

SEGREGATION IN WOMENS' ORGANIZATIONS

by Miss J. Rafferty (Pietermaritzburg)

In attempting an analysis of the above subject, I propose to deal with it in the following manner: firstly I will provide a more or less factual account of the position in existing womens' organizations in Pietermaritzburg. I will then try to assess the change in the function of these organizations, should the barriers of racial segregation be removed. By comparing existing and potential values we may then deduce the effect of segregation on womens' organizations in Pietermaritzburg, which will to a large extent hold for womens' organizations throughout the country.

There are various ways in which an organization may become segregated. We will deal firstly with organizations which are segregated because their membership is not open to all members of the community, and whose work is segregatory in nature. Examples of this type of organization are The Daughters of Africa (an exclusively African womens' Association, whose aim is to improve the general standard of living of the African people) who appear to have modelled their decidedly patriotic organization on the lines of the Sons of England Womens' Association. (There is an active branch of this society in Pietermaritzburg). The Indian Womens' Association and the Coloured Womens' Council whose work is in nature similar to that of the Womens' Institutes, (i.e. the desire to improve the standards of housecraft and home conditions in their own circle), now have segregated membership, as although the Women's Institute contributed a great deal to the establishment of their Non-European counterpart in Maritzburg, they now feel their association is sufficiently independent for the burden of their organization to be removed. Another organization which is similar in its aims to the Institutes is the S.A. Federale Vroueraad. (This is an example of internal segregation - amongst Europeans, into English and Afrikaans).

These organizations do valuable work in certain sections of our community. All would however benefit if their membership were to be open to anyone who cared to join, even if the only benefit were the possible increase in membership. On the other hand, if the direction of their work were to be non-segregatory in nature, the matter would take much more consideration. The amount of work any organization is capable of doing depends both on the size of its active membership and on the size of its income. We have discussed the effect of segregation on the membership of the associations. For our purposes the amount of work the organization can perform is directly proportional to its income. The effect of making the work of the above organizations multi-racial in nature will be different for each organization. Consider the Indian Women's Association. This body performs valuable work amongst the Indian community in Pietermaritzburg. They established the Indian Girls' High School here in Pietermaritzburg and have done much to improve hygienic conditions in the Indian locality with particular attention to the incidence of tuberculosis. If this organization did not cater exclusively for Indians the amount of work (in its particular fields) done for the Indians would considerably decrease unless a greater income could be obtained. It is difficult to assess whether this income would increase or decrease under the circumstances considered, but it is quite possible that it would decrease. This may be seen if we consider that at the moment the finances of the body are obtained mainly from Indian supporters.

The fact that the organization does not cater exclusively for Indians is hardly likely to increase its income to any great extent since most people contribute indiscriminatingly to charities and organizations. If the work of the I.W.A. becomes non-segregatory in nature, whilst its income is hardly likely to increase, we see that the Indian community in this city must lose by this arrangement, since the field of work of the organization is unique. On the other hand if the work of the European Teachers' Association, and that of the Non-European Teachers' Association, were made non-segregatory in nature it would be a decided advantage. After all a problem European child presents similar difficulties as the problem non-European child. The advantage however need not be complete owing to the different cultural backgrounds of the races, so that European teachers would at times be at a loss to offer useful advice to the African teacher. Nevertheless it cannot be denied that non-segregation of these associations would be an advantage although because of their own peculiar problems it would be inadvisable for them to lose their  
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separate identity. Take the various church guilds such as the Catholic Womens' League and Anglican and Methodist Womens' Guilds. In each of these cases it will be found that there are Guilds for each Christian race. They are doing work of a segregated nature, yet are affiliated by their common religion. If segregation were to be eliminated the work must benefit. The pooling of their workers and resources could not harm their common interests. It would also bring about a deeper understanding and more contact between the races. Thus we see that in the above type of organization a multi - racial organization would be a definite advantage, while non - segregation as regards the work need not necessarily be an advantage.

The second class of organization we will consider is that class which has segregated membership, but works for all sections of the community, for example the M.O.T.H.W.A.S., the Rotary Anns and the Nursing Council, also the Union of Jewish Women.

We have already seen that non - segregated membership appears to be a definite advantage. If we now consider organisations with non - segregated membership, we will find that there are only three such organizations in Pietermaritzburg: the National Council of Women, the Anglican Mothers' Union, and the University Womens' Association. These organizations have NO RACIAL BARRIER AT ALL. The African and Indian women have established branches of the N.C.W. for practicability. But the monthly general meetings are open to women of all races and creeds. (Factors which, in the immediate past, have been brought up for discussion have been the closing of the Edendale Creche, due to financial difficulties, and the African Women's Hostel. The latter suffers acutely from a shortage of space. Every inch of the floor is, I believe, taken up by women pressed for a night's accomodation. If a bed is provided the charge is 3d., if not, 2d. per night. Cheap meals can also be procured from this hostel. The African branch of the N.C.W. has a small membership of approximately 20. The Mothers' Union is run on similar lines. To my dismay I was informed that, although the University Women's Association would welcome Non - European graduates to their ranks, none have as yet joined this well - known society in Pietermaritzburg. These open Associations serve all sections of the community. They have the advantage of being non - segregated in the true sense, and their common interests are an incentive to more activity.

The fourth and final class I propose to deal with is that class which has an open membership, but works for the welfare of a particular section of the community. Although the Pietermaritzburg African Welfare Society is not exclusively female in its membership I would like to use it to illustrate this particular class. I quote from the 1953 - 54 "A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa." "It has formed two evening clubs for Africans, a social club which meets six times a month for indoor games, singing, filmshows and refreshments, and a recreation club with sections for ballroom dancing, choir singing, games, drama, and so on. One or other of the sections meets almost every night. Weekly dressmaking classes are held in the gaol for long sentence African women prisoners, the garments made being handed to the women on their release. Gifts of clothing, blankets, and firewood are made to the inhabitants of "Ekupulumeni," the Sobantu Village Home for the Aged. Other work includes grants-in-aid clothing for babies of indigent mothers and so on. All the officials and helpers of this society work in a voluntary capacity."

This also illustrates and strengthens the hypothetical case I put to you regarding the removal of non - segregation; the Indian Women's Association being used as an example.

In conclusion I would like to say that it seems quite clear that segregated membership is indeed detrimental to any organisation of the type I have discussed. But segregation of direction does serve its purpose. The work amongst a limited community would be better if left as such or else one will find the "Rotary Anns for work amongst the Indians" of Pietermaritzburg, and the "Rotary Anns for work amongst the Coloured people of Pietermaritzburg," and I personally feel that this will get too involved, and the activities of the organization may suffer as a result.

I am deeply indebted to the following people for the help and advice they have given me in connection with this research:

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Mrs. Watson.

WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS

by Miss Mary Draper (Durban).

I have for the past few years taken a vague interest in Womens' Organiza - tions, in particular amongst the Non - European communities in Durban, but it was only when I started making more detailed enquiries that I realised the number and extent of their activities and the way in which they have developed in recent years.

The criticism is often voiced that the Non - Europeans do not do enough for themselves in the field of social welfare. I feel that this is entirely untrue, and one has only to look at the list of Welfare Organizations regis - tered in Durban - dozens of them initiated and run entirely by Non - Euro - peans to disprove it.

And this is in spite of many factors that are so often overlooked in rel - ation to the African community:-

- 1) Relative lack of educational opportunities
- 2) Very much lower incomes
- 3) Almost complete absence of a leisured class.

The leisured class, as anyone will realise, is the backbone of most Euro - pean welfare and womens' organizations, and the European housewife, even with a large family, is usually able to afford a servant or two to relieve her of the bulk of the household work.

The Non - Europeans on the other hand have a constant battle even to earn sufficient for the minimum needs of their family, the women do all the house - work themselves, and often find it necessary to take in washing and to do other work in an attempt to make ends meet.

I therefore find it remarkable that Non - Europeans in general have con - cerned themselves with the welfare of the community to the extent that they have.

I am by no means in a position to present a complete picture but am men - tioning those which I consider to be the most important.

1) Purely Indian Organizations

The most wellknown is the Indian Women's Association started twenty - one years ago by one of the leading Indian women in South African history - Lady Maharaj Singh.

The Association is affiliated to the N.C.W. and delegates attend meetings of the latter body.

In addition to monthly meetings - business, social and constructive, they undertake a considerable amount of welfare work.

During the floods at Sea Cow Lake a couple of years ago, and more recently at Maritzburg and Ladysmith, flood relief was organized for distressed families

A bursary fund has been established whereby deserving Indian girls are enabled to attend High School. Material for school uniforms is purchased by the Association in bulk and sold to mothers of schoolgirls at cost.

A fund was set up to enable Indian girls to train as social workers.

The Association has also performed a valuable function in bringing toge - ther women of different religious beliefs - Hindu, Muslim, and Christian.

In mentioning Indian Womens' organizations in Durban, I ought to mention the work that is being done by the Indian Women's Literacy Group. Started by the Institute of Race Relations, it is now almost entirely run by a Committee of Indian women.

Many adult Indian women - in fact the majority - are unable to read and write - because of religious taboos and customs and also economic circ - umstances.

Many of the younger generation have educational opportunities that were denied to their parents, mainly because of the magnificent efforts and great sacrifices made by the Indian community themselves in building more and more schools.

Consequently there is often a great intellectual gulf between the parents and the children.

There are now about 30 literacy classes in Durban, working in each others' homes in groups of 6 - 10 women. Each group has a teacher specially trained in the method of teaching and a special set of books is used. Women become lite - rate in about 7 months and are able to proceed to simple books, newspapers and / magazines .....

magazines.

The women themselves have been largely instrumental in raising the necessary money for the books, and support of the movement is growing rapidly.

Although the prejudice against Indian Women's education is gradually breaking down, it does still exist. Womens' organizations have played and are still playing a very large part in stressing the importance of sending girls to High School and University.

Lady Maharaj Singh - as far back as the late 1920s and early 1930s - actually did house - to - house canvassing in an effort to drive home to parents the importance of women's education.

There is also in Durban the Indian Women's Friendly Society composed mainly of Christian women, which concerns itself with welfare, recreational, social and cultural activities, and many other smaller associations such as church organizations, benevolent societies, Old Girls' Guilds - all of which contribute in their own way to the welfare and to the life of the community generally.

## 2) African Women.

First I would mention the National Council of African Women, a Union - wide organization with a branch in Durban, affiliated to the N.C.W. An important sphere in which it works in Durban is that of Child Welfare. I believe that it is developing all over South Africa at a phenomenal rate. The Durban branch is growing though it is still rather small.

In addition, the Y.W.C.A. has established and runs what are known as "Genyele Clubs," "Genyele" meaning "self - help." Their activities could probably be compared to those of Womens' Institutes. Meetings are conducted in an extremely business - like way.

The great emphasis is placed on the importance of the mother and the home in the life of the community.

In the general teaching of homecraft, the mother is helped to plan her budget and to manage her home and family economically on a small income.

For instance, activities include demonstration and instruction in :- Knitting and sewing, Child care, cooking a balanced meal economically, variations in the preparation of dishes from mealies, how to make soap, and when fruit such as guavas were recently plentiful on the coast, how to preserve them, and so forth.

The Clubs are rapidly gaining support in Durban and exist in Lamontville, Briardene, Cato Manor, central Durban, Ohlange, Umbumbulu - to mention but a few that I know about.

Then of course there are numerous church, school and other womens' organizations all playing their part in the community.

## 3) Council of Coloured Women.

Is also affiliated to N.C.W. They hold regular meetings and welfare activities include financial assistance to the Coloured Women's Hostel, and the running of a nursery School. An annual dance is held in the City Hall for funds. It is an extremely active association, and has a European president.

## 4) Inter - Racial Organizations.

The Indian Women's Association, the National Council for African Women, and the Council of Coloured Women are all affiliated to the N.C.W. and delegates attend N.C.W. meetings. They are each an entirely separate organization, and only with the Coloured Council do Europeans assist, except on invitation. The Y.W.C.A.s principles recognise no difference on grounds of race, colour or creed, and the division has been made purely for organizational purposes. The Association's General Meetings are attended by members of all races - segregation of work but not of membership.

There is an inter - racial women's organization in Durban known as the Durban and District Women's League, which attempts to combine the expression of political aspirations with social welfare. Membership largely coincides with membership of political organizations such as the Congress of Democrats and African and Indian Congresses. They usually function when a need or crisis arises.

The Association of University Women is open to all graduates, irrespective of race. I am told that in Durban support by Non - European women has been / negligible .....

negligible. I do not know the reason.

Lastly, on checking the constitution of the Durban Business and Professional Women's Club, which is part of a South African and in turn a World Federation of clubs, I find that there is no bar to a Non - European woman being admitted to membership. In practice (if not in theory) their membership is entirely European and many of their activities are purely social in nature, such as cocktail parties and dinners.

I would dearly love to see an association consisting of South African women of all races, with the object of extending opportunities for women in careers, of pooling knowledge and experience, of striving for improvements in living and working conditions and in salaries, and of promoting co - operation and comradeship.

More and more Non - European women are qualifying as doctors, teachers, nurses, social workers, secretaries, and going in for careers of all sorts.

Such an Association could not fail to promote knowledge, understanding, goodwill and racial co - operation.

LIVING APART : SEGREGATION IN WOMENS' ORGANIZATIONSAdditional information given in discussion:PIETERMARITZBURG

- 1) The African Council of Women is not a branch of the N.C.W. but is affiliated to it.
- 2) The Council of Coloured Women is not segregated.

DURBAN

- 1) The investigator had found people keen to "maintain the identity" of their organizations and did not find many people keen for the combination of organizations on a non - segregated basis.
- 2) While many of the organizations work to cope with problems which might be connected with the effects of racial discrimination in general, these organizations did not usually regard it as their task to work for the removal of such racial discrimination.
- 3) In general, it was the opinion of the investigator that the division of womens' organizations on racial lines is to a great extent voluntary, although this generalisation did not hold for Business and Professional Womens' organizations.

COMMENTS : In this discussion there was a definite difference of approach among members of the Conference.

- 1) It was argued that:
  - a) segregation in this field was not necessarily bad, though enforced segregation might be.
  - b) In these organizations, segregation is accepted voluntarily, and it would be wrong to suggest that it should be changed.
  - c) "People like to work with people of their own race," and to "preserve the identity" of their organization. Examples of this were given.
  - d) Organizations which were set up to serve people of specific racial groups might do their work more enthusiastically, and receive more financial support, if their membership was confined to people of the same racial group which was to be served.
  - e) Voluntary segregation avoided "social embarrassment."
  - f) "High - level" contact between racially segregated organizations could be necessary, possible, and valuable.
- 2) It was argued that:
  - a) It was likely that "voluntary" acceptance of segregation in this field sprang from a choice of conformity to the general pattern of segregation rather than a choice of segregation for its own sake.
  - b) The practical convenience of segregation in these organizations sprang from things like residential segregation, the segregation of schools, and other forms of legally enforced segregation.
  - c) Racial grouping, in a racially open situation or organization, by people of one racial group tended to provoke racial grouping by people of the other racial groups. Examples of such provocation in these organizations were given.
  - d) "Social embarrassment" likewise sprang from the effects of the general pattern of segregation, and the expectation of people that the behaviour associated with the carrying out of the general legal pattern of segregation was expected to be continued within activities outside the general legal pattern of segregation.
  - e) To many people, segregation is a question of superiority or inferiority - as a result of the general social situation.
- 3) It was argued that there was a danger in being hypercritical - in attaching blame to any organization which was segregated even if the segregation were voluntary and there were not particular reasons why the organization should be non - segregated.

TEAMS APART : SEGREGATION IN SPORT IN PIETERMARITZBURG

by C. Gardner (Pietermaritzburg).

We have found in this Conference that, generally, the more social an activity is, the more likelihood there seems to be, at present, of segregation. Now sport is certainly the most purely social of the activities we have discussed, and in the field of sport there is in Maritzburg almost complete segregation.

There is no need for me to comment on this fact here. The situation is brought about, as we know, largely as a result of the public opinion of the Europeans, the political and economic powers that be; and the situation is, apparently, partly challenged, partly accepted, by the various Non-European public opinions. It is for us to look at the facts and to decide whether or not any of these public opinions is at all informed or to be trusted.

We may consider sport from the point of view of the watchers or from the point of view of the players. Although this perhaps is putting the cart before the horse, I propose to deal first with the spectators at sports matches in Maritzburg.

There is, in Maritzburg, segregation in sport, especially between Europeans and Non-Europeans. There are no statistics I can give here. On the whole, Europeans watch their own games, Africans watch their own, Indians watch their own, Coloureds watch their own. Hardly ever does a European watch a game between Non-European sides, and seldom do Non-Europeans watch European games. When they do, (if it is a fairly big match, at a fairly big ground) they are either officially or unofficially pushed into a small space. At small matches, they can almost always watch unimpeded. There is more intermixing in crowds of different Non-European races; but it is difficult to say exactly how much, since there are seldom if ever organized Non-European matches or games at which the crowd is officially organized or at which race statistics are recorded.

As regards the conditions under which sport is watched in Maritzburg:

The Europeans have of course adequate arrangements for their crowds. European sport is played at Alexandra Park, Woodburn, Kershaw Park, the Collegians Ground, and at several other places which have grandstands as well as the seats or benches which almost all their grounds have.

At the Maritzburg Coloureds' sportsground (about which, more later) there are large crowds every Saturday, but the Corporation has not yet built a grandstand because the ground where it is to be built is unsettled. There are benches. Except for a few Europeans, the crowd consists completely of Coloureds.

At the Indian sportsground, the Indians have built themselves a pavilion in which 233 people may sit. Otherwise there is little accommodation for spectators. Except at occasional inter-racial matches the crowd consists of Indians and a fairly large number of Africans.

The Africans themselves have, at the Tatham Memorial ground a large grandstand, and there is another sportsground which has a building which may in future be used as a pavilion.

The only time at which segregation of spectators is clearly seen at one ground is when a touring team - always a team of Europeans, be it noted - plays in the city. Non-Europeans as well as Europeans are always keen to see these accomplished sides, and the sportsground authorities have thus to solve the problem of an audience made up of different races. The result, if I may be permitted to paint a picture for a moment, is something like this. Amidst a white and pinkish crowd, there is a fairly small dark section. The light crowd shouts for the home side; the dark crowd, because each of its members is aware that, however good a player he is, he was not allowed to be eligible for the home side, and for many other similar reasons - the dark crowd shouts for the tourists. Some Europeans are surprised at the lack of patriotism amongst the Non-Europeans.

To be more precise:

When a touring tennis side comes to Pietermaritzburg, less than 5% of the seats at Kershaw Park are set aside for Non-Europeans, who may obtain them at a slightly reduced cost. Seldom, however, I am told, are all these seats filled; whether or not they are then, or quickly, filled by Europeans, I do not  
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know. When a touring cricket side comes, a certain section of the ground, upon which there is sometimes a temporary stand, is set aside for Non - Europeans. Only Europeans are allowed in the Alexandra Park grandstand.

Woodburn is the big rugby ground, and one of its authorities says that Non - Europeans are on the whole uninterested in rugby and that no provision has ever been made for them. Apparently the only time Non - Europeans attend European rugby matches at Woodburn is when Maritzburg College plays; then the African domestic servants are allowed to sit at the end of the field.

The most popular sport amongst Non - Europeans is soccer, and there is always a big demand to see a touring side. At Alexandra Park there is on these occasions a special stand for Non - Europeans who pay 5/- (which is less than the European rate) for admittance. Non - Europeans, I am officially informed, are allowed to make up 25 % of the crowd; from my own observation I should have said it was more like 15 %.

The arrangements for a big hockey match are almost the same as those made for a soccer match.

From these facts, one may easily deduce the general attitude of European sportsground officials.

So much, then, for the spectators.

The actual playing of sport is, perhaps, a more purely social function, less intellectual and finely critical, than the watching of it. And perhaps it is for this reason that there is absolutely no sport in Maritzburg, in which European and Non - European teams compete against one another. Sport between Europeans and Non - Europeans exists, we may say, only unofficially, with very young European children. African nurses, youngsters, and domestics play with European children. As soon as the Europeans grow up, they are not allowed to have this contact, and, apparently, they soon cease to desire it.

The public opinion of quite a large number of European Maritzburgers can be seen in the fact that, when recently the Principal of the Natal Training College allowed a team of training college girls to play a game of netball against a side representing a Maritzburg Indian High School, there was a large public outcry. It was of course led by those who are dedicated to the cause of segregation, but probably quite a large percentage of Maritzburg's European population was either openly or privately pleased with the protest.

There is some non - segregation in Non - European sporting spheres. There is an inter - racial soccer league, which draws large, mixed, and sometimes excitable gatherings; but on the whole each community seems to keep to itself. These inter - racial games do not often take place, although there is, I think, quite a lot of unofficial inter - racial sport.

On the whole, however, in Maritzburg the different races play apart. Let us thus review briefly the conditions under which they play.

(I have given the following purely factual information in note form).

#### Europeans

We need not say much about them. They play almost all sports. They have plenty of time for practice. They have good equipment and facilities. It is their teams which represent "South Africa" in international games. In Maritzburg, they have many beautiful sports grounds.

#### Africans

Their most popular sports are soccer, boxing, tennis, dancing. They also play at, or indulge in, athletics, body - building, table tennis, and cricket.

Almost everything is "staged" or organized by the Corporation, which claims that it never receives complaints.

There are fields, of various standards, throughout Maritzburg. There are several recreation grounds.

Two chief centres:

- (i) Tatham Memorial sportsground, where the facilities are as for Europeans.
- (ii) Soccer fields and tennis courts at Edendale.

Competitions in the various sports are organised; again, it seems, under the supervision of the Native Affairs Department.

Equipment: grounds and courts are reasonably good, but this could not be said of the actual sports kit. Soccer is popular partly because it can be played cheaply.

An official of the Native Affairs Department said that his Department tries to get the best facilities available, and allows the Africans to organize their own sports as much as possible. There is an annual African Sports Day

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which they themselves organize.

The Native Affairs Department's official policy is, also, to "step in when there is trouble" and to try to scatter sports fields in order to prevent "trouble." Many Africans are handicapped greatly by their lack of leisure.

#### Indians

They have a sports ground of eighteen acres, close to the polo grounds. It was given by the Corporation. The Indians have built themselves a pavilion.

The field can be divided into six playing fields (thirteen soccer matches are played every Saturday in winter), and two tennis courts. Golf is played over these markings.

In summer the large field becomes three cricket fields. Cricket is very popular; in the league eighteen teams compete.

There is not enough room for all the sport that could be valuable.

#### Coloureds

They have their own sports ground.

The matches played there draw big crowds, yet facilities are inadequate. From the players' point of view, the grounds are quite good.

This ground is divided into two soccer fields and two hockey fields in winter, and into two cricket fields in summer.

The Maritzburg Corporation gives a grant of £100 per annum for equipment.

From a general consideration of this segregation in sport, we may conclude that, whether deservedly or not, each racial group is impoverished from the social, from the intellectual and from the purely "sporting" point of view. What is more, there does not at present seem to be any noticeable group of people who are demanding a change in the present state of affairs.

We return then to the main problem of this Conference. Public opinion is ignorant and must be changed.

SEGREGATION IN SPORTAdditions to papers

There was no paper read on the segregation of sport in Durban, but the following information about it was given in discussion:

- 1) The position was generally similar to the position in Pietermaritzburg.
- 2) There is in Durban an Inter - racial League (Non - European races) in some sports, as there is in Pietermaritzburg soccer.
- 3) Examples were given of the vetoing by various authorities of the use of sports grounds for inter - racial sports meetings.
- 4) Examples were given of inter - racial sports meetings which had provoked no direct "incidents" in which Europeans and Non - Europeans took part:
  - a) Occasional weight - lifting and body - building contests
  - b) An Indo - African sports meeting in 1950, shortly after the anti - Indian Durban riots
  - c) Informal Indo - European cricket matches in Pietermaritzburg
  - d) Cricket matches arranged by the International Club in Durban.
- 5) The Athletic Union of the Non - European section of the University (in Durban) is not supposed to use the same colours as the European Students' Athletic Unions.

General additional information given in discussion:

- 1) Examples were given of inter - racial teams coming into existence in the U.S.A.
- 2) Examples were given of competitions between teams of different races in East Africa - competitions which were without incident.
- 3) The example of the Natal Training College "friendly netball game" against an Indian Girls' School was given, with remarks on the incident created by the comments made about the game by local politicians.

Comments:

- 1) It was argued that sport was valuable to the personality, and that people in playing sport were brought into a valuable intimate personal contact with one another.
- 2) Doubts were expressed as to whether it was necessary for sport to be inter - racial in order to be valuable to the personalities of those playing it.
- 3) It was argued that inter - racial sport in South Africa might lead to the representation of South Africa overseas by Non - European sportsmen, which, it was argued, would be a good thing, and higher standards in South African sport. Examples were given of South African Non - European sportsmen who had distinguished themselves overseas.

DISCUSSION ON GEOGRAPHICAL SEGREGATION

(This discussion was impromptu and the Conference was aware of the limitations on its information, all points shown below being considered with these reservations.)

1) In Durban, although segregation is not simple, the following general trends exist:

Cato Manor and Lamontville are inhabited mainly by Africans.

Sydenham and Clairwood are inhabited mainly by Indians.

The Coloured people live mainly in small scattered concentrated groups.

2) In Pietermaritzburg:

The Indian people live mainly about the lower end of Church Street (Retief Street and Boom Street), in upper Church Street, Plessislaer, Pentrich and Raisethorpe.

The Coloured people are scattered, but there are groups at the lower end of Boom Street (Greyling Street) and at Raisethorpe.

The Africans live mainly in Edendale, Sobantu Village, Mosheni; some live at Plessislaer and Pentrich.

3) The situation of the Europeans in both towns was assumed known, and not described.

CommentOrigins:

1) The present geographical position of the races is not really due to legislation. Economic and cultural factors also operated. There was a period when no legislative segregation existed. After some remarks about the early settlement of Durban, Conference agreed that the situation was too complex to be discussed without proper preparation.

2) Part of support for Group Areas Act was due to dislike of land speculation based on the exploitation of people's race prejudice.

Effects:

1) People, especially Europeans, do not know how people of other groups live. Direct knowledge is not frequent because of geographical separation of homes.

2) The existence of many direct and intimate contacts between people of different races leads to the question of open choice of friends and of partners in marriage, but there is a difference between these two.

3) For a government to postulate that different groups of its people have group interests or identities according to their race, and then to arrange their lives so that their natural group interests e.g. those of the neighbourhood coincide with racial divisions, creates such racial identities and is no proof that they would exist in open societies.

4) Only if voluntary residential segregation on racial lines took place in a society where group identities had not been made racial and people were really free to choose could legislation based on the separation of racial groups according to their identities be justified.

5) Geographical separation led to differences in public facilities and amenities provided for the different groups.

BRIEF SUMMARIES OF THE OPENING AND CLOSING ADDRESSES(1) The Opening Address, given by Mrs E.M.Russell

Mrs Russell reminded those present that the University is meant to lead society by its ideas and by its example; that discussion should neither be too emotional nor too frigid; that it was important that the papers should be largely factual, and accurately factual; that both sides of every question should be considered; that the Conference was not intending to produce big newspaper resolutions; and finally that it was important that people of different outlooks and environments should see where they agree and not be obsessed by the fact that in some things, for the time being at least, they disagree.

(2) The Closing Address, given by Dr. Edgar Brookes

Dr. Brookes pointed out how important was the very fact that the Conference had taken place at all, and he advised the delegates to discuss something other than race relations at future conferences of this kind. He talked of the need for courage and honesty in South Africa, and he reminded his audience that the bringing of harmony and justice into race relationships would have to be part of a larger process of humanizing, of correcting and perfecting our own inner personalities and those of others. He said that there are things far more important than politics or economics, and that behind any coherent progress there would have to be, amongst those promoting it, a unifying principle which drew its validity, ultimately, not from the University, or from South Africa, or from human beings at all.

Appendix A.(i) List of Delegates

Anderson, Mollie	Kraai, Theophilus	Ntimkulu, Peter
Barrett, Michael	Laughton, Magdalen	Nicholls, Brenda
Brookes, David	Mason, Joy	Paton, Jonothan
Coombe, Trevor	Matlhoko, Dalbert	Pillay, V.K.G.
Dauncey, Peter	Mdlalose, Frank	Pople, Walter
Fraser - Fletcher, Elsa	Meyersohn, Maureen	Rafferty, Jennifer
Gardner, Colin	Mitchell, John	Tsipouras, Alan
Harber, Eric	Mofokeng, Alfred	Vanderplank, Jennifer
Hodson, Angela	Mokoena, Raymond	Zondi, Menie

(ii) List of Visitors

Alexander, L.R.	Hay, A.	Naiker, N.A.
Bishop, J.E.L.	Hunt, P.M.A.	Ndimande, J.M.
Bosman, P.H.	Kirwood, M.E.	Ngcobo, J.
Brookes, E.	Kobur, E.	Nuttall, J.
Brown, J.I.	McCauley, M.E.	Pather, A.
Craig, R.	Manicum, G.	Paton, A.S.
Chetty, A.S.	Matthews, P.M.L.	Paton, D.O.
Dent, L.	Moodley, L.S.	Pillay, M.
Dickson, J.A.	Moodley, S.A.	Robertson, D.
Fison, D.	Msimang, C.	Shallis, C.
Frost, T.B.	Msimang, E.S.B.	Shipley, W.
Hamilton, M.	Naidoo, S.N.	Van der Riet, L.
Hassan, S	Naidu, L.M.	Van Heyningen, C.
		Verbeek, A.
		Weldman, G.

Appendix B.Evening of May 5th:

"Segregation and Morality"  
 The Rev. R. Craig  
 The Rev. A. Hay  
 The Rev. W. Shipley.

Evening of May 6th:

"Whose lives are ours?" (Student Speakers)  
 M. M. Barrett  
 J. V. Mitchell  
 V. K. G. Pillay

Appendix C.

The Conference expresses its sincere thanks to:

Mrs. Russell, John Mitchell, Mrs. Kirwood, Brenda Nicholls, Walter Pople, Michael Barrett, Colin Gardner, Dr. Brookes, Jean Findlay, Magdalen Laughton, Elsa Fletcher, Mrs. Petersen, Maureen Meyersohn, Joy Mason, those who prepared papers, all visitors.

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