

At a certain stage it seemed necessary to find out more about the value of the Constitution for the Funeral Societies in the women's eyes, so I asked a reliable, intelligent and educated informant to go to the next meeting and try to bring up the question. She understood why I wanted this. She replied that she could not possibly ask such a question. It seemed to her "too private". (1)

Besides this, "informants" are useful when they can be given a precise task. For this, one must already know the points on which one wants information. For general observation and new features, they proved disappointing.

In some cases, when no English or Afrikaans was spoken, they served in the rôle of interpreters. And in general, of course, they brought new contacts, they provided introductions, and eased the first stages of an acquaintance, which, however, later could be better continued alone.

This leads to a final observation which may be useful.

Although certain points of information can be better acquired from Africans by Africans, by and large a European can "get more out of them". One of my most experienced informants, an African man, said: "The European with the proper attitude towards Africans has a greater chance of success even than an African investigator. All they need is someone who is sincerely interested in them. You have seen it yourself, how even the urban African mellowes if he feels that a European is really interested in them".

2) Activities

The number of activities attended must run to a hundred. Although I have written records of only 68 such activities, a good many more have been attended and not recorded.

These included:

Meetings of all the types of organisations studied, i.e.
of Manyanos, (as well as church services),
of funeral societies, stockfels, of
homemakers clubs and community service groups;

Visits /.....

(1) The entire question of the "taboos" which have grown up in urban life, and the transference which is here taking place between old percepts and new concepts, has not been studied since it concerns the whole of African urban society and really falls outside the "women's world" picture of this investigation, although it influences them just as much as the men. A specialised enquiry in this rich field would be of extreme usefulness, for the whole question of "taboos" has many ramifications.

Visits to crèches, schools, community centres,
hostels and other institutions;
Concerts, receptions, celebrations, etc.;
Visits to exhibitions held by clubs, etc.;
Christmas and other parties.

Attendance at various kinds of functions and activities continued long after the completion of my field research, in fact, up to now. This was felt to be the best way to continue contacts established during the time of field research, and necessary, too, from the purely human point of view.⁽¹⁾

The purpose of such attendance can be stated under 3 headings:

- a) To get to know a particular organisation;
- b) To make new and strengthen old contacts;
- c) To observe behaviour.

In all study of organisations, it is of course indispensable to observe the organisation "at work", but this applies even more so in the case of African women's organisations. They are sometimes very different according to whether they are viewed from Head Quarters' or from the members' angle. Moreover, many of the really important points are not mentioned at Head Quarters through a natural desire to stress only what seems to the organisers the more advantageous aspects in an enterprise which has its failures as well as its successes, or because they do not know what really goes on, and also because, for persons who have for years been immersed in an organisational task, it is difficult to know what an outsider would consider significant.

However this may be, the truth is that all the most significant knowledge has only been acquired through direct observation of the organisations' activities and meetings.

This is all the more so in an investigation in which "needs" must be discovered, for these "needs" are not only manifested in the aims and objects of the organisations, but also in the way they are run and used by the members.

Furthermore, attendance at the organisations' activities afford an excellent occasion for interviews. This can be achieved by being not only a passive observer, but also an active participant, since in this rôle questions can be asked which would otherwise seem intrusive.

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(1) Already I have had complaints from some women that "now" I do not come and visit them any more. This put me under the obligation of once more "doing the rounds" immediately after completion of my report.

On the whole, African women seemed to prefer active participation to passive observation, which immediately creates a barrier and a feeling of "spying" and "criticising". However, there is on this point no hard and fast rule, and each situation has to be assessed on its merit.

On the whole, the combination of interview and observation/participation has been found the most rewarding.

Whether, however, the proceedings are exactly the same when there is no outsider, and in how far the presence of an outsider influences them remains an open question.

Many functions have been attended and exhibitions visited with the sole aim of making new contacts, which can be accomplished in a seemingly unintentional way under these congenial circumstances.

The immense possibilities for observation, specially if the gatherings are large enough for the European visitor to be forgotten, need not be further stressed.

What has already been mentioned under "Interviews" likewise applies in this connection. Only in doing with African women what they are doing, and in the way in which they are doing it, can one really get the "feel" of them.

3) Books

Certain information has to be obtained from books and articles. For me, this meant not only getting acquainted with what has so far been published on urban Africans and their problems, but much more.

It meant learning what has been written about Africans in general, as well as becoming acquainted with the general ideas of anthropology and sociology, not only because of the techniques used, but also to become used to their terminology and to find out which concepts have been so far introduced and generally accepted in these rather new and still developing sciences.

In the limited time at my disposal, this could not be very thorough or comprehensive, and the necessary selection has been greatly facilitated by advice from some more knowledgeable friends. Their advice has also been followed in so far as rather too little than too much was read. The truth of their

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very wise counsel has been experienced fully: too much reading dulls one's powers of observation and smothers one's own creative response to a new field.

It would appear, therefore, preposterous to attach a bibliography. Firstly, because of many publications only these chapters relevant to the subject of the investigation have been studied, and secondly, because, at my age, one owes by far a greater debt to one's previous reading.

4) Some quantitative tests

Although this report is, in the main, not based on quantitative data, the following small quantitative tests were applied:-

- 1) Questionnaires were completed for 49 nurses (see Nurses' Report);
- 2) A questionnaire drawn up with the assistance of Miss Isobel Nicholson, Matron of the Greystreet Native Women Hostel, Durban, was applied by her to 30 of her Hostel residents covering representative women's occupations;
- 3) An analysis of 25 "Malitaba's Postbag's" from the "Bantu World" was undertaken;
- 4) An analysis of 20 "Friends and Personalities" columns from the "Bantu World" was drawn up;
- 5) For three weeks the purchases, expenditure and distributive methods of five vegetable clubs in Orlando were analysed.

SOURCES OF INTERPRETATION

At the risk of incurring the reproach of irrelevance, yet out of the necessity arising from the far-reaching demands of this investigation, it is imperative to re-state (or state) certain basic pre-suppositions which underly every study of urban African society at present.

Africans, like all other human beings are, at any given moment in time, the result of various interacting forces or processes or trends, and to the general laws so far established by the relevant sciences, and valid for all human beings, Africans are no exception. ⁽¹⁾

This interplay of divergent forces, known nowadays under the name of "social change", is operative in all societies and in all individuals: there is no "equilibrium", let alone "stable equilibrium", and this necessitates continuous changes in the form of "adjustments" (mostly unconscious) and "adaptations" (mostly conscious).

The difference between what is happening in African society and in other societies seems to be a difference in scale. ⁽²⁾ Moreover, the changes are between points further apart and the tempo is quicker. Therefore the manifestations of this change are more drastic.

In trying to find explanations and/or interpretations of particular phenomena in urban African society, certain "fields of probability" offer themselves as to their causality. These must be consulted as capable of yielding the necessary explanatory material.

- 1) The field in which tribal African patterns are operative;
- 2) The field in which modern Western patterns are operative.

The existence of these two fields of explanation is self-evident and inherent in the historical situation of the meeting of two "cultures" and "culture-patterns".

- 3) The field in which the reactions to the restrictive measures are operative.

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(1) In the present situation, it seems necessary to state this once more emphatically.

(2) "Scale" is here used as defined by Godfrey and Monica Wilson in "Analysis of Social Change".

The first two fields of causation are operative in what is generally called "the process of transition" and manifest themselves in the particular degree and nature of the transition, which means they are dependent on the particular selection from and combination of the residue of tribal patterns and the assimilation/imitation of modern patterns. Within this transition, however, the third field is operative all the time. Hence, in trying to interpret the actual phenomena as manifested in African society, there are in reality two forces at work: the forces furthering and promoting this transitional process,⁽¹⁾ and those forces which originate from the reaction to the ways in which this transitional process is thwarted and inhibited.

The immense pressures within African society are the result, not only of the transitional process itself, but are to a very large degree due to the third field. The importance of this is, I believe, generally underestimated. Each repressive law or custom sets off a series of chain reactions reaching all aspects, even the most far removed, of African life.

It is probably necessary to mention that, of course, social change is always counteracted. There is the natural inertia of man, intractability of institutions, the natural tendency of those who derive benefit from the "status quo" to try to retard all changes, etc., etc. Yet I contend that the forces operative against the Africans' transitional process are more than "normal" in degree and kind. They are no more "natural", but willed, planned, organised, imposed by law, and progressively more restrictive. Hence they evoke in African society an equally "abnormal" reaction which distorts, sidetracks, deflects the course of transition.

"Ideals" (true or false) are powerful moulding forces in a transitional process. And in what they ultimately have adopted, several forces have been at work: the "ideal" they strove for, the extent of their capacity to realise it, and the extent to which they were allowed to realise it.

In conclusion: In trying to interpret, explain or understand what women say, what they mean, and what it means to them in trying to discover the reasons why they do, feel, think, want, a particular thing, one has to find these reasons in broadly three fields and evaluate the relative significance of each, i.e. how much in their action is a residue of tribal patterns, how much is imitation/assimilation of Western patterns, and how much is the result of the "colour bar".

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(1) This investigation has not dealt with Africans who do not want this "Westernisation".

An investigation of the "needs" arising out of the inter-relations between these multiple forces require a clear, brief statement about their main determining characteristics.

The tribal African pattern

Most anthropological books on tribal Africans in South Africa contain in one form or another various specific culture traits which generally have explicit relevance only to the particular tribe or family of tribes dealt with. From my own experience, it appears that it is difficult to find certain broad authoritative generalisations which embody the principal characteristics of African tribal society, which have validity for it as a whole, and without doing injustice to the differences between the various tribes. (1)

Finally, those as set forth by Professor F.D. Holliman, in his writings on tribal African Institutions have been adopted. According to the Professor, tribal African Institutions are:

- 1) More communally directed;
- 2) more "real", i.e. concrete, visual (perceptible) and personal;
- 3) more emotionally directed, i.e. more religious, magical and traditional.

This does not mean, he adds, that they are always and wholly so; on the contrary, often they contain quite a considerable measure of the opposite aspects, but they are, in appearance and functions, preponderantly so.

These three characteristics then, have been accepted as the very minimum frame from which an understanding of African society can proceed, and to which certain phenomena in African society can be traced back.

However, Professor Holliman has not been followed when he implies that these characteristics are "primitive". (2) The qualification "primitive" cannot significantly be applied to "institutions", (and certainly not to Bantu Institutions, some of which are as elaborate and subtle as those of "civilised" societies). The qualification "primitive" can only meaningfully be applied to people's attitude towards their institutions.

A definition /.....

(1) There is, judging from my own experiences, a definite need for such a monograph in which the basic presuppositions of tribal African culture are briefly and clearly stated and explained in their far-reaching applications and implications. As the situation is now, they are spread in partial and scattered bits of information over a great many books on Africans.

(2) This is due to an implied syllogism which, in my opinion, is a fallacy. Namely thus: Bantu Institutions are "such"; Bantus are primitives; therefore: "such" is "primitive".

A definition of the notion "primitive", however, is equally essential, since, to my mind, the transition from "primitive" to "civilised" is the most fundamental and important of all the Africans' transitions. This transition is generally tacitly implied by all those who talk or write about the transition from tribal African to modern Western patterns, which may be due to the derogatory sense this term has acquired, and which causes the thing itself to become concealed from the eye and blurred for the understanding. Yet, it is this basic transition which makes the study of "culture change" in Africa yield an entirely different picture from that obtained from the study of "culture change", for instance, through the influence of similar Western patterns, on countries such as China, India or Japan.

The notion "tribal African patterns" contains the notion "primitive", not as a necessary corollary to the abovementioned aspects or characteristics of its institutions,⁽¹⁾ but as an accident of historical development.

As the most useful definition of "primitive" as against "civilised" societies, I have adopted the following definition given by Arnold Toynbee:

"In primitive societies, as we know them, mimesis is directed towards the older generation of the living members and towards the dead ancestors who stand, unseen but not unfelt, at the back of the living elders, reinforcing their power and enhancing their prestige. In a society where mimesis is thus directed backwards towards the past, custom rules and the society remains static. On the other hand, in societies in process of civilisation, mimesis is directed towards creative personalities which command a following because they are pioneers on the road towards the common goal of human endeavour. In a society where mimesis is thus directed forward towards the future, 'the cake of custom' is broken and the society is in dynamic motion along a course of change and growth".

This definition has been found extremely valuable for interpreting certain characteristics of urban African women, such as the uncritical conformity with established patterns, the unquestioning performance of prescribed practices, in which the creative, initiating, and inventive faculties of man are unwanted, in which the exceptional individual is a social disturbance, and the personality in its self-expression and self-search remains underdeveloped.

Thus /.....

(1) Each of these characteristics, and possibly even all of them, apply also to Hindu, Chinese, and Islamic civilisations. These societies are also communally directed, motivation is mainly traditional/religious, and the relations are personal and concrete. There is, however, in all these societies a creative élite, which vindicates and establishes for them the value of the individual, the capacity for abstraction and the self-knowledge of the rational approach, and which inaugurates changes and maintains societal dynamics by periodic re-interpretations of the "ideals" to be followed.

Thus the field of causation called "tribal African patterns", from which certain features of the women must be derived, contains a combination of two forces: those called more properly "Bantu patterns" and those which strictly speaking would have to be called "primitive patterns".

The modern Western pattern

That Africans are beginning to direct their mimesis towards "ideals" of which the Europeans are or seem to be the carriers, away from the past and the ways of the ancestors to the future and to new leading personalities is a fact of observation.

The minimum definition of this "modern Western pattern" can be found in the opposite of Professor Hellemen's statement regarding tribal institutions.

In this way, Western institutions would be, again preponderantly, not wholly:

- 1) More individually directed;
- 2) More abstract and impersonal;
- 3) More rational, analytical and, as he adds, even more matter of fact.

Western civilisation and its carriers are affording African society the stimulus necessary for a re-orientation of its ideals and a change of direction of its mimesis. In that sense, Europeans and European ways are replacing the ancestors and ancestral ways. That, for the moment, this is by and large as imitative as before, is only natural. But to the extent that the European stimulus is evoking a creative response, to that extent will Africans truly have started out on the process towards civilisation, which can ultimately only become their own if they begin to follow their own creative leaders, who must find for them a new self-interpretation.

The field of "suppressed group" phenomena

The forces evoked by repressive legislation and public indignity are historically well-known. Here African society finds parallels with other so-called "suppressed minorities" (they are generally minorities) as, for example, the Copts in Egypt, the Parsees in India, the Jews in Europe.

In general, the principal characteristic is that a socially penalised group is apt to respond to the fact that certain avenues of self-expression, and certain fields of activity are closed to it,

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by concentrating its energies on those fields which are open to it, and often excelling in these: ⁽¹⁾ With Africans we see this in the field of religion.

Here again, however, the comparison ceases, since most historically known penalised groups were at least equal if not superior in mental capacities, practical ability and cultural tradition.

In a society unconvinced of its own values, uprooted from its own heritage, incapable as yet of countering physical/material blows with mental/spiritual weapons, the forces of reaction, ineffectual against the suppressor, turn inwards in self-destruction, self-hatred, self-irony, and the sense of guilt so typical for the ethos created by the Ghetto.

It is then mainly from these three fields of forces that the interpretation of the phenomena observed in urban African society flows. In each phenomenon there is possibly something derived from all three sources. The exact allocation of the part each field plays remains a matter of personal judgment.

Here only the very broadest lines have been traced. All the many detailed features of these very broad outlines will be indicated according to the requirements of the particular situations occurring in the text.

(1) The emancipation of the women is partly a response to penalisations.

T H E W O M E N
T H E I R I N C I P I E N T E M A N C I P A T I O N
A N D R E V O L T

The term "Emancipation"

The present position

Women's Higher Education

The Professional women

Women's independent activity

Women's practical and moral weight

Women in family life

Some of the reasons

The "husband"

The meaning of "my husband"

The insecurity of marriage

Why the women want to get married

The role of the husband and father

The "division of labour"

The women's "Tour de Force"

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THE WOMEN

The term "Emancipation"

The objection may be raised that the term "Emancipation"⁽¹⁾ is prematurely used for what are as yet only certain trends, not generally noticeable and restricted only to a minority of the women. Yet, the trends are there; there is every likelihood of their continuing (unless the environment which produces them undergoes drastic changes), and the minority is increasing rapidly.

Of course, the degree of emancipation already attained, must be measured against the strong counteracting forces, which are mainly due to her ingrained attitude of subservience to and awe for the male, which derives from her tribal past. Man's predominant position in the tribe was firmly entrenched by religion, law and custom and not the least in the girl's upbringing which was chiefly designed to instill in her an attitude of submission first to the father and then to the husband, rather than a sense of initiative or responsibility. Ridicule⁽²⁾ and witchcraft were, and still are, powerful forces maintaining this male dominance.

The present position

It was an African woman, highly evolved and with a university degree, who first drew my attention to this phenomenon of the incipient women's emancipation. She said:

"African society is unique; the standard of men and women is the same. The development of men and women goes in a straight line, the women's instruction is as good as the men's.

"That's why, when African people will become civilised it will be at once a high civilisation, because the women are in it from the start."

In education, the restrictions apply to all Africans as Africans, and nowhere is there discrimination against the women. Women can become and do become doctors; they can become lawyers and university professors. African women have not known the suffragette struggle to force their way into such "male" professions. That their legal position is chaotic (and in Durban even more restricted than in Johannesburg) will be mentioned elsewhere.

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- (1) The term "emancipation" is taken to refer to: the setting free of a body or group of people (slaves, women, Catholics, Jews, etc.) from disabilities and from a position of dependence, which applied to all persons of the group by virtue of their belonging to that group and irrespective of personal merit.
 - (2) Even in town, a woman complaining about her husband is met with derisive laughter from the other women. A woman of my acquaintance had a black eye, received in a fight with her husband. For days she could not go out, for the other women "would only sneer at me".

Legally, African women are still minors. Yet they have the right to initiate divorce proceedings and the children may be allotted to them. In litigation, a woman can engage a lawyer and, what is more, often pay for his services, without the assistance of her husband.

Women have the possibility of earning money independently, and the legal right to their own earnings, their Post Office savings account as well as their Bank account. Exemption from her status as legal minor is possible and granted - though all too infrequently. She can run an independent business, whether a shop or a restaurant. She can own a house or property and she can pay the rent. There are women who pay taxes, and an increasing number of women earn more than their husbands in a position of higher status. (1)

In many ways, the African women reap the benefits of the long fight which their European sisters began some 100 years ago. When her husband dies, she can cope alone, although, like all widows the world over, not as well. But she need not go and live as "housekeeper" with charitable relatives like her sisters in Europe before the women's emancipation there. If she is unmarried, she can choose and hold a career.

Politically, she may be without the restricted voting power which the men have, but she is beginning to figure on public bodies and boards.

If she has the personality, she can do many things in her life, and certainly no fewer things than her husband. I know a woman who acts as "Magistrate", to the admiration of the European welfare worker whom she assists, and to the benefit of her community. I know a woman who leads a Community Centre as Director and there is no evidence that she does it less well than a man would have done. There are many women who are employers of men.

On top of all this she has as yet the freedom of movement and travel denied to her pass-carrying menfolk.

Many of her further handicaps she shares with her European compatriots. She is, however, unique and alone in one tremendous drawback:- her few "de jure" rights are seldom capable of being enforced "de facto". As against this, however, stands the undeniable fact that many of her legal restrictions are "de facto" overcome. (2)

In view /

- (1) Of the six married or divorced nurses (see Nurses Report), three were earning, or would earn after completion of their training, more than their husbands. If the husband is also in Government Service, the c.o.l. allowance is added to the man's wages. If this were not the case, some staff-nurses and sisters would have earned more than their husbands.
- (2) Sometimes, a kind Superintendent gives a widow a trading licence on her dead husband's name; an African woman runs a Restaurant, clean, neat and cheap, because she passes as a Coloured. In the African market in Durban, many women own and run stalls registered in their husband's names. Many women, however, do not know that their post office savings are their own, and hand them over to their husbands if these ask them for it.

In view of all this, one can justifiably talk about the emancipation of urban African women as a process, with the same validity and justification as one talks, for instance, about the process of urbanisation.

Experienced European opinion was found divided on this point. Some stressed how primitive African women still are, and how submissive and subservient to their husbands. "They never even address him directly, and they wouldn't dare to talk about him." Others remark that it is true that education and educational facilities are the same for both, that women are, on the whole, and up to a certain level, even more generally and better educated than the men.

Most persons mention, however, that inborn feeling of inferiority and the inbred attitude of submission of the women, although "it is astonishing what women manage to do on their own in spite of that".

The difference would appear to be that whilst some rather emphasize the situation as it still is, others see the situation as a process, and stress the emergence of new features.

It is this last line of approach which is here adopted.

Women's Higher Education.

The general advance of the women cannot be shown from the numbers receiving higher education. The only figures which have become available are those of the University of Fort Hare (1). An analysis shows a slow but steady increase in enrolments of female students, although the general percentage is still rather low. (From 8% during the years 1916-1919, to about 15% in 1952). The number of degrees taken also increased slightly. (From about 13% in 1953 to about 18% in 1954). The University of Cape Town, the University of South Africa, and the Witwatersrand University, unfortunately, do not keep separate statistics for non-European students, whilst the University of Natal, Non-European Section, has only had two women graduates since the commencement of university classes for Non-Europeans, both in the Faculty of Arts, one graduating in 1949 and the other in 1952.

These percentages are low in comparison with those of European women students. But compared with those of the rest of Africa South of the Sahara, they show that in South Africa women's higher education is far in advance of the other African territories.

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(1) These figures, as well as the information about the other Universities, have been procured by the kind efforts of Miss Muriel Herrell, Technical Officer of the South African Institute of Race Relations.

The Professional Woman.

Three great Professions have been opened up for African women and these afford her the possibility of an independent career, and social status in her own right. Increasing numbers of women are availing themselves of the opportunities offered thus.

Teachers: Whilst it is true that at present more men are employed as teachers than women, it is known that a definite attempt is going to be made to remedy this situation and increase the number of women teachers.⁽¹⁾ Moreover, women teachers have been greatly handicapped by the restrictions imposed on married teachers, and by far the great majority of women above a certain age are married.

Social Workers: At the moment, men are still doing many social jobs which, in other countries, are done by women. According to Dr. Ray Phillips, Head of the Jan Hofmeyer School of Social Work in Johannesburg, this is merely due to the fact that the men were the first to come to town and into the social workers' profession. But men are now increasingly ousted by women.

Nurses: This is a woman's profession which in respect of status, training and salaries, has no equivalent amongst the men.

Skilled Workers: Through the higher wages obtained, this category of work also possesses considerable social status. The garment workers have been becoming increasingly skilled women. However, because of new Government regulations, this developing field for skilled female labour is likely to become progressively restricted.

Whilst the possession of university degrees and qualified professions have greatly enhanced the position of the women and girls, and "emancipated" them from domestic service, previously wellnigh the only legitimate way of earning a living for women, it is not primarily in educational achievements that the women's emancipation can be observed most strikingly.

Women's Independent Activity: What seems more important, possibly not for the women themselves but for the whole African community, is the general increase in the women's independent and active participation in the affairs not only of her own immediate environment but of her society as a whole. It is here that her influence is becoming generally noticed and her voice heard.

It is unfortunate that all political associations had to be excluded from this investigation for, if my information is correct, women are beginning to emerge as leaders in this field, and it is likely/.....

(1) The Department of Native Affairs intends to train 4000 women teachers.

Likely that they will become increasingly prominent and influential in political movements.

But another general impression may be equally true, and which was expressed by a prominent woman political leader, that: "Men are more politically conscious, but when women get into politics, they get more violent." The implied criticism, that of a certain political immaturity, a lack of planning and purpose, a being easily swayed by emotions and having only a short term aim, could not in truth be applied to the majority of the women's social and community activities nor to the manner in which they tackle the problems of their homes and families.

Women's practical and moral weight

The woman's importance in her new urban society lies perhaps less in what she thinks and understands than in what she does and is. The combined evidence of my own observations and experiences, as well as the weight of opinion from knowledgeable European and African sources (male and female) suggests the validity of certain generalisations against which many exceptions can be brought forward, but which seem, nevertheless, on the whole fully justified.

These generalisations are:-

Women can be, and often are, the main pillar and support of the family.

They are the human factors giving the guarantee of continuing care and regular consideration to old and young members of the family. It is to them that relatives appeal for help (financial and other) when in trouble. It is to them that social workers go when something has to be arranged or organised. A European Minister of Religion, with long experience as prison chaplain, says:

"I can see it clearly in my prison work. When a European is convicted, his great worry is how his family will cope without him. With an African there is never such a problem. He is not the only breadwinner, often not even the most important breadwinner. So, firstly, he does not worry about the family, and secondly he often need not worry." (1)

Women are often the great driving force behind the education of their

children.- The reasons for this, arising from their conviction that "civilisation and education are our salvation", and their desire to find in their children's education the security and insurance ^{for} ~~their~~....

(1) This statement has been strongly controverted by an experienced sociologist on the grounds that most casework amongst Africans is based on what can be done for the family since the father/husband has lost his job. However, the two may not be mutually exclusive. A family may be in real difficulty because the father is in prison, yet the fact remains that it is not the father who may worry about it.

their own old age, have been set forth in various forms throughout this report. It is corroborated by the evidence of the mothers' pre-occupation with their children's education as set forth in the Nurses Report; by the fact (as will be seen later) that so many "Stockfels" are and were run by the women for the sole purpose of paying for their children's education; by many conversations with mothers who proudly say "these doughnuts have given my children their education";⁽¹⁾ or "all my children have been educated on these fishcakes";⁽²⁾ by the well known fact that many thoroughly decent women brew beer and act as runners of Fah Fee (the latter being an important regular source of income, near at home), because a daughter is "at college", and a son "must go on studying".

According to a rough estimate by the Principal of Inanda Girls' Seminary near Durban:

about 55% of the girls' schoolfees are sent by the father. But this does not mean that they are always paid by the father. They may have been paid by a sister or brother. Often a father would not send them, if he were not continuously prompted by the mother, and this is shown by the fact that schoolfees often cease to come in regularly after mother has died:

about 25% of the schoolfees are paid by the mother. She may be a widow, an unmarried or deserted wife, but also a married woman whose husband is not interested in his daughter's education:

about 15% of the fees are paid by a brother or sister directly; (3)

about 5% have bursaries.

Another indication of this trend is that amongst the nurses, some 54% named their mother as the most important person in their childhood and adolescence; 16% their father; 12% both parents and 16% the relative with whom they lived. This most important person was generally so named because, "she was seriously concerned with my education", and often paid for it". (4)

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- (1) In Durban one is told even more frequently than in Johannesburg that it is the mother with a small trade who makes it possible for the daughter to become a "professional" woman.
 - (2) The hope of ultimately becoming a "runner" (which means a fixed weekly salary plus bonus), makes many women first join in the gambling game in order to obtain entry to this very closely guarded and highly competitive inner circle of the runners.
 - (3) 14 of the 45 unmarried nurses (of the Nurses Report) paid for part or all of the education of some younger relative.
 - (4) It may be that the overwhelming evidence of the tremendous push of the women "towards the light" is found only amongst the urban women, and that the more conservative women, who do not want "civilisation, education and Christianity", may refuse to come to town to join their husbands. In the case of the Nurses Report, "urban" and "rural mothers" have not been classified separately.

Women are more generally interested than the men.— Although the cultural and intellectual societies are never organised without men, yet women form the main bulk of the membership and are the most regular attendants. In my own experience, men often fall asleep during functions, but the women are alert and awake all the time.

The Principal of Ohlange Institute, which is a co-educational boarding school, said:

"In all cultural matters the girls are ahead, and if they are not ahead, they are always more interested".

He went on further and said:

"Without the girls we cannot civilise the fellows. The girls set the example and provide the incentive to promote civilised behaviour and cultural interests".

He stressed Particularly, that:

"owing to this, co-education is a good thing for Africans. It is easier to run a mixed school, because the girls do half my job. For we differ in our viewpoint from European schools....they only educate, we must also civilise."

At Entokozweni, the Community Centre at Alexandra, those functions which are dependent on the attendance of men are less well attended than the more specifically women's functions. For instance, discussion groups on subjects chosen to interest men are less successful than those on women's services.

Women have a greater sense of responsibility than men.—

European and African experts with a wide range of experience are unanimous in their opinion that women show a greater sense of responsibility than men.

Women are more active, and in their activities more constructive.—

This whole report bears witness to the truth of this statement. The three main organisational types, the Funeral Societies, the Community Service Groups and the Home Makers Clubs have no equivalent amongst the men.

All these general statements about the women's moral and practical ascendancy refer both to her role inside and outside the family.

Concluding: It is mainly from three threads that the women's emancipation is being woven. There are her opportunities for economic independence and social status, through university education and a professional career; there is her economic function in the family (about which more will be said later), and there are, last but not least, her moral qualities, the sense of responsibility, which make her face the challenge with which fate has confronted her.

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