

is connected with "Life-strength".

The pitiful clinging to a highly coveted "office", however minor it may seem to Europeans, leads to peculiar situations.

"Mrs. M. worked as a domestic servant in town before her marriage, and belonged to the Albert Street Methodist Manyano where she attained the rank of "class leader". Since her marriage she lives deep in Orlando. Every Thursday, however, she undertakes the journey to town; she would not, for the life of her, become a member of a Manyano near her home, since in the Albert Street Manyano she is an "Office holder".

A woman who was running one of the vegetable clubs of Entokozeni, and also had the cooking and sewing clubs in her house, became pregnant. Since she had never run it satisfactorily anyway, Entokozeni took this as a welcome opportunity to try to persuade her to discontinue the work, specially since they had found a more suitable person in her next-door neighbour. After much persuasion she finally consented. "You would think she would gladly take her vegetables from her neighbour. Oh, no. She takes the trouble to go each week quite far so as to get her vegetables from someone else". For, if she has to be without function and status in an organisation, she prefers this to be a new group. (1)

A kindred notion, much used in this connection is UKHUZIKHU KHUMBEZA (from the verb "to cause oneself to swell up, to be puffed up, to be proud, to boast"). Women often use it in self-humour about themselves, for "to hold office" or, as they say, "to sit on some office". As one woman explained; "You see, when I am elected to be a leader, I think it is because I am so wonderful", and another woman said; "If she does not do this herself, she is looked down upon as too weak. But if does this, they go away, saying, "She thinks we are her children".

This particular characteristic is strongly operative in the greatest gift Africans have, for which twentieth century Western Civilisation unfortunately has no use: the gift of rhetoric. Here they can blow and puff themselves up as much as they like, and they are invariably admired for it. It is also a sign of "strength".

Here also the women know their own weaknesses: "My people are terrible. One speaker gets up and speaks: he's the leader. All people seem to be listening, but not at all. Some are only thinking of how they can get up and speak better".

The/.....

(1) See also Case No: 15 and 5.

The Independent Order of True Templars (I.O.T.T.) has as its biggest attractions some of the things African women appreciate most: beautiful high-sounding titles, and all the paraphernalia and conventions accompanying them, as well as the fact that these titles come, nearly automatically, to the members according to seniority of membership; the opportunity for public speaking, and the display of legalistics; the secrecy which is also congenial to African women; and, if my information and observations are correct, one can still go on drinking alcohol if one liked it!

"Sometimes they are tired" (1)

African women tire of their organisations very quickly. Sometimes it is simply because they are "bored"; there is just not enough in it to keep them interested. They do not seem to have tenacity and persistence. (2)

"They are quickly discouraged. They say; I knit my jersey and there is no sale. But this is not true. All the builders here, for instance, would buy them. But the Africans have not got the patience. Indians have. They say; come and buy, come and buy, to everybody. Africans have not got that. For instance, an Indian peanut seller will sit all day and he will come back tomorrow and tomorrow. Not an African. She sits one day and sells only little bits and then she says: There is no sale and she gives up".

How to keep them interested is the greatest problem of all. It is the main reason why most organisations do not continue without European encouragement and continual pushing. They are soon bored with their clubs, and the newness wears off, and the whole enterprise, started with so much enthusiasm, "dies a natural death".

I have not been able to understand this phenomenon, nor find ways and means of preventing it. Sometimes the actual reason is that they cannot understand. The things taught are too difficult; they cannot keep pace with the more advanced members; they feel insecure and humiliated, and instead of making an extra effort, they back out. Often also they had expected to get more out of the club. (What???) They are disappointed. Often also, it is a way of avoiding the confession that their husbands are against their participation in the club. Sometimes also, they are just tired. Their lives/.....

(1) "Sometime" means always "perhaps", not "sometimes".

(2) See also Case No: 26, "Mildred".

lives are so incredibly hard, that they just have no energy left after their struggle to provide the family meal. Whatever the reason may be, the fact is that they are "sometime just tired".

"They are resting - maybe"

This is said when some members no longer put in an appearance, and do not do any work. One learns that it is generally an ominous sign. Something has gone wrong in the human relations which should be investigated. It is a form of silent protest. Trouble is brewing under the surface. Nothing ever appears, of course, before the European lady who kindly comes and helps. But some members are backing out for some reason.....

"The sit-down response".

This is also a bad sign. It is not a protest, but a "wait and see" attitude. They are not backing out, not really intending to, at least, they are "waiting".

It occurs, for instance, when an organisation, after having started and worked on its own and worked very hard, suddenly receives help from Europeans, who tell them how things can be done better and more quickly. The women say nothing, they do not protest, they "sit-down", and gradually the European finds that the eager club members are like sand flowing away between her fingers.

Or, for instance, when a leader suddenly decides on a different course, and the members are either not consulted or do not like it. They will not say anything; generally they would not dare to disagree. They "sit-down". They do not resign. They wait. Something will happen to bring everything back to the accustomed way.

Or when a Chairlady is too dictatorial, and the members feel they would like "to shift" her, but they are afraid to bring it up in the meetings because they are afraid of her. "Then the women sit-down, one by one, that is, they draw backwards. They do not dare to say anything, but they just draw backwards".

It is a form of passive resistance, unorganised, unplanned, instinctive. And maddening at that, because one has nothing

to/.....

to fight against, nothing to come to grips with.

If one tries to do something about it, they may really leave. If things do not ultimately go as they want them to go, they leave. But maybe things change again, and come back to what they wanted, or somebody, by sheer chance, does exactly what they have been waiting for, - and they are there again.

"They won't do anything for nothing".

This is a stereotype repeated over and over again by Africans and Europeans. Yet, it is not true. It is my honest conviction that it is less true amongst Africans than amongst Europeans. The Europeans make an initial mistake by giving them things for nothing. If the European gives "charity", then the African woman expects "charity" and tries to get as much as possible out of it.

It is an old, old problem. Whether to make them pay for medical care, for materials for sewing, for uniforms, for badges, for membership, for classes, for medicines. After this study, even a nominal fee, a nominal price, a nominal contribution, because firstly they then take things more seriously, (1) secondly, it puts relations on a clear business basis, and thirdly, they always have, really always, the money to pay for something they really like. (I am talking of the middle classes only.)

This is the majority opinion of the persons with experience. Clubs, sewing classes, must not be given for nothing, neither the materials nor the instruction. If she pays for it, an African woman says, "I must have my money's worth or die".

"There is nothing to show for it now".

This is a stereotype repeated over and over again by one of the most tragic stereotypes. There is nothing to show for money acquired by hard labour or superhuman efforts of saving. There are no cattle, no meadows, no kraal, no nothing. There is nothing which is a tangible sign of one's work. There is no house, no shop, no nothing.

Everything/.....

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- (1) An experienced welfare worker's comments on health films;
 "They think it is tremendous fun, laugh loudly, and enjoy themselves, but don't take any notice. If they have paid for it, it is more like education, they take it more seriously".

Everything earned, everything collected, goes towards keeping alive.....

Also, African women want concrete benefits. "Only learning to lay the table", - what is there in it? There's nothing to show for it afterwards. African women are not "materialistic" (that notion is irrelevant), they are utilitarian. Things must have a use, a visible, tangible advantage. The notions "self-improvement", "uplift", always have a utilitarian ring. (1)

If the money is spent on the children's education, on the doctor's bill, on the undertaker's account, "there is nothing to show for it":

"But now, if I had a little business of my own....."

The natural tendency towards secrecy.

This will be dealt with fully under the Home Makers Clubs, where the accent on "sharing" throws the counteracting tendencies into sharp relief. But it is apparent in all organisations. Even the erection of a school by one group will cause another group, which is also trying to put up a school, to say, "They have stolen our ideas".

Every society has and guards its own secrets, and they generally exist more in the women's minds than in actuality. The "know how" is not something which outsiders should learn.

Nowadays this has become a matter of an expensive education acquired at great personal sacrifice, which cannot be made available in its fruits to someone who has not paid for it.

One case from my records is as follows:

Mrs. M. (a member of a smart Home Makers Club is sitting with a woman friend, a rather haughty-looking bespectacled woman, in a green taffeta dress with plissé trimmings and a cape of silverfox; she is immensely smart and superior), answering my question about her Club, says, "I can't really talk about it now. This lady (pointing at the impressive apparition) does not want to join our Zenzele, so she should not hear what we are doing in our workshops. If she wants to learn, she must become a member. I have told her so, but she does not want to pay for membership." (The lady sat silent, she was a dressmaker).

"The/....."

(1) See case No: 20 (Health Centre).

"The little misunderstanding".

This may be literally anything. Money quarrels, personality clashes, personal dislikes, jealousies, competition for a job, the treasurer has run away with the cash, fights over husbands, envy about clothes or furniture, anything. It is, however, presented to the kind European helper as " a little misunderstanding".

Men say, "The women quarrel always over nothing". The women say, "Men are unreliable".

It is true that, like all women the world over, African women quarrel, only possibly more so. There is nothing new in that, only what struck me personally is this English understatement coming from African women!

THE EMERGING AFRICAN CLASSES.GENERAL REMARKS.A Valuable Development.

Definition of Terms: "Social Status"
African social classes.

Four Factors Influencing the Class-structure.

- A. The colour bar.
- B. The imitation of European classes.
- C. The basic "transition".
- D. The novelty of the classes.

The class divisions.

The four "societies".

The attributes conferring social status on women:

- 1) As somebody's wife.
The "socially important" husband.
The "good" husband.
- 2) As a person in her own right.
Organisational status.
Social class versus professional class.

THE PRINCIPAL ATTRIBUTES OF SOCIAL CLASS.

Education and wealth.

How many generations "in civilisation".

Housing standards:

District of residence.

House of plot ownership.

Home interior.

The buying of furniture.

Nationality - Tribe.

Clinic attendance.

Club-membership.

Church-membership.

Resemblance to Europeans (physical, cultural).

The "Unmentionables".

Informal grouping.

Self-placing.

REASONS WHY THE CLASS CONCEPT IS INDISPENSABLE IN THIS ENQUIRY.

- 1) Class and needs.
- 2) Class and attitude to Europeans.
- 3) Class and organisation.
- 4) Class and leadership.
- 5) Necessity for understanding.

THE EMERGING URBAN AFRICAN CLASSES.

The beginning of a class differentiation in urban African society is one of the most important general characteristics of the new society which is growing up in and around Johannesburg.

Amongst the mass of Europeans, there is an amazing reluctance to recognise this important fact. The reasons for this mental inertia are varied and obscure. The simplest is, however, that the majority of Europeans do not know any Africans except their own servants.

Furthermore, it is yet another symptom of the general unreality of the European's approach towards African urban society, and of the sad but irrefutable fact that European thinking about Africans always lags behind the actual reality. Europeans in South Africa seem incapable of thinking of Africans in terms of normal human beings, and dismiss the idea that the Africans are not an amorphous, static, unindividualised mass, but, on the contrary, a dynamic, evolving, and differentiated society.

Apart from this, there are the usual political, emotional factors, which are expressed in a conversation I had with the principal of an African high school: "Yes, Europeans, they do not want to see it. That is exactly the truth: they don't want to see the classes in our society. They want one African mass, it is easier for them".

In every-day speech, however, most Europeans dealing with Africans in one capacity or another, talk about "the upper class women", or "our better class members", etc., and everybody seems to know what is meant.

When questioning informed and authoritative Europeans, one finds them unanimous in affirming the fact that we are witnessing, at the moment, the emergence of an African class structure. They demonstrate these class-differences in many examples from their own field of interest. These European experts, however, generally stress the precariousness of this new idea of social class, its lack of clarity, its unevenness, the peculiar forms it takes, as well as the difficulty of defining it. As one person said to me: "It is more feelable than definable".

The/....

The speakers had, as is natural, different opinions as to the degree to which these class-differences had already developed. Some regretted their appearance, whereas others took them as natural phenomena.

In the available literature on urban Africans, the word "class" is sometimes used, but, I believe, never defined.⁽¹⁾

A valuable development.

To my mind, this emerging class-layering is, far from being regrettable, a valuable development in that it is an important contributive factor in transforming an amorphous mass of helter-skelter immigrants into a structured, settled community.

It seems to me a fact of the utmost importance in the evolution of the African people. Because the urge to have a social position, a generally recognised "status", which is at the basis of the natural formation of classes, seems a necessary step in the African's search for self-determination. The desire to be identified with/well-defined smaller group or community or class which is highly esteemed, seems to hold forth a promise of security in the boundless and ever dissolving waves of the stormy social ocean, and can offer a valuable incentive towards social action.

In the town, it affords a possibility for new group cohesions and more stable patterns of social interaction. It helps towards the formation of new loyalties and new standards, and ultimately it is the best guarantee for the creation of a sorely needed public opinion and social sanctions of behaviour. It should replace the lost ties of kinship and sex and age grouping and is, in a sense, a creative response to the challenge of the new environment.

In this study, the notion of "class" must be introduced, and the reasons for this must be stated. But before these can be understood, an attempt must be made to define this concept. I venture then, with due trepidation, on yet another virgin territory, in the hope that some of my suggestions may be useful for a future more thorough investigation of the urban African

class/.....

(1) Even in such an eminently taxonomical study as Godfrey and Monica Wilson's "Analysis of Social Change," Cambridge, 1945, there is mention of "Sectional interests of class and industry" (p.164) without defining "class". Monica Wilson in "Reaction to Conquest" writes about "the increase in class distinctions as one of the characteristics of urban African society as against rural African society. (p.464/5) "Social status" is, however, duly defined.

class structure - research which is certainly overdue.

Definition of Terms.

In the concept of "social class", to my mind, the notion of "social status" is primary. Hence this latter concept must first be defined.

"Social status" must be defined in terms of the possession of certain attributes, and depends ultimately on the degree to which a person is deemed to possess those attributes which are highly prized in his own society.

What these highly prized attributes are is not evident a priori. They are different in each country and each society and they are usually only valid within that country or society. Not only that the status-attributes, or "determinants", differ in each culture, but these determinants also have a different rating as to their relative significance. There are no universal, invariable and infallible determinants, valid for all societies, although there is an increasing tendency for the determinants of Western civilisation in general to achieve a wider acceptance at the present moment of history.

But, basically, each group has its own determinants and is unique in its own way. Moreover, no group is prepared to recognise all the determinants of another group, which is due partly to lack of knowledge, but mainly to differences in assessing what is a valuable asset and what is not.

These attributes may be literally anything and everything. It may be true that they are generally either knowledge or skill or wealth, or a combination of these, but they may also be such varied attributes as generosity, wastefulness, shrewdness, learnedness, martiality, deceitfulness, athletic prowess, physical beauty, body-strength. They may be descent, race, personality, nationality, age, or instituted rank. They may be real or imaginary, past or present. They may have come to be so considered by popular preference or by political imposition, they may have been intentionally fostered or just allowed to develop. They may be any combination of these, or only one of these. And, finally, they be illogical, uneconomic, unnatural (in the estimation of another group).

They/.....

They can usually best be defined in terms of the "Ethos" of a particular culture. And, therefore, in my opinion, the class structure mirrors the character, the spirit, of the community within which it is established; its history as well as its economic, social and cultural development.

The class structure is, therefore, a significant indicator of social attitudes, social expectations, values and group ideals, formed through past experiences. Hence the thorough study of the African urban class structure would yield valuable information as to the cultural dynamics of urban African society.

In considering then, what are these most highly prized attributes for African urban society, I arrive at my definition of African classes.

"African classes" represent degrees of identification with European ways of life, modes of thought and criteria of value, and - given certain minima of material and environmental conditions - depend entirely on the inclinations and capacities of the persons concerned. Following these inclinations and capacities, Africans find for themselves a group to which they can belong and within which they feel at ease; the group whose usages, conventions, forms and etiquettes, i.e. whose social attitudes and ideals, and behaviour patterns, they can adopt without the feeling that they are either "too snobbish" or "too primitive".

In such a way, the African upper-class represents the most assimilated group, that is, assimilated to the dominant culture patterns and gradations of South African white society.

Four important factors influencing the African class-structure in Johannesburg:

- A) The colour bar.
- B) The imitation of the European class structure.
- C) The basic "transition" of the African people.
- D) The novelty of the classes.

A) The colour bar decrees as the first and foremost class-criterion for South African society as a whole: COLOUR. This means that every white person is upper class by virtue of his white skin, and every black person

is/.....

is lower class, or rather "classless" ("proletarian") (1).

This unalterable, initial "colour-status" causes, on both sides, rather peculiar twists and shifts which are the result of a "dual class-position": each member on both sides of the colour line has a particular class-belonging within his own society, as well as a general class-belonging in relation to the other society. Exaggeration and over-emphasis are characteristic of both sides. Class-feeling and class-consciousness must compensate for a natural community of interests and class between similar people, of different skin colour.

Confining ourselves to black society only, the consequences of the colour bar are, for instance, that through the ceiling imposed on opportunities, the various classes are pressed closer together and the differences between them are quantitatively and qualitatively very small in comparison with similar differences in white society. They are, however, socially of no less significance. Also, attainment of these prized attributes is fraught with difficulty, hence any, even the smallest measure of success, is inordinately accentuated.

Thirdly, a socially penalised group is apt to react to its handicaps in or exclusion from certain fields of activity by concentrating its social energies upon other fields and excelling in these. Hence, Africans tend to create for themselves occasions for "status" which have no equivalent in European society.

All these factors, resultant from the colour bar, hinder the full operation of what is mentioned under B), and gives peculiar distortions to the African class structure.

The psychological consequences seem obvious.

The constant interplay and interference between two mutually contradictory situations: the being "proletarian" and undifferentiated in relation to white society, and the "having social status" in their own society, increases the Africans' feeling of insecurity, augments the confusion in their soul and distorts their social values. But, above all, it makes them put inordinate stress on what seem to an outsider real trifles, and causes the distinctions which in a normal society would be mellowed over, to appear with a knife-edged sharpness.

B) From/;;;;;;;;;;

(1) "The true hallmark of the proletarian is neither poverty nor humble birth but a consciousness - and the resentment which this consciousness inspires - of being disinherited from his ancestral place in society and being unwanted in a community which is his rightful home", Arnold J. Toynbee, A Study of History, Oxford University Press 1946, Vol.V.p.63. And he adds: "And this subjective proletarianism is not incompatible with the possession of material assets". And, in his beautiful phrasing: "A proletarian is in a society but not of it".

B) From the direct and deliberate imitation of the class-criteria of white society, must be distinguished something which appears like imitation, but is in reality due to the fact that both societies are subject to the same environmental influences. After all, Africans are South Africans and will increasingly show, what one could term, South African national characteristics.

The trek to the towns, the increasing urbanisation and industrialisation, are processes which black society shares with white society. All newcomers to Johannesburg start from scratch. The African coming to town is like the white immigrant. Whether African tribal society knew the institution of social classes or not is irrelevant. What matters is that social status possessed in the rural community is often lost in the town.

South Africa is a "new" country, and Johannesburg is a new city. This applies to black and white society. In a new country, in a new environment, the cards of "social status" are re-shuffled, and new hands are dealt. The achievement of social status is again within the reach of everybody and the scramble for positions starts.

"Wealth" is undeniably the short-cut towards achievement of social status, or towards re-establishment of the social status lost in the transference from the old to the new environment. Wealth can be acquired by one individual in one generation: whilst an important or rich or successful ancestor cannot be recreated. Hence, in a new country, where the reflected glory of past attributes, as expressed in an aristocratic title, inherited property or fame, lose their significance, where "nationality" and "race" as well as "culture" are beyond the power of a man to change or acquire, "wealth" must become the foremost class-criterion, precisely because it can be acquired by one individual in one generation, and it can cut across and make up for all the other criteria lost or never possessed.

"Wealth" is undoubtedly the first and most important class-determinant in white Johannesburg society. And, "where wealth forms an over ridingly important class-principle, classes are naturally less rigid, less established, more changeable than elsewhere".⁽¹⁾

And/.....

(1) MacIver, R.M. "Society, a Textbook of Sociology" MacMillan & Co. 1937, pp. 166/7.

And the general fluidity of the class-lines, the great amount of interclass mobility, the quick rate of class-change, is a common feature of black and white society, for exactly the same reasons.

C) There is, however, one important difference between the class criteria of black and white society, one important exception to the general rule that African classes tend to reproduce European classes; namely, that in white society "wealth" comes first, and "education" (or, as it is generally called "culture") comes second, whilst in black society, "education" is first and "wealth" follows as a close second. That is, of course, due to that one transition which black society bears alone, and that is: the transition from "primitive" to "civilised". And in this, which is the most basic of all the transitions in African society, "education" is indispensable. For "education", far more than mere "wealth", enables the African people to acquire that most prized possession: likeness to the European. "Education" means many more things for Africans, as will be shown later.

Summing up: The emerging class-structure of African urban society in Johannesburg follows very much the same patterns as European urban society in Johannesburg. Like any other new society in new conditions of life, it has to find its own adaptations to the new and prevailing ways of life. Two circumstances are peculiar to itself: it is a suppressed group, and as such, its class structure will carry the stigma of this suppression. And, secondly, these social changes and differentiations coincide with a much more fundamental change: the change from a "primitive" to a "civilised" society.

D) The novelty of the classes. In actual fact, the phenomenon of "social class" is, in Johannesburg at least, an occurrence of our present time. It is, as yet, one generation old. There is as yet hardly an "inherited" class belonging, i.e. a "class-consciousness" through name, fame, or property acquired in a previous generation, and passed on to their descendants.⁽¹⁾

This/.....

(1) One could say that there are a few such "families" carrying a proud name amongst the Africans in the whole of South Africa, but I have met too few of them, and they are, in any case, as yet too few and too young to say that they are "an aristocracy by descent".

This has some obvious consequences:

- 1) There are no "upper-classes" in the European sense of the word.
- 2) A "class-belonging" is usually confined to particular single persons, or at the most, to one elementary family of father, mother and children. Married sisters may belong to different social classes; a mother may have stayed behind in the class-layering process, but the daughters may belong to a definite class.
- 3) Class-attributes must be acquired in a very short time, and by one single individual or one small family. This explains the urgency, the immense sacrifices, and the minute differentiations, as well as the emphasis put on their acquisition.
- 4) This "class-feeling" does not yet prevade all facets of a person's life and being. In certain respects or in certain situations, she will feel and act her new class-consciousness, in other aspects or situations this still seems out of place and un-called for.
- 5) This new class-belonging is as yet a very precarious possession, which depends on a carefully maintained balance between a multitude of attributes. Any violent change in this arrangement or a loss of one, may upset the whole, and she either goes up or down in the social scale.
- 6) The class-attributes themselves are still "in the making", and differ in small details in different communities, depending on, for instance, special preferences of one particular leading personality, or environmental opportunities.
- 7) The feeling of "status" must be made known and be expressed in visible, tangible symbols in order to become fact, and hence a certain ostentatiousness and display is inevitable. A certain "parvenue" characteristic attaches for this reason to all class-conscious Africans, and in this they are very similar to the masses of "nouveaux riches" which are thrown up in Europe after every war, and which constitute the population of Johannesburg.

For, /.....

For, in my opinion, there is no class without class-consciousness. "It is the sense of status sustained by economics, political or ecclesiastical power and by distinctive modes of life and cultural expressions corresponding to them which draws class apart from class, gives cohesion to each, and stratifies the whole society". (1)

The class-divisions.

Yet, this "middle-class" in African society is highly differentiated and tends to conform with set class-patterns, as far as I can see, more than European society. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish three sub-classes in this broad middle-class: namely, an upper-middle, a middle-middle and a lower-middle class.

Then follows a "lower class".

But apart from this, what one could term, "class-layered" population, there is a large part which have not yet entered the class-structure. These are, in terms of space, the "new-comers" from the country, and in terms of time, the "late-comers", in the evolutionary process. They are often, but not always, the parents and grand-parents who, although Christians and urbanised, have not "made the grade" in time, but whose children have begun to ascent on the class-ladder.

The four "societies"

If one wants to analyse the situation in Johannesburg exactly, one must take note of the fact that there are, in reality, four "societies".

- 1) a "respectable", "normal" society;
- 2) the "show" and "sports" world;
- 3) the world of illegitimacy, of vice and crime;
- 4) members of the tribal aristocracies.

As to the first three of these, the existence of these, side by side, is not a peculiarly "African" phenomenon. White societies, in Europe and more particularly in America, also contain three three more or less parallel, vertical sub-divisions. But in Johannesburg's black society they have been inordinately developed. There are so few avenues of self-expression and opportunities for social prominence open to Africans. And the successful saxophonist and the boxing champion go "overseas"

and/.....

(1) R.M. McIver, Op.cit. pp.166/7.

and are allowed some form of recognition by white people. They are reasons for national pride, and they are, moreover, big money earners.

The existence of a disproportionately large "under-ground" society is attested by all criminal records. This is, of course, the direct result of the lack of economic opportunities and the mass of discriminatory laws, as well as the difficulties of the transitions.

Each of these two societies has its own class-divisions according to class-criteria of its own in which "success", "Popularity", "money" and "power", as well as dynamic personality and leadership qualities appear to be the main determinants. (1)

The existence of the last-mentioned society is, of course, peculiarly African, and more in evidence in Durban than in Johannesburg. As a queer anachronism, it cuts through the new urban classes. (2)

A European welfare worker relates:

"(And then there are) the members of the royal family. Some of them are very primitive. My two clerks, for instance, are descended from royalty through a daughter. They are very Westernized, but in the presence of a member of the royal family, they revert completely to primitivity. They say: "Indabazithi" and "Indabainkulu" and bend down deeply".

"And then my old and very primitive messenger. He married one of the royal family and he's a Prince now, if you please, he is "Umtnana"! And you notice in the others how highly respected that position is. And you should see my very Westernized and sophisticated staff when talking to this messenger boy!"

In a society where public esteem and admiration sways between the tribal Chieftainness in beads and kerosse, and the female film star with her hair straightened out and the figure of a "sweater girl", where the successful dagga-trading and stolen goods-receiving and brothel-keeping woman is as much a subject of envy and awe as the female doctor of medicine, the wardsister and the B.A. Social Science, how can

one/.....

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- (1) In a thorough study of the class structure, an investigation of these other societies must be included.
- (2) In a sense comparable to the position of titled immigrants to South Africa from the European countries other than England.

One pin the class-differentiations down to a few clear cut definitions and waterproof classifications?

It would be an interesting subject of research to try to discover how these multiple societies are related, how they mesh in with "respectable" urban society, and in how far they influence the patterns of this respectable society. One thing seems certain, in Johannesburg: they are much more closely related, in terms of human beings and in technical terms than elsewhere.

Although the actual class-situation is highly complex, uneven, and extremely fluid and changing, it is well to remember that this class structure, as visible today, is only a passing arrangement of a society-in-transition. Not only is it changing within itself, but the whole structure is moving.

The actual situation is one of a "social continuum" (1), and for this reason, the class-criteria, in order to be enservable at all, must be taken from individuals furthest removed from each other. The boundaries between the groups flow practically unnoticeably into each other.

The attributes conferring "social status" on women.

These fall broadly into two fields: (2)

- 1) those as somebody's wife, (or mother)
- 2) those as a person in her own right.

The husband -

- 1) As in all other societies, one must recognise that a large measure of a woman's social position derives from the profession or occupation of her husband.

a) The "socially important" husband.

I have listed the occupations, professions, qualifications, which confer "social status" upon the husbands. (3) These categories of male "social status" are:-

"Clerical/....."

- (1) Gunnar Myrdal: An American Dilemma, New York, London 7th Edition, pp.700 and 675.
- (2) I am, in the following, talking about women only, and from the women's point of view only. The class criteria and the general class-situation of men is not entirely parallel to that of the women.
- (3) An analysis was made of the column "Friends and Personalities" in 20 successive Bantu World's in order to discover: (a) what kind of event makes a person's name figure in this column, (b) what kind of qualification is mentioned attached to a person's name, or makes his activities worth mentioning.

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