could not work. During a wife's confinement, when expenses are abnormally heavy, the poverty is often appalling.

Table 3 shows the percentage distribution of the occupations of the mothers of the families which were investigated.

TABLE 3

Occupations of the Mothers of the Family. (Percentages)

	Sample Area	School-leavers Families	Economically better
No Occupation	31	33	48
1-2 Washing Jobs	32	22	26
More than 2 Washing Jobs	11	21	15
Beer-selling only	9	5	-
Other Work (Domestic, etc.)	12	15	7
Sick	5	4	4

Close on two thirds of all the mothers in the sample area and school-leavers families and one half of the economically better group were engaged in some wage earning occupation. Among those who have been treated as having no occupation are included women who are too old to work, women who were just recovering from child-

/childbirth

childbirth, women who were resting temporarily after a period of employment, and a number of women who, though not large scale beer brewers, did occasionally brew and sell Kaffir-beer or some other concoction.

The importance of the economic function of the mother of the family is stressed because it reacts so unfavourably on the children. Teachers and location residents are unanimous in attributing the increased and increasing lack of parental control to the periodic and total absences of the mother from her home on wage-earning activities. According to Table 3, women with more than two washing engagements (whether this washing is done at home or at the employer's residence) and women engaged in "other work" (chiefly domestic, but also including peddling and dressmaking) form 23% of the sample area, 36% of the school-leavers families and 22% of the economically better groups. These women are engaged practically continuously in their work. But even the women who have only one or two washing bundles are preoccupied with their work. Either they are away one or two days a week, or they themselves or a child (often taken from school for this purpose) must fetch and deliver the washing. While they are doing the washing they frequently keep a school-child at home to look after children below school-going age. While the mother is away from home the children are left to their own devices or to the casual and desultory care of a neighbour. Even if the mother does her work - e.g. washing - at home, although she is not taken away from her family, she is pre-occupied with her work and has little time for the claims of her children. The

/homes

homes of women who are engaged in beer-brewing only, with their atmosphere of illegality and constant furtiveness, form the worst possible surroundings for growing children. Women change the nature of their occupation frequently. At one time they may be doing washing at home; at another, full time domestic work; at another, two days' washing per week in town. Most children, at some time or another, are left alone, even if only for two days in each week. That they become uncontrollable at such times is attested by all mothers. Although I do not agree with many Africans, who would attribute to the absence of the mother from her home the entire reason for lack of parental control, I do submit that the economic responsibility (1) resting so heavily on the shoulders of the urban Bantu woman militates against the growth of integrated and healthy family life.

In this environment the African child is reared. In his home the strictness of parental attitude, not tempered by companionship, arouses his antagonism. The periodic absences, not only of his father but also of his mother, leave him at times completely untrammelled and uncontrolled. There are no fixed norms to which he feels bound to conform. Such norms as do exist, he finds are flouted without penalty. He learns to fear and evade European authority and to regard it as his natural enemy. The penalties which

/European

(1) Although Bantu women are responsible for the cultivation of the fields under tribal conditions, the children are not thereby neglected. Girls often accompany their mothers and gradually learn the tasks which they will later be expected to perform. Boys, with their age mates, act as herds. Furthermore, in the homestead the care of the children can always be delegated with confidence to a kinswoman.

European law imposes carry, for all statutory offences, no social stigma. Public opinion is inarticulate and diffuse. Escape from the censure of the family and the community, now that interdependence has largely broken down, always offers itself.

Added to these difficulties which make the rearing of a Native child in an urban area a task discouraging from the commencement, the conscientious parent, warily trying to avoid pitfalls, finds that his children are fully exposed to all these influences by the very nature of the local distribution of the Native population. In the locations and in areas like Sophiatown and Alexandra Township where Natives can own land, the one-family cottage is next to the slum yard, the minister and illicit liquor seller, the teacher and "skokiaan queen" live side by side. When European society is torn by class hatred and by actual warfare, it may seem unwise to foster any scheme which may encourage the development of definite classes in Bantu society. But it is useless to blink the fact that class differentiation is a process actively at work in the Bantu community. At present the emerging middle class cannot protect its children from the subversive influences emanating from out of the heterogenous and unhealthy environment. The professional man sees his children adopting themselves to the mores of the slum yard adjoining his house. Although I am fully aware of the danger of splitting the Native community into classes, I feel that the reality of the situation demands that the children of this "better class" should be more protected. The hope that they will act as a general

/leaven

leaven to uplift the society seems doomed to disappointment. They will more probably, under present conditions, be submerged in the mass. I feel that it is from this class that the leaders of the present leaderless Bantu must be found. And I feel, too, that their only chance of rising above the general environment lies in the improvement, even if this implies a measure of isolation, of their childhood and adolescent environ-

The individual family is the basic social unit in an urban environment. I have outlined above factors which exercise a disruptive influence on the group. But it is still a unit integrated by virtue of sharing a common habitation, by ties of affection, by the economic dependence and interdependence of its members and, even if in decreasing measure, by the authority of the parents, more especially of the father over his children. Many families have remained impervious to the disintegrating influences at work around them. But many families, shattered by conflict between husband and wife, between parents and children - conflicts engendered, to a great measure, from out of the urban environment with its shifting standards of values, its new opportunities, its economic hardships - share little more than a common habitation.

SECTION II.

Part II. Parents and the School.

The value of education is not underrated by the Native community. On the contrary, its value and importance is frequently so exaggerated as to make education appear to have a magical virtue.(1) Nearly all of the parents who were interviewed emphatically desire that their children should be educated. Their main reason is their belief that education secures economic benefits in that positions both less arduous and better paid are open to the educated Native. Few parents have reached the stage of disillusionment of a number of the older school-leavers who realise that very few occupational opportunities other than those available to the mass of Native labourers offer themselves to the educated Native. Some parents deny the value of higher primary and secondary education for girls who, they say, will later marry and so not use their education. A very small number of parents fail to see any benefit whatsoever to be derived from education, and a likewise small number are opposed to the system of schooling. Either they maintain that one or other subject is neglected or else that association with other school children is bad for their own children. Such

/attitudes

(1) 26.79% of the children who answered the question "Why do I desire an Education?", in a questionnaire sent out by the Interdepartmental Commission on Native Education, said "education improves one mentally and physically". Many of them were actuated by "a belief that education in itself holds the key to all the superiorities of knowledge, wisdom, health and happiness to an immeasurable degree...." It is therefore a belief in the magic of education itself to raise the individual into a higher and purer atmosphere of the gods that may be looked upon as one of the most important motives actuating the Native in his desire for education. U.G. 29/1936. Page 147.

attitudes, however, are very exceptional. The average parent keenly desires his child to attend school and is considerably distressed when the child, either on account of poverty, illness or his own unwillingness to attend, is not at school.

The reasons which seventy-six Standard VI school-children gave in an essay on "Why I go to School" were predominantly utilitarian. They considered a knowledge of the three Rs absolutely essential for the successful conduct of everyday affairs. The ability to read and write letters and so dispense with dependence on others, ability to read addresses and street-names for delivery work and ability to count money and so guard against deception were considered three of the most pressing needs of the town child. Many children mentioned the helplessness of Natives who cannot read street and station names, trespass and other notices. A knowledge of English was considered indispensable as a means of obtaining and retaining employment. Hygiene and history were the two other subjects mentioned though not as frequently as the more immediately practicable ones. Hygiene, with its rules for safeguarding health, appealed chiefly to the girls, while history was stressed by the boys who found that its value lay in the explanations it gave of present day conditions, especially of the development of an oppressive Native policy. Most of the essay-writers considered their education would enable them to obtain better paid employment. Their conception of the wages which they would be able to earn was pathetically exaggerated. Monthly wages of £10 to £20 for nurses, clerks, teachers,

/office boys

office boys appeared quite feasible to them. Schooling, they considered, kept them out of mischief and taught them respect for their elders. The tone of many of the essays was extremely sanctimonious. The writer expressed approval of his own way of life which he maintained approximated to all that is desirable and worthy. At the same time a snobbish disapproval of the bad ways of school-leavers who had not reached Standard VI was freely expressed. Many of these Standard VI children openly expressed their earlier profound dislike of school. Without strong parental pressure, they stated, they would not have continued schooling and so overcome their dislike of it. These Standard VI children showed not only an appreciation of the value of education, but also a liking for schooling.

That parents desire to give their children some education is evidenced by the overcrowded condition of registered schools and by the existence of private schools. In Pimville Location there are only two registered schools: the Government school with a maximum capacity of 1,250 pupils and the Roman Catholic School which has six teachers and accordingly can take 300 pupils. The Government School, despite its appalling accommodation, always has a long waiting list and cannot cope with the demands made on it. The principal had, before the first term of 1938 was half way completed, been forced to turn away one hundred sub-standard children applying for admission. The Roman Catholic School, two weeks after the commencement of the third term 1937, had nearly reached its quota. There are, apart from these two registered schools, five private schools which

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are run under the auspices of separatist churches. Between them these five schools had in August, 1937, 334 pupils, chiefly the overflow from the Government School and also a number of children below the age of seven who, according to regulations which came into force in January, 1936, cannot be admitted by registered schools. Fees at the Government School are 3d. per term for the sub-standards, and 6d. per term for the standards. Being a Government School - the only one in Johannesburg - it also provides books free of charge. In the private schools the monthly fee is 6d. and no books are provided. Yet despite this comparatively high charge, over 300 hundred children attend these private schools. The tuition in such schools is, if only by reason of the fact that one teacher deals with as many as 100 children ranging from the sub-standards to Standard III, most unsatisfactory. The mobility of pupils in private schools is greater than the average, already high, mobility. They fall out because of their inability to pay fees, and many change over to the Government School as vacancies occur. The teachers, usually depending on the fees alone - a most uncertain form of income - are grossly underpaid. Their own educational qualifications are very poor. The very existence of such schools, in which children can do little more than waste their time, is a reflection against the whole Native educational system. The fact that their existence is secured by lack of accommodation in registered schools is a disgrace. Native parents should be protected from schools of this nature.

On the whole, parents in Fiaville seemed to

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be aware that the education provided by the private schools is far below the standard of the Government School. Many send their children there because the Government School has no further vacancies. Some, realising that children pick up undesirable habits before the age of seven, below which age children cannot attend a registered school, send their under-age children to private schools in order to keep them off the streets. Some parents send their children to private schools in ignorance and some because of loyalty to their church.

In Orlando a private school was opened in August, 1937. By January, 1938, the attendance had reached 205. There was one teacher to cope with this number of children who ranged from the substandards to Standard IV. This enormous attendance increase was due to overcrowding of registered schools (caused largely by the influx of families evacuated from Prospect Township) and to the fact that only (1) the private school is situated at the West end of the location, while all the registered schools lie along the railway line at the extreme Southern portion of the location. The distance from home to school is close on two miles for children who live near the Northern boundary. Although some parents have sufficient learning themselves to discriminate between different types of schools, there are very many who lack this knowledge. A glimpse of the conduct of such a school is sufficient proof of its utter futility. Lack of continuity in tuition and

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(1) Towards the end of 1938, with the opening of new schools in the very centre of the location, this position changed.

the sheer boredom of inactivity which leads to unruliness and wild disorder might quite conceivably unfit children for the regular procedure of registered schools. Ignorance of parents and congestion in the registered schools combine to allow the continued existence of such "schools".

Investigation of the various sample groups of families showed that an almost negligible number of children reared in Johannesburg never attended school. (1) The following Table gives these numbers according to the groups into which the families are divided.

TABLE 4.

Number of children (2) reared living in Johannesburg who never attended School.

	FAMILIES					
	100 Sample Area		28 Economically Better		158 School-leavers	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Aged 7	3	4	1	-	4	4
" 8-16	2	3	-	-	6	4
" 16 +	-	1	-	-	4	2
TOTAL	7	8	1	-	14	10

(1) Children reared in the country or living in the country with relatives are not included. Parents were often uncertain whether a child living with rural relatives had attended or was attending school. It was likewise difficult to establish whether children reared in the country had come to Johannesburg whilst still of school-going age. They were accordingly omitted and the figures in Table 4 refer only to children reared in Johannesburg.

(2) In the sample area there were 4 families in which no child had attended or was attending school. In 3 of these families the eldest child in each case was aged 7 and the parents intended sending the child to school next year, considering the child at 7 "too small to learn". In the fourth family there were two children aged 9 and 7. The father had been dead six months and the family was completely destitute, barely managing to feed itself let alone pay school fees. At no time during my investigation did I encounter a family with children of school-going age in which none of the children were attending or had never attended school.

The total number of children reared in Johannesburg who never went to school for 280 families is 40. Of this number, 18 - or nearly 50% - were aged seven. The number of children over school-going age who had had no schooling whatsoever is only seven. Most or all of the eighteen children aged seven will probably yet attend school. Despite long years of contact with European concepts a number of parents still believe that a child is "too small to learn" before he has attained what appears to them to be a sufficient maturity. And although many parents rail bitterly against the ruling that children under the age of seven cannot attend school, there are also a fair number who believe that "smallness" means inability to learn.

Although parents value education highly, frequently displaying an irrational belief in its efficacy, and keenly desire an education for their children, their desire is not reinforced by determined and energetic action. Their ignorance of the pattern of Western school education which makes regular continuity imperative, and the general atmosphere of laisser faire which pervades Native society, together nullify to a great extent the driving force of the parents' eagerness to educate their children. Frequently parents do not send their children to school at the requisite age of seven; an age which is already late, for by the time children have reached the age of seven many are already confirmed street urchins. The average age of 251 children who entered the Pimville Government School in 1937 was 8 years 11 mths. (99 boys averaging at 8 years 8 months and 152 girls averaging at 9 years 1 mth.) These children had had no

/previous

previous schooling. This represents an actual wastage of two years. The principal of the School believes that this late school-entrance age is largely due to rural children who come to Johannesburg for schooling and to the slackness of rural parents. He is of opinion that there is a pronounced tendency among urban Natives to send their children to school earlier. Despite, however, this tendency for a larger number of urban parents, especially among the educated Africans, to send their children to school at the age of seven, it is indubitable that there are still a numbers of parents who are responsible for much avoidable wastage.

Not only are parents lax in sending their children to school as soon as they reach school-going age, but they show great dilatoriness in sending their children back to school at term commencement. Instead of ensuring that the children return to school at the beginning of term many allow them to drift back casually anything from one day to four weeks late. Graph 9 in Appendix 5 shows the daily enrolment and attendance for the four terms of 1936 at a school in Orlando. Graph 11 shows enrolment and attendance for the third term of 1937 in an Alexandra Township school. These two schools were chosen at random because daily records of attendance and enrolment for the whole school were available in practicable form. The principals were keenly interested in their attendance returns and it is reasonable to assume that the enrolment and attendances at these two schools are no worse than the average. Separate graphs (not reproduced here) for each standard of the Alexandra Township school show that the full class enrolment in

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the standards is usually reached within two weeks of term commencement. In the sub-standards, although figures rise most rapidly in the first two weeks, it is not until the fourth week that the enrolment curve shows a tendency to flatten. In Sub-standard A it mounts until the end of the sixth week.(1) Undoubtedly many parents do not realise the importance of timely attendance and the sub-standard children in particular suffer in that they drift back to school in an inconsequential manner. The older children in the standards are more independent of parental guidance and themselves carry part of the responsibility of returning to school at term commencement.

Not only are parents dilatory in sending their children back to school at term commencement, but they frequently allow children to absent themselves from school on trivial pretexts, such as minor physical ailments (e.g. a cut finger, a slight cold) or inclement weather. Not infrequently children cannot go to school as their clothes have either through neglect or pressure of work not been washed and are hence not fit for wear. Some mothers neglect to see that the children are ready in time and so the children, shirking a reprimand from the teacher for unpunctuality, stay away from school for that day. Mothers themselves often keep the child away from school to perform some domestic task which, with better management, could equally well have been taken on by another member of the family or else performed after school hours. By stressing the negligence of parents

(1) Analyses of enrolment figures of other schools confirm the statement that the full class enrolment is reached in one to two weeks after term commencement in the higher standards, whereas in the substandards it is only reached from three to six weeks after term has commenced.

parents I am not denying those difficulties of urban Native life which, by their very nature, must make school attendance irregular. Occasions so frequently arise in a Native household when a child must of necessity be kept from attending school that this additional wastage due to ignorance, incomprehension of the European school system with its need for regular attendance and casualness causes even greater dislocation in school progression.

Apart from sickness, which is responsible for many absences, the domestic claims of the household account for the irregular attendance of many children. Mothers go out to work and the school-child must look after children below school-going age. Mothers and relatives are taken ill, and the school-child must care for them. When the mother does her washing at home, children are not infrequently kept from school to assist her or to relieve her of other household duties. These tasks fall mainly to the girls. Boys are sent on errands and have to fetch and deliver the mother's washing bundles. Lack of fees, for the payment of which three weeks' grace is allowed to all scholars who have attended the school for more than one term, accounts for many, often prolonged, mid-term absences. Visiting relatives to help them out in some difficulty or to be present at a ceremony is a minor cause of school absence. Truancy most certainly accounts for a large number of absences, but as the parents do not know that their children are not at school and as teachers cannot check up on the reasons advanced by children for their absence, it is impossible even to attempt an estimate of the occurrence

/of truancy.

(1)
of truancy.

School principals, urged by the circuit inspectors, are greatly concerned with the attendance records of their pupils. Table 5 gives the percentage of attendance to enrolment for the term ending March 25th, 1937, for the twelve schools with which I dealt.

TABLE 5.

Percentage attendance to enrolment. (Term ending Mar. 25th, 1937.

SCHOOL	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Holy Cross, Lourdes)	82.3	90.1	86.2
Holy Cross, Junior)	88.7	89.6	89.2
Alexandra Amalgamated	86.7	83.9	85.2
St. Magdalenes)	84.9	81.3	79.4
St. Cyprians)	85.0	85.3	85.3
St. Peters (Secondary)	94.5	96.2	95.0
Pinville Government	90.7	89.4	90.8
Roman Catholic, Pinville	75.9	88.8	83.8
Orlando Methodist	88.8	88.3	88.5
C.St. Mary's	80.6	78.9	79.3
D.R. Sophiatown	89.7	85.3	89.1
American Ad. E.M.T.	84.5	80.3	82.2
Salvation Army E.M.T.	81.4	81.6	81.5
Alex. Methodist	84.1	84.9	84.5

These percentages are much more satisfactory than I would have anticipated after seeing the haphazard manner

/in which

(1) The following reasons for absence were taken from teachers' home-visiting records:

	1 Term 6 Classes All incomplete.	1 Term Sub-Std. Class.	2 Weeks. Stds. 3 & 4.	To
XII	57	23	17	
No fees	14	5	8	
Domestic tasks and errands	33	16	50	
Truancy	11	5	-	
Miscellaneous (visiting, weddings, etc.)	8	6	9	
TOTAL	123	55	84	2

As these records were far from complete and also did not give an impression of great reliability they are reproduced here merely as an indication.

in which school attendance is treated in the homes. They compare not too unfavourably with the attendance percentages of 95 for the Milner Park Junior School (term ending March 25th, 1937) and of 92.8 for the Good Hope School (term ending July 2nd. 1937). These two European schools draw their pupils from amongst the poorest section of the white populace. The teachers have to contend with practically the same ~~sort~~ set of problems which confront Native teachers: great poverty, lack of clothing for the children, desire of parents to keep children at home to help with household work, desire of parents to send the children out to earn a little money on odd jobs. The great difference is, of course, that for the European child schooling is compulsory from the age of seven to his sixteenth birthday; for the Native child there is no compulsion. For the European child schooling is free and books are free. For the Native child, with the exception of the one school in Pinville, neither schooling nor books are free. The principals of the two European schools exercise great vigilance in their attempts to keep up the attendance percentage. There is an elaborate organisation for sending out queries to the parents of absent children and the teachers spend much time in home-visiting. For difficult cases, the services of attendance officers are available, and although the principals do not send forward many cases for the attention of attendance officers, their very existence and the knowledge that a prosecution may threaten the negligent parent exercise a salutory effect. Both principals maintained that without these safeguards the attendance percentage would drop greatly - one principal estimating an attendance of 60% if vigilance were relaxed.

/Native

Native school attendances, therefore, do not appear to be particularly unsatisfactory. But the high attendance of 95% attained by St. Peters Secondary School, at which most of the children are boarders, shows what attendance is easily possible and that there is scope for much improvement in the other schools. Furthermore, as pupils and all children returning to school more than two weeks after term commencement are only enrolled on the registers when they actually return to school, the wastage occurring at the beginning of term is not reflected in the attendance percentages. In Table 6 the attendance percentages for boys and girls per class is given for two schools in Alexandra Township.

TABLE 6.

Percentage attendance to enrolment per class.
(Two schools in Alexandra Township.)

	SCHOOL A.		SCHOOL B.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
Std. 6	86.6	88.7	91.0	87.5
" 5	88.9	93.6		
" 4	93.3	92.0	93.5	85.3
" 3	91.9	88.6	87.3	87.8
" 2	92.0	84.4	82.0	89.6
" 1	86.9	91.8	88.0	82.1
S-6. B	87.6	92.6	85.7	93.8
" A	89.3	82.0	89.6	86.2

In School A accommodation is exceptionally good; each class has its own classroom; seating accommodation is provided for each child; each class has a number of maps, pictures, diagrams, many of them made by the large European staff, which brighten the rooms and assist greatly in actual tuition. School B is housed in an old church. Apart from Standards V and VI, which are accommodated in a separate room, all the other classes are congregated in the hall of the church. Ventilation is extremely

/bad.

bad. Many of the sub-standard children have, for lack of seating accommodation, to sit on the floor. For the higher classes there are a few desks but chiefly rude benches. There are a few maps, but no diagrams or pictures. Yet despite this very marked contrast in accommodation, equipment and comfort between the two schools, a comparison of the attendances as given in the above table shows no significant differences. Such analyses as I have been able to make show that there is a tendency for attendances to be higher in the standards than in the sub-standards, but the differences are not very marked. The greatest difference between sub-standards and standards lies in the greater wastage due to late returns after term commencement in the sub-standards, a fact which is not reflected in attendance percentages.

School principals in attempting to raise their attendances to a level which they know to be attainable are urging upon their teachers the necessity for doing more home-visiting. In some schools home-visiting is left to the discretion of the teacher; in others, the principal tries to make it obligatory and to this end insists that teachers keep records of all absentees and of the visits thereafter paid to the family of the absent child. These records are then checked every week by the principal. But despite the eagerness of principals they had not, in those schools which I visited, succeeded in training the class teachers regularly and conscientiously to pay home visits to absent pupils. Where home visiting is left entirely to the discretion of the teacher very little home visiting is done. Only exceptionally is a teacher encountered who is sufficiently interested

/in his

in his work to make the personal sacrifice of time and energy which home visiting requires. Even when a child, after a four weeks' absence, is withdrawn from the register, many teachers, after asking the class why the child has left, are quite content to accept the answer given by an acquaintance of the child who has left. Where home-visiting is demanded by the principal the results, although better, are by no means satisfactory. I went through many home-visiting record books kept by teachers whose principals insisted upon home-visiting. These records were incomplete and most unsatisfactory. Some, naturally, were better than others, while in most of them a short period of a few weeks would be covered adquately. But, with two exceptions, they all showed evidence of desultory work and haphazard application.

Home-visiting is, for Native schools, the only practicable method of increasing attendance. Any insistence on written notes of explanation for a child's absence would be useless since a considerable proportion of the Native community is illiterate. The reasons why the system of home-visiting has not operated more successfully are manifold. It appears justifiable in this connection to assert that many Native teachers are greatly lacking in a sense of their own responsibility to their pupils and to the community in general. Of their work in the class-room I am not competent to judge.(1) But the feeling prevalent

(1) From what I have seen, however, the general educational level of the teachers appears to be low, their training inadequate and their teaching methods unsatisfactory. But considering that the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education found that "at the present stage of advancement it is doubtful whether any Union-wide raising of the standard of general education (Std.VI) required of Native candidates for admission to the lower teacher-training course can yet be contemplated" the prospects of improved educational qualifications for teachers are not hopeful. U.G. 29/1936. par. 634.

prevalent among them that their duties do not extend beyond the classroom means that they do not exert any influence over the pupil beyond that of actual tuition. Their tone towards their pupils appears on the whole to be overbearing and arrogant. They are aware of the prestige which their position brings with it, but are not prepared to take on the corresponding obligations. According to the evidence (1) of parents and children - exaggerated probably but not therefore to be entirely ignored - they resort too readily to corporal punishment. Many principals guardedly complained that the teachers lack loyalty and any ideal of real service.

Apart from increasing attendances, home-visiting is an imperative necessity to bring about that contact between home and school which is now almost entirely lacking. In a Native community such contact is even more necessary than in a European community. The European educational system has as yet not been co-ordinated into the general life of the Native community. The tribal system of informal and unsystematised training of the young formed part of the general activity of the group. In an urban Native community home life and school life

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(1) In the course of a discussion of education and the difficulty of rearing children in an urban environment, parents often attacked teachers bitterly, accusing them of setting a bad example to the children. The parents maintained that some teachers drank excessively, to the extent even of being intoxicated in class. The parents also accused teachers of leading disorderly lives, being party to irregular unions, committing adultery, etc.

do not, with very few exceptions, complement each other.(1) Too often these two spheres of activity appear entirely different and separate both to the child and to the parent. It is in co-ordinating these two different phases of the child's life that the teacher could effectively contribute by visiting the child's home and stimulating the parents' interest in and knowledge of the child's school activity and progress. To blame the teachers alone for the present unsatisfactory position would lack all justification. Their task, even if conscientiously fulfilled to the best of their abilities, would be rendered extremely difficult by the ignorance, inertia and even hostility of the parents. Home-visiting in many cases is made difficult and unpleasant for the teacher by parents who, with undiscriminating gullibility have allowed themselves to be prejudiced against him by their children's reports of unfair treatment. Many backward and unruly children maintain at home that the teacher "hates" them and that his unfair discrimination against them is the cause of their lack of success. Many a lazy and many an unruly child who has merited the punishment meted out to him believes that the

/fault

(1) This does not mean that school-going does not form part of the routine of the household in which there are school-going children. As among European families, the departure of children for school, their return at recess, where this is possible, and their return after school hours definitely influence the rhythm of the household. In Native families the routine is more easily broken than in European families. But although the school stamps its rhythm on the household, it is not co-ordinated into the life of the household. Cf. par. 488-490 U.G. 29/1936. These paragraphs, regarding "Dualism in the Educative Process" although primarily applicable to rural areas, are also to a modified extent applicable to urban areas.

fault is not his own but the teacher's. Parents are often influenced by these reports and meet the teacher with antagonism and suspicion. According to the testimony of principals and teachers hardly any parents come to make inquiries concerning the child's progress at school. Parents come, they say, to register the child and then they come again occasionally to complain of unfair treatment if the child fails. Or else they come, once a child has grown utterly beyond their control, to ask the teacher to make the child obey them and return to school. And finally they come, once a child has left school or has passed his Standard VI examination, to ask if the teacher can find a good occupational opening for the child.(1) Not infrequently parents - and here I mention only parents to whom the school system with its standard distribution is familiar - did not know in which standard their children were. Most parents show practically no interest(2) in the day-to-day events of the school-child's life.

/one

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(1) The principals of the three European schools I visited reported that very few parents came to enquire regarding the progress of their children. Most frequently parents came to pour out tales of domestic discords, to blame the other spouse for neglecting the children, to try to enlist the principal's sympathy in their claims for custody of the children, etc. The one principal, who had taught in a school situated in a prosperous residential suburb, stated that the interest of parents of children attending that school had been considerable.

(2) Many parents who had none or very little schooling cannot interest themselves because of their own lack of knowledge in the actual school-work of the child. But it would be possible for them to offer encouragement and discuss such things as the child's relations to his classmates, his school sports and his general attitude to school.

One principal stated that he had to reprimand his own teachers for showing no interest in and offering no help to their own retarded children who were attending his school. Few among the educated women - some of them ex-teachers - attempt to help their children with their school work or even to acquaint themselves with the child's special difficulties in following school lessons. Partly this is due to the great burden of work carried by the individual housewife saddled, as she is, with the dual responsibility of caring for her home and of wage-earning. But partly, too, it is due to inertia and sheer incomprehension of what educated Europeans would consider to be their duty in this respect.(1) "The parents need educating more than the children", the principal of a European junior school in Vrededorp declared. This dictum applies even more forcibly to Native parents. And it is the teachers who, in the present turmoil and dislocation of transition, must be prepared to bear a greater rather than a smaller share of their legitimate burden.(2)

/Persistent

(1) I do not know to what extent parents interest themselves in and follow their children's school progress among the poorer sections of the European community. Urban Natives should rightly be compared with different classes of urban Europeans, and especially with Europeans whose economic position is similar to that of a Native. If such a comparison were made, it would then be possible to see what factors in the situation are due to Bantu conceptions, Bantu customs and Bantu attitudes, and what factors are due to a poverty-stricken environment.

(2) It must be pointed out that the teachers, although the standard of their work and the degree of their responsibility leaves much to be desired, are inadequately paid and that no hope of increase and no form of security in old age is held out to them.
Cf. the following statements taken from the "Survey of Bantu Education in Johannesburg in 1938" issued by the Non-European and Native Administration Department:
"My chief difficulty is the low standard of my wage. I am always worried about financial affairs and that makes my teaching hard".
"In many cases ordinary workers lead a better life than that of a teacher."

Persistent and constant home-visiting to the homes of children who have been absent and also to the homes of as many as possible of the other children in the class should be undertaken to draw the home and the school closer together. Unfortunately the understaffing of Native schools is such that in all the schools I visited, with the single exception of the Pimville Government, the principal has not only all the clerical work to do which his position involves, but he also has to teach a class. This means he has not the time sufficiently to co-ordinate and supervise the work of his teachers; neither can he, because of pressure of work, by means of his own example encourage the teachers to emulate him. The establishment of parent-teachers associations, although undoubtedly it will prove to be difficult and up-hill work requiring much patient perseverance, is another step which should be undertaken to improve the situation in an attempt to effect the necessary linkage of home and school.

My own inexperience and lack of knowledge in the field of education do not entitle me to discuss Native schools as such, nor do my terms of reference demand it. But it is impossible to discuss the reasons for school-leaving without considering, even if only briefly, some of the factors which affect children in the schools. The question, "Why are Native children early school-leavers" could easily be inverted, as was done by an overseas visitor who, on seeing the conditions under which Native children receive their schooling, asked, "Why do Native children go to school?". An African principal commented along the same lines and berated me, saying, "Why investigate the reasons for school-leaving? They are obvious.

/You

You should be surprised that so many children, in the face of their parents' apathy, their poverty, lack of compulsion, and appalling school conditions, do go to school".

In Table 7 the average ages and numbers per class for the term ending March 25th. 1937, are given for the twelve schools which form my sample.

TABLE 7.

Average ages (yrs. and mths.) and numbers per standard.

	AGES			NUMBERS			PERCENTAGES		
	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
S-S.A	9.5	[illegible]	9.2	1511	1334	2845	37.3	38.3	37.8
S-S.B	10.10	10.9	10.10	578	644	1222	16.4	16.1	16.2
Std.1	12.2	11.9	11.10	452	613	1065	12.8	15.3	14.1
" 2	13.1	12.8	12.10	356	400	756	10.1	10	10
" 3	13.9	13	13.5	229	290	519	6.2	7.2	6.9
" 4	14.8	13.10	14.3	196	215	411	5.5	5.4	5.4
" 5	15.3	14.11	15.1	131	124	255	3.7	3	3.3
" 6	16.1	15.6	15.9	120	125	245	3.4	3.1	3.2
Form 1	17.2	15.8	16.7	51	34	85	1.4	.8	1.1
" 11	17.8	17.7	17.8	44	12	56	1.2	.3	.7
" 111	18.2	16.10	18	32	5	37	.9	.1	.5
" 1V	18.9	19	18.9	10	3	13	.2		.2
" V	19.10		19.10	5	-	5	.1		
		TOTAL		3819	3995	7814	99.2	99.6	99.4

It will be seen that 54% (1) of the total number of school-children in this sample are in the sub-standards. This percentage is only slightly lower than the percentage, 57.25. (2) which sub-standard children formed of the total number of Native children attending primary and post primary schools in the Union in 1935. (3) With over one

/half

(1) The total number of children covered by the sample forms roughly one half of the total number of Native school children in Johannesburg. According to figures kindly supplied by Miss Janisch there were in Aug. 1938, 15,214 Native school-children in the Johannesburg area (including Alexandra Township). The list includes a number of unregistered schools.

(2) In 1935, 61.11% of Native school-children on the Witwatersrand were below Std.1. See Ray E. Phillips, "The Bantu in the City", page 155.

(3) U.G. 29/1936, par. 514.

half of school-goers in the sub-standards it is legitimate to enquire whether these school-children - the bulk of the Native school-going populace - are receiving adequate attention and whether this attention is of such a nature as to hold out the promise of changing this mal-distribution of Native school-goers. For eleven of the schools (1) in the sample, the following is the distribution of sub-standard and standard children with the corresponding number of teachers for each category:

TABLE 8

	In Sub-Standards	In Standards
No. of children	3965	2838
No. Certificated Eur. teachers	-	2
No. Uncertificated " "	4	4
No. Certificated Native "	37	53
No. Uncertificated " "	21	6
Total No. teachers	62	65
No. pupils per teacher	64.27	43.66

Two facts stand out in sharp relief: that sub-standard classes are much larger than the standards classes and that the number of uncertificated teachers in the sub-standards is very much greater than the number of uncertificated teachers in the standards. Both facts, though readily explicable, are an indication of the unhealthy state of Native education. When the new regulations, making fifty the maximum number of children which could be allotted to any one teacher, came into force in January, 1936, it soon became apparent that if this rule was strictly to be adhered to, many children would have to be

/turned

(1) St. Peters, with about 370 pupils and 7 European and 8 African teachers is omitted. It is the only secondary school in Johannesburg and its inclusion - with its large number of highly qualified teachers - would weight the already favoured position of the children in the standards.

turned out of school.(1) The rule has accordingly since that time been observed by averaging fifty children per teacher for the whole school, although not for each single class. As it is, even despite this relaxation, many children, practically all sub-standard children, have to be refused admission on account of the fifty per teacher ruling. As the numbers of pupils in every school drop sharply from sub-standard to standard, the higher standards growing increasingly smaller, averaging out the total school enrolment at fifty per teacher means that the sub-standard classes are always much larger than the regulation quota.(2)

European educationalists now affirm the principle that teaching beginners is a task which requires longer and more specialised training than teaching children who are beyond the beginner's stage. In Native schools the opposite principle is usually applied and it is the most inexperienced and often uncertificated teachers who(3) are put in charge of the sub-standards. Even where a principal, realising the importance of good teaching for beginners, wishes to place a well qualified and experienced teacher in the sub-standards, the pressure of inexperienced

/teachers

(1) "1568 children have been unable to get into our schools this year. This drop began with a drop of 130 in the first term and 456 in the second term: which being analysed works out as follows:-
1408 sub-std. children were excluded on the 50 per teacher basis.
78 standards " " " " " " "
About 400 others were excluded as under 7 years old or were unable to find the school fees. The whole represents a 20% drop, mostly in the substandards". Anglican Primary Schools, Diocese of Johannesburg, 1936 Review.

(2) Rigid application of the quote per class would obviously, unless funds were made available to increase the teaching staff, merely result in throwing a large number of sub-standard children onto the streets.

(3) In the 11 sample schools there were 21 uncertificated Native teachers in charge of sub-standards and 6 in charge of standards.

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teachers, who believe that the lower the standard the easier the teaching task, is so great that he usually allots to them beginners' classes.(1)

In small schools, where the number of children in the higher standards is very small, these children too suffer in that one teacher has, by reason of the small class enrolment, to take standards V and VI or, in some cases, Standards IV, V and VI together. The efforts that are at present being made by the Transvaal Native Education Department to effect the amalgamation of all the Standards VI in one locality if not stultified by denominational rivalry will undoubtedly lead to greater efficiency. There is denominational opposition to this movement, but it cannot be denied that the children would greatly benefit by having one teacher per class instead of, as is at present not infrequent, having to share one teacher for two or three classes.

Not only are the sub-standard classes too large to allow the teacher to devote individual attention to pupils, but they are also handicapped in other ways. Where accommodation is limited and there are not sufficient classrooms to give one to each class, the standards are always given the better accommodation while the sub-standards are forced to share the hall of the church building. As many as five classes with five teachers are accommodated in one hall in a number of schools. Few schools have

/adequate

(1) That principals themselves are very largely quite unaware of the importance of sub-standard pupils is revealed in their answers to the Question "What is the usual standard at which they (children) leave school?" contained in a questionnaire submitted to principals by the anthropology and social welfare branch of the Non-European Housing and Native Administration Dept. "The general standard of leaving is Standard IV" is the statement made, based on the replies to this Question. If principals believe that the average school-leaving standard is Standard IV, despite the fact that over half of the school-children are in the sub-standards, then the principals themselves have a wrong perspective of the total situation.

adequate seating accommodation. Here, again, the sub-standards are penalised. Desks are allocated to the highest standards, and benches to the other children, with the result that in many schools a fair proportion of sub-standards children have no seating accommodation whatsoever and have to manage as best they can on the floor. The appalling shortage of equipment - desks, blackboards, diagrams, maps - is one of the most noticeable features of Native schools.

I found it very difficult to estimate the length of time taken by children to complete the various standards. The records of admission books were too incomplete for use. The information of parents and children was often confused, uncertain and unreliable. Frequently a child's schooling is interrupted by sickness, a visit to the country or some domestic difficulty. Informants found it perplexing enough to try and work out in what year a child commenced his schooling, but when it came to making allowances for such breaks they were often completely bewildered. In Table 9 I give the results of such material as I was able to obtain from family investigations and from questionnaires answered by Standards V and VI school-children. The latter class was better able to estimate the number of years they had been at school and this accounts for their predominance in the group. I believe the material upon which the Table is based to be reasonably reliable, but urge that it be accepted with caution.

/Table 9

TABLE 9.

Length of Schooling by Standards.

Years.	A. Children at School: Sub-A	Sub-B	1	11	111	1V	V	V1	B. Children left School: Sub-A	Sub-B	1	11	111	1V	V	V1
1-2	16								1	1						
2-3	15		5	1					7	3	1					
3-4	4		5	1					3	2	3	2				
4-5	1		5	5					1	1						
5-6	2		1	3	3	1				2	3	1	1			
6-7	1		3	2	1	1	15	8		2	1			2		
7-8				2			24	27				2		1	3	
8-9			1	1	1		39	30				1	1	1	1	
9-10							8	46				1	4	2		
10-11							6	21						2	1	
11-12							1	9						1		
12-13								4								
13-14																
TOTALS	39		20	15	4	2	93	145	20	11	4	7	5	9	5	1

In order to compute the number of years a child spends in the sub-standards, the three teachers at the Pimville Government School who are in charge of the Standards 1, after making careful individual enquiries from each child, compiled lists showing the number of years each child had been at school. These enquiries were made in August, 1938, that is, at the beginning of the Native school year. The following Table presents the results of these enquiries:

TABLE 10

Number of years taken to reach Std.1.

No. years	Boys	Girls	Total	Percentage Total
6	3	1	4	2.6
5	6	5	11	7.2
4	16	23	39	25.6
3	25	34	59	38.8
2	13	22	35	23.
1	4	-	4	2.6
	67	85	152	99.8

Although for record purposes only sub-standards A and B exist, in practice most schools have a beginners' class among their sub-standards A. The child commences in

/this

this beginners' class and is then transferred, first to S-S. A and then to S-S. B and finally to Standard 1. Mr. Musi, the principal of the Pimville Government School, considers that on an average a child spends one year each in the beginners' class and the two sub-standards. This means that a child spends three years in school before he commences Standard 1.(1) Mrs. Gajane, the principal of St. Mary Magdalenes, was of opinion that an averagely intelligent child would take two years to reach Standard 1. But most teachers were inclined to agree with Mr. Musi's estimate; three years for an average child, two for a bright child, less than two years for an exceptionally intelligent child, four years for a rather dull child, and five years for a backward child. With these estimates the figures given in Table 1) correspond. The largest group of children, 38.8%, was found to have spent three years in the sub-standards. 35.4% - that is more than one third of the group under consideration - were found to have taken more than three years to complete their sub-standards. I do not believe that this large proportion is an overstatement of the case. During the course of my location work I was frequently struck by the fact that children remain in the sub-standards for an excessively long time.

Partly this may be due to the frequency with which the Native child changes his school, either on account of a change of domicile or of individual preference. The following Table shows the number of schools which the Standard 1 Pimville Government School children attended:

/Table 11.

(1) The normal time which a European child spends in the grades before passing into Standard 1 is considered by two of the principals who granted me interviews to be fifteen to eighteen months.

TABLE 11

Number of schools attended by Standard 1 children.

No. of schools.	Boys	Girls	Total	Percentage Total
1	32	36	68	44.7
2	22	34	56	36.8
3	7	6	13	8.5
More than 3	6	9	15	9.9
	67	85	152	99.9

Less than one half (44.7%) of the children had attended one school only, while 18.4% had attended more than two schools. But although on the whole children who have continuously been at one school seem to spend a shorter time in the sub-standards, the following Table, combining the number of years spent in the sub-standards with the number of schools attended, does not show any close correspondence between the two factors.(1)

TABLE 12

No. of Years spent in Sub-standards by No. schools attended

Schools Attended	BOYS						GIRLS						TOTAL					
	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6	1	2	3	4	5	6
1	5	9	12	4	2	2	10	12	10	3	1		5	19	24	14	5	3
2	1	4	9	5	2	1	10	16	7	1			1	14	25	12	3	1
3			4	3			1	2	3					1	6	6		
3+				4			1	4	3	1				1	4	7	3	

The real causes(2) of the excessive time spent by children /in the

(1) Of the 391 school-children admitted to S-c. A in the Pimville Government School during 1937, 100 had attended at least one school before. The average age of these 100 children who had previously attended a school was 9 years 10 months as compared with 8 years 11 months for the total group.

(2) To what extent malnutrition is responsible for inattention and for failures I cannot guage. "The general opinion of the teachers is, that in most cases, children are badly fed, if not actually underfed... The result of bad feeding or underfeeding is noticed in inattention, lack of concentration, giddiness and fainting" states Miss Zanisch in her "Survey of Bantu Education in Johannesburg, 1936". As yet too little research work upon the state of health of Bantu school-children has been conducted and the results of Dr. Anning's comparison of Bantu and European school-children are eagerly awaited.

in the sub-standards appear to be poor teaching, accommodation and inadequate equipment. To anyone who has watched the dreary classes of sub-standards children, heard their monotonous rote spelling of words and repetition of phrases, it is not surprising that after languishing in the sub-standards for three or four years the child emerges bored and listless and unwilling to continue his schooling.

From all those defects - overcrowding, poor accommodation, lack of equipment and inexperienced tuition - which are so noticeable a feature of Native schools the sub-standards suffer to a heightened degree. When it is considered that over one half of all Native schoolchildren are in the sub-standards and that a large proportion of them never progresses into the standards, the seriousness of the situation is revealed. In those years of schooling where the child's interest needs to be awakened and gripped and his ambition stirred, when the foundations for all further schooling are to be laid, a number of inadequacies - common to the whole school system but specially marked in the sub-standards - combine to defeat these ends. To debate the question of school-leaving without seriously considering the wastage of time and the loss of interest and energy consequent thereon in the sub-standards is to omit one aspect of what is essentially the same problem. School-leaving, in other words, is to a very large extent due to the lack of holding power of the schools. Very little recognition for educational attainment is given to the Native in his after-school life. Add to this the inadequacy of the schooling offered him - its lack of stimulus more especially in the early years of schooling - and in part the question of

/early

early schoolchgaving is answered.

The average class ages given in Table 7 (page 71) are not strictly comparable with the ages given in the Interdepartmental Report on Native Education for the Transvaal on October 1st, 1935, or with the figures for European school-children, both of which are reckoned in medians while I worked out the average. These figures are nevertheless included in the following Table as a rough comparison:

TABLE 13

Years.

	March, 1937 Sample 12 Jbg. Native Schools.	Oct. 31st.1935.(1) Transvaal Native.	Oct.1st. 1935. Transvaal. European.
S-S. A	9.16	10	7.44
S-S. B	10.83	12.66	8.28
Std. 1	11.83	12.93	9.28
" 2	12.83	13.62	10.27
" 3	13.41	14.43	11.47
" 4	14.25	15.17	12.54
" 5	15.08	15.88	13.56
" 6	15.75	16.69	14.51

There is a seventeen months' difference in time between the dates at which my sample and the remaining two sets of figures were taken. Nevertheless the difference between the ages for the twelve Johannesburg schools and all Transvaal schools is too great to be accounted for by this interval. It seems reasonable to explain it by the fact that the one is an urban school-going population and the other a mixed rural and urban school population. Schools are more accessible to the urban children; possibly they are sent to school earlier; they are not called away for long periods to work on the land. But the difference between the average ages of the sample group

/and the

(1) U.G. 29/1936. page 140. (Table does not include the 1250 pupils of the Pimville Government School.)

and the European school-children is still very great. To deal with the causes of this great age difference is beyond my province.(1) Late school-going age, lack of compulsory schooling, absence of government schools, are naturally among the most important contributory factors. But when the Native pupil's poor showing in scholastic ability is under review,(1) it must be borne in mind that Native school-children have many household responsibilities of which a large number of European school-children are entirely free. From a group of one hundred and ten essays written by Native children in various Standard VI classes on "How I spend my Day" the number of household tasks demanded of them emerged very clearly. Nearly all of the children apparently got up between 5 and 6 a.m. and spent about two hours on domestic duties before they went to school. On the whole, girls are more burdened than boys. But if a boy has no sister of the requisite age, then he must do the housework. Fire must be made, water fetched and heated, tea or coffee must be made and served to the parents and the other children. The rooms must be made, beds swept or rolled up, pots washed, breakfast prepared. In some families this work is divided among a number of children and the mother. In others, especially where the mother works in town, all the work may fall to one child. On returning from school the child is usually expected to wash an accumulated pile of dirty dishes and to repeat many of the early morning tasks. For boys there is greater diversity of work. Some sell newspapers or serve in a shop before or after school hours. They are responsible for the garden where there is one, for caring for

/the

(1) For discussion of these points see U.E. 23/1936, para. 520-524.

the cattle and leading them to pasture in such families as possess cattle. The children accept these jobs as part of their daily routine and do not describe them in a spirit of resentment. But it is obvious that these tasks interfere greatly with a child's leisure and must draw on his stock of ready energy. It is not surprising, in view of these circumstances, that teachers have great difficulty in getting their pupils to do homework. This is, however, not a phenomenon peculiar to Natives. The principal of the Good Hope, a European school in Pretoria, stated that his teachers did not set homework to children below Standard V and not frequently even in that standard. The conditions under which pupils of this school live - a whole family in some cases sharing one room in an extreme of poverty which sometimes does not allow it to buy candles for light - makes it futile to set homework.

The success of the Native child's school career is thus threatened on all sides: unsatisfactory schools with poor accommodation, equipment and tuition; parental indifference and ignorance; onerous household duties; and finally, an ever-present poverty which may at any time cut short his school career.

SECTION 111.

Part 111. Recreation.

The Native school-child is fairly adequately provided with recreational facilities. He has his school sports,(1) football for the boys and basket-ball for the girls, with inter-school Leagues and Fixtures. There is an annual field sports day arranged by the municipality. A considerable number belong to Pathfinder and Wayfarer troops.(2) Most schools organise annual or bi-annual concerts. All schools have choirs whose activities reach a competitive crisis in the Bantu Eisteddfod. There are annual prize-givings and so, in many ways, the monotony of the daily routine is broken by highlights of organised activity.

The non-school-goer is entirely differently situated in regard to recreation. According to Mr. Sennoam, Director of Native Recreation in the Municipal Department of Non-European Housing and Native Administration, the Wednesday Football team is especially designed to meet the recreational needs of the unemployed. I have never met a location youth who belonged to this team and it seems to be composed chiefly of adults, only temporarily unemployed, and not of juveniles. And as, in the course of time, its members find employment, this team tends to deviate from its original purpose.

Previous to 1937 the Municipality conducted in the Eastern and Western Native Townships and in Orlando

/unemployed

(1) A small number of parents resent the time taken up by school sports and consider that they are being deprived of what they regard as their legitimate claims to the child's services at such time as is not being spent in actual tuition.

(2) On the whole it appears that these organisations do not reach the non-school-going child - that they touch very largely through the Schools.

unemployed boys' clubs, which offered a good and varied programme of indoor sports and handicraft teaching. When I commenced my investigations these clubs were no longer in existence, although the attendance at them is stated to have been very good. A number of reasons have been given us to explain the demise of these clubs, the need for which is acknowledged by all, but with the limited data at my disposal I do not propose to enter into these extremely controversial issues.

The Transvaal Association of Boys Clubs has recently appointed Mr. Thabethe as full-time organiser of Non-European boys' clubs and is rapidly expanding the scope of its work among Natives. In September, 1938, two Day clubs for unemployed male juveniles and young adults (one in Orlando and one in Newclare), a Day club in Orlando to train leaders, three school Day clubs (two in Orlando and one in Sophiatown), and six Night clubs (four in Orlando and two in Sophiatown) had been started by the Association and were holding weekly meetings. In addition, leaders were being trained at the Bantu Men's Social Centre, meeting twice a week for this purpose. The programme usually provides for physical jerks, indoor competitive games and a talk on hygiene or some similar subject.

Although the Transvaal Association of Boys Clubs has greatly expanded its activities among Africans in a comparatively short time it is, as Mr. Bullard and Mr. Thabethe well realise, reaching only a handful of the boys who could be greatly benefitted by the services of this organisation. They plan, as their resources permit, to open up many more clubs, more especially Day Clubs, to cater for the needs of the unemployed juvenile.

/They

They report that the response on the part of the boys is a satisfactory one. Attendances vary greatly at the clubs, but sometimes are so large (sixty and over) that the class has to be run in two sections. From the very demeanour of the boys it is apparent that they enjoy attending the clubs and I was greatly impressed by the evident enthusiasm of the fourteen boys at the meeting of an Orlando Day Club which I watched. One of the obstacles to a good attendance is the fact that the clubs only meet once a week. And, as the main object is to draw boys away from their gambling pursuits, a single club day, when the other six days of the week offer no healthy diversion to the boys, is not sufficient to achieve this purpose. (1).

There are playing fields in all the locations, but for this class of juvenile - the boy who has left school and has no or only part-time employment - there is no equipment, such as footballs, available. Juveniles in Orlando have complained to me that Native location indunas chase them off the playing fields when they are playing such games as relay races, which require no special equipment. Not once, but on several occasions, was this complaint voiced by Orlando juveniles. I did not, however, myself observe any such incident.

Other types of entertainment, such as concerts, dances, cinemas, are open only to juveniles who have the cash to pay entrance fee. But such entertainments are practically confined to the evenings and in no way solve the problem of day-time leisure occupation.

During the day, apart from the three Day clubs run by the Transvaal Association of Boys Clubs which do excellent work but barely touch the fringe of the problem,

(1). In 1939 the Municipality started a boys' club in Orlando in one of the houses which was for this purpose equipped with electric light. A whole time club leader was engaged. By May 1939 it was reported that 150 boys were attending at various times. The club is open daily from 9 a.m. to 9 p.m.

the non-school-going juvenile is left entirely to his own resources. Part of his time may be occupied in doing chores for his mother, but many mothers assert that they have increasing difficulty in obtaining such domestic assistance from their sons. But whether a boy is willing to assist in the home or not, the fact remains that domestic duties claim far less of the boy's time than of the girl's. Part of the boys' time is spent in earning, or trying to earn, some money. Some have regular part-time occupation, such as newspaper-selling or week-end caddying. Some, with rough hand-carts which they construct themselves, carry bundles of washing for the women. Some buy a sack of oranges, a box of tomatoes or such fruit or vegetable as is in season and sell it on the trains, at the station or street corners or peddle from house to house. Some get odd jobs at the shops, weighing out sugar or mealie meal or sweeping out the shop. Some spend part of their time, especially over week-ends, acting as guards to beer-sellers to give warning when the police approach. Some are regular isibamgothi, burying and unearthing the brew. Some, but only among the elder boys, are fah fee or pa-ka-pu runners.(1)

But these occupations leave the boys with a great deal of leisure time on their hands. A visit to any location shows groups of boys congregated around shops, at the station and at street corners. The younger boys, aged around ten years, play games. There are a variety of games which both boys and girls (usually in separate groups) play with stones and pebbles. Marbles, when they can get them, are greatly appreciated by the boys for

/games.

(1) These are Chinese gambling games, run on the lottery principle.

games. "Make believe" games seem to be played only by the very young age groups. Among these, the stock game appears to be brewing and selling beer, the girls acting as brewers and the boys as customers. Only once did I see a group of girls aged about ten playing "shop". They had a number of toy pots and plates, a collection of sample tins and some wooden boxes. But toys, as such, are a rarity in the locations. Parents cannot afford them; neither do they appreciate their value. The young children are therefore dependent on their own unaided efforts and invention to devise games for themselves. And as they reach the age of twelve and over, they tire of the games that have hitherto satisfied them and look for other distraction. Stones and marbles for the boys and skipping and jumping for the girls no longer fulfil their needs - needs which are stimulated by the example of activities of older age-groups.

The most general recreational activity of the boys is gambling, chiefly dice-throwing. Although the older boys, from the age of sixteen and upwards, are the most inveterate gamblers, it is not confined to them. Boys as young as ten to twelve years, fired by the example of their elders, take to gambling. Generally boys gamble in groups composed of three or four to ten or even more members. Such groups appear to have a fairly permanent character and to meet at fixed places.

Parents, on the whole, deprecate gambling but are powerless to stop it. The boys have nothing else to do. Furthermore there are a number of parents who are said (no parents admit it) to encourage gambling by giving their sons the initial capital with which to start. In Pimville there is, over week-ends, a row of boys aged from

/twelve

twelve upwards who take up their positions in the street with a dice and a board of six cards and attract casual custom. Some parents, by accepting without question any monies an unemployed boy brings home, tacitly, even if not openly, condone gambling. And finally, the general tone of the locations, with its pre-occupation with fah fee and pa-ka-pu and its lengthy discussion of the big events in horse racing, is not one to discourage gambling.

According to the testimony of location dwellers, these non-school-going boys, apart from gambling, indulge very freely in dagga smoking and drinking. Teachers assert that school-children are frequently introduced to dagga smoking by non-school-goers and that a noticeable blunting of their interest and ability sets in, often culminating in long periods of truancy and finally in complete withdrawal from school. To what extent these boys drink alcoholic drinks, whether Native or European, I do not know. Informants assert that young boys drink excessively. I have myself seen little evidence of drunkenness among the younger boys (aged up to about eighteen years), but this may be due to the fact that most of my work was done during week days, not at night and seldom over week-ends.

The boys spend their time in small groups, varying in size, composed chiefly of boys of approximately the same age. Although the membership of the group fluctuates, employment drawing boys away and unemployment enlarging it, some of these groups are relatively stable, meeting together day after day and participating in the same common activity. Certain of these groups have developed a greater cohesion and show signs of definite gang formation. They have a leader whose decisions

/are

are said to be binding on every member of the gang; some bear a name - "The Squash Boys" and the "Spookies Range" are two common gang names found in Pimville, Orlando and Sophiatown; some wear an external distinguishing mark such as a black shirt with white buttons or socks with distinctive stripes. I found it extremely difficult, almost impossible, to obtain information concerning these gangs. The location residents I questioned, beyond knowing of the existence of gangs and of some of their more notorious exploits, were ignorant of all else, both gang composition and organisation. I only came into actual contact with a number of boys very loosely organised into what they called a "gang" but which in reality was only a weak imitation of real gang organisation. One such gang called itself "The Squash Boys" in obvious imitation of more organised gangs. Its leader, a very forceful character, was invested with a certain authority. The members wore no distinctive dress and, apart from a little gambling, appear to have no common function beyond pooling some of their money to buy sweets, cigarettes and food not obtainable in their homes. Apart from members of such innocuous gangs I did not, unless unwittingly, come into contact with gang members.

It does, however, appear from the available evidence, indisputable that gangs exist and that the main activities of most gangs are gambling, drinking and dagga smoking. Gangs are composed of non-school-goers. The teachers assert that any school-goer who joins a gang soon ceases to go to school. In the Eastern and Western Townships the activities of some of the gangs composed of younger boys took the form of wanton destruction, such as uprooting trees, breaking fences

/and

and smashing church windows. In Alexandra the gangs are said to organise with pick-pocketing as one of their main objectives. In all locations, and especially in Sophiatown, many robberies and assaults are attributed to gangs. It appears that the older the gang members the more dangerously anti-social their activities. In Pimville the older boys are said to disguise themselves as Sotho mine boys (who bear an evil reputation) and, swathed in their blankets, to make the location perilous to the ordinary law-abiding citizen at night. A whole series of "atrocity" tales concerning the activities of such gangs are related - tales of deceit practised on the credulous, of robbery, violence and assault.

My information concerning these criminal gangs is hearsay. Their members are apparently not juveniles but adults. Their activities do not seem to be the activities normal to unemployed juveniles or their gangs. Juvenile gangs, it is true, are said to spend their time in gambling, drinking dagga smoking and to go in for [illegible]ing and pick-pocketing, but the excessive violence of the older gangs is not said to be common to them. But it is nevertheless necessary to take cognisance of the older, more criminal, gangs. For the tales of their deeds, breathing the very spirit of adventure and of successful recklessness are widespread in the locations. (1) a constant inspiration to the idle juvenile and his companions

/[illegible]

(1) Although gangs among urban Natives do not appear to be as organised or as widespread as the gangs of Chicago cleveland, Mr. Thrasher's comprehensive study of Chicago gangs indicates that urban Native conditions are such as to encourage the development of gangs and the chain of problems which their emergence brings. See "The Gang", F.M.Thrasher, Univ. of Chicago Press.

faced with the problem of occupying long hours of leisure.(1)

I stress this problem of the occupation of the unemployed juvenile's leisure because of its importance in his development. The assertion that recreational facilities do not exist for him is no overstatement. And the ways in which he is becoming accustomed to spending his time - in idleness, in gambling, in drinking, in dagga smoking - are not such as to produce a well-adjusted adult and a valuable citizen. The result of making the juvenile entirely dependent on his own limited resources in the occupation of his leisure is the emergence of forms of recreation ranging from the useless and futile, even if innocuous, to the criminal. These youngsters have no inherent criminal tendencies. But the conditions under which they live are favourable to the development of the juvenile delinquent.

The problem of the unemployed non-school-going female juvenile is not as acute as that of the male juvenile. A cursory visit to any location bears this out, for while every shop corner has its knot of idle youngsters casually standing around, girls are far less in evidence on the streets. Chiefly this is due to the fact that household tasks claim a fair amount of the girl's time. Furthermore, they visit each other in their homes to a much greater extent than do the boys. The street is the more general meeting place for boys, and the home for girls. Parents feel that they have a greater right to supervise the movements of their daughters than of their sons; they make a greater effort to control their daughters, and it does appear that they make their control more effective over daughters than over sons. And,

(1) Cf. opus citus, p. 37. "Gangs represent the spontaneous effort of boys to create a society for themselves where none adequate to their needs exists."

/as most

as most girls knit or crochet and spend much time in these pursuits, they are better equipped to cope with leisure time than the boys.

For young people of both sexes dances are a great attraction. African informants attribute the increasing sexual immorality and the rising rate of illegitimacy very greatly to the effects of "marabi" (1) dances. Mothers object strenuously to these dances. Girls nevertheless slip out at night secretly or on the pretext of paying a visit to a friend. It is frequently at such dances that young girls acquire the taste for liquor. Drinking, though not nearly as prevalent among girls as among boys, is increasingly being indulged in by young women.

It is imperative that provision be made for leisure time occupation for native juveniles. This necessity is more urgent in the case of boys than of girls, although the scope for work among girls, too, is extremely wide. (2)

/The [illegible]

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(1) "Marabi" dances - very popular among young p[illegible] - are held at private homes, often at the conclusion [illegible] stock fair. They are usually arranged by beer-sell[illegible]. Liquor, both African and European, is sold. Dancin[illegible] based on the European pattern but, according to my informants, is of a very sexual nature.

(2) Mrs. Bullard is conducting a leaders' class for girls on Thursday afternoons. As most of the girls attending this class are domestic servants, the attendance is poor although the girls are very enthusiastic. Members of this club are themselves running two clubs, one at Newclare and one at Sophiatown, for girls aged about fifteen years, many of whom are school-goers. Apart from these initial attempts and sewing and knitting classes run by schools for their pupils, there are no clubs catering for female juveniles.

In 1939 a girls club 'child of the Fathers Club' with a committee drawn from the latter was started in Orlando. This club meets at the same time as the fathers club, viz. on Friday afternoons. By May, 1940 the membership totalled 60. The committee was forced to restrict membership.

There is a crying need (1) for the widespread establishment of daily boys' clubs, where they know they will be welcome and where they will receive both diversion and instruction. Physical exercises, talks, indoor games, training in handicrafts, will do much to take the boys from the streets and the demoralising influences which there beset them. These clubs must work in close co-operation with employment agencies, preferably with a Native Juvenile Affairs Board. (2) It will be necessary to exercise much patience in attracting the boys to such clubs, in weaning them from the pursuits to which they have become accustomed, and, above all, in overcoming their ever-evident suspicion and distrust of even such facilities as are established to help them.

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(1) Mr.A.J. Saffery, Secretary of the Institute of Race Relations, reports that when he and Mr. Grieveson in 1936 ran a boys' club in Alexandra on Friday nights, the attendance was very large, as many as between 150 and 200 boys coming to attend some meetings. This club was disbanded as the organisers, owing to pressure of work, could not continue going out to Alexandra. But the need for this type of organisation had been amply demonstrated. The boys had responded with great enthusiasm to the facilities offered and both organisers felt then and submit now that there is urgent need to make recreational provision for such juveniles.

(2) The Transvaal Association of Boys Clubs, in the course of its work, has become keenly aware of the need for linking employment bureau with boy's club and is anxious to have an employment bureau as soon as their resources permit. Mr. Thabethe states that it is the daily complaint of the unemployed juvenile that "clubs don't give work".

SECTION 111.

THE REASONS FOR SCHOOL-LEAVING.

1. The four Groups of School-leavers for which Figures are given.

As stated in previous sections, actual school records in attendance registers and admission books were all but useless as evidence of the reasons for school-leaving. I accordingly had to endeavour to collect relevant data in the manner set out in Section 1. Four different methods were used and apply to the following four groups of school-leavers:

Group 1. School-leavers traced from lists supplied by

a) school principals
b) Orlando location Indunas
c) Rev. S.S.Tema, a social worker in Orlando.

Lists b) and c) include male juveniles only and are based on the Indunas' knowledge of local families and the Rev. Tema's acquaintance with local boys whom he made contact with when dealing with the question of unemployment. Both lists, though very extensive to commence with, proved more than ordinarily unsatisfactory in that most of the addresses given by the boys were wrong. These lists form slightly less than a quarter of the total of this group and probably account for the preponderance of males. The group comprises 158 families among whom are 173 school-leavers. They are drawn from Orlando, Pimville, the Eastern Native Location and Alexandra Township.

Group 11. School-leavers for whom questionnaire 1 was answered, chiefly by the teachers of the school-leavers. 17 were filled in by me from lists supplied by the teacher. This group comprises 58 families among whom are 58 children. 30 of these children come from Randfontein and the rest from the western area of Johannesburg.

/Group 111.

Group III. A group of 274 school-leavers for whom school-leaving reasons were given during my investigations of the sample area families, the families of children in Group 1, and the 28 families from the W.N.L.A. and Robinson Deep Compounds and from Alexandra Township whom I have designated as the economically better group. This group probably best represents the final factors - as distinguished from temporary exigencies - which determine school-leaving, as the individuals comprising this group had all left school a year or more previous to the investigation.

Group IV. This group consists of 91 juveniles who were casually encountered at street corners, loitering around shops, performing small errands, etc. They were interrogated on the spot. As they were very suspicious and mistrustful it was not possible to obtain their home addresses from them. Where they did give addresses, these addresses were usually deliberately misleading. This group has consequently not been cross-checked and as their evidence is dubious I place them in a separate group and do not include them in the table of totals which is given for the other three groups. 71% of this group are males a natural corollary of the fact that boys spend most of their time away from their homes while girls are tied to the home by domestic tasks and also spend much of their leisure time in their own or their friend's homes.

ii. School-leaving Reasons: General.

The causes of school-leaving for these four groups and the totals for groups 1, 11 and 111 are given in the following table:

/Table 14

TABLE 14

Causes of School-leaving. (Percentages)

REASONS	GROUPS				Total
	I	II	III	IV	I, II, III, IV
No. cases	173	58	274	91	596
Poverty	17	33	20	23	20
To work	6	14	24	18	16
Refuse to go to school (against parents' will)	26	26	24	24	25
To go to another school	20	10	-	4	8
Illness (protracted)	10	10	5	5	7
Visiting relatives or sent to the country	7	-	4	15	5
Care of sick parent or relative or of baby	9	2	4	7	5
No reason (with parents' consent)	3	3	7	3	6
Miscellaneous (e.g. too old, pregnancy, marriage, etc.)	2	2	12	-	7

The first qualification that must be made to this table is that the categories into which the reasons for school-leaving are divided are not mutually exclusive and greatly interact on each other. Thus a child may be forced to leave school owing to the temporary inability of his parents to pay his fees or buy him clothing fit for school wear. He then drifts into the company of non-school-goers and, when the requisite funds are forthcoming, he so prefers this life of leisure spent with his friends that he refuses to go back to school. "Poverty" and "to work" are identical causes for many of the older school-goers, as the poverty which makes it impossible to pay school expenses also forces the juvenile out to seek employment. A child may have to leave school to look after a sick relative or small child and, when she is free to return to school the parents, through unemployment or the expenses consequent upon illness, may find it impossible to pay school fees and buy equipment for the child.

I must also again draw attention to the difficulty of obtaining the addresses of sub-standard school-

/leavers.

leavers, who are a very fluctuating section of an already unstable school populace.(1) The sub-standard classes are, on an average, considerable larger than the standards, the children are continually moving - withdrawn and re-admitted again - and the teachers are least acquainted with these children. Furthermore, as many of these children come from families which belong to the most floating section of the urban population, many of those addresses which I was able to obtain proved useless in that the families had moved. The following Table shows the standards in which the school-leavers of Group 1 left school:

TABLE 15

Standards in which Group 1 School-leavers left School.

(percentages)

	BOYS	GIRLS	TOTAL
Below Standard I	19	21	20
In " 1	23	11	18
" " 11	18	12	16
" " 111	12	6	9
" " 1V	6	10	8
" " V	5	12	8
" " V1	2	10	6
Passed " V1	14	17	15

If this Table is compared with Table 7 (page 71) in which the distribution of the school-children according to their standards is given, it will be seen that the sample selection of school-leavers is heavily overweighted in the higher standards and is no true sample. In extenuation thereof I can only plead the difficulty of the situation. Furthermore I do not believe, despite my lack of concrete evidence, that the inclusion of sub-standard school-leavers proportionate to their school distribution would greatly

/alter

(1) Of the 546 children admitted to the Pimville Government School in 1937, 99 (18%) were withdrawn during the course of the year. (This does not include children among the 546 who did not return to school during the first term of 1938.)

alter the percentage table of school-leaving reasons given in Table 14. I make this assertion on the basis of the general impression I gained while engaged in this investigation. A reason such as leaving school to seek work is of rare occurrence among sub-standard children who are, with the exception of over-age children but recently come from the country, too young to work. Trifling pretexts, such as a slight mishap or inclement weather, account for a slacker school attendance than among children in the higher standards. As the parents' indifferent attitude is seldom counteracted by the eagerness of sub-standard children, there is an enormous time wastage. Children remain away from school when the reason for their absence has ceased to exist. I have visited families in which the parents and child have been surprised that the child has been withdrawn from the register after an absence of six weeks. "He is just late in going back", was the very casual explanation. The children are in and out of school to an amazing extent. Poverty, refusal to attend school and very frequent school changing are causes of school-leaving at least as common and probably more so in sub-standards than in higher standards.(1)

Although I am very sceptical of the results which can be obtained by statistical treatment of sociological material - especially when such material is collected according to rather rough and ready methods from Africans who are by no means "questionnaire conscious" -

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(1) Among the children who left school because of their own refusal to attend, 44% left in or below Standard 1, 21% in Standard 11, 12% each in Standards 111 and 1V, 9% in Standard V and 2% in Standard V1.

Cf. Rev. J. Mullineux, in making a plea for the compulsory education of Coloureds, considered that compulsion up to Standard 1V would be sufficient. Thereafter the children themselves would want to continue schooling. The increased liking for school which develops as a child reaches higher standards is very noticeable among Native children.

I feel that the correspondence between the school-leaving percentages for the four groups is sufficiently close to warrant the belief that these figures do represent present-day trends. The differences are such as are readily explained by reference to the constitution of the four groups.

In the first place it will be seen that the reason "poverty" forms a much larger percentage of group 11 and a slightly larger percentage of group 1V than of the other two groups. In Group 11 this is very probably due to the natural bias of the teachers (who are chiefly responsible for obtaining the data for this group) to drive home the great poverty of their people. Then, too, it will be noticed that the percentage of children who left one school to go to another is in Group 11 half of that in Group 1, the group which my assistant and I investigated. I am convinced that both parents and children would be very reluctant to tell the teacher that the child intended going to a different school. This may account for part of the increase of the reason "poverty". Judging from my knowledge of the children constituting Group 1V, I am sure that the reason "poverty" is in some cases an evasion of the truth that the child refused to go to school. I should have expected for Group 1V a percentage larger than the average for the other three groups to have fallen under the heading "refuse to go to school", and I am convinced that this would have proved to be the case if the parents of these children could have been interviewed.

The fact that Group 111 shows a larger and Group 1 a smaller percentage than the average of children leaving school to seek employment is probably explained

/by the

by the time factor. The individuals constituting group III are considerably older than those in Group I and the temporary exigencies responsible for school-leaving have to a certain extent been forgotten or merged in the end result of taking up a wage-earning activity. In Group III, again, it is logical to find no children leaving school to go to another school. If they did go to another school, they would not be included as school-leavers. If they did not go to another school, despite an intention to do so, another and more permanent factor must have supervened.

"Why children leave school" was one of the essay subjects set for children in Standard VI or a higher standard in five different schools. I received 72 essays and analysed the main reasons adduced for school-leaving under the following headings:

Reasons	No. of essays in which given.
(1) Refuse to go to school (against parents' will)	54
Disagreement with teacher	26
Poverty	51
To work	30

I do not attach any evidential value to the reasons for school-leaving adduced in these essays. But on the other hand I consider the opinions and attitudes so revealed very significant. Below, when I deal specifically with the different categories of school-leavers,

/I shall

(1) These two headings overlap to a certain extent in that "disagreement with teacher" - sufficiently often mentioned to be of importance - covers many cases of children who are lazy, undisciplined or who fail repeatedly either because of these causes or on account of sheer inability. They report at home that the teacher hates them and discriminates unfairly against them. The parents are usually prepared to believe the children and so do not press them to continue school attendance. Hence, although such children do not leave school against their parents' will, many do, despite the protection offered by their subterfuge, fall into the class of school-leavers who refuse to attend school.

I shall discuss these essays in greater detail.

/Table 16. p. 102.

iii. School-leaving Reasons: Specific.

Table 16 presents an analysis for Group 1 of the nine different categories into which school-leavers have been grouped according to their reason for school-leaving. Such an analysis could not be undertaken for the other three groups, as my data in respect of school-leaving age and standard in which the child left school were inadequate. In the cross column "scholastic attainment", I have attempted to summarise the educational level for each category. I took the average ages (see Table 7) as established from the records of twelve schools. I then added or subtracted the difference between the school-leavers age and the average age of the standard in which he left school. The total was divided by the number of school-leavers in that category. A minus sign indicates retardation: a plus sign indicates advancement. In the following Table Groups 1, 111 and 1V (1) are subdivided according to sex and the reasons for school-leaving are given separately for girls and boys in order to show to what extent school-leaving reasons differentially affect the sexes.

TABLE 17.

Reasons for School-leaving, Boys and Girls Separate.

(percentages)

	GROUP 1.		GROUP 111		GROUP 1V.	
	boys	girls	boys	girls	boys	girls
Total percentage, boys and girls, per group.	57	43	48	52	71	29
Poverty	22	11	25	15	32	-
To work	8	3	28	20	21	8
Refuse to go to school	36	13	29	20	28	15
To go to another school	17	23	-	-	3	8
Illness	9	11	2	7	5	8
Visiting relatives or sent to country	4	12	2	6	6	38
Care of sick relative or of baby	1	19	-	7	1	19
No reason	2	5	5	10	3	4
Miscellaneous.	1	3	9	15		

(1) Group 11 is omitted because its number (58) is small.

TABLE 16

Attitude of the Mother [illegible] (Percentages of 173 School-leavers. Nos. given).

	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	Total.
	Poverty	To work	Wish to [illegible] school	Illness	Visiting/mail to country	Care of relative or baby	No reason	Misc.		
	38	10	40	17	13	15	6	3		173
[illegible] children	73	80	70	53	31	7	33	33		37
Boys	27	20	30	47	69	93	66	66		63
Girls	33	50	31	23	31	33	31	-		28
Broken families	13	20	8	11	15	-	20	-		12
Unemployed parents	18	-	31	6	7	13	13	16		12
Unemployed children (not sons)	13-9	15-7	15-3	13-11	10-6	10	14	17		13-10
Average school-leaving age: boys	15-7	16-6	15-4	15-1	13-6	13-7	15	15		15-6
Average school-leaving age: girls	-10m.	-10m.	-4m.	-1m.	+1-4	+	+	+		-9m.
Scholastic attainment: boys	-1-4	+	-4	-2m.	-5m.	-8m.	+	+		-4m.
Scholastic attainment: girls	33	10	31	23	38	7	-	+		22
School-leaver youngest in family	27	30	23	23	23	33	-	+		20
School-leaver younger half of family	7	-	12	35	15	13	20	+		21
School-leaver eldest in family	23	20	15	6	15	7	-	+		10
School-leaver older half in family										

[illegible] Siblings two until.

A. Poverty.

The category of school-leavers who left school on account of poverty forms 20% or one fifth of the total number of school-leavers. It ranks in Table 14 (p. 96) as the second most important cause of school-leaving. But whether this proportion be considered high or low, there is no doubt that the stark poverty of the average Native family affects the schooling career of a far larger number of children than is indicated in the Table. The vulnerability of the average Native family to any economic set-back such as unemployment or the expenses of an illness is extreme. The full effects of poverty cannot be assessed by a sample enquiry, for a sample enquiry reveals a static and not a dynamic situation.

In 20% of the cases here tabulated, inability to pay fees and other school expenses caused the complete and probably permanent withdrawal of the child from school. The older children, who have reached employable age, are usually forced out to work by such necessitous family circumstances. Younger children, especially boys aged about thirteen to fourteen years whose time is not appreciably claimed by domestic tasks, tend to join groups of idlers. Later, even when the money for school expenses is available, many children - both boys and girls - preferring a life not circumscribed by the regular hours and discipline of the school join the category of children who refuse to go to school.

The wastage which occurs at the beginning of every term in that weeks elapse before the full complement of the class has returned to school (see page 58) is partly attributable to poverty. Children are kept from returning to school until "next week", when money

/for fees

for fees will surely be available. And next week is followed by another postponement. On the child's eventual return to school he finds it difficult to bridge the gap caused by his absence.

Books, which are only provided free by the Pimville Government School - the one Native Government School in Johannesburg - become, especially in the higher standards, a very considerable financial drain.(1) Many children struggle along for long periods without the books they require. They may be fortunate in sharing with a friend, but such deficiencies threaten the loss of interest on the part of the child, with the usual consequences of apathy, retardation, failure and complete discouragement. These incidental effects of poverty would not be so vitally important if they were counteracted by energetic family pressure on the child and by a true understanding of the importance of regular attendance without which the system of Western school education cannot be made effective. There is, however, very little understanding of the necessity for regular school attendance. As before mentioned, there is prevalent a very casual and haphazard concern for school-going on the part of both parents and children. Hence the contributary pressure of an ever present poverty greatly affects the whole situation.

Poverty, apart from inability to pay for books and fees, is of great importance even in a school like the Pimville Government School where books are provided

/without

(1) The Mother Superior of the Holy Cross Mission, Alexandra Township, compiled the following list which shows the annual cost of text books per standard. The cost does not include exercise and drawing books, crayons, pencils, etc.

Standard I	6/9	Standard IV	9/9
" II	7/3	" V	12/6
" III	7/6	" VI	The same books as in Standard V plus one additional book at 2/6.

without payment and where the school fee in the sub-standards is 3d. per term and 6d. in the standards. Unless a child is what he would consider adequately clothed he will refuse to attend school. Standards of what constitutes adequate clothing vary from school to school, and depend greatly upon the standards of the pupil's particular set of friends. In some schools a certain minimum on bi-weekly drill days - gyms and blouses for the girls and white trousers and shirts for the boys - is obligatory, although the teachers are always prepared to make exceptions for poor pupils. But the psychological reaction of the child, his feelings of hurt self-esteem, of inferiority, of being disadvantageously different from the group cannot so easily be discounted. In many cases the inability of the parents to provide a decent outfit (and the demands of the children in this respect are seldom excessive) even when fees and books can be provided causes the child to feel that further school attendance is impossible. Torn and ragged clothing is frequently made the butt of school-children's jeers, and greater callousness than that of a child does not exist. Ragged clothing passes more unnoticed among the street crowds of youngsters whose clothing, although it ranges from extreme to extreme, is on the whole on a very poor level.

In the actual reasons given for school leaving, inability to pay fees is most frequent, thereafter comes lack of suitable clothing, with lack of books as the cause least often operative.

Whether children who come from especially poverty stricken homes are, as a group, better or worse scholars than children from economically securer homes is a question of considerable interest, but one which cannot

/be answered

be answered by an uncomprising affirmation or negation. I discussed the question with a large number of teachers in the different locations. Nearly all of them were of the opinion that the children from more well-to-do homes, such as the children of shopowners and priests, were less satisfactory as scholars than children from poor homes. The former were more irregular in attendance, resentful of the teacher's criticisms and inclined to be arrogant. On the whole, the teachers considered that these children, most of whose wants and desires were fulfilled, had less inducement to strive at school than the children to whom education represented the open sesame to their otherwise unattainable wants.

On the other hand the following two Tables, giving the average ages per class of school-going children of the families investigated show, on the whole, a lower average class-age of those children coming from homes in which economic circumstances are more favourable:

Average class age (in years and months) of school-going children of families investigated according to economic condition of family. (1)

TABLE 18a. (Males)

	No. cases	S-S A	S-S B	Standards 1	2	3	4	5	6
Very poor	107	8.5	10.1	12.2	12.9	15.10	15	16	16.7
Average	150	8.11	9.4	11.2	13.2	13.3	14.8	15.4	16.11
Good	92	8.1	8.3	10.10	12.3	13	13.1	15.2	16.1

TABLE 18b. (Females)

	No. cases	S-S A	S-S B	1	2	3	4	5	6
Very poor	127	8.2	10.5	10.6	12.4	15.7	14.1	15.6	16.2
Average	130	8.6	9.10	12	12.4	14	14.5	14.10	16
Good	104	8.1	9.5	10.9	11.6	10.10	15.6	14.5	15.8

(1) These divisions are purely arbitrary. For those families for which wages of all wage-earners and income, such as that accruing from sub-letting, had been obtained, we worked out the monthly revenue at the disposal of each member of the family (regarding children under the age of 5 as one third and children under the age of 12 as one half). Those families in which the revenue per individual worked out at less than 25/- per month are classified as "very poor", those with a revenue of 25/1 to 40/- as "average", and those with a revenue of over 40/- as "good". In this last category there is, naturally, the widest range of variation.

An analysis of the occupations of the parent or guardian recorded in the admission registers of St. Peters School (1) (the only (3) Native secondary school in Johannesburg) and the Pimville Government School (1) shows a very marked difference in distribution. The admissions to the Pimville Government School cover the year 1937 only, whereas the admissions to St. Peters cover the period June, 1928 to February 1937 (excluding 112 admissions in which the occupation of the parent was not recorded). The following Table shows so marked a difference in the distribution of parents' occupations for the two schools as to offer fairly conclusive evidence of the greater accessibility of higher education to children whose parents are better educated, occupied in more skilled occupations and accordingly better remunerated.

TABLE 19. (2)

Occupation of Father or Mother (where Father is dead).

(Percentages)

	561 Admissions to St. Peters. 1-6-28 - 1-2-37.	546 Admissions Pimville Govt. Schoo Jan-Dec, 1937.
In Government employ	20	2
In Church employ	10.7	1.3
Professions (other than above)	2	-
On the land	9.3	.5
Commerce	15.7	6.4
Skilled trades	17.6	9.9
Unskilled (chiefly urban)	9.6	53.3
Housework	10.9	15.6
Miscellaneous	4	10.9

Slight contributary evidence of the advantage which children from more well-to-do families enjoy in regard to educational opportunity is provided by the fact

/that

(1) These are the only two schools among the sample which record the parents' or guardian's occupation in their admission registers.

(2) This occupational classification was evolved by Dr. Cook for his own work on Standard VI pupils. My thanks are due to Dr. Cook for supplying me with a copy of his classification.

(3). In 1939 a Government Secondary School was opened in the small community and in Orlando. The Enrolment in May, 1939, was 14, all pupils being in Std VI. It had one teacher who was also the principal.

that of the 174 Standard VI children in the Pimville Government School and the four large schools in Alexandra Township who answered Questionnaire 2, 67.8% were the children of stand-holders (many of whom were landlords in addition) and only 32.1% were tenants living in hired rooms. (1)

Tables 16 and 17 show that the percentage of boys leaving school on account of poverty is considerably larger than that of the girls. That this might be due to the greater responsibility of the boy to contribute through wage-earning to the family revenue was an explanation which offered itself. But the fact that the average school-leaving age of the boys is 13 years 9 months, 1 year 10 months less than that of the girls, ~~rules out~~ makes (a) this explanation. Furthermore the scholastic attainment of the boys' group is -4 months as compared with -1 year 4 months for the girls' group. Whether these results based, as they are, on small groups are merely fortuitous must be left an open question.

The children in their essays stressed poverty - a poverty which places the payment of fees and the purchase of books and adequate clothing beyond the reach of the family - as an important cause of school-leaving. They emphasised the low wage of the average Native as the root cause of many evils in Native life, one of the most important being early school-leaving. Especially the children above Standard VI stressed, often at great length, the extreme poverty of the average Native family. A few

/children

(1) According to estimates kindly supplied by the Secretary of the Alexandra Health Committee, out of an estimated population of 10,000 families in Alexandra, 24% are estimated to be stand-holders and 76% to be tenant families. The superintendant of Pimville Township believes that roughly 40% are stand-holders and 60% are tenants.

(a). It is possible that these boys would take up employment were it available, that the hope of becoming wage-earners animated them when first they left School.

children considered the irresponsibility of parents who dissipate their wages on drink the cause of the family's destitution. But the impression left by these essays is of the heavy pressure of an ever-present poverty.

3. To work.

School-leaving in order to take up employment is of far more frequent occurrence in Group III, the oldest group tabulated, than in the other three groups. In Group III, 24% left school in order to work, while in Group I, the children investigated shortly after school-leaving, only 6% did so. In Groups I, III and IV the percentage of boys leaving school in order to work is higher than that of the girls, although the proportions in the three groups show the same variations.

A more detailed analysis of this category of school-leavers (see Table 16), although the smallness of the group precludes the possibility of drawing conclusions, shows that both boys and girls are considerably older than those of other school-leaving categories: that the percentage of broken families is nearly twice that of the whole group; and that it has the smallest percentage of children either the youngest in the family or from the younger half of the family. This last finding is consistent with the observable tendency of the elder children in the family to be more responsible and offer more support to the family than the younger children. It also contrasts with the fact that among the category of children who refuse to go to school the largest percentage of youngest and children belonging to the younger half of the family is found.

Children leave school to work because of a poverty which allows of no other alternative, because they

/prefer

prefer wage-earning to school attendance, to which course of action the parents may either consent or take strong but usually vain exception, or because the parents see no further benefit in schooling and definitely order the child to look for employment. All three causes appear to be operative to the same extent. Conflicts within the family occur when the child, against the parents' will, insists on leaving school and taking employment, or when the child, despite a keen desire to continue schooling, is forced out to work by the parents. Conflicts of the former type appear to be far more frequent between parents and daughters than between parents and sons. If a boy genuinely desires to work, parents seldom oppose his decision. Wage-earning they consider to be the destiny of all men, while this is not necessarily so in the case of women. While it is true that many parents deliberately curtail the schooling of a girl in the belief that education is wasted on a girl whose only end is marriage, there are also a number of parents who greatly want their daughters to be educated and thus, according to the parents' conception, be more self-sufficient and better equipped to earn their living should they later have no parents or husband to support them. But many of the girls, to whom these educational opportunities are offered, hanker after quite different things. They desire independence from even mild parental supervision and, above all, elegant clothing, perfumes, cosmetics and all the perquisites of what they believe to constitute a "lady".

"Here is one of the most simple reasons which causes most girls to leave school and that is to go out of school and play 'ladies'. That is they find that in school they do not get enough chance to 'swank' as they call it. So they leave school to work.... In the long

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run she will be pointed out by nearly every man as 'the girl who once loved me'.... This kind of girl, mind you, left school not because her parents had no money to pay her fees, but because she wanted to enjoy life as she thought," writes a girl aged fifteen years in Standard VI. "The thing that really makes children to leave school is that they want high things while they are still attending school and have no money to buy them. And they are interested in every street thing", is another typical essay comment. It is significant that school-leaving, not on economic grounds, but in order to buy finery is repeatedly emphasized in the essays. The working friends of school-children parade in their impressive clothing, taunt the school-children and tell them that they are wasting their time at school when they could be wage-earning. This attitude is certainly very prevalent and exercises great influence on school-children, especially on girls who consider themselves adult sooner than boys and whose ability to attract is very largely dependent on personal adornment. And as the labour market can and does absorb large numbers of completely unskilled female juveniles for domestic purposes, parents find that caution and forbearance is a wise course to pursue if they do not want to lose their daughters altogether. I encountered several cases where the continued pressure of the parents on their daughters to force them back to school had the result of making home life intolerable for the girls. They escaped into domestic employment and did not visit their parents for months. Such examples, widely commented upon in the Native community, act as a warning to parents who have to adjust themselves as best they can to their powerlessness to control mature children and children who consider themselves mature.

The deliberate curtailment of a child's school

/career

career because the parents see no advantage in schooling seems to cause few conflicts within the family group. The girls I know whose schooling was thus stopped had no feelings of resentment and were content to remain at home. Among boys there are occasionally cases of disappointment verging on a sense of bitterness and injury. But they soon adjust themselves. The groups of school-children and of non-school-going children both have cause for inflation of self-esteem. School-children, more particularly those in higher standards, look down on children who left school without passing their "standard" (Std.6). Children who have already left school show an arrogant attitude of condescension towards school-children.

A number of children, both boys and girls, who are the eldest in their families, curtail their own educational careers to go out to work in order to give their younger brothers and sisters those full educational opportunities which they themselves had to forego. But where children elect, without being compelled by economic circumstances or their parents' dictates, to leave school to seek work, the predominant motive is the fulfillment of personal wants.

C. Refusal to attend School.

In this category, the largest of all school-leaving categories, are included all children who, in defiance of the wishes of their parents, refuse to go to school. The number of children who, not hampered by any extraneous circumstances refuse to attend school is extremely large. The percentage varies hardly at all for the four groups and comprises one quarter of all school-leavers. On reference to Table 17 (page 107), it will be seen that the percentage of recalcitrant boys, ranging

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from 28% - 36%, is higher than that of the girls which ranges from 13% - 20%. Teachers, parents and children confirm these figures in their oft-reiterated assertions that unwillingness to attend school is one of the main causes of early school-leaving.

In this category the percentage of children youngest in the family is 31 and of children in the younger half of the family is 35, both percentages being higher than for any other category. Both boys and girls in this category show the greatest retardation in scholastic attainment, being -1 year 7 months and -1 year 9 months respectively. This retardation is to a certain extent due to the frequent truancies which usually precede a determined refusal further to attend school. The girls are, on an average, 13 months older than the boys.

The domestic conflicts occasioned by a child's refusal to attend school are many and vary from extremes of coercion to a comparatively docile acceptance on the part of the parents. Parents are painfully aware of their own lack of authority over their children and showed a great desire to discuss this problem, very often taking the initiative in broaching it, and usually ending with a helpless appeal for advice. But, on the whole, when faced with a concrete situation such as the child's refusal to go to school, they are powerless to deal with it. The first resort of most parents is punishment: threats, beating, deprivation of food. Such punishment usually has the effect of increasing the child's resistance and in extreme cases his hostility is so aroused that he runs away from his home. Such desertions, though not a commonplace occurrence, occur sufficiently often to create a - to the parents - frightening precedent.

/Hence

Hence many parents desist from too extreme punishment. Very occasionally parents, after unavailing attempts to force the child back to school, appeal to the teacher. But the teacher, who has little enough influence over the school-child has none over the school-leaver, especially as his co-operation is not sought until such time as the parents are facing a situation which is beyond their control. At this stage some more advanced parents send the child to relatives in a different part of the town or in the country, or to boarding school, hoping that by removing the child from his non school-going friends, who influence him greatly, he may be brought to a more amenable frame of mind. According to the statements of parents, such treatment is often effective. A large number of parents, faced with the child's refusal to attend school, make a few desultory attempts by way of threats which are not carried out to coerce the child. If he does not respond, they accept the situation with what appears to be a typical Bantu resignation. Only in the most exceptional cases do parents - and such parents are well educated and comparatively widely read - by endeavouring to gain the confidence of their child and by attempting to get at the cause of the child's dislike of school try to rectify the situation.

The causes of the child's refusal to attend school are numerous and have been incidentally mentioned in other sections. I consider that the most important cause is to be found in the schools themselves. Overcrowding, lack of proper seating accommodation, lack of pictures, diagrams, etc., to stimulate the child's imagination combined with bad and inefficient teaching produce boredom and loss of interest. These inadequacies

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are most marked in the sub-standards (see pages 72-79) and it is at this time more than at any other that the school must be able to grip and attract the pupil. In the essays of the Standard VI children on "Why I go to School", many referred back to their initial school years and described the dislike for schooling then engendered in them. Without the pressure their parents then brought to bear on them, they stated, they would not have continued their schooling and would so have missed what they had now come to consider real and lasting benefits.

The slack manner in which parents disregard term commencement, sending their children back to school weeks late, retards the child and leaves him even more exposed to the inadequacies of teaching, accommodation and equipment. Failure in examinations is the frequent outcome of listless and apathetic attendance. And failure - especially repeated failure - inevitably extinguishes any flicker of interest and ambition which survives the first few years of school attendance.

The lack of co-operation between teacher and parents is a further contributary cause. Neither knows of the behaviour of the child in the environment which he does not control, nor of any particular problems which the child has to face in that other environment. More again, the teacher is far more out of touch with the sub-standard children than with children in the higher standards. For the European child educational success is accompanied by hope of reward. What inducement is or can be offered to the Native child? Truancy for younger children refusal to go to school is the outcome of laziness, a desire to live the leisured undisciplined life which recurring days of truancy have brought within his ken, and of sheer

/boredom

boredom and lack of interest, for older children the lack of inducement plays an increasingly important part in defining their attitude to education. They point out that there are few openings for educated Africans, and that even such work as is obtainable is remunerated on a very low scale. They quote cases of acquaintances which show that unskilled labourers are receiving the same wage as educated lawyer's clerks and as some teachers.

Apart from these reasons, the direct result of the Native educational system and of Native policy, there are operative other causes, partly due to the school system, largely due to the natural tendencies of youth. There are lazy children who find the concentration demanded in class burdensome. They do not do such homework as is set and thereby incur the teacher's displeasure. The home environment in very few cases encourages and stimulates application at school and the child tends to play truant. There are many unruly children who resent the discipline of the classroom and the insistence on punctuality and regular attendance. In such cases natural inclination is reinforced by the persuasion of children who have already left school and often truancy, increasing in frequency, precedes final withdrawal from school. In a number of families which I visited the parents were unaware of the fact that the child, after a protracted period of truancy, had been withdrawn from the school register. The child had used the school fees given him by his parents for his own ends.

A common dodge adopted by the unwilling schoolgoer is to complain at home of the teacher's treatment. He asserts that the teacher shows undue favouritism towards other children and hates him to the extent of beating and otherwise punishing him unfairly. If the child

/fails

fails he likewise ascribes it to unfair discrimination. On the whole, parents are very prone to accept the child's version and, only in exceptional cases, will they trouble to verify the story or discuss it with the teacher. The fact that corporal punishment is apparently often administered (the teacher's conception that punishment is the best method by which to achieve obedience fitting in with the general Bantu conception) lends credence to tales of excessive punishment. Some children genuinely believe that the teacher discriminates against them because he has taken a personal dislike to them. This causes a sulkily stubborn behaviour reaction. And the teacher, believing that his prestige can best be maintained by aloofness, has no knowledge of the means whereby a strained relationship of this nature can be eased.

That this friction, both actual, fabricated and imaginary, is of great importance in the school-child's career is evidenced by the fact that in 28 out of the 72 essays, disagreement with the teacher was given as a cause of school-leaving. A few cases were mentioned of children who were so troublesome that they had to be expelled. The testimony of the school-children was overwhelmingly in favour of the teachers, and most of them in their essays described the school-leavers as being lazy, refusing to do their homework, failing in examinations and so calling down the teachers' punishment. At home such children reported that the teachers "hated" them and so enlisted their parents' sympathy in their decision not to attend school.

The child's refusal to attend school is the reason for school-leaving most frequently mentioned in the essays, featuring in 34 out of the total of 72.

/Laziness

Laziness, the belief that schooling is useless and futile, the desire to gamble and loaf, the loss of interest in school and, above all, the example of non-school-going friends who jeer at the school-child, are the main reason given in the essays to account for unwillingness to go to school. A note of self-righteousness pervades these essays and they greatly stress the tendency of children who leave school on account of the above reasons to develop into "robbers and killers". "If you can take notice of children who left school you will find that most of them are drunkards", asserts a Standard VI pupil.

Some children who are appreciably older than their class-mates refuse to continue schooling. They may be over-age because they have failed repeatedly, either on account of lack of ability or because of lengthy illnesses. They may be over-age because they were sent to school late by negligent parents; or else, ~~as is frequent~~, they may be children hailing from a rural area which has no school facilities and came to town at a comparatively mature age for the express purpose of going to school. An age difference of four or five years brings with it a sense of alienness and inferiority and quite naturally drives the child to leave what has become to him a humiliating environment. Such children, however, usually leave school to work and form a very small section of the group which refuses to go to school without having any clear intention of replacing school by some other purposeful activity. Furthermore, as the age differences in most classes are very great, it is only exceptionally that over-ageness is the direct and primary cause of school-leaving.

Many causes contribute to bring about a dislike of school-going and a refusal to go to school.

/Co-operation

Co-operation between parents and teachers - almost non-existent at present - could do much to arrest this tendency. A more sympathetic approach on the part of the teacher is likewise greatly needed.(1) But however multifarious the causes and however multifarious the remedies, the fact that one quarter of school-leavers leave because they do not want to go to school is a greater reflection against the school system than against the Bantu children.

D. To go to another School.

In Group 1, one fifth of the children who were withdrawn from the school from which I received their addresses, left that school to go to another school. This may appear to be an excessively high proportion, but it is no overstatement. In actuality it is an understatement as it does not include school-leavers whose families had moved to another location, town or district. As it was not possible to obtain their addresses such families could not be followed up. The urban Native populace is, as is well known, extremely mobile and fluctuating, and the lists given me always included a large proportion of children whose families had moved. Many of these children are no doubt attending a school in their new domicile, but they could not be included.

A change of school usually means that a considerable period elapses before the child goes back to school. I carefully watched the procedure of the families who, after being evacuated from Prospect Township, were settled in Orlando. For the first six to eight

/weeks

(1) The training of Native teachers - a subject as controversial as it is imperative - does not fall within the scope of this report. But obviously school-leaving and school-teaching are different aspects of the same problem.

weeks the parents were so busy settling in that no thought was given to the children's schooling. Thereafter the matter was deferred because the child "is strange here and might get lost because there is no one to go with", or else the child's clothing had not been washed or the parents did not know what schools there were and to which school to send the child. After six months there were still children who had attended school in Prospect Township and whom it was intended to send back to school "next week".

Apart from such unavoidable school-changing due to moving, there is much inter-school mobility. Primarily this is due to the children themselves who wish to go to the same school as the particular friend of the moment. In a number of cases I found that parents were unaware of the fact that their children had gone to a different school. Furthermore, if a child fails in his examinations (and such failure is more frequently attributed to the teacher's than to the pupil's incompetence) or if the child does not get on well with his teacher, he changes to another school, often at the suggestion of his parents.

Secondly, school changes are due to denominational differences. Although I found that on the whole parents are not greatly concerned as to the denomination of the school their children attend and there are, for instance, many Anglican children attending Methodist schools and vice versa, there is in other cases parental insistence that children should attend schools run by the denomination to which they belong. At Alexandra Township there is an Amalgamated School, the Bantu Methodist Church being one of the sects party to the amalgamation. A number of Bantu Methodist parents took their

/children

children away from the other schools and sent them to the new amalgamated school. When parents leave one denomination to join another, their new-found enthusiasm often expresses itself by sending their children to the school run by the sect into which they have newly been received. Occasionally, too, while parents are content to leave young children at the nearest and most conveniently situated school, irrespective of denomination, they send the child, when older, to the school run by the denomination to which they belong so that the child may learn Lutheran, Wesleyan, etc., ways. In a few isolated cases children left a school because they alleged that attempts were being made by the teachers to win them over to the denomination of the school. In general however, unless stimulated by the rivalry of the teachers themselves, parents are not greatly concerned with the denominational differences of schools.

An attempt to stop inter-denominational competition between schools has been made by the introduction of transfer cards. A child who has before attended school is supposed to produce this transfer signed by his former principal before he can be admitted to a new school. But this system, lacking the compulsion which it has in the European school system, only works in a desultory manner. Teachers assured me that active canvassing by different denominations no longer takes place. The fact that registered schools cannot meet the demands of would-be pupils and are hard-pressed to keep within the limits of their quota - fifty pupils per teacher - bears out this contention. That teachers in private schools do canvass - more for personal than for denomination reasons - is undisputed. On the other hand, parents allege and

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quote cases as evidence thereof that teachers and ministers alike try to draw children from other schools to their own.

In this category of school-leavers boys and girls form almost equal proportions. (See Table 16). It is significant in view of the fact that these "school-leavers" are actually still at school that the percentage of broken families is smaller than in any other category and that the scholastic attainment of girls (+4 months) is the highest of all categories, while +1 month for the boys is only second to the boys in Column F which, as it only comprises 4 boys, is not a fair sample.

E. Other Causes of School-leaving.

Poverty, wage-earning, refusal to attend school and school changing are the school-leaving reasons of 70% of the school-leavers in Group 1. They account for the school-leaving of 80 - 85% of the boys but for only about 50% of the girls. The main reasons for this disparity are to be found in the greater domestic claims which are made on the girls, in the greater anxiousness of parents to remove girls from the temptations of urban life to the comparative security of the country, and the conception, still not infrequently encountered, that the education of a girl who will finally marry and so put it to no practical use, is unnecessary.

Illness: In this category only children who have been ill for a considerable period are included. Among the 10% of children in Group 1 who were withdrawn on account of illness a number intended returning to school. But as their illnesses were of a protracted and recurring nature, school attendance did not seem to be a very immediate practicability for the majority of them. Among

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the Group III school-leavers who had left school permanently, 5% left on account of illness. Although I have no figures from which to draw comparisons, I venture to state that this is a large proportion. During the course of my house-to-house visiting I was recurrently impressed by the widespread and alarming prevalence of ill-health, especially among the children. This state of ill-health, evidently largely due to low nutritional standards and consequent poor resistance, is responsible for many and prolonged absences from schools and is very possibly one of the factors causing the obvious retardation of Bantu school-children.

The position is not improved by the fact that children, even when they are fully recovered, only return to school tardily. Here again casualness and procrastination are much in evidence. Frequently, too, any mild bodily discomfort - a slight toothache, a cut finger - not sufficient to hinder the child's normal domestic and leisure-time pursuits, is made the reason for absence from school.

Visiting relatives and children sent to the country: In this category of school-leavers girls form a very much larger proportion than boys. The "visits" to relatives are often responses to requests from relatives who want the help of a child for a celebration, during an illness or to substitute for an absentee among the family's own children. For such purposes girls are obviously more suitable than boys.

When children are permanently sent to the country this is usually the outcome of the parents' anxiety and their realisation that an urban environment affects the child detrimentally. They therefore send children,

/more

more especially girls, whom they consider to be more exposed to the contagion and danger of the urban environment, to rural areas. This precaution is commonly taken when girls near the age of puberty, often with the express intention of guarding against a premarital pregnancy, sometimes in order to have the puberty ceremonies performed in the country.

In some cases children are sent to the country to enable the mother to be free for full-time domestic service or, when acute poverty presses on the family, to relieve the situation and, by distributing the family, cut down expenditure.

Care of sick relative or of baby: This category of school-leavers is, as would be expected, almost entirely composed of girls. A boy is only called upon to care for the sick or tend a baby when no girl is available. It is remarkable to find that where there is a choice of daughters, a young girl of about twelve years is usually chosen in preference to an older and assumedly more responsible girl. This may partially account for the youthfulness of the girls (average age 12 years 7 months) in this category. Although girls are usually taken away from school in the belief that the domestic exigency is only temporary, the task may drag on for years, by which time the child has lost her initial desire to continue schooling. The actual number of school withdrawals is no indication of the frequency with which children, both boys and girls, are called upon to shoulder domestic tasks. Many children can never attend school on Mondays: the girls must care for babies and infants while the mother either goes out to wash or is busy in the home with it: the boys are sent

/out to

out to fetch the washing. Not only the immediate family, but members of the extended family, seeking refuge in times of illness, call on the children of the family to care for them or their babies.

No reason: In this category are grouped school-leavers who tired of school and who, with their parents' sanction, left school without having any defined plans for future activities. Girls greatly outnumber boys, mainly because most parents, while prepared to see a girl cease school-going, would not sanction an idle break in a boy's schooling. The boys in this category are the oldest age group.

Miscellaneous: This category, as is implied, covers a miscellany of reasons. Some of the boys left school because they were considerably older than the rest of the class. Some were called back to the country by rural relatives in order to work on the land. Two boys were inexplicably lost and have not been heard of since. One father took his son out of school because he considered that Zulu was not sufficiently taught. One boy left because he had been confirmed and so both he and his parents considered his education complete. Two boys were sent to a reformatory after being convicted of theft. One boy was kept at home because his mother developed a nervous fear of the heavy traffic which he encountered on his way to school.

Four girls left school in order to marry and four because they were pregnant. One was sent to the Ekhove reformatory, and two after confirmation, were considered to have completed their schooling. For the rest parents stopped them from going to school as they saw no benefit in continued school attendance.

iv. Present Occupations of School-leavers.

The following Table shows the present occupations of the Group 1 school-leavers (139 in number - i.e. excluding the 34 children who went to another school).

TABLE 20.

	14 years and over		Under 14 years		Total
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	
Working full time	15	4			19
Working part time	5	3	2		10
Unemployed	12				12
Roaming	12	16	18	3	49
Busy in home	1	7		10	18
Reformatory	2	1			3
Sick	3	2	4	6	15
In country and visiting		5	3	5	13

Noteworthy is the fact that 12 out of the 50 boys over the age of fourteen are unemployed, and this characteristic of juvenile conditions will be more fully discussed in the next section. Noteworthy also is the fact that of the 27 boys aged below 14 years 18, that is two thirds, were roaming, which means that they were spending their time away from their homes in the company of other idlers.

v. General.

In the previous section I concerned myself with a discussion of the specific reasons for school-leaving. I now propose to discuss such general factors as my material allows of in their relation to the whole group.

In the following Table the average age per class of those children who had been withdrawn from the class registers of the twelve sample schools for the term ending March 25th, 1937, are given, together with, for reasons of comparison, the average age of the whole class. It must be pointed out that these withdrawals by no means include all the children who left school for the reason

/that

that, as explained in Section 1, page/lg , those children who leave at the end of one term and do not return during the next term are not marked as withdrawn in the registers.

TABLE 21.

	Children on Register		Withdrawals	
	Numbers	Average Age	Average Age	Numbers
S-S. A	2845	9.2	9.4	254
S-S. B	1222	10.10	11.7	87
Std. 1	1065	11.10	12.8	80
" 2	736	12.10	13.8	75
" 3	519	13.5	14.2	31
" 4	411	14.3	14.11	28
" 5	255	15.1	15.10	28
" 6	245	15.9	15.11	14
Form 1	85	16.7	17.3	2
" 11	56	17.8	17.10	3
" 111	37	18	15.9	1
" 1V	13	18.9	19	1
" V	3	19.10	-	-
TOTAL	7512		TOTAL	604

The withdrawals are slightly older than the class as a whole but in no case is the group withdrawn as much as one year older than the class average. The average age of the total group of withdrawals is 11 years 8 months.

Likewise, the percentage which the withdrawals form of the total number of children in a specific class shows no significant variation, as the following Table shows:

TABLE 22.

S-S. A	8.9
S-S. B	7.1
Std. 1	7.5
" 2	9.9
" 3	5.9
" 4	6.8
" 5	10.9
" 6	5.7
" 6+	3.6

Finally, the following Table, giving the percentages formed by the withdrawals in each standard of the total group of withdrawals, shows a close analogy to the general standard distribution in the sample schools:

/Table 23

TABLE 23.

Standard distribution (percentages).

	Withdrawals	All pupils of 12 sample Schools.
S-C. A	42.5	37.8
S-C. B	14.4	16.2
Std. 1	13.2	14.1
" 2	12.4	10
" 3	5.1	6.9
" 4	4.6	5.4
" 5	4.6	3.3
" 6	2.3	3.2
" 6+	1.1	2.5

In all, then, an age analysis of the withdrawals as shown in the registers gives completely negative results and serves only to demonstrate that the educational level of the group of withdrawals is low and their age young.

The following Table gives for the four different groups of families the percentage of broken families (families in which there is only one parent in the home) and the percentage of parents who had entered into no recognised form of marriage whatsoever (i.e. Native Customary Union, civil or Christian rites):

TABLE 24.

Percentage of Broken Families and Unmarried Parents.

	In Sample Area	Of Groups 1 and 2 of School-leavers.	Of children at School Answering Questionnaires, Std.6 and over	Economically better.
Total No. Families	100	216	345	28
Father dead	8	28	14	3
Mother dead	1	2	3	-
Both parents dead	-	2	3	-
Father deserted or separated	-	5	-	-
Total of Broken fams.	9	33	20	3
Unmarried parents	15	13	7	7

/It is

It is significant that the number of broken families among the school-leavers' families shows an increase of nearly 75% on the school-children's families and is nearly four times as great as the number of broken families in the sample area group. Long before I had analysed my material I had been led to believe that this would be the case both by African teachers and by reliable informants. They all asserted that more children from broken than from unbroken families tended to leave school. This they ascribed firstly to the fact that parental control in a fatherless home (broken families were predominantly families from which the father was missing (1)) is weaker than in a normal family and hence the proportion of recalcitrant children who refuse to attend school is greater; and secondly, to the fact that there is often great poverty in families in which the mother is the sole or chief wage-earner. Hence many children from broken families would be withdrawn on account of poverty. In one of the Standard VI essays the following typical generalisation is made. "Children who leave school are always those who did not obey their parents and these children who have no father or mother".

The economically better group shows a very low percentage both of unmarried and of broken families. This merely bears out an accepted generalisation. As the number of families in the economically better group is very small, the evidence of this group can only be accepted with reserve as an indication. The proportion of unmarried families in the sample area and in the families of the school-leavers correspond.

To obtain information from Africans whether they are married or not, on the type of marriage which has taken place,

/and on

(1) The 1936 Union census showed that in Johannesburg and suburbs there were 1796 widowers who formed 1.5% of the total male population and 3250 widows who formed 10.8% of the total female population.

and on the amount of lobola paid and promised, is not easy without paying a series of visits during which confidence and trust can be built up. The percentage of unmarried families in these two family groups will probably be considered an understatement by the specialist with a knowledge of urban Natives. I incline to believe myself that it may be a slight understatement although I do not anticipate that - after more detailed investigation - the two groups would show a decided difference in this respect or that there would be an appreciable increase in the percentage of unmarried parents.

The attitude of urban Natives towards marriage and especially towards the different forms of marriage is changing so rapidly at the present time that there are few norms to which the majority would feel bound to conform. Hence there was little, if any, evidence of shame or embarrassment on the part of the women who stated that they were not married. And many of the older women would resignedly say of their children, "They are married in the Johannesburg way", which meant that no form of marriage had taken place. On the other hand, a number of women, perceptibly being drawn into the orbit of Western conceptions, stated that they were not married although lobola had been transferred. The position is further complicated by the fact that, in some cases, while the parents know of and sanction the marriage of their children, arrangements to fix and pay the lobola are indefinitely postponed and in some cases never take place. Such marriages, although often accepted as real marriages, have only slightly more legal validity than out and out "Johannesburg marriages".

/It must

It must be borne in mind that the majority of these families with children of school-going and school-leaving age and with adult children form, on the whole, an older age group of the urban population. The large majority of them were reared in the country and married there. The husband may have worked in Johannesburg before marriage, but many of the men and a very large proportion of the women only came to Johannesburg after their marriage. It is worthy of note that among 50 Orlando families falling within the sample area, but not included in my sample area group because they were childless or only had children below school going age, 13 (26%) were not married. Informed Africans agree that marriages which are not legalised either according to Native or European law are more frequent among the younger generation of Johannesburg Natives than among the predominantly rural bred older group of Africans. This fact, together with the possible reluctance of certain informants to admit that they were not married, accounts for the comparatively small percentage of unmarried parents in these groups of families.

Size of family, in so far as my material reveals, does not appear to be a factor differentiating the school-leavers' group and the school-goers' group. The families of the children at school averaged 5.00$ children and those of the school-leavers' group 4.454 children.

The sample area reveals a far more favourable distribution according to economic standing than the school-leavers' group as the following Table shows:

TABLE 25. (percentages)

	Sample area	School-leavers' group
Income unknown	17	48
(1) Very poor	21	30
Average	36	14
Good	26	8

(1) See page 104, for explanation of terms and method of determining these economic categories.

This contrast becomes more marked, as the following Table shows, when the percentages are given not for the total groups but only for those families in the group whose economic standing could, on the basis of the material obtained, be computed:

TABLE 26. (percentages)

	Sample area	School-leavers' group
Very poor	28	[illegible]
Average	47	[illegible]
Good	25	10

On the other hand the two groups show practically no difference when the percentages are compared of parent-couples belonging to the same tribe, those belonging to two different tribes but to the same major group,(1) and those belonging to tribes of different major groups.

TABLE 27.

	Sample area	School-leavers' group.
Same tribe	59	[illegible]
Same major group	25	[illegible]
Different major group	16	12

Little and certainly no significant difference is revealed when the origin of the parents of the two groups is compared. In the following Table the percentages of parent-couples is given according as to whether both parents came originally from a Native Reserve, European farms, urban area or from a mixed background:

TABLE 28.

	Sample area	School-leavers' group
Native Reserve	47	48
European Farm	15	16
Urban area	3	10
Mixed	35	26

(1) The five major groups into which the South African Bantu belong are the Nguni, Shangana-Tonga, Sotho, Venda and Lemba. See N.J. van Warmelo. "Grouping and Ethnic Tradition" in Bantu-Speaking Tribes of South Africa. Ed. I. Schapera.

In the following Tables an attempt is made to determine whether the educational attainments of the mother and father have any decisive effect on the educational attainments of the children.

TABLE 39a.

Education of children of families investigated in relation to father's education.

Children	No. of cases	None	Little	Moderate	Good	
None	266	5.9	32.8	45.7	17.6	100
Little	209	.5	34.6	48.7	16.2	100
Moderate	105		23.8	48.5	27.7	100
Good	75		14.6	50.6	34.8	100

(1)

TABLE 39b.

Education of children of families investigated in relation to mother's education.

Children	No. of cases	None	Little	Moderate	Good	
None	260	7.3	30.4	49.6	12.7	100
Little	200	3.5	39.5	43	14	100
Moderate	219	.4	25.2	52.9	21.5	100
Good	77	1.3	11.7	45.5	43.5	100

These two Tables show a definite - although by no means constant or invariable - relation between parents' and children's education. There is, judging from the Tables, a tendency for the children of uneducated parents to obtain a far better education than had their parents. On the other hand, the Tables also show that children whose parents had a good education are themselves more likely to receive a good education than the children of uneducated and poorly educated parents.

Briefly, the material I have been able to obtain indicates that there are more broken families and that there is greater poverty in the school-leavers' group than in the sample area. (This is not a strictly valid

/comparison

(1) Obviously only children who have left school are included in these tables.
Again arbitrary categories have been defined. "Little" denotes an education up to a Std. 1 pass, "moderate" Std. 2 - Std. 5 pass, and "good" a Std. 6 pass or a higher qualification.

comparison as would be one between families of school-leavers and families of school-goers of the same age.) Furthermore, the evidence does indicate that the education of the parents has some bearing on that of the children.

The actual causes of early school-leaving are precisely those which any worker familiar with urban Native conditions would have expected to find. Poverty forces a large number (one fifth according to Table 14) out of schools. And when the children who leave school to go to work (16%) many of whom, even if not all, take employment because of necessitous home circumstances, are added to the 20% who leave because of poverty, it becomes apparent that this is the most important cause of school-leaving. Almost equally important a cause is the lack of holding power of the schools. According to my figures one quarter of the school-leavers left because they did not like school and did not wish to continue going to school, despite their parents' anxiety that they should do so and despite their parents' ability to pay for them. Not only the evidence of my admittedly small sample group of school-leavers bears out this point, but every interview with teachers and parents confirmed it. Therefore, when remedial measures are attempted, great emphasis must be laid firstly on increasing the holding power of the schools by making the teaching more competent and suitable and the surroundings more attractive and, secondly, on increasing the employment opportunities and bettering the wages of the more highly educated juveniles so that the possession of higher educational qualifications may hold out some hope of reward. Although in the lower standards, the unattractiveness of the schools is largely responsible for early school-leaving, sheer discouragement due to the knowledge

/that

that better educational qualifications frequently offer no hope of better employment and better wages is operative as a cause of school-leaving in the higher standards.

Girls are kept from school on account of the above reasons and, to a much greater extent than boys, by domestic claims and especially by the duty of looking after children under school-going age. In order to release them from this burden, creches and nursery schools will have to be provided. Other causes of early school-leaving - illness, paying visits to the country, change of domicile, sheer apathy of parents and children, and, to a diminishing extent, being over-age - are operative in a much lesser degree.

If a schooling were not free for Europeans, many children of poor parents would be unable to attend. If it were not compulsory, domestic claims would render school-attendance impossible for many such children. Apathy would account for many more non-attendances. The constant struggle which schools situated in the poor districts have to maintain attendance and the excuses which parents send in to account for the children's non-attendance bear witness to these assertions.

The assumption that school-going and consequently education as is understood in its reference to school is desirable for Bantu children is implicit throughout this report. An attempt was made at the Bantu Juvenile Delinquency Conference to prove this by reference to the few figures that were available. But, as Professor Gray points out,(1) "it does not appear that the more education

/a Native

(1) Prof. J.L.Gray. "Why Natives go to Prison", The Forum. November 26th, 1938.

a Native child has the less likely he is to commit crimes". The following Table gives the education of the Native delinquents passing through the Probation Office (percentages) :

TABLE 30. (1)

	1936-1937	1937-1938
No schooling	14	20
Sub-standards	20	12
Standards I - III	37	31
Standards IV and above	18	16

When it is realised that of the whole Native school-going populace on the Witwatersrand in 1935, 61% were in the sub-standards, 28% in Standard I - III, and 11% in Standard IV or above, and that it is computed that on the Witwatersrand only 35% of the children of school-going age are at any one time actually in school, (2) these figures cannot be made to promise that increase of school facilities will automatically mean a decrease in juvenile delinquency. Further research may, of course, prove this to be the case, and the data at present available are admittedly inadequate. But the lack of this additional proof does not invalidate the assumption that school attendance is desirable for Bantu children. I consider it not only desirable but a crying necessity. It has proved so in the case of European children. It is a question that is no longer asked or debated in civilised countries. The answer is taken to be self-evident. The arguments that were advanced in England in the early nineteenth century to prevent the extension of free educational facilities to the poorer classes could equally well be put into the mouths of representatives of certain sections of our present-day South

/African

(1) Figures taken from Tables compiled by Miss Jamison and from the article of Prof. Gray quoted above.

(2) Figures taken from Rev. E. Phillips, "The Bantu in the City", pages 152-155.

African white community. "However specious in theory the project might be, of giving education to the labouring classes of the poor, it would in effect be found to be prejudicial to their morals and happiness; it would teach them to despise their lot in life, instead of making them good servants in agriculture, and other laborious employments to which their rank in society had destined them; instead of teaching them subordination, it would render them factious and refractory, as was evident in the manufacturing countries; it would enable them to read seditious pamphlets, vicious books and publications against Christianity; it would render them insolent to their superiors." Giddy, the President of the Royal Society, is reported in Hansard to have said.(1) In South Africa to-day it could be said, as in those days in England, that we "dread the consequences of teaching the people more than.... the effect of their ignorance".(2) Owing to a certain shift in public opinion arguments of this type are not so frequently publicly expressed nowadays, and the starvation of Native education is justified on the equally untenable grounds that the revenue from direct Native taxation cannot bear the cost of its expansions. But nevertheless, I am convinced that this fear of Native enlightenment yet remains a most powerful motive underlying present opposition to increased educational facilities for Natives.

I have no figures which could be used as proof of the contention that schooling for all urban Native

/Native (footnote)

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(1) Quoted from J.L.Hammond and Barbara Hammond, "The Town Labourer, 1760-1832", page 70.

(2) Ibid, page 67.

Native children would be beneficial.(1) I have only the evidence of my own observations in the locations, confirmed by Europeans and Natives alike, that Native juveniles, especially the boys, should be given no opportunity for early school-leaving and subsequent idleness. European employers affirm emphatically that boys who take up employment immediately after leaving school make the most satisfactory employees. It is undeniable that it is after leaving school, when the juvenile has neither occupation, employment nor recreation, that undesirable habits are formed. And these unoccupied groups of juveniles exert a strong and unhealthy influence on the school-goers. In order to eliminate this undesirable gap between school-going and employment, children must be kept at school longer and thereafter every attempt must be made immediately to place them in employment.

In the next section I shall outline briefly those measures which I consider most necessary to adjust this

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(1) I have no means of estimating the number of Native children of school-going age who are not at school. That it is a very large proportion is evident in the locations. Although the figures of the Johannesburg Municipal Census taken in July, 1938, are not, at the time of writing, available, Mr. Venables states that the number of Native children of school-going age (7 - 15 inclusive) as shown by the census figures is close to the number which the Johannesburg Native Affairs Dept. estimated even before the census, namely 40,000. The number of school-goers in 1937 was slightly over 15,000.

The Union Census of 1936, on the other hand, shows a vastly different result. According to a statement showing the ages of Natives with which the Director of Census and Statistics kindly supplied me, there were in May, 1936, in the Magisterial District of Johannesburg 18,598, in Johannesburg and Suburbs 16,609 children of the ages 7 years to 15 years. Both classifications include Alexandra Township, Pimville and Orlando.

That these Census figures do not represent the true position seems to be an unavoidable conclusion, but I cannot embark on any further discussion of them.

unsatisfactory situation. In the Section 4 I shall deal with the question of juvenile employment.

vi. Recommendations.

1. It has been established that Native children are early school-leavers, early both in regard to age and to standard attained. If, in sincerity, it is desired that Native children should remain school-goers for a longer period, the obvious course is to introduce compulsory schooling. The Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education recommended "that the Government accept the principle of compulsory education for Native children in areas where circumstances are favourable". (1) An urban area like Johannesburg appears to be pre-eminently an "area where circumstances are favourable". There are great numbers of children living in specially segregated areas and the question of transport does not arise. There are no services, such as the agricultural and pastoral work done by children in the country, which urban Native children must inevitably perform. Furthermore, these children require schooling and, as I believe the evidence in this section has shown, even were adequate school facilities available, this availability in itself would not be sufficient to keep the children at school.

But compulsory education alone will not be sufficient; it must be free, for legally to enforce Natives to send their children to school when they have not the means to pay fee their fees and books would create an intolerable situation.

I see no reason for raking the age up to which schooling for Natives is to be compulsory lower than for

/European.

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(1) U.G. 29/1936, par. 409.

Europeans. No purpose can be served by releasing Native children from compulsory schooling at an age lower than the completion of their fifteenth year. Occupational opportunities for children younger than 16 years are infrequent. In view of this condition of the labour market I submit that by making schooling compulsory only up to the completion of their thirteenth or fourteenth year, one of the main purposes of compulsory education, which is to ensure immediate progression from school to employment, will be defeated. On the other hand, as the average Native class-age is some two years higher than the European average age for the same class, I suggest that the school-leaving standard be lower than the European school-leaving standard, with this proviso: that this differentiation be considered temporary and the whole policy of Native education be directed towards ensuring the more rapid progression of Native children, more especially in the sub-standards, with a view towards eliminating this lag in the Native child's school development.

I suggest therefore that compulsory and free education be gradually introduced in urban areas, as the requisite number of teachers complete their training, for Native children from the age of seven until they pass Standard IV or attain the age of sixteen.

2. Objections to compulsory schooling will be raised not only by Europeans but also by Africans. Africans parents will maintain, just as poor European parents maintained when European compulsory education was introduced, that the children are required in the house, that they must look after the younger children and that, for a number of other reasons, they cannot be spared from the home. And, in view of the low wage rate which makes it necessary for the wife to contribute to the family income, Africans will make these

/assertions

assertions with considerable justification. The most indispensable task of many would-be school-goers is to look after the toddlers in the family while the mother is out on employment. Therefore the introduction of compulsory education demands also the establishment of creches and nursery schools if the wife is not to be deterred from her wage-earning activities and to prevent the family, through the loss of these earnings, from being even more economically crippled than before.

3. This recommendation that creches and nursery schools be opened for pre-school children so as not to interfere with the mother's employment, must not be construed as approval of an economic system and an average wage so low that the husband and father cannot support his family. In common with all other investigators and with social workers, I assert that many of the unsatisfactory features of Native urban life, not only economic but also social, are due to this low wage level. I consider that the gradual raising of the Native labourer's wage by means of minimum wage legislation (1) in the different industries and trades is the first essential measure which must precede any further constructive and permanent reorganisation in the urban Native community. Above all, in the interest of creating an integrated and stable family life, the mother of the family must be freed from her dual role of wage-earner and housewife and enabled to give all her attention to her children and her home.

4. Although I do not recommend that schooling be compulsory for children below the age of seven, I urge that schools should accept younger children who wish to attend

(1) For greater elaboration of this point see page 210

I can see no possible reason, except the obvious reason of curtailing expenditure, for refusing school admission to children aged six and condemning them to idleness when they could be constructively occupied with their schooling. At present, when the few existing pre-school classes can cope only with a very small proportion of the six year old pre-school children, there is very great need for relief in this connection. Even were pre-school classes to be opened in great number, there would still be no justification for denying school admission to the bright six year old desirous of entering school. Now, when these pre-school classes have not been established, strong objection must be taken to the present policy of closing the schools to children not yet aged seven years, whose parents and they themselves are anxious that they should commence their schooling. Habits of indiscipline and street-idling are not formed only when children have reached the age of seven years. There is no such time demarcation, and the results of forcing the pre-school child onto the streets for occupation may well have deleterious results.

5. Not only must schooling be made compulsory and free if early school-leaving is to be avoided, but many reforms must be carried out in the schools if this schooling is to prove of real benefit. As I am not an educationalist and as this subject requires a specialist's investigations and a specialist's reports, I shall only briefly summarise those aspects in which reforms appear to me to be most needed.

A. The whole conception of the place which the initial years of schooling play in a child's school development must be revised. African principals and teachers must be made aware of the importance of giving the

/sub-standard

sub-standard child a good foundation.

i. To this end the most competent teachers must be placed in the sub-standards and, if it is at all possible, special teacher-training courses for beginner's classes should be inaugurated.

ii. Accommodation for sub-standard classes should be the best available, not the worst as is at present the case.

iii. It is necessary to eliminate overcrowding in the sub-standards.

iv. Diagrams, pictures and general equipment must be made available to the sub-standards in order to awaken the pupils' interest and make lessons attractive.

B. No teacher should teach more than one standard. Therefore the amalgamation of the higher standards of schools in the same district should be expedited.

C. Principals of large schools should as far as possible be relieved of teaching so as to enable them to devote more time to supervision, to the keeping of accurate records and to acquainting themselves with the problems of their school and its pupils.

D. Home-visiting when a child has been absent for five consecutive days and when a child fails to return to school within one week of term commencement should be made obligatory for class teachers and accurate records of these visits sent in weekly to the principal. Home-visiting by the teachers to the homes of pupils who have not been absent should be encouraged so as to establish the very necessary contact between parents and teachers, between home and school.

E. The establishment of parent-teachers associations, unsatisfactory though their beginnings may prove to be,

/should

should be zealously fostered and encouraged.

5. The production of a transfer card giving the details of the child's school record should be made obligatory before a child is accepted by a new school after he has left a previous school.

6. Finally, efforts should be made to imbue teachers with a fuller conception of what the function of a teacher actually implies. I, personally, cannot see how this can be achieved without giving a lengthier course of teacher-training (the objections to a Union-wide raising of the standard of general education - Standard VI - required for admission to teacher-training courses as stated by the Interdepartmental Committee on Native Education - par. 634 - appear to be very well founded) and without raising the salaries of teachers. The fact however remains that very many African teachers have a low standard of education, are incompetent teachers and make no attempt to extend the scope of their work.

6. Compulsory education and the improvement of schools and teaching methods will not achieve their full effect unless the ambition of the school-goer can be stirred by offering inducements towards educational success by increasing the extent and diversity of skilled employment open to Native juveniles and also by introducing a scale of wages which will assure the educated a wage commensurate with their qualifications. For while the school-goer has nothing to look forward to but the unskilled labourer's work, for which the completely uneducated are equally well fitted, he can hardly be expected to respond enthusiastically to the educational facilities open to him.

7. Simultaneously with reforms in the school, attempts must be made to introduce in the home a different

/attitude

attitude on the part of parents towards their children. The fact that familiarity does not necessarily entail contempt, that strictness, aloofness and sternness do not necessarily ensure obedience are concepts foreign to urban Africans. They are largely unaware of the wider responsibilities and duties, other than economic, of parents towards children and of the manner in which parents can assist children by interesting themselves in the children's activities. How this change can be brought about I do not know. This change is already taking place in a small number of educated families. Possibly, with a higher general educational level and with the increasing adaptation to European ways of life which is very evident among urban Africans, this change in family relationships will gradually automatically take place. By means of the active encouragement and widespread formation of women's clubs (1) at which lectures and talks on housekeeping, child-welfare and the problems which arise in the upbringing of children are given, it is possible that the commencement of a more satisfactory adjustment in family relationships may be brought about.

8. The establishment of adult educational classes, night classes for men and day and night classes for women, would help considerably in bridging that gulf in knowledge between parents and children which is frequently very apparent and the cause of misunderstanding. (2).

9. I strongly urge the establishment of day clubs, more especially for boys, but also on a more limited scale for girls. At present, while there is no compulsory schooling and hundreds of male juveniles spend their days on the

/streets.

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(1) Such clubs are being encouraged by the Municipality, but they do not as yet include any considerable proportion of urban women.

(2). The Non-Native Educational Council in 1939 made substantial progress in its work of adult education by inaugurating a program of classes leading to matriculation. These classes are held daily at the Bantu Men's Social Centre in the late afternoons.

streets, such clubs are imperatively necessary to take the boys from the streets and to wean them from such pursuits as gambling and dagga smoking. If compulsory schooling is introduced, they will be necessary to cater only for juveniles between the time of school-leaving and employment, but they will be necessary none the less to avoid the intervention of a period of idleness between these two occupations. Those clubs will have to be open daily else they will not achieve their purpose, and they must work in close co-operation with an employment agency, preferably a Native Juvenile Affairs Board.

18. To enable progressive families to remove their children from demoralising influences, I suggest that certain sections of Municipal locations be set aside for such families, to allow them there to build their own houses, subject to careful control of building plans and prohibition of sub-letting. The criteria on which families qualify for this right should not be economic only, but also educational. It will be extremely difficult to set down hard and fast standards and each case will have to be dealt with largely on its own merits. The whole scheme obviously would be experimental and would require much patient explanation, but as an experiment in attempting to build the foundations for the respectable permanent urban-dweller, I think it would prove well worth testing.

11. As schooling is only part of the general educational development of the child, and the child must be fitted to take his place not only as a member of his family group but in the wider setting of the whole community, the state of that community will greatly influence his adjustment to it. At present, public opinion in the Native community is a negligible force. There are two main reasons for

/this:

this: the fluctuating nature of the community, and the fact that onerous discriminative restrictions are legally enforced on Natives, bringing them frequently into conflict with a law which they themselves do not sanction. If the schooling which the Native child is to receive is to be effective in its final purpose, that is to make of him a law-abiding, well-adjusted and satisfied adult, then efforts must be made to stabilise the urban Native population and provide at least a permanent nucleus, and secondly, to rescue the law from that disrepute into which it has fallen. This can be achieved primarily by lessening the occasions of offence for Natives. The law must be accepted by the people on whom it is enforced. If this is not the case, then only chaos can arise from out of the resultant conflict.

12. Finally, if the present policy of using for Native services only such revenue as is produced by direct Native taxation is to remain operative, then not one of these recommendations can be carried out. For if only those improvements which involve little or no cost are attempted, the resultant effect will be almost negligible. If there is a genuine desire to bring about real and permanent readjustment and rehabilitation of urban Africans, the cost to Government and Municipality alike will be great and must be borne. If there is no willingness to shoulder this burden, if the poorest section of the community is in future as in the past to be called upon to pay for its own services, if Native finances are to remain a fantastic struggle of robbing Peter to pay Paul, then the evidence of important commissions as well as of a negligible enquiry such as this one is, will be useless and futile.

SECTION XV.

OCCUPATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES OPEN TO NATIVE JUVENILES.

1. Introductory.

In my attempts to obtain information on the occupational opportunities open to Native juveniles, I have been severely handicapped by the complete lack of statistical data . The Department of Native Affairs does not differentiate, for record purposes, between adults and juveniles. The Department of Labour, likewise, has no figures available. The provisions of the Factories Act apply equally to Europeans and non-Europeans. But the ignorance of employers, many of whom do not realise that the Act also applies to non-Europeans, the reluctance of non-Europeans to comply with the provisions of the Act and the inadequacy of Labour Department supervision due to understaffing, make the records of non-Europeans demanded by the Act quite worthless. In 1936, according to the Department of Labour, there were eight non-European juveniles employed in factories in the Transvaal, Orange Free State and Northern Cape. In 1937, for the same area, this number increased to 62, 55 having been discovered during the year in Vereeniging, and of the remaining seven, four were in Nelspruit and three in Johannesburg. The officials in the Department themselves point out the utter unreliability of these figures. The provisions of the Act which are primarily intended to protect juveniles by making the production of a certificate of physical fitness obligatory for juveniles between the ages of fourteen and sixteen desirous of obtaining employment in factories, have aroused the intense distrust of Native juveniles. Often juveniles engaged by a scrupulous employer desert the moment they are told that they must be medically

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examined. Very many, realising the situation, give their age a s sixteen although they may be younger. This is but one of the many instances in which ignorance, combined with distrust and suspicion, detrimentally affects the attitude of Bantu juveniles.

As information was not available from official sources, I decided that my best line of enquiry would be to interview employers, trade union and industrial officials, and factory inspectors in the Department of Labour. Miss Winter, factory inspector in the Department of Labour, very kindly helped me to prepare a list of factories in which I would be likely to find juvenile employees. Mr. Gordon, Secretary of the Non-European Laundry Workers' Union, checked this list with me, and in the course of several lengthy interviews, gave me much helpful adv . I accordingly visited 50 industrial and commercial concerns, and interviewed some 25 trade union, industrial council government and municipal officials.

As a result of these enquiries it seems possible to me to indicate those occupations in which juveniles are now employed. It is self-evident that my enquiries do not enable me to give a complete account of Native juvenile occupational distribution. Such figures as I do give in regard to specific industries must be interpreted more as indications of present conditions than as statistically accurate records.

For the purposes of this enquiry I defined a juvenile as a Native below the age of twenty-one. When making enquiries from employers, this definition had often to be amended to "obviously young boys". In most concerns the employer is not concerned with the actual age of his employee. In many cases the Native employees themselves do not know

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their ages, and it is only by making lengthy and detailed enquiries that an approximate age can be established. This applies more especially to rural Natives. When I was making a survey of the caddies employed on a golf courses, all of whom had been reared in the country, I found that only 5 out of 42 boys could state their age definitely. The employer is concerned, then, not with age but with the physical maturity of his employees. Hence, although trade union and industrial council officials informed me that no juveniles are employed in the building or furniture industries, a number of men of nineteen to twenty, who would fall under my definition of a juvenile, are nevertheless employed in these two industries. As such employees are well grown and physically developed, they can satisfactorily undertake the work in these industries. To all intents and purposes these juveniles are adults. They perform the same work as the adult labourers and are juveniles according to the age criterion only.

Most employers, unless they employ a fair proportion of juveniles for work which they definitely regard as "piccanins' jobs" or unless they as a principle never employ juveniles, have to make enquiries from their boss-boys before they can answer questions as to the number of juveniles in their employ. In some cases, it was only by reference to the wage records and thereafter acting on the assumption that the employees receiving a low wage were juveniles, that the employers could estimate the number of juveniles working for them. I make mention of these facts to show the difficulties in the way of the collection of data, as a warning of its inevitable unreliability and as a justification for the inadequacy of my material.

I believe that my enquiries covered at least one - and in most cases more - representative of each type of

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commercial and industrial concern in Johannesburg in which juveniles are employed to any considerable extent. An estimate, based on figures given by employers, shews that Native juveniles formed one fifth of the total number of Native employees in those concerns which I visited. Under the direction of Mr. Kernick, Native Welfare Officer to the Native Affairs Department, lists were kept by all pass offices in Johannesburg during the period September 16th. to October 25th, 1937, of all juveniles who were registered on a service contract. These juveniles, 1215 in number, formed 6.8% of the total number of Natives registered during that period.

ii. Occupational Review.

A. Industries with fixed wages and none or few Native juvenile employees. In the building, furniture, engineering, motor (garages) and canvas and ropemaking industries, no juveniles are employed. Any Natives, even though juveniles according to definition, who are employed in these industries must be classed as adults from the point of view of physical maturity and ability to undertake heavy manual work. These five industries have two points in common: they all demand more or less arduous physical work from their employees and in each industry there is a fixed wage for unskilled work laid down by Wage Determination or Industrial Agreement ranging from 5½d. per hour in the building industry to 24/- per week in the furniture industry. The letter written by the Secretary of the Industrial Council for the Canvas and Ropemaking industry in reply to my questions succintly summarises the position. He writes, "I am instructed to inform you that there are no Native juveniles employed in the Industry in any capacity and that

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there is no likelihood of their being employed in the future".

The Liquor and Catering trade, with a fixed wage of 20/- per week can conveniently be included in this section, with this difference that the work demanded is slightly less arduous. The scope for juveniles is very limited and there is practically none employed in the industry. Although there is, for the most part, a premium on physical strength in these industries, the existence of a minimum wage, even though it safeguards the adults, does definitely exclude juveniles. Hence, even where the work is not physically exacting and could be performed by a juvenile, the employer refuses to take on a juvenile when he can for the same wage employ an adult.

Leather (excluding canvas shoe and rubber factories), printing and tea and coffee are among the industries with a fixed wage and no juvenile employees. Skilled work in the leather industry is practically entirely reserved for Europeans and the industry, as such, enjoys a high protective tariff. For semi-skilled work Cape Coloureds are prefer to Natives, and for the unskilled work which involves trying and stacking adult Natives are required.

The printing industry employs practically no juveniles. A high degree of skill is necessary, and Natives engaged as compositors require a lengthy training. It is a fact worthy of mention that there are no Native apprentices even in the printing works of the Bantu World and the Bantu. The Editor of the Bantu stated that the staff was too small to undertake the training of apprentices and he also mentioned that he had not received a single application from prospective apprentices as they prefer to receive their training at an industrial school. Cardboard box factories fall under the same wage regulations for skilled

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work (i.e. tending machines) as the printing industry. Some juveniles, not many in number, are employed in tweh factories chiefly for counting boxes and tying them in bundles of a specified number. Wages commence at 7/6d. per week. The juvenile labour force is apparently very unstable and there is a large turn-over. Responsible adult Natives operate the machines.

The tea and coffee industry is interesting in that it is one of the few industries (1) in which there is a differential Native wage scale: 25/- per week for juveniles and 30/- per week for adults. In Johannesburg where the Native staffs of tea and coffee firms are small, this differential wage is no inducement to the employment of juveniles. Ebenton and Mitchell and Tuchtens, the two firms I visited, had no juvenile employees. They declared that the small saving effected on wages is no recompense for the additional supervision required when juveniles are employed. The bulk of the packing is, however, done at Cape Town and Durban, where the goods arrive in bulk, and the differential wage rate is of greater consequence there.

In the textile, clothing and laundry industries there is a fixed wage, but despite this a small number of juveniles is employed. The textile firm (2) which I visited

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(1) The differential wage scale is of considerable importance in the Canvas Shoe and Rubber industry (see page 159) There is a differential wage for delivery van assistants in the Baking industry. In the Hairdressing trade a differential wage for labourers of 24/- per week for adults and of 16/- per week for juveniles (under 18 years) came into operation in August, 1938. This is not an occupation which offers wide scope to Natives and it is hence not treated seperately. Mr. Max Gerdon stated in Oct. 1938 that no substitution of adults by juveniles has taken place, as most hairdressers or barbers employ one Native labourer only and find that it is worth their while to pay 8/- more and have an adult employee.

(2) Many firms asked me to refrain from mentioning their names and I have respected their desire for anonymity throughout this section.

employed a small number of Native juveniles in its spinning department. For this work, the employer assured me, he found juveniles definitely preferable as they showed greater manual dexterity and were easier to train than the older men who are less adaptable. Most of the juveniles employed were urban Natives and proved themselves very satisfactory in this factory. The employer further stated that the scope for Native juvenile employment could be considerably extended if it were not for the prejudice of the white workers. In this, as in many other industries, the white worker in his fear of Native competition resents the least intrusion of the Native worker into semi-skilled work and is apt to regard it as the thin end of the wedge which will eventually lead to the wholesale displacement of the white worker.

Until my interviews with the Secretary of the Native garment workers union and the Secretary of the Clothing Manufacturers Employers Association, I had believed, on the basis of my contacts with location youths, that the clothing industry would figure outstandingly as an occupational opening for Native juveniles. Labour Department officials were inclined to confirm this impression. My own mistaken opinion is due to the facts that such juveniles as are employed in this industry are practically entirely urban and that the labour turnover among them is very great. As the Labour Department deals with all Native complaints in regard to wages and disputes with employers, the (1)

(1) This industry is governed by an Industrial Council Agreement for Europeans and a Wage Board Determination for Natives. No minimum wage is laid down for unskilled labourers. The Wage Board recommendations for Garment Making trades gazetted on July 29th 1938 propose a minimum wage on the Witwatersrand of 24/- for the adult labourer and 15/- for the juvenile (under 17 years). I am, however, informed that juveniles will in the final determination be reckoned as under 18 yrs. of age. The chief objection of the Native trade union to these recommendations is that while 30/- for adults and 17/6 for juveniles is the wage proposed for unskilled labourers in District 6 (the magisterial districts of the Cape, Belville, Wynberg, and Simonstown where unskilled labour is chiefly Coloured) the wage proposed for unskilled labour (chiefly Native) in all other districts is 24/- for adults and 15/- for juveniles. This despite the fact that the wages proposed for skilled workers are lower in District 6 than in District A (the Rand).

impression of a larger Native labour force than is actually employed in this industry is created. In actual fact the number of juveniles engaged in the clothing industry is very small and is not likely to increase as it is this industry which offers the greatest scope for the increasing number of European female workers. It is estimated that not more than 100 - 120 Native juveniles are employed in Johannesburg in the clothing industry. The Wage Board returns for March 1936 showed that 556 Male Native adults and 32 Male Native juveniles were employed in the clothing industry of the Witwatersrand. These returns did not include unskilled juveniles employed as sweepers, tea-boys and messengers. The majority of Native juveniles in the industry are employed in this way, and only a small number are employed as nippers, an occupation which carries a minimum wage of 17/6 per week. Some few of them may go on to pressing, an arduous occupation but one comparatively well paid at £3 per week. It is true of this industry, as of many others, that the larger the factory and its labour force, the smaller the proportion of Native juvenile workers. Powerplus, for Johannesburg a typical clothing factory, employs 200 white female workers, and 22 Natives of whom 6 are juveniles. 3 of these juveniles are sweepers and perform odd jobs at 10/- per week, and 3 are learner-pressers at 17/6 per week. In a very much smaller factory, not a member of the employer's association, I found 6 Native juvenile employees to a total labour force, the majority of whom were Cape Coloureds, of about 25. On the whole the scope for Natives is very limited and the prospects for juveniles very poor in this industry.

In the Laundry industry with about a 90% Native

/labour force

labour force - a minimum wage of 22/6 per week for unskilled work, there is a small outlet for juveniles. This industry is peculiar in that a large proportion of its workers are Sothe peoples hailing from the Rustenberg and Nzmanskraal districts and it is not uncommon to find a number of relatives engaged in the same laundry. The industry is practically unique in that it has a well-organised and effective trade union; effective because the work is semi-skilled and the workers cannot be replaced by unskilled labourers. The secretary of a combine of four laundries stated that among the 800 Native employees there were practically no juveniles. The Manager of the Model Steam Laundry, on the other hand, stated that some 40% of his total 120 Native employees are juveniles. It is noteworthy however, that only 4 of these juveniles come from urban locations and that almost all of the juveniles are relatives of the adult employees. Many urban juveniles apply for work at the plant, but very few are taken on. The Manager's experience of them has been unsatisfactory; he is now definitely suspicious of "flash-looking" urban juveniles and not prepared to try them out as employees. (1)

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(1) The new Wage Board recommendations which appeared for objections in Oct. 1938 propose a wage of 24/- per week for adults and 16/- per week for juveniles (under 18 yrs.) for unskilled labour, such as delivery boys, messengers and shakers-out. The Native Trade Union, according to Mr. Max Gordon, is opposing these recommendations strenuously. It objects to the attempt to make certain classes of work the preserve of juveniles only, as it envisages this work becoming, as no ratios are laid down and substitution of adults by juveniles is feared. Native Trade Unions in general appear strongly to resent any attempt to lower wages by introducing a very much lower juvenile wage, while the adult wage is not increased. Under the "gentlemen's agreement" governing wages in the laundry industry, weekly wages for unskilled work range from 22/6 to 27/6.
In May 1939 the determination was gazetted to come into operation on May 29th the ~~wages~~ differential wage scale as set out above was not altered.

The Baking industry for which a determination was gazetted on January 14th, 1938, is still in a state of flux. Out of a total Native labour force of 11,000, Mr. Gordon estimates that about 20% are juveniles. In the Crystal Confectionery a large number - about 100 out of a total Native staff of 200 - of juveniles was employed in January, 1938. They were earning 15/- per week and less, exact information not being available. The introduction of a minimum wage for unskilled work of 29/3 per week and a differential wage for delivery van assistants, viz. 30/- per week for adults and 22/6 per week for juveniles (under 18) will considerably affect the position. The employers forecast that they would reduce the number of juvenile employees, rationalise in as far as possible their labour system, and substitute white employees for Natives in the highly paid positions.(1)

B. Industries with fixed wages and large proportion of Native juvenile employees. Bespoke tailoring, with its minimum wage of 30/- per week for unskilled workers appears to be in direct contradiction of the deduction that fixed wages tend towards the practical exclusion of juvenile employees until it is realised that the actual Native wage payments in this industry differ greatly from those laid down in the Agreement. An ex-chairman of the Industrial Council confidently asserted that at least 80% of the Native labourers in this industry are being paid less than the fixed wage. In February, 1938, only six exemptions from this wage had been granted, but the majority of employers were paying less than 30/- per week, not less

(1) Mr. M. Gordon stated in October, 1938, that few, if any, displacements of adult delivery van assistants by juveniles had taken place. A considerable number of juveniles had, however, been dispossed by the Crystal Confectionery since the introduction of the minimum wage of 29/3d. per week.

7/6, the median wage apparently being 20/- per week. According to the Inspector to the Industrial Council for Bespoke Tailoring there are about 160 Native labourers in this industry, of whom about 120 are juveniles. There are only 12 Native journeymen and about 6000 white employees, all engaged in semi-skilled to highly skilled work. Any progression from unskilled to semi-skilled or skilled work in this industry seems to be quite improbable. When I put this question to one of the middlemen in the industry he pointed to a woman worker in his workshop and said that if he were not present to instruct the hypothetical Native learner the woman would be called upon do do so. That this should be allowed to happen was to him - and this attitude is typical - quite unthinkable. In this industry it is again noticeable that the larger firms employ Native adults and the smaller firms Native juveniles. Ben Pickles, one of the largest tailoring establishments in Johannesburg, employs in its workshop and branches 8 Natives, all of whom are adults. The wage position in this industry is extremely unsatisfactory but it seems likely that any sudden and rigid enforcement of the regulations would result in many dismissals. Bespoke Tailoring is apparently passing through a difficult phase, beset by the competition both of ready-made imported clothing and by the increase of factory bespoke work. But if the industry is not able to pay the fixed wage, then it seems reasonable to demand that the Industrial Council should grant the requisite exemptions. The inevitable conclusion is that the representation of Native workers on the Industrial Council is either non-existent or extremely unsatisfactory.

The Canvas Shoe and Rubber industry which falls under the leather industry is, to my knowledge, the only

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other industry with fixed wages which offers great scope, in proportion to its total Native labour force, to Native juveniles. There are, however, only two such factories in Johannesburg and between them they employ about 160 adult Natives and about 80 Native juveniles. In the one factory the proportion of juveniles to adults is roughly 30 to 90, and in the other 30 to 70. Mainly adult Natives are employed in mixing and making the rubber preparation, juvenile Natives cut the rubber soles, cut the canvas and fix it onto the soles. The machining and baling of the uppers is performed by European women. In this industry there is a differential wage scale: 30/- per week for Native adults, 15/- per week for juveniles (under 21 years) with half-yearly increases of 2/6 until the full wage of 30/- is reached. Both employers assured me that the lower rate of remuneration for juveniles was not the reason for their comparative predominance. It is due, they stated, to the greater manual dexterity and adaptability of juveniles. Both employers expressed themselves as satisfied with the Native juvenile employees, who are overwhelmingly of urban origin or rearing, and had no complaints to make on the score of unreliability, unpunctuality, irresponsibility or independence - charges which employers frequently make against juveniles, both Bantu and European. But while the one employer was well satisfied with the present labour situation in this industry, the other employer was emphatic in the expression of his desire to make the industry a "white" industry and not, as now, a "kaffir" industry. He felt sure that the government, which has recently lowered the tariff on "takkies" (but not sufficiently to make Japanese goods competitive) would willingly grant additional tariff protection on the assurance that Native labour would be replaced by white labour. Hence

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the expansion of this industry does not necessarily imply increased employment opportunities for Native juveniles.

C. Industries with no fixed wage and none or few Native juvenile employees. In the Stone, Clay and Glass industry (which includes brickmaking), although there is no fixed wage, juveniles cannot find occupational opportunities as the work, which demands physical strength, is too heavy for them. Bricks and Potteries, a concern which employs 365 Native adults, has two juveniles in its employ. These two juveniles are not engaged in actual manufacture but in sweeping and cleaning the ground in which the firm's employees are housed. Another brickyard which I visited employed 150 Natives, at an average wage of 40/- per month plus rations and quarters. The work was of such a nature that no juveniles were employed. The position in regard to paint factories is very similar.

In the class of industry in which there are no fixed wages, nor yet are Native juveniles employed, I include such concerns as Price's Candles, the Transvaal Drug Co., Crystalliserers Ltd. and the Harrits Hat Factory. The Transvaal Drug Co. and Crystallisers, both chemical manufacturers, have no Native juveniles. The work performed by their Native employees is fairly arduous, consisting chiefly in carrying and loading cases. White females pack the products and both employers insist that the finished article must be handled by Europeans only - a dictum fully supported by the Labour Department. Undoubtedly Native juveniles could easily perform such work as wrapping, filling bottles, packing articles into cases, all of which is unskilled work. But the prejudice of manufacturer, European employees, consumer, backed as it is by Labour Department pressure, is a barrier to the encroachment of Native juveniles. A chemical manufacturer stated that he had, at one time, contemplated

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employing Native juveniles to assist his European female workers in filling bottles, but they had objected so strongly that he had immediately dropped the project. Price's Candles, employing an adult Native labour force of 75, have in the past employed an odd Native juvenile, but finding that "he played the fool" now only employ adults. The Harrits Hat Company is fairly typical of a number of concerns in which the majority of the employees are Europeans. The Native labour force is not large - 19 in this case - and only one juvenile, a Cape Coloured, is employed. Much of the work, it is true, is heavy, but there are a number of jobs which Native juveniles could undertake.

Similar to the above group of factories in that there is no fixed wage, but differing from them in that there is slightly more scope for juvenile employment are seven miscellaneous factories, a brief description of whose Native staff may serve to illustrate the extent of occupational scope for Native juveniles in industries not regulated by determination or agreement. The Rand [redacted] Manufacturers employ 36 adult Natives and four juveniles. The latter commence at 10/- a week, can rise to 15/- per week, and are chiefly engaged in painting brushes. The other work in the factory is regarded as either too heavy or too responsible for juveniles. There are about 80 Native adults and 4 juveniles employed in a tobacco factory. The Manager expressed a preference for juveniles as new employees as he considered that they are more easily and quickly trained than adults. But much of the work is heavy, the labour force is a fairly permanent one, there are few vacancies and such vacancies as do occur are immediately filled by relatives of old employees. Juveniles are paid 15/- per week. The United Macaroni factory employs fourteen

/adult

adult Natives and 5 juveniles of about 18 to 20 years of age, who earn 15/- per week. At one time this firm employed 6 boys aged 14 to 16 years at 10/- per week, but they proved to be so unsatisfactory - unreliable, insubordinate and apt to "play around" the moment supervision was relaxed - that they were dismissed and the present 5 rather older boys engaged. The 5 older boys do the work of the 6 younger boys and the increase in wages of the total older group is only 15/- per week. The present five juveniles show little tendency, according to the employer, to settle down and are unlikely to be promoted to more responsible work. A firm of mineral water manufacturers estimated that of their Native staff of 75, 6 were juveniles. The Native employees (including the juveniles) here earn from 30/- per month plus quarters and rations upwards. Apart from the arduous work of loading vans and stacking cases and the more responsible work of tending the more complicated machines in the factory, a fair amount of work in the factory, such as feeding the bottling and labelling machines, could easily be performed by juveniles. Lever Bros. employ at their Auckland Park Soap Factory 115 Natives of whom not more than 7 are juveniles. The juveniles earn from 35/- to 40/- per month plus quarters and rations. Although much of the work in this factory is physically heavy or responsible and hence only suitable for adults, I am convinced that with encouragement the scope for juveniles not only in sweeping and cleaning, but in cutting and stamping the soap, could be considerably widened. Tollman Bros., with 88 adults and 12 Native juvenile employees, and Piel's Cold Storage, with about 300 adult and 30 Native juveniles, both maintain that the scope for juvenile employment in the cold storage, meat and poultry, egg and polony manufacturing departments is

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very limited. Much of the work is heavy, and other work, such as tending machines or grading eggs, is considered too responsible for juveniles. Juvenile wages range from 20/- to 30/- per month plus quarters and rations. One firm maintained that it would gladly replace its European female workers - some 60 in number who are engaged in plucking poultry - by Native juveniles. But such a method of creating occupational opportunities for Native juveniles, at the expense of the white group, is highly undesirable.

I am convinced that the scope for juvenile employment in all the factories in this section (excluding factories falling in the Stone, Clay and Glass industry where the work is on the whole too heavy for juveniles) could be considerably widened if employers were encouraged to do so. I need only refer to the admittedly intensive propaganda work of the European Juvenile Affairs Boards - which was necessary to encourage the increased employment of European juveniles - to emphasise this point. As there is a plentiful supply of adult Native labour and as the general average of Native wages is so low, there is no inducement to employers in large factories to increase the number of their juvenile employees. Most employers maintain that the saving effected on juvenile wages is no compensation for the additional supervision required. It seems unlikely, therefore, unless there is an increase in adult Native wages or unless the Department of Labour energetically encourages Native juvenile employment, that there will be any appreciable increase in the employment of Native juveniles even in those industries which could conveniently greatly extend the scope for them.

A short resume of the history of the labour force of Jones and Co. emphasises the fact that there is scope

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for juveniles but no inducement to employ them. Jones and Co. have a large jam and canning factory in Paarl and have only recently erected a plant at Langlaagte. When they opened they were approached, according to the Manager, by thousands of Natives, both adult and juvenile, for work. They employed a number of adult Natives and 6 juveniles, who were specially sent to them from the country. These six boys were paid at the rate of 10/- per week and were doing l[illegible] work suitable for juveniles. They proved most unsatisfactory in that they showed great inclination to slacken and play during working time unless there was constant supervision of their activities. The adult Natives he stated, caused endless dealings with the N.A.D. To-day this firm employs no juveniles, 10 Europeans, 25 Natives and 20 to 60 Cape Coloureds according to the season and pressure of work. There is every possibility that the Cape Coloured staff will increase and the Native staff decrease. That the policy of this firm is influenced by the fact that it is accustomed, in the Cape, to working with Cape Coloureds and hence it is convenient to follow the traditional policy in new surroundings is undeniable. The fact remains, however, that with a plentiful supply of Cape Coloured labour available at 2£/- per week, there is no inducement to employ Native juvenile labour. The saving effected on the wages of juveniles is practically counterbalanced by the additional supervision required to ensure their constant application to their work.

Some 15% of the Native labour force of manufacturers of <u>tinware</u>, such as Hendler and Kendler and Main Tin Manufacturers, consists of juveniles. In actual numbers this is not very considerable, totalling about 25 juveniles between the two firms. Juveniles in this industry commence

/ at 9/6

at 9/6 per week at very light unskilled work such as fitting lids onto tins. This industry does, however, offer Native juveniles prospects of advancement and as such must be considered a promising, even if limited, opening to them.

D. Occupations without fixed wages (1) and a large proportion of Native juvenile employees. In the Commercial and Distributive Trade the principle that the larger the firm the smaller the number of Native juvenile employees holds good. Large firms do not consider it an economic proposition to employ juveniles and then pay for the additional supervision which they maintain is necessary. As a general rule, large firms are only prepared to employ juveniles who are close relatives of trusted adult employees, who then make themselves responsible for the satisfactory performance of their protegé. It is in the small shops, very often staffed only by the owner and his wife or children, that juveniles are extensively employed. In fish and chip shops, to give one example, many location youths had worked for varying periods. It is estimated that of the Natives employed by small shops, some 50% are juveniles. In most cases such employment offers very little hope of advancement, as the owners of the shops, unless considerable expansion takes place, themselves eke out a scanty living and neither require nor are able to afford the services of a more experienced Native employee. The labour turnover among juveniles in this occupation appears to be very high, due especially to the small wages, which range from 5/- to 15/- per week, and average about 10/- per week. I have not been able to obtain any figures of employees in this trade, and base my statements on the information obtained from juveniles whom I interviewed in the locations and on the opinions of officials in the Labour Department.

(1) The Wage Board was in 1938 + 1939 investigating this trade. It recommended a wage of £1 per week for adults + £1 per week for juveniles (under 18 years) for unskilled Europeans. In May 1939 the Board was willing to hear objections to its recommendations

In this category must be included many juveniles who are employed by Native shop proprietors in locations. In the newer locations the number of shop licences is very restricted, but Pimville has 42 Native retail shops and Alexandra Township is said to have over 100 shops. Employment in shops such as the latter is intermittent; wages, commencing at 15/- per month plus certain rations, are poor and frequently irregularly paid. In the large shops in Orlando conditions are very much better and a Native juvenile may there well build a career for himself.

A number of juveniles find employment in small Chinese and Indian shops, or as assistants of hawkers of all races. Such employment is usually badly paid - ranging from about 15/- to 30/- per month - and the labour force consequently very mobile.

The only two large <u>messenger delivery</u> services in Johannesburg employ between them 17 Native adults and 47 juveniles. The juveniles earn from 15/- to 25/- per week and are considered, by the employers, to give very satisfactory service. This is a sphere of activity especially suited to the ability of the urban juvenile, as a knowledge of the town and the ability to read addresses is essential. This occupation is unique in this respect that Native juveniles have definitely ousted European juveniles.(1)

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(1) I know of only one other instance of displacement by Natives of Europeans. This case is a catering establishment which specialises in sending out sandwiches and lunches. The proprietor was warned that his customers would resent having food, even if wrapped, delivered by Natives and that if he persisted in flouting this unwritten law he would cripple his business. He persisted with his plan and found that his customers quickly adapted themselves and he reports that he finds Native messengers (chiefly juvenile) more satisfactory than European juveniles for the reasons stated above.

The explanation is simple: for European juveniles the wages paid, without hope of a substantial increase, stamp messenger delivery work definitely as a blind alley occupation. Consequently only those juveniles who could find or keep no other and better employment drifted into it in the hope of leaving as soon as something more suitable and attractive offered itself. For Native juveniles it is an attractive occupation carrying a comparatively good wage, and as they are at pains to retain their jobs, they prove far more trustworthy and reliable than European juveniles.

The two bus services operating on the Sophiatown-Martindale and Alexandra Township routes which cater exclusively for Natives offer Native juveniles attractive, even though numerically small, occupational opportunities. Each bus has a driver and a conductor and it is the policy of some bus companies to appoint drivers considerably senior to the conductors in the belief that age seniority greatly facilitates the control which a driver must exercise over the conductor. Two Companies in Alexandra Township pay the attractive wage of 90/- per month and 34/- weekly respectively. Vacancies for positions as conductors (there are 43 buses on the Alexandra Township route and not all the conductors are juveniles) occur seldom and are eagerly sought after. But employers are wary and can seldom be persuaded to engage a location youth unless he has just left school and has had no time to acquire what are considered to be the "loafing" aptitudes of the location juvenile.

Very many Native juveniles find a wage earning occupation in selling newspapers. Unfortunately it is impossible even to assess the numbers of newspaper sellers. The Central News Agency has, at various times, between 600 and 1000 Natives on its books (including delivery boys in

/its branch

its branch offices) and according to the Europeans in charge of the labour force not one is below the age of 22 years. Only a certain number of these Natives are newspaper sellers, or rather, newsvendors, for most newsvendors employ one or more youngsters as "runners" or "runners". These runners are responsible to the newsvendors, are paid by them, and have no direct connection with the Central News Agency. Roughly 1,000 licenses for selling newspapers have been taken out in January 1938 at the licensing offices, and of this number Mr. Herman, the licensing officer, estimates that some 500 were juveniles. But as all the licences had been taken out by publishers and none by newsvendors or their employees, the number of juveniles engaged in selling newspapers must be much larger than 500. No license is issued to a Native under the age of 16, but I have met many boys between the ages of 12 and 16 who act as sellers for Central News Agency newsvendors or as agents for papers issued by the Native press. This is additional confirmation of the assertion that the number of license holders is no indication of the number of newspaper sellers.

The African Associated Press follows a different method from the Central News Agency and employs directly all its newspaper sellers. It employed in January 1938 240 sellers of whom one quarter were under the age of 18 and paid no poll tax. My impression is that the majority of these boys were under the age of 21. Very few are younger than 16 years, as boys who appear to be or state that they are below the age of 16 are not engaged. They earn 10/- per week plus 3d. commission per dozen copies sold of the Daily Express and 3d. commission per dozen copies of the Sunday Express. Suburban delivery boys earn 15/- per week

/plus

plus commission. The European responsible for the labour force maintained that the majority of the sellers were rural boys and stated that although he received many applications for work from urban juveniles he gave preference to what appeared to him to be juveniles reared in the country. The boss boy, on the other hand, stated with confidence that the majority of the sellers were town boys. He agreed with his superior in placing a much lower evaluation on town as contrasted with country boys. The labour force is a very fluctuating one, and the supply varies from a comparative scarcity in the ploughing season to a glut when farm work has been completed. But even in times of scarcity the employer avoids whenever possible engaging what appears to him to be the "undesirable" urban juvenile type. The boys, before being engaged, are given an educational test and are put through a reading test. It is an ironical commentary on the value of schooling for the general run of Natives that this occupation, carrying a weekly wage of 10/-, is one of the very few which shows any interest in the educational qualification of applicants.

The Bantu World has, since the beginning of 1938, commenced employing newspaper sellers and in February, 1938, employed 24 juveniles at 10/- per week plus 1d. commission on each copy sold in excess of 100. The Umteteli has no regular employees selling the paper but distributes through agents at 2d. per copy commission. The magazine "Pleasure" employs about 20 juveniles and pays 3d. commission per copy sold for the first 60 and thereafter 1½d. per copy. "Pleasure" appears monthly and it is not surprising to find that it has great difficulty in retaining its employees on this part-time work.

Newspaper selling, while it offers refuge to many

/juveniles

juveniles who cannot find any better employment, and while it helps, as part-time work after school hours, a fair number of boys to pay their school fees and book expenses, must on the whole be considered unsatisfactory in that it offers no hope of progression to more secure and lucrative positions. The African Associated Press with its newspaper selling staff of 240 has 22 boss boys earning 25/- per week. The opportunities of advancement for the sellers is accordingly extremely limited. For runners and boys who are employed in a part time capacity selling weeklies or monthlies there is even less opportunity for economic betterment.

Probably the numerically largest single occupation open to Native juveniles is <u>domestic service</u>. It is not possible to obtain figures of the actual proportion of juveniles so employed, but the following occupational Table of the juveniles registered in Johannesburg pass office during the period September 16th to October 25th 1937 confirms this view.(1)

/ Table 31.

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(1) It must be borne in mind that many Natives do not know their age and that these figures consequently cannot be regarded as strictly accurate, representing, as they do in many cases, the estimate of the clerk in the pass office. It is possible, of course, that errors in under-estimation are counterbalanced by errors in over-estimation.

TABLE 11.

OCCUPATION	NUMBER	PERCENTAGE	(1) EARNS	PERCENTAGE OF JUV. POPN.
DOMESTIC TOTAL	469	38.6	17-4 p.w.	6.4
Kitchen boys	282		35-7 p.m.	
House boys	97		37-11 p.m.	
Garden Boys	81		40-7 p.m.	
Misc. domestic	9		53-7 p.m.	
TOTAL	29	1.7	46-6 p.m.	
Waiters	4		46-4 p.m.	
Club and Hotel	16		49 p.m.	
LABOURERS & FACTORY BOYS	465	38.3	14-3 p.w.	9.5
Unspecified	131		15-8	
Store and yard	54		14-10	
Timber yard	29		16-2	
Garage	28		17-4	
Building trade	64		13-10	
S.A.R.	24		11-3	
Municipality	24		18-0	
R.M.V.	11		18-4	
Furniture trade	13		21-7	
Electrical and Engin.	12		18-10	
Painters	13		17-0	
Assts. to misc. Artisans	20		17-5	
Steel factory	15		16-1	
Mine labourers	8		18-8	
Farm labourers	10		18-0	
Miscellaneous	9		13-7	
COMM. & DIST. TRADE	202	16.6	11-0 p.w.	4.7
Shopboys	55			
Office and shop cleaners	16			
Delivery	65			
Messengers	3			
Cafe & Tea Room	10			
Travellers Assistants	4			
Handyman	12			
Dairy boys	12			
Misc. (grocers, hawkers assts. etc.)				
NEWSPAPER BOYS (2)	23	1.7	10s. p.w. & Comm.	10.9
CADDIES	38	3.1	20/9 p.m.	7.2

(1) Cash wage only. See following Table for numbers who receive rations and/or quarters.

(2) Including 6 boys selling magazines at 20/- per week.

TABLE 32.

	Total No.	Rations & Quarters	Quarters only	Rations only
Kitchen boys	202	187	9	6
House boys	97	88		9
Garden boys	81	64	2	15
Flat and hotel	20	12		8
Labourers	465	121	4	30
Comm. and dist.	203	48	16	8
Caddies	38	37		
Newspaper boys	21	1		1

Table 31 shows that domestic servants form the largest occupational group, comprising over one third of all the juveniles registered during the test period and exceeding by four the total number of all unskilled labourers, skilled artisans' assistants, factory boys and etc. It is noteworthy that Johannesburg born juveniles are least numerous in this occupation and that the percentage of Johannesburg juveniles is only 2.4 of the total number of domestic servants, a greatly lower proportion than is found in the other occupational groups. The Table confirms the impression that there is a definite tendency among local location dwellers to regard domestic service as a humiliating and even degrading occupation for men. Urban women subscribe to this view and help to influence the attitude of the urban male juvenile. Apart from any question of status, urban juveniles dislike the lengthy hours and limited freedom which are the conditions of domestic service. This occupation is a useful outlet for juveniles who are completely untrained and unskilled. It is tedious work, but calls for no marked physical strength. It seems likely that the future scope for Native male juveniles in this occupation will decrease owing to the competition of Native women - both adult and juvenile - who are engaging in domestic service in increasing numbers.

/Caddying

Caddying on golf courses is the one occupation entirely dominated by Native juveniles. Occasional Cape Coloureds and Indians and a very few white youths on golf courses in the poorer European suburbs are found as casual caddies, but their number is so small as to be negligible. In Johannesburg (1) golf-caddying may assuredly be considered the preserve of the Native juvenile.

With the assistance of Miss Pauline Rosenthal I made a brief survey of the fourteen Johannesburg golf courses. The objects of this survey were to ascertain the number of full time caddies employed on golf courses, the number of caddies specifically indentured from rural areas by clubs, and the opinions of golf course officials regarding urban juveniles as actual or potential caddies.

Finally, a distinction must be made between "caddies" and what I describe as "casual caddies". "Caddies", for the purpose of this report, I define as Natives employed in a full-time capacity by clubs, paid on a monthly basis by them and housed and fed in club compounds. "Casual caddies" have no contractual relationship with the club; they are paid per round and caddy at such times as suit their own convenience.

Among the fourteen Johannesburg golf clubs, eight have their own compounds and between them employed 246 caddies in January, 1938. This number is, on the whole, capable of meeting the normal week-day requirements of the clubs, but five out of the above-mentioned eight clubs use a considerable number of casual caddies over week-ends and on competition days, as their own caddy supply is not sufficient to meet their requirements. Only one club with

/a caddy

(1) The position in Durban where Indians and in Cape Town where Cape Coloureds predominate in this occupation is an entirely different one.

a caddy force of 110 employs sufficient caddies to dispense with, except for special competitions, casual caddies altogether. A two-course club, with a caddy force of 160 to 180, uses a small number of Alexandra Township casual caddies over week-ends. The permanent caddy force, numbering 80, of a third course is likewise sufficient to meet all but exceptional week-end demands. This course is unique in that it usually fetches such casual caddies as are required by lorry from Germiston. The other 5 clubs, with an average of 60 caddies each, use a considerable number of casual caddies over week-ends. No golf course official could state accurately the number of casual caddies offering themselves, although one club estimated that about 30 were available, most of them getting rounds over week-ends.

Of the eight clubs with their own compounds, five recruit their caddy supply from the country. Between them they employed in January, 1938, 445 caddies or 69% of the total permanent caddy force. In three cases the boss boy himself collects the caddies from the country on bi-annual trips. In the remaining two cases the caddies are obtained through the Native Commissioner. Only in one case does the club act without the assistance of the Native Commissioner. The boys are indentured for six months, their train-fare in four cases is advanced by the club and later deducted from their wages. Only one club bears the cost of the caddies' transport itself. Some caddies extend their contract and remain a further six months. At the conclusion of their term of service the club has the responsibility of ensuring that the caddies return to their rural homes. If the caddy finds some other occupation - and the majority of caddies, if they stay on in Johannesburg in another occupation, drift into domestic service - the club must inform the pass office. In theory, then, the indenturing of

/rural

rural labour by golf courses does not increase the urban Native labour supply. In practice I am convinced that it does do so, even if not on a very large scale. Many Native youths, after having served their initial six months service and having gained some knowledge and experience of urban conditions return to Johannesburg as free agents, not under contract. And I have found considerable inter-club mobility of caddies. Caddies from clubs which indenture their labour supply are found in clubs which depend on local resources, for their caddy supply.

The five clubs which indenture their labour maintain that local sources of supply are unreliable, and that such urban juveniles as do offer their services are extremely unsatisfactory. One secretary expressed himself forcibly to the effect that he would not employ a town boy under any circumstances. He had formerly employed local boys and had experienced endless trouble. There had been much dishonesty and there had been faction fights between boys of different tribes. The other clubs were not as definite in their expression of opinion, but maintained that dependence on an uncertain local labour supply and then commencing the tedious task of weeding out suitable from unsuitable caddies was far less satisfactory than indenturing rural labour.

Of the three clubs (1) which have no system of recruiting, two seem to have a fairly plentiful supply of labour while the third experiences considerable difficulty in obtaining its requisite supply. As the wages and conditions do not vary greatly from club to club, I can find no reason for this divergence, unless personal considerations, such as the conduct of the caddymaster, which lie outside my knowledge, influence the situation. A definite

/prejudice

(1) See appendix 5 for sample survey of the caddy force of one of these clubs.

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