

GENDER, GEOGRAPHY AND URBAN FORM:

A CASE STUDY OF DURBAN

by

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ABSTRACT

This research project is primarily a theoretical work which critiques androcentric knowledge in general and androcentricism in South African human geography in particular. It therefore has relevance both for local geographers and local feminists. The project as a whole has been informed by feminist politics at a theoretical, practical and personal level.

The lack of gender-consciousness in the local radical geography tradition is challenged and local geographers are provided with specific pointers for moving beyond a gender-blind impasse. Furthermore, it is argued that the majority of the local gender-conscious literature has inadequately theorised patriarchal gender relations and that such a theorisation would have crucial bearing on developing strategies for social change.

It is suggested that a materialist feminist theoretical framework offers the most sophisticated tool yet developed for understanding the oppression of women. Hence, a variety of contemporary materialist feminist work is reviewed, and a realist perspective is offered as a way of theorising the complex interconnections between the social relations of race, class and gender. This materialist approach has thus far had the greatest impact on feminist geographers. A selection of the latter's work is therefore presented in order to illustrate how they have expanded our understanding of urban processes.

Finally, empirical data pertaining to Durban is used to illustrate a) how gender is socially constructed; b) how gender meanings change over time and c) the way in which patriarchal gender relations have been expressed in the local context.

It is ultimately asserted that geographers must take it as implicit that the categories and forces of the processes of urbanisation are dependent upon a specific construction of gender. The study of this, must in consequence become an integral part of human geographical analysis.

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INTRODUCTION

"...feminist women must deliberately and courageously integrate their repressed, unconscious female subjectivity, ie, their own experience of oppression and discrimination into the research process. This means that committed women social scientists must learn to understand their own 'double consciousness' as a methodological and political opportunity and not as an obstacle" (Maria Mies, 1983:121).

In academic dissertations in general, the process whereby one's ideas for a thesis topic, structure and methodology, have been moulded, is generally hidden. The process, however, is as important as the product. I have therefore tried to confront this invisibility in the way I have structured and presented this thesis, and hope that it will become clear why I find the conventionally linear and static mode of presentation an impossible one to follow.

At the outset I need to clarify why I deliberately use the personal pronouns 'I' and 'my'. As will become clear in Chapter One, I reject that any academic or researcher is objective or neutral in her/his work. The conventional academic tradition, wittingly or unwittingly, linguistically enhances a certain objective stance and distancing between the author and the printed work. In using the first person I believe I am being more honest about my own subjectivity and am acknowledging that I have been constructed as a social subject.

In light of what I have said above about process, it is necessary to explain how I came to consolidate my thinking, which informed my work. Thereafter I will present an outline of each chapter.

The process of my own development generated conflicts and dilemmas similar to those faced by other feminist social scientists. Feminist researchers have highlighted, for example, the need to take cognisance of personal experience and process to contribute towards the cause of women's

emancipation; and to creatively confront the burden of women being 'hidden from history' (cf. Mies, 1982; 1983; Roberts, 1981; Rowbotham, 1973; Stanley and Wise, 1983). My personal solution to such challenges emerged during the four years I researched for this thesis.

During my geography honours year I became increasingly interested in Marxist theories of urban reproduction (Castells, 1977; Harvey, 1978a; 1978b; Mingione, 1981) and their applicability to the South African context. Simultaneously, in my everyday life I became more and more involved with feminist ideas - both theoretically and practically. At that stage I perceived these two central interests in my life, as distinct and separate. In the last three years this double focus as it were, has developed in parallel. On the one hand I have been involved as a research assistant working on a project investigating the historical development of urban land-use change in Durban. On the other hand, I have participated in a feminist theory reading group and a number of feminist and women's organisations (eg. Rape Crisis and the Natal Organisation of Women). As the process continued, the tension between these two interests consistently bothered me.

In attempting to define a thesis topic and methodology for my Masters, I became increasingly aware of a need to integrate these two areas in my own life. I realised that such an integration would require a fusion of the two bodies of literature, personal and political struggle which, in turn, are my sources of inspiration.

This search to both understand and come to terms with my own position as a white middle-class woman in South Africa, found me consuming numerous international feminist texts as well as the recent South African literature

on women. My geographical training furthermore, stimulated me to ponder the relation between social process and spatial form. That is, how do the social processes underlying changes in women's and men's lives relate to changes in environmental production and alteration.

I soon discovered a wealth of feminist geographical material published in the United States of America, Canada and, in particular, Britain, and began to explore how I might adopt and/or develop some of their ideas in the South African environment. The way in which I would accomplish such an application was not immediately apparent to me. However, I began to formulate some vague questions specifically with regard to the urban geographical and local feminist inspired literature (cf. Abrams, 1985; Barrett et.al., 1985; Bozzoli, 1983; Cock, 1980a, 1980b, 1981, Cock et. al. 1984; Gaitskell et.al., 1983; IBG, 1983; McDowell 1983; Rose, 1981, 1984; SACHED, 1984; Yawitch, 1981, 1983, 1984). Some of these initial questions included the following problems: what is the relation between where and how women and men live and where and how they work (both waged and unwaged)?; how has this changed over time and what does it mean for our understanding of cities (for example)?; is there any relationship between different and changing family forms, household structures, social power relationships and city structure?

In tackling both feminist theory in general and feminist geography in particular, I recognised that before I could make any connections between changes in women's and men's lives and the spaces (or environment, ie. cities) in which they lived, I would have to understand much more about their lives and the changing meanings of masculinity and femininity (ie. gender construction). Furthermore, the influence of the emerging historical materialist perspectives in geography demanded that such changes in gender construction be contextualised with respect to changes

in the South African political economy. I did not at that stage know where to begin.

While grappling with such puzzling and challenging questions I had to investigate seventy years (1910-1980) worth of the **Natal Mercury**, ie. from 1910-1980, as part of the research project I was working on. The data I was requested to collect included any articles broadly dealing with the development of Durban and associated struggles. Simultaneously I noted any articles to do with women, social attitudes to women, and 'gendered' meanings in the newspaper advertisements. This empirical search led me to see how an investigation of social attitudes and gendered meanings, could facilitate a marriage between the two strands of my thinking. For instance, I discovered a number of interesting, previously "hidden" facts. Facts which demonstrate how the construction of the built environment, the position of women and gender relations are directly related. I ambitiously thought that I could construct a developed historical thesis entitled 'Gender Relationships and the Development of Durban'.

After assimilating much of the South African literature - geographical and other - and the international feminist literature, I finally concluded that my original quest was impossible. I had failed to recognise a crucial fact. Namely that the feminist geographers writing in the 1980's, had ten or more years worth of secondary feminist literature, women's movement struggle and an advanced body of materialist geography to draw upon, in making their connections between how people live and where they live.

For South Africa in general and Durban in particular I had little or no secondary sources (ie. of women's history) to use in my re-construction of

Durban's development. My most comprehensive option in dealing with the questions of how and where people live, would be to work within a feminist paradigm in order to make visible as many of the 'hidden' facts as possible. In order to do this I decided to develop the newspaper material I had collected and began to describe and thereby move towards re-constructing a picture/pattern of the changes in gender meaning (ie. of femininity and masculinity) and gender roles for the period. That is, for the women and men (primarily white middle-class) whose lives were reflected in the pages of the **Natal Mercury**.

Acknowledging that social power relations (eg. of class, race and gender) influence a city's growth, I would also have to do something about re-constructing a picture of women's and men's lives within African society. The material that was useful in order to explore some of the concepts I was considering, was related to the 'Cato Manor' period in Durban - 1940-1960, a period of rapid 'African urbanisation' and mass township development.

While the material was not sufficiently dense to investigate ideological reflections of gender meaning in the same way as that for the white middle-class; I tried to expose some of the hidden 'gender constructions' and their implications.

During the four years I was working on my dissertation, I not only experienced a personal/political development, but also witnessed a 'broader' one within the country as a whole. There has, amongst other things, been a resurgence of 'mass' women's organisations such as the Natal Organisation of Women (NOW), United Women's Congress (UWCO), Federation of Transvaal Women (FEDTRAW), Port Alfred Women's Organisation (PAWO), Port Elizabeth Women's Organisation (PEWO) etc. and FOSATU held a

women's workshop in 1983 (cf. South African Labour Bulletin, 1983). Not all of these groups are overtly feminist, yet they provide a general political basis for a women's movement. The challenge, as I see it, for such a movement, is on the one hand to analyse and understand the gender-specific experience of its women membership; and on the other to utilise such an analysis for developing strategies to overcome the subordinating aspects of that experience. My hope is that this dissertation, with its unique fusion of certain aspects of feminist theory, my personal experience as a white feminist woman involved in various women's organisations, and local historical and geographical material, will in its own way contribute to this struggle. That is, I aim to contribute to a greater theoretical and conceptual clarity of the way in which gender social relations interact with racial and capitalist social relations. It is hoped, that such clarity will be useful to an academic audience, but, perhaps more importantly will assist in the political organisation of South African Women. In criticizing the dominant androcentric ideology in local radical geography, I also aim to make a political intervention in the struggle to define the world.

In Chapter One, I point out some of the basic problems with androcentric knowledge in general. The fundamental principles informing the feminist challenge to 'masculinist' research and the social science labour process are briefly outlined in order to contextualise the paradigmatic alternative and to situate my own context. The concept of gender and its social construction is explained; as is the dialectical relationship between personal experience and political process.

In Chapter Two, I consider some of the more recent Western-derived socialist - feminist theory. I do this because a materialist perspective has had the greatest influence on feminist geographers, and because they

have developed the most sophisticated theory to date. It seemed necessary to synthesise some of the more important debates and developments in the literature so as to be able to highlight the issues such a body of thought would raise for South African feminism and South African geographers. It is also important to explore the source writings of the new paradigm before applying them to a particular discipline like geography. In part two of this chapter I consequently review some of the ways this perspective has been applied by international feminist geographers to enhance our understanding of urban processes.

Against this international background Chapter Three selectively reviews the state of 'gender consciousness', with respect to the local radical geography tradition in particular and South African social science more generally. Lastly, in this chapter, I explore how recent gender-sensitive literature is relevant to geography. This review is useful to help understand the historical context of knowledge since theoretical developments do not appear out of a vacuous nowhere. My aim in this synthesis is to draw out important threads from these bodies of literature; to show the historical developments; and to point out the gaps and important questions for South African feminists and geographers. In the process, pointers that direct South African geographers beyond the impasse of androcentric bias are provided.

I concretise some of my more general comments with respect to feminist theory, androcentric knowledge and the local literature in Chapters Four and Five. These chapters are not intended to be exhaustive. In fact, many more questions are raised than are answered. These questions are in turn presented as possible areas for future research. Their primary purpose being illustrative, these chapters utilise empirical material that is largely concerned with Durban. Some suggestions are offered towards

understanding how gender relations (in particular the social construction of gender) are historically variable. It is also questioned how gender relations influence and are influenced by other social relations, such as racial, capitalist and spatial relations. Chapter Four deals with historically changing meanings of femininity and masculinity within the white middle-class. Chapter Five raises material relevant to a gendered perspective of African urbanisation in Durban, and investigates how race, class and gender relations intersect to result in visible patterns of urban transformation.

Chapter Six is a conclusion of the thesis as a whole. I synthesise the theoretical insights developed in the first three chapters with the empirical material explored in Chapters Four and Five. I assert that the particular expression of gender relations has taken a patriarchal form in South Africa. Furthermore, I argue that the ways in which these relations manifest themselves in combination with racial and capitalist social relations should be integral to any analysis of society and urban form. A theoretical recognition of such patriarchal gender relations, can well have serious consequences for the kinds of strategies developed in current struggles for social change.

CHAPTER 1

ANDROCENTRIC KNOWLEDGE - EXAMINED

"Our models of inquiry, of science-making, are also models of reality: they reflect how we conceptualize what is, what is to be known, and how it is to be known. The beliefs we hold about the nature of reality and of human beings are ways in which we organize and make meaning out of experience and information; beliefs, too, are ways of knowing. This history of science is a long history of organizing information, observation and experience. And that history contains many instances of so-called 'scientific' fact or knowledge being proven later to have been little more than the dominant beliefs of the culture itself" (Du Bois, 1983:105).

"What we (feminists) are doing, is comparable to Copernicus shattering our geo-centricity, Darwin shattering our species-centricity. We are shattering andro-centricity, and the change is as fundamental, as dangerous, as exciting" (Minnich cited in Bowles and Klein, 1983:4).

In this chapter I will explore Barbara Du Bois' (1983:107) suggestion that an "androcentric perspective in social science has rendered women not only unknown, but virtually **unknowable**" (original emphasis). Human geography, the discipline I have been trained in, is for example a perfect reflection of Du Bois' opinion. An examination of South African social geography reveals that it has not only been limited by androcentricity in the past, but in the contemporary writings of its more critical practitioners too.

It is clear for instance, that South African geographers have historically been influenced by developments, challenges and trends in international intellectual thought. In the last fifteen years, international academia has been confronted and challenged by the impetus of the international women's movement, and feminist academics. The strength of dissension of the women's movement has perhaps forced a response from international geographers, whereas the paucity of feminist resistance in South Africa has left local geographers unopposed. Hence, although local geographers

draw on international trends, it is perhaps not so strange that these years of feminist struggle have had so little impact here. This point can be illustrated by a survey of the South African Geographical Journal, one barometer of South African geographical opinion and knowledge production. During the period 1970-1985, out of a total of twenty-five social/human geography articles, there was only one that even acknowledged the specific existence of women (vis. Martin and Rogerson, 1984). Given the breadth and nature of the topics that geographers deal with, such a gap in geographical social theory is somewhat disheartening! This invisibility of women, in a subject which I have studied for seven years, together with my personal-political struggle as a feminist, has prompted me to write this dissertation so as to explore the above-mentioned gap.

This chapter has two main parts. In the first, I introduce in a fairly general way, those fundamental insights of feminism which are crucial to begin challenging androcentric knowledge. That is, those definitions and core concepts, the acceptance and understanding of which would substantially alter the assumptions from which many academics work. I also examine the implications of these definitions, with respect to the power relations between men and women; and deal with the consequences of such a social power relation, for both the process of the construction of androcentric knowledge and its presentation and content. In the last section of part one, I outline why it is important to reject the androcentricity of 'knowledge'. In part two, I explore more fully the social scientific labour process from a feminist perspective, via an extended discussion of the important feminist concept 'the personal is the political'.

1.1 FEMINIST CONCEPTS AND IMPLICATIONS FOR KNOWLEDGE IN GENERAL(1)

Probably the major insight of feminism and feminist theory in the last fifteen years has been the conceptual clarification of the distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' (Barrett, 1980; Delphy, 1984; Jaggar, 1983; Oakley, 1972; Rubin, 1975; Sharpe, 1976)(2). To put this into perspective the following definitions are offered:

Biological Sex : refers to males and females who have certain anatomically defined characteristics.

Gender : has three constituent components - namely:

1. **core-gender identity** : eg. 'I am a girl/woman/boy/man'.
2. **gender-role identity** : eg. 'I am feminine/masculine' - associated with historically specific meanings of femininity and masculinity.
3. **gender-role behaviour** : is the behaviour and social practices commonly associated with meanings of femininity and masculinity.

Sexuality : is expressed in terms of the individual's sexual preference and the nature of her/his sexual activity. The term sexuality however, also describes representations of those activities surrounding sensual aims and gratifications. For example, a man may represent himself as homosexual, or a legal or medical discourse may represent him as such (Mina, 1986).

Based on these concepts Gayle Rubin (1975) defines the **sex/gender system** as "...the set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity and in which these transformed needs are satisfied"(3).

She goes on to argue, that oppression is not inevitable in this domain, but it is the product of the specific social relations which organise it. Such a conceptual definition can give us the means for understanding the organisation of gender and sexuality in relation to the entire social system. Coward (1983:279) identifies a further category:

Sexual Division which "describes the division of labour, roles and activities according to sexual classification".

For Coward (1983:276) "(a)natomical difference acquires its significance only in relation to other elements in the culture and it is not a universal fact that sexuality will be enforced around this polarisation".

These distinctions should make it clear that only anatomical (or biological) sex is constant. Gender and sexuality are, however, 'flexible' because they are socially constructed and historically determined. This theoretical clarification and disaggregation of terms is particularly significant because it has allowed us to question the 'naturalness' and 'essentialness' of a hierarchy based on anatomical distinction. As Christine Delphy (1984:144) argues convincingly "anatomical difference (which is itself devoid of social implications) is

transformed into a relevant distinction for social practice only because of the **hierarchical** division of humanity into two" (my emphasis). "Social practice and social practice alone, transforms a physical fact (which is in itself devoid of meaning, like all physical facts) into a category of thought".

In sum, a number of implications arising out of these new definitions and concepts can be identified:

1. A sex/gender system exists. Its conceptualisation problematises the 'naturalness' of gender and sexuality. The organisation of gender and sexuality therefore has to be understood in relation to the entire social system.
2. The meanings of 'sex' and 'gender' can no longer be conflated. Therefore, any division of labour, roles and activities which have been based on the anatomical distinction of males and females, can no longer be assumed to be natural. As Verena Stolcke (1981:38) puts it : "(t)he phrasing of social relations in biological terms is in effect an ideological mechanism to turn social facts into natural and therefore immutable facts".
3. In our culture, with the power structure as it is, the sexual divisions in society imply a hierarchy "where women's activity is devalued and women's" gender identity "becomes the basis for their subordination to men" (Coward, 1983:280). This hierarchy and subordination must be recognised as social power and not as the 'natural' order of things.
4. Sexual behaviour cannot be consigned to the realm of the individual. Firstly, its construction is **social** (from Freud, one of his most revolutionary insights was his non-essentialist notion of sexuality). Secondly, sexuality is defined **publicly** and the implications of sexuality are political. Thirdly,

heterosexuality is publicly defined as normal and **natural**. This can be seen for example in public customs like marriage; in government policies on housing, population and education for example (Coward, 1983).

I want to re-emphasise that my concern, like Hazel Carby, (1982:224), is for the "relative autonomy of the sexual realm" to be integrated into social analysis. That is, the social construction of gender and sexuality must be problematised. Given that men are dominant in our society, we need to query the how and why of this social power relation.

I recognise that individual men may be 'victims' of such a system in the sense that their behaviour is straitjacketed by masculinity; and that many women are equally involved in reproducing such dichotomies and power relationships. These points are significant and need further explanation, which unfortunately is beyond the scope of this chapter. Furthermore, I accept Pratibha Parmar's (1982:237) point that gender roles are **racially** constructed. Of course, men and women within different race and class groupings will experience the sexual/social power relation differently from each other and this needs to be taken into account.

The task of the moment, however, is to elaborate on what implications a recognition of 'gender-power' and androcentrism has for knowledge in general. In brief, I argue that a self consciousness of gender relations and androcentrism would challenge all components of knowledge production. That is, the process of its construction, its presentation, its content and its use, would all be influenced. For purposes of clarity the implications arising out of my earlier arguments will be discussed in relation to each of these components separately.

The first component of knowledge production is its construction. Two of the defining characteristics of the process of knowledge construction, are (a) **who** is involved in this process and (b) **how** it happens. In part two of this chapter, I develop this argument further, but for the moment, suffice it to say that historically men have predominantly been the 'knowledge producers'(4). A by-product of this, is that men have been in control of defining 'reality'. Their 'gendered' view, reproduced in their social theory and knowledge is compatible with their own experience and social reality. What they 'see' in the world, and what they define to be important (from positivists to Marxists) is **included** in their 'knowledge'. I argue therefore, that this knowledge is an ideological production, in the sense that it presents a "particular form of consciousness which gives an inadequate and distorted picture of contradictions, either by ignoring them, or by misrepresenting them" (Larrain, 1983:27). Those women who produce and reproduce androcentric knowledge, have precisely accepted and internalised such a masculinist definition of reality, as the norm.

The second characteristic of the 'knowledge' process is **how** it is done. Questions are raised about the nature of the research approach and methodology. For example, Maria Mies (1983:122-127) suggests in her methodological guidelines for feminist research, a move away from value-free, uninvolved, individualist research. In this process, partial identification with the research objects, collective experiences, active participation and conscientisation for both the research subjects and research objects ought to take place. These guidelines have informed my research(5).

The second component of knowledge production, is how it is presented. Knowledge presentation is primarily characterised by language. In other

words, we need to look critically at the language which is used to describe, define and explain that part of reality which the authors with androcentric vision have chosen to 'see'. For instance, when 'man' is used as a generically neutral term, we cannot be sure who is being spoken about. 'Man'; 'mankind'; 'manpower' etc. are common terms used when supposedly referencing **all** humans. Yet such terminology is confusing. Given that, men, women and children all have different life experiences and different relationships to social/power structures, it cannot be assumed that everyone equals men. It would be preferable therefore, to see all future writing exhibit a self-consciousness with regard to the language that writers use. Where it is implicit that authors are in fact discussing **man's** relationship to the environment they should make it explicit. I am not suggesting that 'person' or 'people' should be used wherever 'man' was used previously. Sometimes (most times?), especially as so much energy is focused on researching the so-called 'public' world, 'man/men' are the correct terms, because such authors are talking about men. I ask that this be made (a) self conscious and clear to the reader, and (b) that the author question why it is **men** as actors who dominate their frame. This calls for a self consciousness in research with respect to androcentrism. Perhaps such a plea would require a reconsideration of the kinds of questions we are asking; about exactly who we are talking about when we say things like: 'man's control over the environment'; 'manpower goals as defined by national development programmes', etc.

The realisation of the need for such a reconceptualisation brings me onto the third component of knowledge production, namely its content. Here it is necessary to examine the effect of androcentricity on the ways in which women are both excluded from and included in 'knowledge'. Women may be absent from 'knowledge' in two ways. Firstly, their absence may be through blatant exclusion. This has been discussed above with reference

to language. Secondly, women's absence may arise through supposedly gender-blind analyses. Here apparently neutral terminology, eg. 'worker', often precludes the possibility of different experiences of say men workers and women workers, and so may assume the experience of men workers.

Knowledge which includes references to women may be as problematic. Firstly, women may be present but effectively invisible. By this I mean that women are included from a masculinist perspective, in that assumptions about gender-role behaviour are implicit and therefore not problematised or even detailed. Secondly, women are often relegated to the so-called domestic sphere. Here women are more consciously included, but gender-role assumptions remain, in that to look at women means to look at their traditional areas of activity. This frequently carries with it a devaluation of these activities. Thirdly, women may be included in the public sphere only. Thus women may be included, but with the social priority given to the so-called public sphere, it is only their activity in this sphere that is problematised. Consequently, a large portion of women's reality is excluded from analysis. Lastly, women may be included in the form of a 'women's issues' approach. In this approach some of the above-mentioned problems are dealt with and self-conscious women's studies, so urgently required in order to correct our gender-biased knowledge, are carried out. In addition, it is necessary that attention be focused on the specifically women-related aspects of any issue. However, the danger of relying exclusively on such women-centred work is that it contributes towards the ghettoisation and marginalisation of so-called 'women's studies'. It is precisely a single but double-gendered view that is required, rather than two separate gendered views.

Lastly, the final component of knowledge production concerns its use. All

of the above begs the question - what is knowledge for and whose interests does it serve? It is assumed here that androcentric knowledge, as an ideological construction, ultimately serves the interests of men in general, but more particularly, men of the ruling classes, whether or not this is the overt intention.

In concluding this section on the implications of androcentricity for knowledge in general, I would like to point out that a distinction can be made between (a) recognising and accepting that a social power differential based on gender operates in society and (b) dealing with and confronting the implications of such a recognition both personally and theoretically. Many people, women and men, admit to the former but do not practise or try and practise the latter. For me, three of the most significant reasons, why a non-androcentric view of the world is important are:

1. Women and men have different socialisations and different life experiences based on the social construction of gender. We simply cannot therefore assume men's experience (especially within race and class groupings) to be equivalent with everyone's experience. We need to ensure that our picture of social reality presents more of the diversity that exists.
2. An inclusion of both men's and women's experience of the world in our picture of social reality, might transform our view rather than simply fill the frame. That is, double-gendered 'seeing' is not only important for women's interests, but for the construction of social theory and knowledge as a whole (cf. Beall, 1984; Bowlby, 1984; Rose, 1984 for an illustration of how our understanding of indenture, retail shopping and gentrification respectively, changes and is advanced with such a perspective). This also gives us a way of examining the social construction of sexuality and gender in relation to the whole social system.

3. If we accept that 'academia' is a site of ideological struggle and has some role to play in social change, then non-androcentricity is highly relevant if we are to challenge the status quo.

With respect to these various components of knowledge I have in my own research for example, experienced a significant number of obstacles. Two of the problems faced for instance, have been firstly, androcentric knowledge in general - i.e a lack of information and secondary sources available for my purposes. Secondly, androcentric archives - ie. their lack of available and accessible data. For example, data that would have been relevant for this thesis - such as the early editions of the 'Women's Weekly' in the **Natal Mercury**, and various Suffragette newspapers, were not kept by the local Durban municipal archives. Statistics are also problematic - for example, households are assumed to be single entities and there is little or no documentation of non-waged labour.

In Chapter Three, I will highlight some of the above arguments with specific reference to the local radical geography tradition, while in the next half of this chapter, I explore the social science labour process more generally from a feminist perspective.

1.2 THE SOCIAL SCIENTIFIC LABOUR PROCESS FROM A FEMINIST PERSPECTIVE

"Lifeworld, in geographical perspective, could be considered as the latent substratum of experience" (Buttimer, 1976:287).

"Our interpretation of subjective meaning is the questioning of what is simply assumed, the placing of felt contradictions and disjunctions within a broader picture, the raising of questions about the underworkings of our social life" (Willis, 1976:139).

In an attempt to integrate more of my own 'lifeworld' with my work, I follow in the tradition of Paul Willis (1976) in pursuing an analytic

approach in geography that adds meaning to the feminist slogan: 'the personal is political'. In the footsteps of most Marxists and many feminists, I accept the maxim that the point of studying philosophy (and for that matter social science and geography) is not merely to understand the world, but more importantly, to change it. In the following pages with this in mind, I outline (a) my view of social scientists and their work **vis a vis** a feminist framework and (b) my position in relation to this schema, and why I choose to do feminist geography.

1.2.1 SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCHERS AND THEIR WORK

In order to understand a feminist critique of the social scientific labour process it is useful to explain in more detail what the concept 'the personal is political' means for feminists. The context in which this phrase was coined as a slogan was the late 1960's and early 1970's in Britain and North America. It arose from the early consciousness-raising (CR) groups with the recognition that the personal/privatised nature of much of women's experience was in fact political and social, because of its general existence and its perpetuation by forces operating in the society at large. The aim of the CR groups was for the women participating in them (initially these were white middle class women) to recognise and become conscious of the commonality underlying the diversity of their personal lives and experiences. This was done in order to transcend the personal and make the connections with the political. The facts of individual oppression could become the elements of political organising. 'Personal' initially pertained specifically to sexual and emotional relationships (Millet, 1970) and the 'world at home' (including domestic work), but later extended into all realms of women's lives.

A summary of the functions of CR might clarify the dimensions of meaning in

the phrase 'the personal is political'. First, women's experiences were validated by asserting the significance of personal feelings and lifestories(6). Second, by using data and materials gained from reports of individual participants' experiences, the means by which women as a sex-class are oppressed, were examined. Third, the process whereby the sharing of personal secrets with others became 'public' knowledge, served to bridge the gap between public and private. Fourth, the groups represented a social experiment in microcosm - where an attempt was made to both develop non-hierarchical forms of relating and emphasise the principle of equality (Eisenstein, 1984).

Given that the 'consciousness-raising' process has been "considered paradigmatic of the feminist method of inquiry" (Jaggar, 1983:365), the 'personal is political' slogan seemed to provide an appropriate framework for assessing social scientists and their work from a feminist perspective. For any single individual (in this sense academics), I see this slogan as operating at one of three levels of meaning which for the purposes of explanation can be compared with important aspects from the major social science paradigms(7).

1. Unconscious/unaware level.

At this level (like pre-CR), individuals do not recognise that what 'happens' in their immediate personal lives is of any political significance. Unconscious knowledge remains repressed. Interpersonal relationships and social behaviour are perceived in privatised ways that ignore how "lifeworld" happenings reflect and in turn influence political social relations (even if they are made manifest in a particular unique individual).

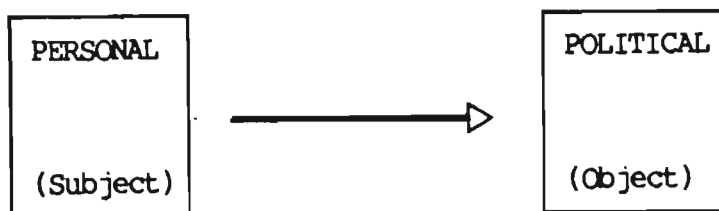
From a feminist point of view, an academic operating at this level could be accused of "scientism" i.e. the assumption that science, to paraphrase Sayer (1981:4), is the only adequate type of knowledge. There is a clear comparison with positivists who see facts as distinct from values and can study human society as an objective reality by abstracting themselves from that society. In graphic mode:



The 'personal' box is completely separate from the 'political/social' box. In feminist terms, the implications for academic work of a researcher operating at this level are threefold. First, their own lifeworld experiences are seen as irrelevant in their academic formulations and are therefore not self-consciously articulated; their social position **vis a vis** the male dominated (or patriarchal) social structure is not perceived as problematic and is therefore ignored; they do not acknowledge any bias, ideology or material interest as influencing their conclusions. Second, those aspects of the social world which have been isolated and defined as 'personal' are excluded from any critical examination in their topics of research. In fact they are rendered invisible and irrelevant. Third, they accept, operate within and tacitly support the status quo, hierarchical and masculinist nature of the research work-process. This explains how women academics and even those who see themselves as feminist, can perpetuate this dichotomy without necessarily endorsing it. From within a working class perspective / discourse, an academic operating at this level would propound a bourgeois ideology, and from within a black nationalist perspective, a racist ideology.

2. Conscious/aware level.

Individuals (or researchers) operating at this level can be compared with women who have been through a CR group and have made the personal is political connection through sharing 'private' experiences. They are aware of the political and social importance of their own life experiences, personal relationships and values. They rationally understand their position **vis a vis** the social system (or power structure) which holds women subordinate. Akin to the humanists, people at this level would in a cognitive way, have recognised the significance of meaning, subjectivity, experience and intentionality in their understanding of themselves and the world. In graphic mode, a connection can now be made between the 'personal' box and the 'political' box. An awareness of the significance of intentionality is expressed by Kevin Cox (1981:265) "objects presuppose subjects".



Within a feminist framework, researchers operating at level two, would examine their own experience "to become subjects rather than objects of research inquiry" (Buttimer, 1976:287). They would articulate the influence of their personal backgrounds and state their location **vis a vis** the patriarchy. The knowledge gained from understanding that the 'personal is political' would be expressed but not necessarily acted upon. The 'personal' aspects of society may well be included in their academic work and reflection upon their own experience may be used in understanding the world better. A new variable 'the personal' (or perhaps 'gender') may appear as an addition to the social equation : a useful hermeneutic tool,

lending itself to a more comprehensive description of the social world. Such a researcher might agree with Edward Relph (1970:193) that "all knowledge proceeds from the world of **experience** and cannot be independent of that world". However, the patriarchal structures within which that experience occurs, and the individuals themselves remain unchallenged. While this level implies that individual experience has to be integrated into knowledge construction, it does not mean that only women can write about women, blacks about blacks and workers about workers. What it does mean is that only women can write about women's **experience** from a women's perspective.

Anyone can write about the structures that inform/determine such experience. That is, if we as academics have never emotionally experienced a certain condition, then we can only write about it from our own perspective or through the experience of someone else (cf. De Chungara, 1978). In other words men are not precluded from writing about women, rather they would be offering a different type of contribution. In sum, intellectuals working within this level, would take serious cognisance of personal experience: their own; the research objects' and the relationship between the two.

3. Self conscious choice.

At this level, individuals who have made the cognitive connection that 'happenings' in their personal lives are of political significance, choose to **act** (albeit within particular personal and structural constraints) on their knowledge. Such political action could occur on at least two levels: 1. Individuals confront their own sexism by attempting to act (behave) and think in ways which struggle with and challenge this sexism; 2. The facts of individual oppression become the substance of political

organising. As in the CR groups, for example, political knowledge of hierarchical modes of relating is used to begin developing new alternative models of relating.



The arrow has now moved from the 'personal' box to the 'political' box and back again, to indicate a shift or transformation in personal behaviour - as influenced by a political understanding. Endeavours are made to change personal lives, relationships and the nature of academic work, which in turn acts back again on the political, social structure. Like the Marxists(8) who see an internal unity between subject and object (ie. an object presupposes a subject, but a subject also presupposes an object (Cox, 1981)), and who claim to study the world in order to change it, self conscious feminists are concerned with issues of praxis, personal, political and social change. The 'new' choices made in their personal lives, in response to their personal and political awareness, are evidently also **political** acts. They are political because at an individual level they challenge the **status quo**, and collectively they can become a political force in the broader society. They argue that the nature of people themselves as social beings ought to change as much as their activity in society. Personal struggle, conflict and change is as important as general social struggle, conflict and change. This approach stretches further than level two (or the equivalent humanist position), by going beyond a better understanding of the human condition towards an understanding which seeks to change the oppressive part of that condition. "The development of knowledge itself can therefore change its own object in social science" (Sayer, 1984:213). That is, both the scholars

themselves and aspects of the 'broader' society (eg. objects of research) will change in the process (cf. also Mies, 1983:126).

The implications of such a position for academic work are firstly, a clear articulation by individual researchers of the **personal** as well as the "ideological and political dimensions" (Hayes, 1984:5) of their lives. Secondly, there will be an acceptance of the importance of personal struggle and interpersonal modes of relating and power. Thirdly, it is inevitable that the research product will be stamped with a clear political content. Fourthly, it is expected that there will be a change in the types of research questions asked, the ways in which they are studied and presented. For example, the 'personal' domain can be included as a valid area of study, in a way which goes beyond understanding and description, towards explanation and change; and it may be presented so as to avoid reproducing hierarchical and patriarchal modes of knowledge acquisition and dissemination. One of the ways I have tried to do the latter in my writing is by a slight deviation from tradition in referencing. In each chapter, my initial reference to an author in the text itself, is by forename as well as surname. Thereafter I reference the surname. In this way I have tried to confront at least one 'masculinist' practice in the presentation of my research product. Firstly, a person's forename often exposes their gender and personalises the otherwise 'objective' image falsely created by only referencing surnames. Given that I am challenging the notion that none of us is objective, this is one method of making our (ie. academic authors) subjectivity more explicit. It also becomes clear who (ie. women or men) is concerned with which questions.

In short, it is argued that we, as social scientists, must dialectically apply our theoretical insights of the world around us to our own

interactions with that world. Similarly, since our work is influenced and defined by our own experiences, material circumstances and political choices these must be made evident to: oneself; the subject of research and the research product.

Such a stance is obviously not without its own problems. For example, any social scientific practice that seeks to participate in reducing social inequality also needs to be democratic. Graham Hayes (1984:6) identifies two dimensions of this democratisation as "accountability and accessibility". Of course, the important questions of, to whom intellectuals are to be accountable, and what is to be made accessible to whom, need to be answered. In a broad sense, intellectuals operating at level three, would write in a way that supported the interests of the oppressed group they identified with and be self-reflective about the power relations involved in the research process.

In the following section, I will contextualise myself in relation to the framework sketched above, and explain why I wish to take part in practising a feminist geography.

1.2.2 PERSONAL CONTEXT

As a woman and feminist who is also a practising social scientist at a white, liberal university in South Africa, I am confronted by a number of contradictions. As a member of the white, middle-class group in a racial capitalist state, I belong to the dominant class. As a person who seeks and supports radical social change of which the major beneficiaries (materially at any rate) ought to be the black working class, I face contradiction number one (ie. by denying my own white middle-class interests).

As a woman who is interested in analysing and fighting the oppression of women as a class, I might be both subject and object of my analysis, but I face two more contradictions as a member of "the intellectual class" (Delphy, 1984:148). Firstly as a member of an oppressed group (women), I am part of a male elite. Secondly I am in a "privileged location for ideological production" and with the legitimacy of science, can potentially assist in the maintenance of oppression (Delphy, 1984:149. Also see Mies, 1983).

As a feminist, my analytic insight might well derive from my own revolt as a woman, but unlike other Third World countries (eg. Nicaragua and Cuba), or western industrialised countries (eg. the United States of America, Britain), the South African women's movement which would feed such a theoretical approach is still very much at the embryonic stage. This means that issues of accountability and accessibility as outlined by Hayes (1984) are made more complex. Depending on the development of this movement, and the direction of 'women's studies', it is therefore possible that 'feminist theory' in South Africa might well serve academia much more than academia will serve feminism. As Delphy (1984:150) says "theories cannot substitute for revolt" and in fact "the only value of theory lies in the contribution it may make to ending suffering" (p152).

Given this personal context, why do I choose to partake in a feminist geography?

Firstly, in taking my own subjective experience of sexist discrimination and my rebellion against it as a starting point and guiding principle for my research, I have become "critically aware of a number of weaknesses of ... established research" (Mies, 1983:122). Secondly, a feminist analysis

can be concerned with any subject. Given that geographers deal with the relationship between social process and spatial form, it is appropriate for geography to take account of the socially created gender structure of society. Thirdly, a feminist geography is committed towards the alleviation of gender inequality in the short term and towards its removal, through social change, towards real equality, in the longer term (IBG, 1984).

Given the personal and structural constraints of being a feminist in South Africa (ie. its political content is relatively individualised and the widespread women's movement is young), 'feminist' research might appear to be the product of an individual experience. This is not entirely true, however, owing to inspiration drawn from international feminism and limited local activism. While such research is a small challenge to the dominant ideological position, it is of course useless without popular revolt and support. I therefore choose to do this work, both in response to my personal experiences as a woman, an activist, and personal-political knowledge of the overriding sexist discrimination in the world at large, and established geographical research in particular. I take Barbara DuBois (1983:108) seriously when she says that we need to "address women's lives and experience in their own terms, to create theory grounded in the actual experience and language of women" (original emphasis). However, I do not merely wish to make women visible in geography by adding the category 'women' to existing geographical analyses. Rather, I seek to challenge the theoretical assumptions underlying these analyses and join the Institute of British Geographers (IBG) (1984:21) study group on gender, in arguing for "an entirely different approach to geography as a whole". One which will push critiques both "further and in new directions" (p11). McDowell (1983:59) puts it in a nutshell when she says that "the object of feminist research should not be women alone, but

rather the structure of social relations that contributes to the subordination of women". The issues raised by the temporal and spatially specific relations between men and women need to be confronted.

By highlighting the connections between the personal and political in academic research, not only will injustice and bias be exposed, but significantly, a more **accurate** analysis of human geographical phenomena will be stimulated, which will enhance our understanding of society and space (IBG, 1984). Moreover, such analyses can be practically employed by political organisers of women.

I want to participate in "appropriating" geography as a subject, as much as an object, thereby withdrawing "consent from the patriarchal construction of reality" (Du Bois, 1983:112). In so doing, I see myself as representing a certain world-view and interest group, and wish to take advantage of the rare opportunity of presenting that view in an academic context. (A muted group is not usually in a position to define reality). This is obviously only a small contribution to "withdrawing consent".

In conclusion, I would therefore argue, that any study which seeks to present an integrated understanding of geography, where gender is as central to the analysis as any other construct, must include a discussion of the **social construction** of gender and how it relates to that study.

In the process, the researchers/authors will also need to become self consciously aware of their own social construction and how this informs and/or limits their own perceptions with respect to the topic under investigation. Without a self consciousness of how social-individual or political-personal dialectics have affected their own lives, the study will be limited by the authors' own 'unawareness'. Such a process requires both individual and group struggle and needs to be reflected in

the work (see also Mies, 1983; Sayer, 1984). It also, however, requires reflection upon a developing body of feminist social theory. In consequence, in the next chapter I will outline the elements of a feminist theoretical framework for understanding society.

1.3 FOOTNOTES

1. This section relies to a considerable extent on the paper by Friedman and Wilkes (1986).
2. Mitchell (1984:80) argues for example, that "not every society makes the biological male into a social man, or the biological female into a social woman". Neither do "all societies have only two social sexes; among the Navaho there are three gender groups, masculine, feminine and the nadle, an intersex person who may or may not have intersex physiological morphology". I assume therefore that a sex/gender system is an integral part of all societies. There may well be a multiplicity of gender role behaviours, and meanings of femininity and masculinity at any one point in time, depending on prevailing social structures and constructs like race and class.
3. For example, according to Freud, an infant sexuality is polymorphously perverse and the infant is bisexual. On entering the social world, that sexuality is socially transformed... (Coward, 1983:192). (I would like to thank Louise Mina for helping me clarify much of this section).
4. For an illustration of the dominance of men in South African knowledge production see Tables 1.1 and 1.2 with special reference to the geography profession and Friedman (1984) for an analysis of sexual discrimination at the University of Natal.

TABLE 1.1

NUMBERS OF WOMEN AND MEN MEMBERS OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY

REGION	WOMEN	MEN	%MALE
WITWATERSRAND	54	94	63.5
WEST. TVL	1	29	96.7
NORTH. TVL	16	63	79.8
WEST CAPE	13	56	81.2
EAST CAPE	9	53	85.5
NATAL	10	49	83.1
TOTAL	103	344	77

Women are therefore 23% of the total SAGS membership.

TABLE 1.2

NUMBERS OF WOMEN AND MEN LECTURING IN GEOGRAPHY DEPARTMENTS OF SOME SA UNIVERSITIES

UNIVERSITY	WOMEN	MEN	%MALE
RHODES	0	6	100
UDW	1	3	75
STELLENBOSCH	1	8	88
POTCH	0	8	100
OVS	0	7	100
WITS	2	9	81
RAU	0	5	100
UWC	0	6	100
DURBAN	2	4	75
PE	0	4	100
TOTAL	6	64	

In 1985 men therefore comprised 93.7% of the 1985 lecturing staff in these universities. (Figures obtained from 1985 calendars in conjunction with SAGJ membership lists, and telephoning geography departments).

5. Some of these issues will be developed further in part two of this chapter. Additional essays on 'feminist' research and critiques of the problems inherent in an androcentric research and educational approach, can be found in Bowles and Duelli-Klein (1983); IBG (1984); McDowell and Bowlby (1983); Mies (1982); Stanley and Wise (1983).
6. It is not only women's experiences that are political, men's are too.
7. Sayer (1984) for instance, has incorporated and expanded many of the 'feminist' challenges and insights into his realist approach towards a 'method in social science'. One important illustration of this is his challenge to the "common tendency" which thinks of "knowledge as a product or thing which exists outside of us" (p19). He argues that instead of thinking of 'knowledge' as already 'precipitated', we should think of it "in terms of **knowing**, which is in the process of becoming, 'in solution', as consciousness" (p19, original emphasis).
8. It should become clear from this short outline that a marxist, in general sociological terms, can potentially be viewed as a 'positivist' within a feminist framework - ie. as operating at level one. In theory however, "the consciousness-raising method of gaining knowledge is remarkably close, in many respects, to the Marxist method of analysis" (Jaggar, 1983:365). For instance, knowledge gained through consciousness-raising is a **collective** product; the process of gaining it is guided by the **special interests** and **values** of the women in the group; and the **aim** of such knowledge is ultimately **practical** (Jaggar, 1983).

CHAPTER 2

INTERNATIONAL FEMINIST SOCIAL THEORY AND FEMINIST GEOGRAPHY

"What is a domesticated woman? A female of the species. The one explanation is as good as the other. A woman is a woman. She only becomes a domestic, a wife, a chattel, a playboy bunny, a prostitute, or a human dictaphone in certain relations. Torn from these relationships, she is no more the helpmate of a man than gold in itself is money" (Gayle Rubin, 1975:158).

"Racism teaches an inflated sense of importance and value, especially when coupled with class privilege" (Bell Hooks, 1986:132).

2.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter, I outlined some of the feminist concepts which I believe are significant for going beyond androcentric thinking (ie. specifically those pertaining to 'gender' and the 'sex/gender' system). In this chapter I will expand this outline and discuss some of the writings and concepts that have been developed from within a broadly materialist-feminist perspective. This materialist perspective has had the greatest influence on feminist geography to date and whilst it is still very much in its infancy, it nevertheless provides the most developed theoretical framework currently offered for understanding the oppression of women.

In the first half of this chapter the historical context of the debate between marxism and feminism will initially be briefly outlined. Subsequently, a number of authors writing from a materialist perspective in the 1980's will be discussed in some detail. Lise Vogel (1983) endeavours to set up the rudiments of a framework that explain the material basis of women's subordination in class society. She concentrates on developing an analysis within the context of the conditions for overall social

reproduction. Alison Jaggar (1983) tries to theorise male supremacy in greater depth than Vogel (1983). She argues for the need to look at how the mode of production and the mode of procreation both interact with and influence each other. The last framework to be examined is that presented by Jo Foord and Nicky Gregson (1986). They use the realist approach in social science to provide a framework for a reconceptualisation of patriarchy. These authors inadequately theorise racist social relations. Hence, a synopsis of some of the questions raised by recent black feminist work concludes this half of the chapter (eg. Dill, 1983; Hooks, 1986). In the second half of the chapter, the way in which international feminist geographers have drawn on a materialist feminist perspective will be described. This discussion, therefore, aims firstly to explore some of the theoretical tools which will later be used to understand the empirical material dealt with in Chapters Three, Four and Five; and secondly, to provide the basis for developing a more specific theoretical framework that is applicable to an analysis of South African cities.

2.2. HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE DEBATES BETWEEN MARXISM AND FEMINISM

The so-called 'Woman Question' has been debated for at least a century. It is impossible to review developments in these arguments in any depth here. Suffice it to say, however, that in the late 19th Century and early 20th Century a vast body of literature emerged from the pens of socialists concerned with theorising women's oppression in the context of capitalism (cf. Bebel, 1971; Engels, 1972; Kollontai, 1971a; 1971b). With the force of the feminist upsurge in the 1960's and 1970's, this debate analysing the oppression of women was reinvigorated. The controversy over the exact relationship between patriarchy and capitalism (cf. Hartmann, 1981; Mitchell, 1971; Kuhn and Wolpe, 1978; Sargent, 1981) was influenced by two important trends. One was the strength of the radical feminist challenge

which generally argued that male supremacy was the root cause of all human oppression (cf. Daly, 1979; Millet, 1970; Firestone, 1970; Rich, 1976). The second was the examination of women's condition in both so-called socialist countries (eg. China and Russia) and in post-revolutionary societies of the Third World (eg. Angola, Cuba, Mozambique, Nicaragua). Reflecting on the perpetuation of women's subordination in societies that were not capitalist spurred on the debate (cf. Croll, 1978). Furthermore, some marxist inspired feminists insisted that housework was productive in the marxist sense (cf. Dalla Costa, 1973). This generated a discussion known as the domestic labour debate (cf. Molyneux, 1979) which argued about "the theoretical status of women's unpaid domestic work and its product" (Vogel, 1983:21). Socialist and materialist feminist authors of the 1980's have benefitted from this heritage. Michele Barrett's (1980) **Woman's Oppression Today: Problems in Marxist Feminist Analysis** was one of the most influential texts attempting to marry a socialist and feminist analysis in the early 1980's.

In the next section of the chapter the salient factors that most contemporary feminists have isolated as being central to understanding the oppression of women will first be presented. Subsequently, my discussion of materialist feminist frameworks will begin with Lise Vogel's (1983) work, since she is the most contemporary and sophisticated of the analysts in the 'woman question' tradition.

2.3 MATERIALIST FEMINIST THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS

2.3.1 COMMONLY IDENTIFIED FACTORS IN WOMEN'S OPPRESSION

All feminists recognise the existence of a social system or a number of social systems whereby women as a group are subordinated to men as a group.

It is generally defined by the theoretical concept - patriarchy - in the same way that a social system in which workers are subordinated to capital is conceptualised as capitalism. Exactly how such a system operates and is maintained, and the effect it has on different classes of women and men is open to debate. A variety of strands within feminism have developed both theories and strategies to confront women's oppression and fight for liberation. I would argue however, that there are at least five points which all strands of feminists would agree as being important.

1. The recognition of domestic labour as **labour** and the need to identify the power/social relations under which it occurs (Delphy, 1984);
2. The sexual division of labour and its implications;
3. Women's roles as wives, mothers (ie. childrearsers) and reproducers of children (and labour power) (Brenner and Ramas, 1984; Chodorow 1978; Delphy, 1984; Vogel, 1983);
4. Control over sexuality and the means of reproduction (including sexual politics and violence against women);
5. The distinction between sex as a biological category and gender as a social category.

Precisely how these factors are mobilised in theoretical analysis and which ones are given primacy is at issue.

2.3.2 LISE VOGEL : THE WOMAN QUESTION REVISITED

Vogel (1983) limits herself to a theoretical discussion in which she argues that the problem of women's liberation needs to be situated within the framework of Marx's analysis of the processes of overall social reproduction. Her approach puts childbearing and oppression of women at

the heart of every class mode of production.

In a marxist sense, the requirements for overall social reproduction generally refer to the fact that any social process of production is simultaneously a means of re-production. That is, it needs to be able to re-produce the conditions of its own operation. (These conditions are however, not automatically ensured. They can only be determined in the process of social struggle). Under capitalism this demands (among other things) a labour/production process that allows capital accumulation to continue and a supply of labour power that will always be available to set such a process in motion. The circumstances that ensure this supply are (a) that the bearers of labour power are 'free' to work (ie. they have no other means of subsistence) and (b) that the totality of these labourers will be able to be maintained and replaced. The latter two processes are generally conflated under the term 'reproduction of labour power'(1).

This term is also often used to describe those social services (eg. housing, health and welfare, education) that are delivered to workers as part of the minimum level of subsistence via the social wage. The 'social wage' meaning is especially common among geographers, who generally tend to ignore the implications of the maintenance and replacement meaning. In other words, the social processes (ie. maintenance and replacement) constituting the physical replacement of labour power need to be adequately understood, **before** the structural conditions or active struggles vis a vis the provision of social goods within which such maintenance and replacement occur, can be properly analysed. The outcome of these two processes is itself historically contingent and a product of struggle. Any other view would fall into the functionalist trap which suggests that "a system's needs for labour power must inevitably be fulfilled by the workings of that system" (Vogel,1983:144).

Vogel (1983) continues to suggest that because most people experience the processes of generational replacement and daily maintenance in individual kin-based contexts, the family unit or household has become an important starting point for the theoretical analysis of the re-production of labour power(2). While the family-household is an important site for these processes to occur it is "only one possible mode of renewing the bearers of labour power" (p139). Labour camps or hostels are other modes of maintaining workers, while renewal can occur through migration, enslavement, mobilisation of the reserve army or generational replacement of existing workers. Vogel (1983) therefore argues that the prioritisation of the family in these processes, both overstates its role at the level of immediate production and "fetishizes it at the level of total social reproduction, by representing generational replacement as the only source of renewal of society's labour force" (p142). Moreover, as Brittan and Maynard (1984) argue, the 'family' exists in many diverse forms. Although the nuclear family has been seen as fundamental to capitalism it existed in the west prior to capitalism. Furthermore, even when it is nuclear, the social meanings within it can change over time.

In an attempt to overcome the centrality of the 'family' category, Vogel (1983) reinterprets a number of concepts derived from Marx in a way that recognises a possible antagonism between the sexes. Like Brenner and Ramas (1984) she considers women's role in childbearing of **material** importance in understanding women's position in class society.

Their two arguments differ, in that the former still give analytical priority to the 'family' and stress that the biological facts of reproduction **conditioned** the sexual divisions of labour. Vogel (1983), on the other hand, asserts that "biological differences constitute the

material precondition for the social construction of gender differences, as well as a direct material factor in the differential position of the sexes in a society " (p142, my emphasis). She further argues that " sex differences cannot be considered apart from their existence within a definite social system " (p144). "The social significance of the divisions of labour and of individual differences is constructed in the context of the actual society in which they are embedded " (p148)(3). Vogel's (1983) difference of perspective is based on her notion that the material basis for women's subordination in class society (and here she is referring specifically to women from the subordinate class who are the bearers of **exploitable** labour power), " is the provision by men of means of subsistence to women during the childbearing period " (p147)(4).

The **maintenance** of women during childbearing is the key concept here. Vogel (1983) argues that it is only where replacement of labour power under capitalism occurs via generational reproduction that the biological differences of women and men are important and need to be understood at the theoretical level of **overall** social reproduction. Women's somewhat diminished capacity to participate in the creation of surplus-value during the childbearing period creates a potential contradiction for the ruling class. On the one hand, women are required as bearers of labour power to create surplus, while on the other, they are required to replace potential labour power through generational reproduction (which is of course also labour). Moreover, the women themselves need to be maintained. That is, they are not helping create surplus and whoever (usually men) maintains them, will in fact have to take more from the social surplus which would otherwise be appropriated by the ruling class. These women are not only not adding to the social surplus, they are also reducing it.

In addition Vogel (1983:147) cites Quick who suggests that the social

relations whereby men have authority over women are supported and enforced by the ruling class.

" Any attempt by women to appropriate to themselves more than is required for their subsistence is an indirect demand for part of the surplus appropriated by the ruling class. Thus male authority over women is supported and even enforced by the ruling class. On the other hand, any attempt by men to evade their ' responsibilities' for the support of women is also resisted within the confines of a system which relies on male supremacy. Men's control of means of subsistence greater than needed for their own reproduction on a day-to-day level is 'granted' to them only in order to enable them to contribute to the reproduction of their class "(5).

In sum, the position of women at the level of overall social reproduction is a contradictory one. The wide variety of forms of reproduction of labour power that has developed in the course of history is due to the class struggle over resolving this contradiction. Indeed, it is a social fact that surplus value(6) is necessary for capital accumulation, and therefore, because women can either add to surplus creation or act as childbearers, the fact that they need to be maintained during the latter process has a social meaning. The definition and value of productive work under capitalism determines the social assessment of both people who are and who are not involved in the production process.

The second innovation that Vogel (1983) brings to bear on the debate is her discussion of necessary labour (see Fig. 2.1). It is a term used to " cover all labour performed in the course of the maintenance and renewal of both direct producers and members of the subordinate class not currently working as direct producers" (p143).

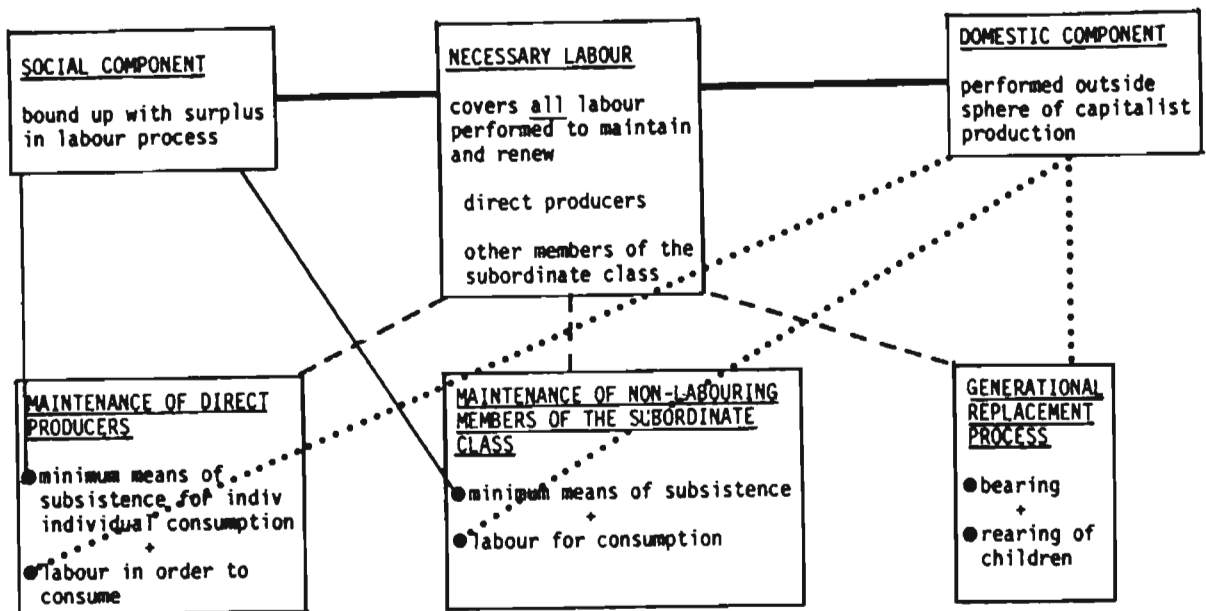


Fig. 2.1 TWO COMPONENTS OF NECESSARY LABOUR
(Based on the propositions of Vogel(1983))

There are three constituent processes of necessary labour. In the first, a minimum means of subsistence is required for individual consumption by direct producers. Under capitalism, wages enable the purchasing of commodities. However, additional supplementary labour must be performed in order to consume these goods. The second part of necessary labour provides means of subsistence that will maintain members of the exploited classes who are not currently working as direct producers (eg. the elderly, sick and childbearing women). The third set of labour processes is associated with the generational replacement of labour power (ie. raising and bearing of children). As mentioned earlier, it is only the last process which requires in an absolute sense a minimal sexual division of labour. While these three processes have a certain theoretical autonomy, together "they represent an indispensable condition for the reproduction of labour power and therefore for overall social reproduction" (Vogel, 1983:144).

A further point in relation to capitalist societies is that two components of necessary labour can be distinguished. The first is called the **social** component and "is indissolubly bound with surplus labour in the capitalist production process" (p152). The second is called **domestic** labour which is performed outside the sphere of capitalist production(7). As illustrated in Fig. 2.1, it is domestic labour which makes the consumption of goods, obtained via wages earned under the social part of necessary labour, possible and vice versa. Moreover, much of the labour involved in the processes associated with generational replacement is also carried out as part of domestic labour.

Vogel (1983) continues to explain that as accumulation proceeds under capitalism the contradiction between wage labour and domestic labour deepens. "On the one hand, the demarcation between surplus labour and the social component of necessary labour is obscured through the payment of wages in the capitalist labour process. On the other hand, the domestic component of necessary labour becomes dissociated from wage labour, the arena in which surplus labour is performed" (p153). Vogel's (1983) characterisation of how this opposition develops is particularly well expressed and highly pertinent to urban geographers :

" Capitalism's drive to increase surplus value by enhancing productivity, especially through industrialisation, forces a severe spatial, temporal, and institutional separation between domestic labour and the capitalist production process. Capitalists must organise production so that more and more of it is under their direct control in workshops and factories, where wage labour is performed for specified amounts of time. Wage labour comes to have a character that is wholly distinct from the labourer's life away from the job, including his or her involvement in the domestic component of necessary labour. At the same time the wage mediates both daily maintenance and generational replacement processes, supplemented or sometimes replaced by state contributions. That is, the social component of the worker's necessary labour facilitates the reproduction of labour power indirectly, by providing money that must then be exchanged to

acquire commodities. These two characteristics - the separation of wage labour from domestic labour and the payment of wages - are materialised in the development of specialised sites and social units for the performance of domestic labour. Working-class families located in private households represent the dominant form in most capitalist societies, but domestic labour also takes place in labour camps, barracks, orphanages, hospitals, prisons, and other such institutions.

In capitalist societies, the burden of the domestic component of necessary labour rests disproportionately on women, while the provision of commodities tends to be disproportionately the responsibility of men, fulfillable through participation in wage labour. This differential positioning of women and men with respect to surplus labour and the two components of necessary labour, which is **generally accompanied by a system of male supremacy**, originates as a historical legacy from oppressive divisions of labour in earlier class societies. It is then strengthened by the particular separation between domestic and wage labour generated by the capitalist mode of production. Domestic labour increasingly takes place in specialised social units, whose isolation in space and time from wage labour is further 'emphasised by male supremacy. These conditions stamp domestic labour with its specific character " (p153, my emphasis).

At an experiential level, the particular nature of domestic labour in capitalist society leads to dichotomous feelings for both women and men between private life and public life. The institutionalised separation of domestic labour from waged labour "in a context of male supremacy forms the basis for a series of powerful ideological structures which develop a forceful life of their own" (Vogel, 1983:154). Isolated domestic units become linked with the 'natural' separation of women from men, and corresponding division of life into two spheres of experience. "Rooted in the economic workings of the capitalist mode of production, and **reinforced by a system of male supremacy,**" the ideology of separate spheres becomes very difficult to transcend (Vogel, 1983:154, my emphasis)(8).

One other point of relevance in Vogels' (1983) argument is that the changes caused over time in capitalist societies, include "changes in the quantity and character of the domestic component of necessary labour" (p154). The

need to accumulate surplus value implies a contradiction between domestic labour and waged labour. This means that there is a tendency in capitalist societies for domestic labour to be reduced (ie. the potential creation of both relative and absolute surplus value is increased). This reduction is often achieved through the socialising of domestic labour tasks (eg. the provision of creches for child-care, laundromats, fast-food shops etc), or the mechanisation and commodification of certain tasks (eg. use of household gadgets)(9). Due to this general tendency, the units in which domestic labour occur are affected in various ways. While these effects have been documented in studies on changing family forms or the relationship between work and the family, they have been less well studied on "sites of reproduction of labour power that are not based on kin relations (eg. prisons, dormitories, migrant labour camps)" (Vogel, 1983:155).

In short, the specific level and type of domestic labour is determined in class struggle. The capitalist class attempts to stabilise reproduction of labour power as cheaply as possible, with a minimum of domestic labour. The working class (united or fragmented) strives for the best conditions possible in order to renew itself. (For example, the white working class in South Africa managed to secure domestic labourers as part of this condition).

Vogel's discussion is useful for its theoretical elaboration of 'overall social reproduction' and the domestic labour component of necessary labour. She assumes a system of male supremacy however, so gender relations per se have not therefore been theorised.

2.3.3 JAGGAR: THE INTERCONNECTEDNESS BETWEEN THE MODE OF PRODUCTION AND THE MODE OF PROCREATION

Jaggar's (1983) work by contrast represents a different strand within socialist feminism: one which does not take 'male supremacy' for granted in quite the same way as Vogel (1983). Jaggar's synthesis seeks to reconceptualise prior political and economic categories in a way which refuses "to compromise socialism for the sake of feminism or feminism for the sake of socialism" (p124). For her, a socialist feminist analysis needs to recognise the inextricable links between various social systems of domination (eg. capitalism, male dominance, racism and imperialism) - "the abolition of any of these systems... requires the end of all of them"(p124). Jaggar's (1983) discussion details the intimately woven connections between the capitalist mode of production and what she terms the mode of procreation. She therefore recognises the empirical connections between the social relations that define people's lives. For instance, "distinctions between market and family relations, between the production of things and the production of people, and between class domination and gender domination, simply do not coincide. Instead they all cut across each other. Women participate in market as well as in domestic production and suffer gender domination in both places" (p159). Their experience in both places is also contingent on their economic class location in the conventional sense. Moreover, 'home' and 'market' do not always produce different kinds of products. Although a deskilling of household labour has meant that many physical goods are no longer produced at home, "an increasing amount of procreative, sexual and emotional work is organised through the market" (p159). Jaggar's perspective is summarised in Figures 2.2 and 2.3.

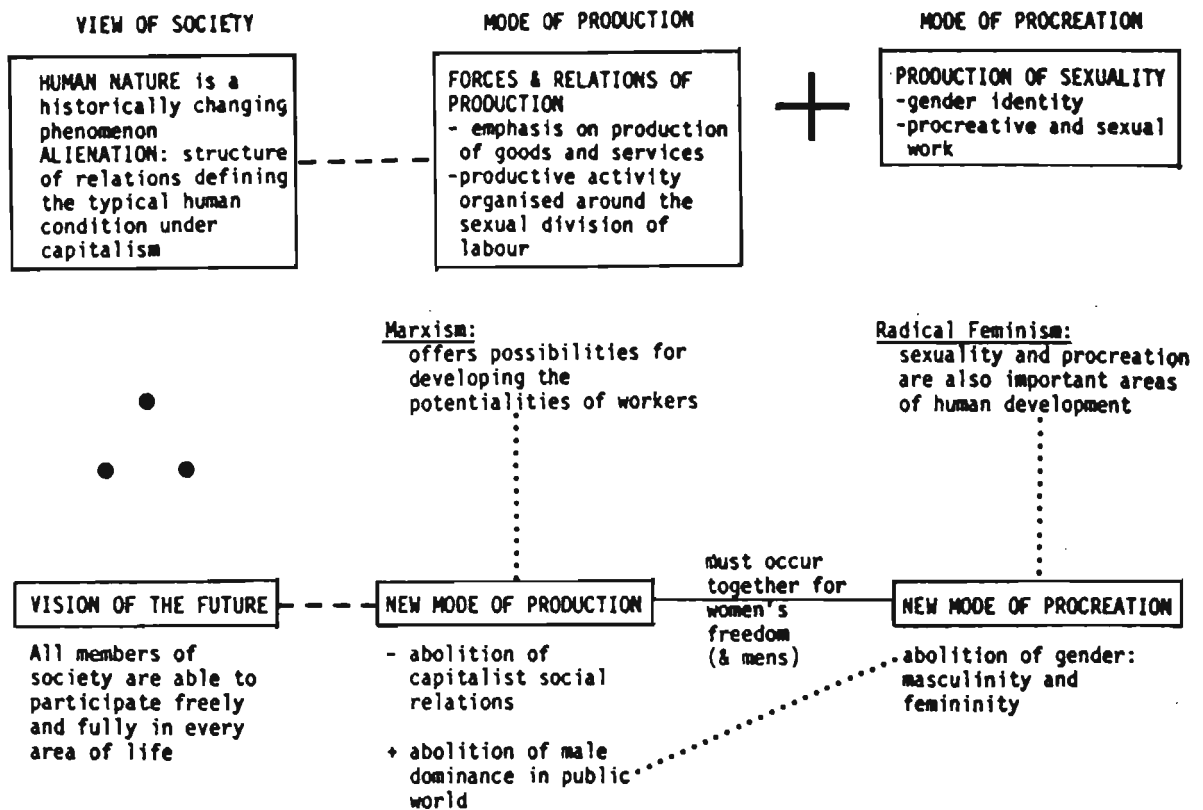


Fig. 2.2 SOCIALIST FEMINIST OVERVIEW OF SOCIETY
 (Based on the propositions of Jaggar(1983))

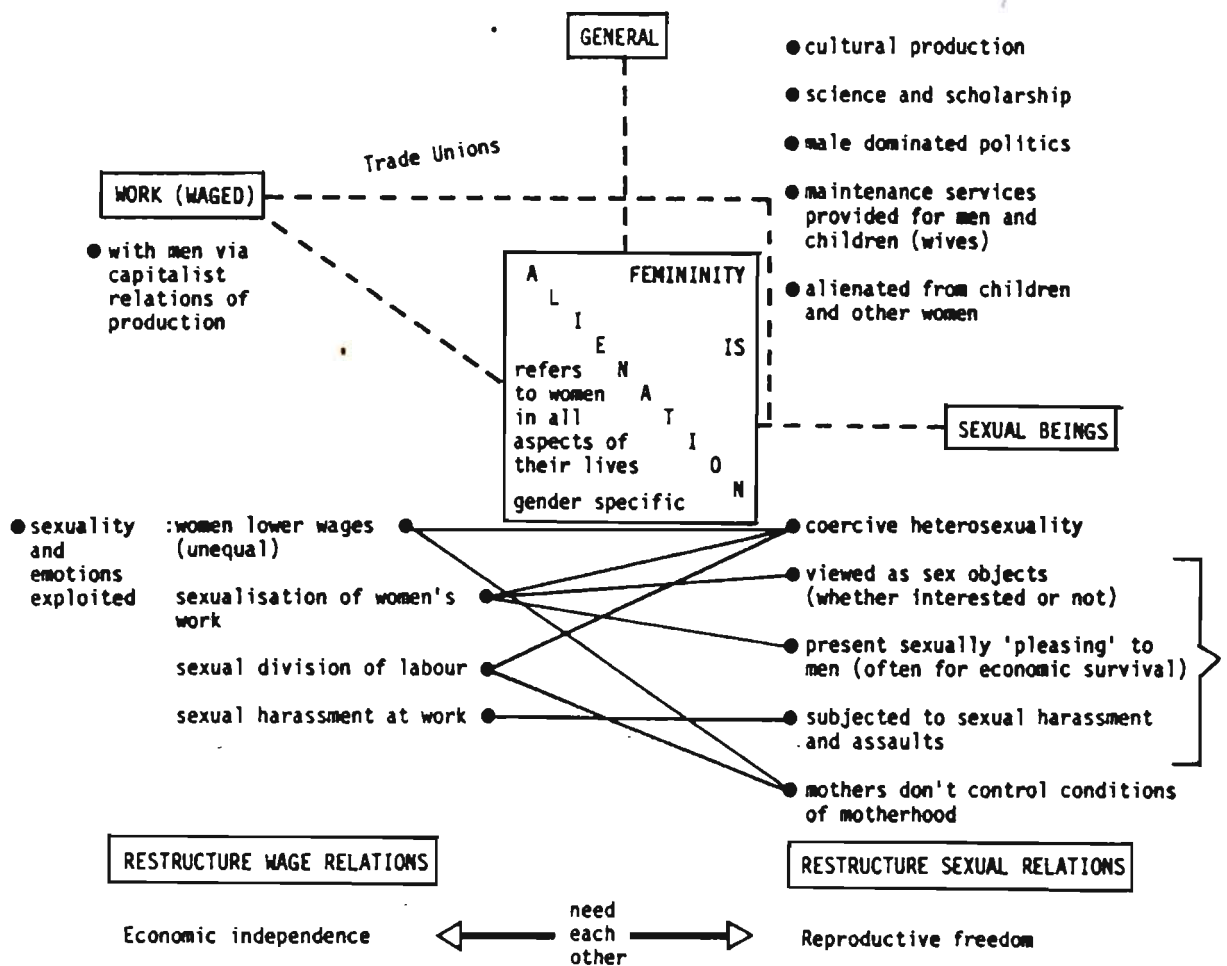


Fig. 2.3 EXAMPLES OF THE INTERCONNECTIONS BETWEEN THE MODE OF PRODUCTION AND THE MODE OF PROCREATION
 (Based on the propositions of Jaggar(1983))

The first figure is a broad overview. Based on a perspective which views human nature as an historically changing phenomenon, a future society would have to offer the possibility for developing all areas of human potential. In other words, drawing from both the marxist and radical feminist traditions, Jaggar (1983:125) perceives of human nature "as created historically through the dialectical interrelation between human biology, human society and the physical environment". Furthermore, all human beings "have a specific sex and ...are at a specific stage in the life cycle from infancy to death" (p125). Jaggar (1983) identifies the typical human condition (under capitalism) as alienated (this concept is discussed in more depth with respect to Figure 2.2). Human nature continuously transforms itself through its conscious and co-operative productive activity. This productive activity includes both the production of goods and services, and the production of sexuality (ie. procreative and sexual work). Jaggar (1983) explores how although these two sets of activities have conceptually been separated out into a mode of production and a mode of procreation, they dialectically determine each other. Hence, in her vision of a future society, all members should participate freely in every area of life. This would require a move away from both capitalist social relations and patriarchal gender relations.

This general outline (ie. Figure 2.2), is briefly elaborated upon in Figure 2.3, which depicts some of the more specific interconnections between the mode of production and the mode of procreation. Jaggar (1983:307) suggests that "the concept of alienation can provide a theoretical framework for systematising the socialist feminist critique of women's contemporary oppression". For her, "the central feature of alienation is that things or people which in fact are related dialectically to each other come to seem

alien, separated from or opposed to each other" (p308). In Figure 2.3 we see that femininity itself is alienation. Women in general are alienated from their sexuality, motherhood, cultural production, science and scholarship and from male-dominated politics. For example, women are viewed as sexual objects whether they are interested or not, and are therefore vulnerable to sexual harassment. Furthermore, women's sexuality is developed primarily for men's enjoyment rather than their own. Most women have little control over modern gynaecology, some face involuntary sterilisation and in the late Twentieth Century, domestic childrearing has been subjected to scientific control. A male-biased model of society and human nature in general alienates women from cultural production and politics. Within wage-labour, women are subjected to sexual harassment and women's work is sexualised. For instance, the fact that women do the work in part determines its character. Often, for economic survival, women are obliged to present themselves in a sexually 'pleasing' way to men. The sexual division of labour, further determines that women are usually in the worst paid and most tedious jobs (Jaggar, 1983). In other words, a restructuring of wage-relations and a restructuring of sexual relations are mutually required for women to be 'liberated'. Neither economic independence, nor reproductive freedom are adequate by themselves.

Jaggar (1983:332) has summed up the socialist feminist conception of material base as

" that set of social relations which structure the production and reproduction of the necessities of daily life, the production of people, including the production of sexuality, as well as the production of goods and services. In the socialist feminist view, these relations are simultaneously capitalist and male-dominant, and both aspects must be changed to liberate women".

Jaggar's view is quite clearly borne out for instance in Cindy Jaquith's (1986) article on the struggle for legal abortion in Nicaragua. Jaquith

concludes that "the abortion debate gets right to the heart of the question of women's rights as a whole" (p5). She illustrates how six-and-a-half years of the revolution has demonstrated that the "lack of the right to control their own bodies - to decide when and if to have children - limits women's ability to develop every other aspect of their lives, from their personal relationships to their jobs or education, to their ability to be politically active" (p6).

In sum, Jaggar (1983) has delineated the close empirical connections between different social relations that define people's lives. Ultimately, she perceives women's subordination as a relation that holds between women and men. In "order to understand that relation, feminist theory needs a conceptual framework that is constructed out of relations... Women are not oppressed by what they do so much as by the social context in which they do it" (Jaggar, 1983:158). Jo Foord and Nicky Gregson (1986) do not contradict or necessarily add to what Jaggar (1983) has argued. Rather, they utilise the 'realist approach' in social science to 'reconceptualise patriarchy.' In the process, they move towards developing precisely the kind of conceptual framework that Jaggar (1983) requests.

2.3.4 FOORD AND GREGSON: RECONCEPTUALISING PATRIARCHY USING

A 'REALIST APPROACH'

Foord and Gregson (1986) follow the realist schema as described by Sayer (1984) in his book **Method in Social Science: A Realist Approach**. Before presenting Foord and Gregson's (1986) reconceptualisation, some of the concepts fundamental to this realist approach will therefore be outlined. Firstly, the realist perspective requires a "meticulous conceptualisation of objects of analysis" (Foord and Gregson, 1986:199). Sayer(1984:81)

argues that:

" the understanding of concrete events or objects involves a double movement : concrete - abstract, abstract - concrete. At the outset our concepts of concrete objects are likely to be superficial or chaotic. In order to understand their diverse determinations we must first abstract them systematically. When each of the abstracted aspects has been examined it is possible to combine the abstractions so as to form concepts which groups the concreteness of their objects".

The realist method demands that in order to examine an object, its basic characteristics must be identified in a conceptually separate way from those characteristics which are external to the object. The basic characteristics define the object. Without them the object would not exist as itself. These basic properties are from a realist perspective referred to in terms of their internal or necessary relations. For example, the capital-labour relation is a necessary one within capitalism. External characteristics are properties which are not necessary for the objects existence. That is, they do not define the object even though they may be critical to its manifestation in specific places at particular times. For example the relations of capitalism can be identified without reference to race relations. The latter relations may, however, be contingent, yet crucially determine how the capital-labour relation is manifest. Whether the causal powers simply possessed by an object are realised at an empirical level, depends therefore on the kinds of contingent relations present in any particular time and place (Foord and Gregson, 1986; Sayer, 1984).

The method of 'hierarchies of abstraction' is used to conceptually clarify at which level of analysis the object is sited. This hierarchy is not equitable with order of importance. Rather, Foord and Gregson (1986:198) "see this form of abstraction more in terms of sets of inter-relationships rather than as a 'top-down' movement from high to low levels of

abstraction". Such inter-relationships encapsulate movement between the general character of an object, its particular form and a unique individual instance. In sum, an object can be disaggregated at these three levels in realist terms, if it is not a chaotic conception.

Foord and Gregson's (1986) innovation is in their rejection of 'patriarchy' as a chaotic conception and their use of the realist method of 'hierarchies of abstraction'. They emphasise the need to recognise which relations and which phenomena are internally or necessarily related to each other and which relations or phenomena are contingently related. Like Rubin (1975), Jaggar (1983) and Vogel (1983), Foord and Gregson (1986:199) recognise that "human life involves the following set of necessary relations: Human existence: production - people-reproduction". At the same time however, "people are always and everywhere male and female". By definition, therefore, "all social relations must involve gender, and, following on from this, that gender relations will be embedded in all forms of social relations" (Foord and Gregson, 1983:199)(10).

Foord and Gregson (1986:199) reiterate Marx and Engels' belief that this inter-relationship also requires social organisation and therefore **social relations**. Their innovation is in their use of the realist method of 'hierarchies of abstraction'.

Foord and Gregson's (1986) starting point, therefore, is their observation that gender relations, at the highest level of abstraction, are a **general object** (just like mode of production is a general object). They suggest that the **basic characteristics** (ie those properties without which the general object would not exist) of gender relations are the two genders women and men. They then continue to identify the **necessary** relations between these basic characteristics. To do this they ask the question:

"For what are gendered men and women both necessary and, therefore, internally related and under what conditions do men and women require each other's existence?" (p202). They answer that (a) biological (or species) reproduction and (b) heterosexuality are the two transhistorical relations which require an internal relation between both men and women.

'Patriarchy' is then discussed as a particular form of gender relations. This form of relations would by definition involve in some way, men's domination of both the process of species reproduction (by implication women's fertility) and of heterosexuality. The task of historical and empirical analysis would be to discover which aspects of gender relations are patriarchal; how they relate to one another, how they are produced and maintained; and how they are controlled and perpetuated.

In short, Foord and Gregson's (1986) initial steps towards reconceptualising patriarchy clarify a number of points. Gender relations are identified as a general object of analysis as are modes of production. Patriarchy and capitalism are respectively **particular** forms of these general objects. At this level they are both conceptually independent objects of analysis that are contingently, but not necessarily related. It is only at the level of empirical analysis that gender relations are critical to an understanding of capitalism, where the two are "mediated by one another through the daily lives of individuals in particular periods and places" (p201). Capitalism and patriarchy are therefore different theoretical objects of analysis which for Foord and Gregson (1986) cannot be theoretically unified. **Empirically**, however, they have to be understood in relation to one another, which in turn implies "that the union of socialism and feminism in political analysis and action is possible and vital" (p208). Their model is therefore useful for two reasons. Firstly, the clear conceptualisation of levels of abstraction

breaks through the problems of a dual-systems approach. Secondly, it identifies those characteristics necessary to a specifically patriarchal form of gender relations.

Whilst both Vogel (1983) and Jaggar (1983) have inadequately theorised racism they have acknowledged its integration as a fundamental task for socialist feminists. For Vogel (1983, xi), "...feminist emphasis on the analogy between sex and race oppression and on sisterhood tends to deny the special character of racial and national oppression". By contrast, Jaggar (1983:161) asserts: "We must develop gendered and racially specific economic categories, where the notions of gender and race are built into the new concepts of class". Similarly, Foord and Gregson (1986) although writing in contemporary Britain, a racist society, neglect to theorise racist social relations. While this did not constitute part of their task, this omission renders their 'model', unless modified, inappropriate for application in the South African context. Without identifying the necessary and basic characteristics peculiar to racism, I would argue that at an **empirical** level, racist social relations would be as integral to an analysis of society and urban form as capitalist or patriarchal relations. It is primarily a generation of black feminists that have practically attempted to thoroughly integrate race, class and gender into their analyses of society. A brief synopsis of the challenges posed to 'racist' feminist theory concludes the first half of this chapter.

2.3.5 THE BLACK FEMINIST CHALLENGE

The increasing acknowledgement by feminist theorists as well as feminist political activists, that the initial radical feminist notion of 'sisterhood is powerful' (ie from the early 1970's) was fraught with problems, has precipitated a debate on racism in white feminist theory.

The divisions between women (of different classes) at the levels of material reality and political struggle has long been recognised in marxist feminist literature. While this 'gender-class' literature has tended to omit race, the 'race-class' literature has generally avoided gender.

Given that South African society has historically been dominated by racist and capitalist social relations, the majority of the more radical analyses of South African society have mostly tended to fall within the latter body of literature(11). In other words, radical South African authors can be accused more of gender-blindness than of racism. It would appear therefore, that the black feminist critique of racist feminist theory would not have particular resonance in South Africa. However, in order to confront their sexism, South African authors would need to draw on this developed body of (racist) feminist theory.

As Bonnie Thornton Dill (1983:137) has observed an "(a)nalysis of the interaction of race, gender and class falls squarely between the two developing bodies of gender-class and race-class theoretical literature". Such an analysis requires a new synthesis. Dill (1983) explains that "(b)lack women experience class, race and sex exploitation simultaneously, yet these structures must be separated analytically so that we may better understand the ways in which they shape and differentiate women's lives" (p173).

Like Foord and Gregson (1986), Dill suggests the need for autonomous levels of abstraction, yet simultaneous analysis at an empirical level, that "define the peculiar interactions of race, class and gender at particular historical moments" (p137)(12). I would argue further, that we need to grapple with the complex interconnections of these three

'abstractions', in order to not only understand black women's lives but to understand all women's and men's lives.

The recent black feminist literature has been concerned not only with theorising the interaction between race, class and gender, but also with feminist political practice. While theory and practice are dialectically related, the reassessment of the concept of 'Sisterhood' (cf. Carby, 1982; Dill, 1983; Hooks, 1986), and the rejection of an imperialist feminism (cf. Amos and Parmar, 1984; Bourne, 1983) are more specifically political interventions. In a similar vein the 'autocritique' by two well known 'socialist-feminist' writers (Barrett and McIntosh, 1985) has provided a springboard for other activists' views (Bhavnani and Coulson, 1986; Kazi, 1985; Lees, 1985; Mirza, 1985; Ramazanoglu, 1985).

Most of these authors have requested that the gender-specific mechanisms of racism among white women be recognised, as well as the racist nature of ideologies of black female sexuality. The example of black families being sources of resistance against racist attacks from whites has questioned white feminists' concepts of 'family'; 'patriarchy' and 'reproduction'. Kum-Kum Bhavnani and Margaret Coulson (1985:89), for instance, suggest that the family is not only a source of oppression: "the family is not socially privileged and protected in respect of black people; ...it is often under attack from the state and from individual racialists". Furthermore, "there is a basis for solidarity within black households", in their common struggle against racism (Bhavnani and Coulson, 1985:89). Carby (1982:214) similarly asserts: "we need to recognise that during slavery, periods of colonialism and under the present authoritarian state, the black family has been a site of political and cultural resistance to racism". Moreover, "the way the gender of black women is constructed differs from construction of white femininity because it is also subject

to racism" (Carby, 1982:214).

Bell Hooks (1986) furthermore has rejected bourgeois women liberationists' idea that the basis for bonding between women is shared **victimisation**. Hooks (1986) therefore refuses to accept that women have to conceive of themselves as 'victims' in order to feel that feminist movement is relevant to their lives. She emphasises, rather, that it is less psychologically demoralising for women to bond with other women on the basis of "shared strengths and resources" (p128). Heidi Safia Mirza (1985:104) is even more assertive when she argues that "black feminism is a theoretical perspective in its own right" (original emphasis). Together with Hooks (1986) and Bhavnani and Coulson (1986), Mirza (1985) suggests that black women need to be made **central** in political analysis, not simply tagged on as an afterthought.

The challenges raised by these black feminists are important ones and specifically in the South African context where the majority of authors writing about black women are still white and middle-class. The difference between South African white feminists and British white feminists, however, is that here we do not have the same 'ideological hegemony' over feminist theory as is the case in Britain. In other words, if we as white feminists wish to contribute to a theoretical understanding which can be utilised by the majority of oppressed women in South African, we have to make sense of their experience. Our own experience cannot therefore dominate feminist theory, although it should not be ignored either. I suggest that we both have to draw on important principles generated by Western feminists and go beyond them. South African feminists need to seriously consider the particular expression of patriarchal gender relations in the local context; and South African geographers need to confront their androcentrism.

In the following chapter, a selected sample of the local radical geography literature and some of the local gender-conscious literature will be assessed in light of the insights developed in this chapter. But first some of the international feminist geographical literature is reviewed. The way in which these feminist geographers have drawn on the materialist perspective, as outlined in the first half of this chapter, will be discussed.

2.4 FEMINIST URBAN STUDIES IN THE INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE

2.4.1 OVERVIEW OF RECENT FEMINIST GEOGRAPHY

Urban geography, in so far as it falls under the general rubric of social science, cannot help but be influenced by important trends both in philosophical thinking and in popular political movements. Since the 1970's the urban studies literature has increasingly manifest a philosophical indebtedness to Marxism (cf. Castells 1977, Harvey 1978a, 1978b; Mingione 1981). Furthermore, the impact of the women's movement in Western Europe, North America and more recently in some parts of the Third World, is gradually becoming visible in geographers' work.

The theoretical approach outlined in the first half of Chapter Two is specifically materialist feminist and ultimately it is this approach which has had the most impact. While "(i)t is beginning to be accepted that urban studies, by ignoring gender divisions, is neglecting an important structuring element of urban space and urban processes" (McDowell, 1983:59), such studies are not all materialist. In fact, only one of the four main categories of feminist work can be broadly identified as materialist.

The Institute of British Geographer's special study group on women (IBG,1984) and Linda McDowell (1983) classify the first type of feminist work as that which discusses the situation of women in cities today. Amongst others, topics dealt with here, include: women's unequal access to urban goods and services and the constraints on their spatial behaviour (cf.Law,1984 for a South African example); women's position in the housing market; domestic work and housing design; women's activity patterns in time and space; and women's and men's different perceptions of the urban environment (Signs,1980). The second group of works highlight the past and possible future impact of a women-centred approach on general aspects of urban design. A link is suggested between the unmet needs of women in the built environment and male dominance in the design professions (Matrix book group,1980). An extension of this second theme is explored in the third category of studies which speculate on the form of a non-sexist city (Hayden,1981).

Lastly, the fourth body of literature is infused with an approach that stresses the need to draw out the general relationships between changes in urban structure (or the forms and organisation of the city) and changes in the social organisation of production and reproduction (i.e. changes in the nature and location of domestic and waged work) at various phases of urban development. It is here that we can see the use of an important postulate of materialism. That is, "the way in which life is materially produced and reproduced is the basis of the organisation of all societies, hence is fundamental both at the individual and collective level" (Delphy,1984 - my emphasis). Key questions in this approach are how the reproduction of labour power and people (ie. individuals who are not wage-labourers) occurs, and who is involved in the constituent processes.

Geographers working within this fourth approach also grapple with the methodological problem of overcoming the theory and practice polarisation as discussed by Anthony Giddens cited in Derek Gregory(1984); Damaris Rose(1981;1984), and Andrew Sayer(1981) and the theoretical problem posed by the private/public or reproduction/production dichotomy. For my purposes, the major critiques and important themes that feminist geographers are pushing to the forefront of the research agenda, stem from the latter body of work. In her most recent paper, McDowell(1983:59) suggests that future work in feminist urban studies should focus on "the nature of the changing interrelationships between production and reproduction, as part of a single inseparable process that varies across space and over time". (In Lise Vogel's (1983) terms - an understanding of the contradictions between domestic labour and waged labour under capitalism as reinforced by a system of male supremacy). Given the influence of a materialist perspective within feminist geography, a sampling of its more recent scholarship will be summarised in the following section. Both its contribution to a better understanding of urban studies will be illustrated and some of its deficiencies highlighted(13).

2.4.2 MATERIALIST FEMINIST URBAN STUDIES

In their chapter on urban spatial structure, the IBG study group(1984) show how geographers have paid insufficient attention to changes in domestic work, the functions of the family, the implications of the growing separation of 'home' and 'work' for the social relations between men and women, and the significance of these themes in understanding the spatial development of the modern city. They elaborate on some of these relationships by examining three important phases of urban development in Britain.

The first phase is identified as pre-capitalist, just before cities were transformed by the impact of industrialisation. Land uses were generally mixed, with no clear demarcation of residential, industrial or commercial areas. Out of the four main urban groups at the time, it was only the skilled artisans and shopkeepers who were both living and working at (or very close to) home. 'Family' was synonymous with 'household' (ie. including all apprentices and other workers) which was both a productive and reproductive unit in one. Although there was a sexual division of labour, the work that women and children did was seen as integral to the functioning of the unit as that of the men.

The second group of poor, unskilled labourers ironically had something in common with the third and fourth groups, the land-owning aristocracy and the merchants. For all three, the separation of 'home' and 'work' came to be increasingly significant. For the former, both men and women would go 'out' to work for wages (albeit in different types of jobs). For the latter, not only was there a separation from home and workplace, but women and children were excluded from the realm of 'work'. Women came to be seen as most suited to 'domestic' activities and the image of the non-working dependant wife and children was regarded as an index of wealth. Moreover, with the growth of trade and business away from the home these women's links with the commercial world became more tenuous and their isolation in a separate sphere more acute.

In the transitional city, factory owners and wealthy professionals overtook the landowning aristocracy in terms of economic and social importance. They began to live in specialised and high status residential areas that were far from the polluted factory zones. The separation between home and work in these areas was spatially enforced with the use of restrictive

leases that prevented the building of workshops or retailing stores. In this way, the bourgeois residential character was preserved while at the same time, the image of the dependant wife and children became more than an index of wealth, but was seen as natural and the ideal lifestyle for married women of all classes. Two separate spheres were becoming both literally and metaphorically, separate areas of life. Women were held to be morally superior, gentle, loving, caring, there to serve men as wives or servants. Home (and female society) or the private sphere was where emotions could be expressed. Men were seen as sexual, rational, unemotional, intellectual, scientific and were associated with the 'working' world or public sphere.

At the other end of the scale, the landless peasants (men and some women) who were flocking to the cities found employment as wage-labourers in the new factories and the construction sector. Both married and single women of the working class ended up either as domestic servants (maintaining the middle-class 'family ideal'), prostitutes or street sellers or in factories. Although these women were despised as morally inferior by non-working middle class women, they were nevertheless also placed metaphorically in the 'private sphere'. When at home the working-class women were still expected to serve men as wives. Meanwhile, the majority of the labouring population generally lived far from work on the outskirts of the city.

In the third phase of urban development, the Victorian city, home and work were separate spheres for the majority of people of all classes. Small workshops in mixed residential and industrial areas were finally ousted by the factories, and purely residential areas were established on city peripheries. With the new suburbs, the first shopping centres appeared which helped to isolate many non-working women from the city centre.

Everyday life for women became more concentrated on the suburb with limited opportunities for non-domestic activities.

In her discussion of postwar housing policy in Britain, McDowell(1983) has identified a fourth phase in the urban development of British towns. An outstanding feature of this phase was the intensification of suburbanisation. McDowell's(1983) analysis, in part, shows how the changing relationship between men's and women's lives was reflected in, and affected by, the built environment.

Apparently, in certain documents of the early postwar period, there was some recognition of the constrictions on women's lives imposed by housing form and location. These insights were influenced by the radical changes that occurred during the war years. The increase of female participation in wage labour, the disruption of the nuclear family, and the communal provision of childcare, restaurants and cafeterias all challenged the myth that 'women's place is in the home'. At the theoretical level of 'overall social reproduction' in Vogel's(1983) terms, women were obviously needed more to create surplus than to bear children. This position was reversed after the war when large numbers of dead soldiers had to be replaced.

In the New Town schemes of the 1950's, however, actual choice and mobility was in fact reduced. "The master plans, research reports and memoranda, and academic and official evaluations of the early new towns all ignore questions of gender differentiation, women's waged and domestic labour, apart from a few asides about the need for locally based female employment opportunities for the 'less mobile' female population" (McDowell,1983:64). Indeed, "(t)he design, management, and allocation of state housing also reflects the patriarchal assumptions of local state policy" (McDowell,1983:64). For instance, in the allocation of council housing,

"emphasis is placed on domestic virtues, such as housekeeping standards and cleanliness" (McDowell,1983:64). Moreover, various "minority groups, including 'problem' families, single parents, and ethnic minorities, many of whom are headed by unsupported women, frequently receive the poorest dwellings in the lowest status areas" (McDowell,1983:65).

As far as the growth of owner occupation and suburbanisation goes, the literature generally ignores "the blatant ideological assumptions about women's roles and family structure, (that are) embodied in housing policy and in the so-called natural desires for ownership"(McDowell,1984:65). An understanding of home-ownership must also include an analysis of its contradictory relationship to the subordination of women. For example, speculative housing developers erected two or three bedroomed houses, for sale to the 'traditional family' on urban peripheries. This preferred housing form increased the distance between home and 'work', thus exacerbating women's isolation. Moreover, the "suburbs were regarded as places for rest and recovery from the rigours of waged labour" (McDowell,1983:65). The suburbs of course, were only an area of recreation for men.

A further point that McDowell(1983) makes is that links between changes in the location of housing and women's role as a reserve army of labour seem to be more than mere coincidence. In the very early postwar period, many women withdrew from the labour market. At the same time vast programs of peripherally located single family state and private housing were being built. As the economy expanded "the pool of married women on these suburban estates proved an attractive and flexible source of labour for the light-assembly industries that also began to decentralise and expand in the suburbs" (McDowell,1983:67).

The approach by McDowell(1983) and the IBG Study Group (1984)(14) to the separation of spheres has been challenged for instance by Klausner(1986). I would agree with his suggestion that "(t)his literature commences from the sphere of social reproduction;...it does not tackle the form taken by linkages between the spheres, or the significance of examining the linkages more explicitly"(p30).

Another scholar, Damaris Rose (1981,1984) has examined some of these linkages more explicitly. She has done locally based research that clearly illustrates her concerns with the relationships between urban forms and processes, the social and spatial nature of waged labour and the ways in which labour power and people are reproduced. In other words, from the realist perspective, she investigates the 'unique instance'. In her 1981 article on homeownership, two empirical investigations on the emergence of and desires for homeownership in late nineteenth century England and Wales are discussed. Not only is the historical contingency of social reproduction emphasised, but links between struggles occurring in 'the sphere of everyday life' and changes in work environments are made. The importance of the transitional stage of people's lives, where they were "not yet fully separated from control over their means of production and/or subsistence"(p7) and the fact that home and workplace "were not yet entirely 'separate spheres'"(p7) are stressed. The contradictions between the home being a bulwark against the erosion of control by capitalism; and the 'home' as a site of oppression are however ignored. The impact and consequences of the separation on the women who were to be confined there is not discussed.

The first case study concerns itself with West Cornwall, a tin and copper mining area. There, family labour was utilised to produce some basic necessities via subsistence farming on land close to people's houses.

Land in the area was controlled by large land-owners and leases were generally of an unpredictable and short duration. Miners had little option but to build houses themselves (few situations of affordable rental), usually from inadequate and poor materials. While miners had some control over the labour process, work was dangerous and miners themselves had to ensure conditions for family security in the event of death or disablement. A house with some land was the safest insurance. Although subsistence plots helped keep miners wages low, they also enabled survival during recessions. Moreover, when the miners migrated overseas, freehold cottages with some land provided a modicum of security for their families. In short, "through struggles directed at strengthening control over their residential environments, many (miners) were able to achieve greater economic independence as well as bettering their families living standards" (Rose,1981:12). However, struggles for independence were individualistic and there was no collective power "to arrest the near total collapse of the industry in the early twentieth century" (Rose,1981:12). The contradictions between the home as a place of some security and control for the whole family, versus the isolation of the women and the home as a site of struggle between men and women were not explored.

The second case study investigates Northampton in the English Midlands. The transitional phase under which Northampton workers lived was marked by some control over the means of production. The shoe industry was the dominant one in the area. Although the factory system was rapidly extending into the city, much small workshop production continued to exist. During this time, many shoeworkers and tradespeople bought their own houses with the aid of mortgages. "Home-ownership could provide freedom from landlords and the insecurity of tenancy. It could also provide... security in times of bad trade, and for unemployment and old

age" (Rose,1981:13). The contradictions in government attitudes towards "domestic workshops" showed up the significance of the incomplete separations between home and workplace. On the one hand, these workshops proved a hindrance to capitalist control in the factory system; while on the other, "the principle of the Englishman's(NB!) home is his(NB!) castle was not to be violated" (p13). Home-ownership was one among various other means that could aid in maintaining economic independence and achieving greater control over working and non-working lives.

In sum, the above examples show how the degree of control over the (wage) work process and the purposes for which people were working (for wages) influenced struggles over 'home' or 'non wage-working' lives. That is, when people were losing control at 'work', the meaning of housing ('at home') struggles could have special significance. For instance the struggle for home-ownership could be a means of struggling against forms of capitalist production, as well as improving living standards. That is, one's home could protect one's 'workshop' and give one shelter in bad times. "Struggles around the home...should not be belittled or viewed as following predetermined paths towards 'class incorporation'" (Rose,1981:14). Rose(1981:16,17) also suggested pointers whereby such a perspective might be useful in looking at the implications of "the home as workplace for women and 'modern domestic industry'". The 'home' as a "concentrated locus of patriarchal relations" (Vogel,1983:171), is however ignored.

Rose's 1984 paper on gentrification develops some of these ideas in a contemporary context. She discusses for example, how the "structural conditions that create the possibility for gentrification"(p48) need to be understood in their historical relationship with the "concrete processes and contexts through which they may take effect"(p48). The connections

between gentrification, the social and spatial restructuring of wage labour processes, and changes in the reproduction of labour power and people are made apparent. The constitution of gentrifiers as particular types of workers and people "is as crucial an element in the production of gentrification as is the production of the dwellings they occupy" (p56).

For instance, Rose(1984) explains how the spatial restructuring of employment is reducing the upward mobility both of moderate-income 'marginalised' professionals and lower level workers. Both groups often have to work near 'town' and this is therefore part of the reason why they both "have good reasons for desiring an inner-city location"(p59). Other 'gentrifiers' (eg. single parents, gay couples etc.) may be characterised as people who belong to households which do not conform to the nuclear family structure and who have 'non-traditional' lifestyles. Not only affordability, but other social constraints make living in conventional suburbs difficult. Older inner-city areas also seem to offer opportunities for shared use of facilities, access to community services, non-isolating environments for reproductive work etc. Such locations are especially suitable for single women with children who are white collar employees in the CBD.

Rose's(1984) conclusion is that various groups of gentrifiers may be attracted to inner city neighbourhoods more out of **need** than 'unbridled choice'. At the same time however, these neighbourhoods can, while supporting alternatives to the patriarchal family and conventional organisation of domestic labour, displace poorer residents with similar needs.

Another significant contribution to the literature is Sophie Bowlby's(1984) paper on 'Planning for women to shop in postwar Britain'. The ways in

which changes in women's domestic and wage labour, and changing ideologies of women's domestic roles have been related to retail planning (the provision of a particular urban facility) are investigated.

Since the war, married women's participation in waged labour has been steadily increasing. Bowlby(1984) stresses that women's primary role of nurturer (including the provision of food) is still the dominant belief among both men and women. The fact that household shopping is mostly carried out by women, simultaneously reflects and reinforces this belief. However, the views of how this task has to be carried out and its implementation have changed considerably as has retail planning. For example, the early planning principle of neighbourhood shops located within easy walking distance of every home, was linked to the view that women did the shopping and had limited mobility. Bowlby(1984) also suggests that in recent years, planners (as well as retailers, advertisers and marketing experts) have encouraged the present spatial pattern of retailing which has endorsed and reinforced orthodox attitudes towards shopping tasks (ie. as the role of women). "(C)onvenience shopping and residential areas are clearly demarcated from industrial areas, (which) reinforces the assignment of shopping to the separate domestic 'female'sphere, both symbolically and through its impact on day to day travel" (Bowlby,1984:195).

The paper is concluded with a number of alternative options open to retail planners. One of these options is to locate more shops on or near industrial estates. As a short term measure such a locational shift could make shopping for working women easier, and perhaps encourage men to share duties.

In their critical reflections on the achievements of feminist geography

Foord and Gregson(1986) have referenced much of the literature discussed in this illustrative synopsis. They have argued that what is ultimately "lacking is an overall theoretical framework"(p186). The inability to develop such a framework "stems primarily from feminist geographers' choice and disordered conceptualisation of their objects of analysis" (Foord and Gregson,1986:186). These objects of analysis are many and diverse and need to be collated into a cogent and workable theoretical analysis.

Foord and Gregson(1986) present an excellent critical review of the 'stages' of development in feminist geography and conclude that gender relations, the active construction of gender roles and their characteristics have been insufficiently acknowledged. For them, the answer lies in a re-conceptualisation of patriarchy that will ultimately provide the basis for a coherent theoretical framework (see 2.3.4 of this chapter).

Finally, I would like to suggest that **Localities Class and Gender** (Murgatroyd et.al.,1985) is an important recent publication which Foord and Gregson(1986) ignore in their review. This is perhaps because many essays from the collection actually do take account of gender relations. For instance, in their introduction, John Urry and Alan Warde(1985) argue that "the analysis of gender relations has been neglected in much social science, especially that in which 'localities' have been the object of study". Furthermore, this 'new' gender-sensitive analysis "challenged many conventional ways of understanding the structuring of social inequality and the planning and policy objectives designed to ameliorate such inequalities"(Murgatroyd,et.al.,1985:1).

As in most other feminist geography, the social relations of 'race' are

ignored in much of this work. There are nevertheless some excellent pieces (for example, those by Savage(1985) and Mark-Lawson,et.al.(1985)) which explore the empirical intersections of patriarchal gender relations and capitalist social relations in particular localities.

There is a growing body of literature that is concerned with questions relating to broader spatial and industrial restructuring and 'development', which is specifically feminist in orientation. The bulk of this material however, has not been produced by geographers but it ought to have a significant impact on local thinking(cf.IDS Bulletin,1978 and Young, et.al.1981;Wilson, 1985).

Doreen Massey's (1984) influential geographical text on "Spatial Divisions of Labour" does take cognisance of 'gender', but her focus is on social structures and the geography of **production**. Massey(1984) therefore only explores one half of the 'human existence: production - people - reproduction' equation, and thereby limits our understanding even of 'production'.

These analyses provide some theoretical insights and guidelines for South African geographers rather than direct answers. The specific trajectory of South African racial capitalism has meant that processes of urbanisation, urban form, household relations, 'family' structures and so on, have developed in a different way to Britain. Our challenge is to reconsider such developments from a materialist feminist perspective.

2.5 CONCLUSION

In conclusion, a variety of materialist feminist perspectives as developed in the British and American literature, have been outlined in this chapter.

Essentially, the inextricable connections between gender relations and other social relations (eg. capitalist and racist relations) have been emphasised. Furthermore, some of the specific ways in which feminist geographers have expanded our understanding of urban processes have been illustrated.

In the following chapter, a selection of local South African geographical and gender-sensitive literature will be reviewed against this background of a materialist feminist perspective.

2.6 FOOTNOTES

1. It was initially Edholm et.al.(1977) who suggested the distinction at the level of analysis, between social reproduction (or re-production of the conditions of production); re-production of the labour force; and human or biological reproduction. They did not however elaborate on the relationship among the various aspects (Vogel,1983:28).

If these relationships are made clear and their differences defined then the production/reproduction dichotomy does not necessarily have to retain such a functionalist usage. For eg., all these 3 levels of 'reproduction' would then have to be described, and explained and viewed as an ongoing **process**. Furthermore, the physical exertion of energy (ie. the work or labour) required during 'reproductive' activity is not ignored. It is precisely these relations, specifically relating to the third level (biological/species reproduction and heterosexuality) that Foord and Gregson(1986) identify as a general object for analysis: namely gender relations.

2. Rosalind Coward (1983:160) makes the point that Engels used the concept of the family to explain the relation between the classes and the state. The analytic priority of the family, furthermore, subsumed any **separate** consideration of the division between the sexes as an antagonistic division. For Cowards' list of the assumptions of the family in Engels' usage see pg 299 fn 16.
3. Belinda Bozzoli(1983) and Christine Delphy (1984) both emphasise the importance of understanding the particular social relations under which labour is done. Bozzoli suggested that an understanding of the internal relations of pre-capitalist rural social structures is crucial to understanding not only gender relations but also the **particular** form that capitalism has taken in South Africa. Delphy discusses how the domestic household tasks that women do are not in and of themselves of interest, but rather the fact that they are done under a specific 'marriage' relationship that is important.
4. Vogel(1983) argues that when women of the ruling class are subordinate to the men of their class, it is due (at the material level) to their special role with respect to the generational replacement of individual members of the ruling class. In the transfer of property, "female oppression becomes a handy way to ensure the paternity of those children"(p148).
5. Mandy Tomson(1984) points out one of the most obvious material versus ideological contradictions in South Africa as regards the black working class. When men initially became the first migrants, (Bozzoli (1983) explains why men) at the material level, they were paid low wages, while the women actually supported themselves in the reserves. The migrant ideology developed on this foundation to justify low wages for men. A corollary of the migrant ideology is one which assumes male responsibility for women. Therefore, when women entered the wage force they were paid even lower wages than the men. When the reserve system collapsed and with it the material basis for the migrant ideology, the ideology itself remained intact. Although women in the homelands came increasingly to rely on male remittances (i.e. the ideology of male responsibility now had a

material reality), there was no corresponding increase in men's wages. That is, the interactions between material reality, ideology and gender relations are all important for understanding the form that both capitalism and the oppression of women has taken in South Africa.

6. Marx divided the labour time of any one worker for each day into necessary labour time and surplus labour time. The former refers to the socially (for any historical point in time) necessary labour time during which a worker produces value equivalent to the value of commodities necessary for the reproduction of her/his labour power. The latter, is the remainder of the work day, in which the worker produces surplus value that is unpaid and accrues to the capitalist. Coward(1983:157) has pointed out that the main problem with a theory of value is that it does not consider social and ideological divisions. Payment for labour can be determined by more factors than the cost of re-production of the labourers' necessities. Examples she cites are trade union activity; monopolies' operations or ideological divisions between the sexes (we might also add racism).
7. One of the biggest problems associated with understanding domestic labour within capitalism, is that for Marx it did not constitute **productive** labour. "The only worker who is productive is one who produces surplus-value for the capitalist, or in other words contributes towards the self-valorization of capital"(Marx,1976:644). It is precisely for this reason that Delphy(1984) argues that conventional marxist analysis cannot explain women's unpaid labour.
8. Except as will be seen from Jaggar(1983) (see later, 2.3.3) certain aspects of 'domestic labour' are in reality not necessarily confined to a **separate** sphere.
9. Note, while both these tendencies are increasingly becoming true in the South African case, many paid domestic workers are not 'permitted' to use such labour saving gadgets - (Cock,1980a;1981).
10. This view closely correlates with Rubins'(1975) sex/gender system idea as well as the call by Iris Young (in Jaggar,1983:16) for "a thoroughly feminist historical materialism, which regards the social relations of a **particular historical formation** as one system in which gender differentiation is a core attribute"(my emphasis).
11. In Chapter Three I will be reviewing some of the 'radical' South African literature that has looked at race, class and gender.
12. Dill cites Davis(1971) and Higginbotham(1983) as two examples of historically specific analyses which consider the intersections and complexities of race, class and gender particularly as they affect black women. Parmar(1982) has examined how racially constructed gender roles have helped to structure the position of West Indian and Asian women in the (British) labour market.
13. In her editorial introduction to the **Antipode**, special issue of Women and the Environment, Suzanne MacKenzie (1984) addresses the historical development of a socialist feminist perspective within geographic research on gender. In the same issue, Gerda Wekerle (1984:11) "synthesises some of the recent research on

North American women's urban experience".

14. The IBG group (1984) have drawn heavily on the important paper by MacKenzie and Rose (1983) on "Industrial change, domestic economy and home life".

CHAPTER 3

THE STATE OF 'GENDER-CONSCIOUSNESS' IN GEOGRAPHY
AND SOUTH AFRICAN STUDIES

"There is a question, too, of the way in which we work. The language of geography is often still remarkably archaic. We all know the patiently-pained expression from across the table at the meeting when we've just, hesitatingly or ironically, interjected '...or she...'. The look which says 'OK, OK, do you **have** to point it out **every** time?... (Why not : we are excluded every time?) ...You **know** when I say 'he' I include women'. Such breathtakingly inadequate conceptualization would be jumped on in any other context. And how many courses are still on offer in geography departments up and down the country with the almost comically narrow concern of 'Man and the Environment'? Such language is more than a bad habit. It is symptomatic of far deeper levels of sloppy thinking" (Doreen Massey in IBG, 1984:13; original emphasis).

3.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I outlined a variety of materialist feminist perspectives, as developed in the British and American literature, and its relevance to both social theory in general and geography in particular. This chapter aims to assess some specifically South African critical literature on urban geography as well as other social science literature which considers class, race and gender. These two sets of literature provide points of departure, from which I demonstrate that much local work fails to take adequate account of the interface between a patriarchal form of gender relations and racial and capitalist social relations.

In the first section, a selected number of articles representing the contemporary radical South African human geography tradition will be commented on. It is noted that while these geographers are inspirational in their focus on many aspects of urban geography previously ignored, they fail to adequately address the issue of gender. Their emphasis on race and class, and their inherent androcentricity renders them myopic with respect to patriarchal gender relations.

In the second section, the state of gender consciousness in other (ie. non-geographic) South African social science will be discussed. in terms of their androcentricity. Most local authors that have grappled with race, class and gender have tended to be either historians or sociologists, with geographers lagging far behind. In the second part of this chapter, therefore, I will provide a brief outline of the issues addressed in this body of literature and will raise some questions that should interest geographers. It should be noted that while this literature is pathbreaking in the South African context, in that it does raise the issues of women and gender, the authors nevertheless fail to adequately address patriarchal gender relations.

This discussion is pursued in the third and final part of the chapter where I comment on some of the latest South African 'gender-sensitive' literature which is of direct relevance to geographers. Much of this work is unpublished and has either been produced or brought to my attention in the latter part of my study period. In consequence, it is probably quite poorly digested at this stage. The literature nevertheless seems highly suggestive, and possibly indicates a way out of the problems encountered within both the South African contemporary radical human geography tradition and social science literature reviewed.

3.2 THE LOCAL RADICAL GEOGRAPHY TRADITION

It is interesting to note that while many Marxist authors are concerned with analysing social complexity with clear reference to **social power** relations, one crucial area of social power that is central to social organisation (ie. gender power) is curiously hidden from analysis and their understanding of ideology. Some of the more influential radical South

African geographers are no exceptions. Take David Lincoln's (1979) paper on "Ideology and South African development geography" as a case in point. Lincoln (1979:99) is concerned about the "relationship between ideology and analytical concepts in geographical studies of development and underdevelopment particularly as it exists in South Africa". He suggests that a reconstitution of the problem of underdevelopment "will require, at the outset, a critical acknowledgement of the ideological undercurrents beneath the development of capitalism in South Africa, and an assessment of the role of geography in that development" (p109). We might agree, especially if these ideological undercurrents include the androcentric **ideological conflation** of sex and gender and all its ramifications! Needless to say, Lincoln (1979) does not include gender in his re-analysis.

Paul Wellings (1983), like Lincoln (1979), is concerned with ideology and particularly with reference to education. He argues "that the role of education in development cannot be divorced from its role in social **reproduction** and transformation, and that this is determined by class and **power** relations" (Wellings, 1983:88, my emphasis). He never mentions, however, the struggles that might occur within the different **processes** of social reproduction or the power relations within specific sex/gender systems. The concept therefore retains a stasis, and blocks further understanding of the complexity of social reality. Moreover, Wellings (1983:96) himself suggests that it is important to pose the question "**who** benefits from the system? And, what is the relationship between the system and the **reproduction** of class relations, the **structure of political power** and the **social division of labour**" (my emphasis)? I could not agree more. Why, then, is no mention ever made of gender/social power or the **gender** division of labour with respect to the social division of labour? As regards education and the division of labour men and women are clearly advantaged in different ways. If the answer to

the above is meant to guide our understanding, how far can we get unless we look at gender **simultaneously** with 'race' and 'class'? Would non-formal education by itself do much to change gender-role stereotyping or gender power?

Similarly, Jeffery McCarthy (1983) incorporates "as an implicit assumption" the separation of 'work' and 'living' into his revised model of "a specifically **capitalist** urban system" (p31, original emphasis). The way in which this 'division of space' is taken for granted ignores the implications of the spatial separation of waged-labour and domestic labour.

Why and how particular people are inhabiting particular spaces and what they do there is somehow irrelevant. That is, an analysis should include an understanding of the specific roles that individuals (eg. men and women) play, where this occurs and why. The 'processes' that contribute towards 'reproduction of labour power'; and the power relations and struggles within these processes must be analysed as **part** of an analysis that looks at the space or sector in which they occur. This is lacking in McCarthy's (1983) framework, which ultimately conceptualises 'reproduction space' in a static formulation. It is assumed that there are no day to day struggles over social reproduction (in all its senses). Neither does the present framework for example, allow much space for questions like - why did squatters that were removed from shantytowns (eg. Cato Manor) to "...row upon row of look alike houses inKwaMashu in Durban" (McCarthy, 1983:44), **have to be married** on arrival at their new destination (Natal Mercury, 11/18/1960)?

In this framework the role of the 'township housing' in imposing nuclear family type structures on ex-squatters; the implications for isolated housewife oppression; and the centrality of certain assumptions about

sexual relationships in the construction of such housing are all ignored and deemed irrelevant to our understanding. The structuralist formulation of the model says nothing about the people living in the housing schemes; the daily struggles that may occur within them; or their impact on the total society. McCarthy's (1983) paper can be categorised as falling within level one as outlined in Chapter One. That is, he is unselfconscious about his own androcentric bias.

Alan Mabin and Susan Parnell (1983) in their paper "Recommodification and working-class ownership..." are, like McCarthy (1983), also concerned with housing. Their analysis of home-ownership is not sufficiently discussed in relation to the different forms of reproduction or gender relations that occur in South Africa. Although they hint at this variety towards the end of their paper, it lacks reference to changes in the active processes which occur as part of 'reproduction', and which may or may not take place in individual homes. In other words, the relationship between homeownership on the one hand and changes in family form and household structure on the other, are ignored.

Furthermore, there is little mention of the differences or lack of differences between the township petty bourgeois and working class family forms and their acceptance or rejection of home ownership. What does 'family' actually mean? Do these different meanings make any difference in their relationship to housing in general and home-ownership in particular? How people come to live in these houses and arrange themselves there is largely excluded from the analysis. Except in the section where they speculate on the number of groupings that will arise in the context of the South African black townships, Mabin and Parnell (1983) do identify the people who may form such groupings. Nowhere, however, is the significance or implications of such an identification made. It serves merely to

inform us as a point of fact. These two authors could be said to be operating at level two, ie. aware of the effects of gender, but not using this consciousness to thoroughly inform their analysis.

An understanding which focuses on capitalist social relations and 'class' access to housing answers some questions - but it does not fundamentally deal with other contradictions. A single woman for instance who manages to own her own house, may have partially escaped certain forms of patriarchal gender relations. As a 'home-owner' would she be unproblematically conservative? We really need to be working towards an understanding of how shifts in forms of reproduction interact with economic contradictions, and the political and ideological factors which at times justify those material conditions, and at times contradict them.

Again, in his article on "Labour, capital, class struggle and the origins of residential segregation in Kimberley, 1880 - 1920", Alan Mabin (1986) neglects to consider the material effects of patriarchal gender relations. For instance, he suggests that the outcome of the struggle between labour and capital in the early development of Kimberley led to a restructuring of labour as well as to the "total segregation of compounds for African workers and mine villages for white workers" (p5). Do we assume that only men lived in the former, yet 'families' of some sort lived in the latter? Why was this so? What effect did gender relations have on the ability of certain workers of whatever race to gain power in the 'labour-capital' conflict and vice versa?

Furthermore, it is asserted that the "compounds as the first formal means of segregation had a profound influence on the timing and emergence of ... the ordered, state-planned township" (Mabin, 1986:5), of the apartheid city. Given that the latter townships were predicated on labour control

(see also Padayachee and Haines, 1985) this influence is easy to see. However, a fundamental feature of the planned-townships was a prioritisation of **family** housing (see Chapter Five). If the compounds and hostels were mainly **single-sex 'male'** spaces, surely the nature of this 'influence' needs to be more thoroughly spelt out, particularly in the light of domestic labour (see Chapter Two, 2.3.2 synopsis of Vogel (1983)).

One final query stemming from Mabin's (1986) paper is related to the vagueness with which he discusses the African locations. In the entire section titled "Town, location, township", the residential circumstances of the African population are discussed in a gender-neutral way. Are we to assume therefore, that African women and men experienced these shifts and residential controls in undifferentiated ways?

Given that the majority of mine labourers were men, what does it mean if 'Africans' were moved from locations to compounds or to townships? What does it say about the kinds of family forms that developed or the household structures? Why are we suddenly told about objections from white residents to prostitution (p21)? The invisibility of women from Mabin's (1986) analysis makes it difficult for us to clearly picture the **social** geography of Kimberley in a holistic way. Furthermore, we are given no sense of how patriarchal gender relations within either African society or the colonial society or both, moulded and were transformed by the 'labour-capital' conflict and its spatial outcome in Kimberley.

In contrast to the above-mentioned examples, Jonathan Crush (1984), in his five proposed research questions into studies of labour migration, does not exclude the possibility of gender differences, but neither does he specifically mention this as something to bear in mind. Given the power of

androcentrism, I feel it is important to do so. Furthermore, preliminary research into colonial records in Natal (specifically those of the secretary for Native Affairs - early 1900's) suggest that colonialism provided African women with opportunities for mobility, a mobility that was resisted by African chiefs. This was evident in the form of requests by these chiefs to the colonial government asking that these avenues be closed to women.

We are also advised to note

" the impact of labour migration on domestic relations, household size and the sexual division of labour, the rate of household formation and the nature of rural production activities. It is also necessary to enquire how the complex forces which accompanied the imposition of colonial rule, white settlement and capitalist penetration moulded the character of the relations of production between African chiefs and commoners" (Crush, 1984:129).

Does this suggestion imply that we should study how the organisation of the sex/gender system may have crucial bearing on, and in turn be influenced by, the totality of social relations? If it does not, our understanding will be crucially impaired.

It has been pointed out that the very nature of Crush's topic makes it almost impossible for him to ignore women (Beall, 1986). That is, his review pays attention to both ends of the labour migration continuum. It is possible for him, however, to ignore gender differences and gender relations. Given that his piece reviews the literature, not only Crush (1984) but also his sources, need to be challenged. Beall (1986) has further suggested that because some of the literature reviewed by Crush (1984) relies on anthropological monographs and other ethnographic material (given their concerns and preoccupations with kinship etc.), to ignore women would be difficult. Crush (1984) nevertheless, is at least aware - he would be the equivalent of level two in the framework outlined

earlier.

The last set of authors I will reference are clearly aware of feminist challenges to androcentric knowledge. Vicki Martin and Chris Rogerson (1984) for example were the only authors out of twenty-five articles assessed in the South African Geographical Journal over the fifteen year period from 1970 - 1985 that self consciously recognised the existence of women. Their piece is important for its contribution towards correcting the imbalance of women's invisibility in geography. Entitled "The South African Experience of **women** and Industrial Change" (my emphasis), the paper is self-acknowledged to be "a preliminary and limited foray into **terra incognita** concerning women and industrialisation" (p33). Nevertheless it is worth mentioning some of the problems with the paper. The authors focus on women's changing participation in the South African industrial system. They address the growing national importance of women in manufacturing, the historically shifting racial pattern of employment, the activities which constitute 'women's work' and the changing spatial dimensions of women's industrial employment in South Africa.

The most crucial problem is that their central question is raised (implicitly) but left unanswered by the paper. That is, **why women**? The result is that we are presented with a **description** of the position of women in industry in South Africa, that never explains fully why it is **women** who occupy these positions. As with the Vogel's (1983) approach, assumptions about gender role behaviour are implicit and the social construction of gender has not been problematised.

Moreover, Martin and Rogerson (1984) assert that the system of racial domination is "of greater moment" than the structures of sexual domination, in understanding the changing situation of women in industrialisation

(p34). Besides the criticisms that could be levelled from within a strictly Marxist analysis (ie. with respect to class formation, changes in labour process etc), this concern to **weight** the significance of structures of domination is highly problematic. The point is that in an empirical analysis, all social relations and structures of domination are interacting with each other to determine the complex reality 'on the ground'. It is this **intersection** which creates the actual material circumstances we need to understand. There is no use therefore in **weighting** one above the other as some kind of **over-determining** causal factor. Martin and Rogerson (1984) in the end confuse different levels of abstraction in their paper and end up by describing rather than analysing the position of industrial women workers.

Finally, their focus on **women** and race, rather than **gender**, race (and class), fails to address the ways in which patriarchal gender relations both at 'home' and at 'work' have intersected with structures of racial discrimination and capitalist social relations, to determine the "South African experience of women and Industrial Change". Ultimately their object of analysis remains a 'chaotic conception' (cf. Foord and Gregson (1986) Chapter Two).

Robin Law's (1984) unpublished town planning MA Thesis on "**Women and Urban Transport**" (my emphasis) is, like Martin and Rogerson's (1984) piece, valuable for its 'correcting the imbalance' approach. The thesis investigates some of the relationships between 'transport' and 'household'. It acknowledges gender role differences and the need for transport planners to pay special attention to the needs of women. For instance, women's domestic responsibilities and non-employment related journeys (eg. shopping, schools, recreational, medical, social) need to be considered, as do the gender roles within the household. Who has access

to cars? Is the household female headed? Does the woman perform a double-shift? These are questions which traditionally remain unanswered. Moreover, Law (1984) suggests that planners ought to take cognisance of women's vulnerability with respect to rape and assault (eg. unlit streets, badly planned parking garages etc). Law (1984) also highlights the fact that while many transport routes are designed in direct relation to employment patterns, domestic workers do not benefit from such a policy. Working in white residential areas they are often seriously disadvantaged (eg. few if any buses, no trains, long distances to walk). Although Law (1984) has suggested that we need to recognise conflicting interests within the household, she ultimately fails to adequately address patriarchal gender relations. Her study in the end remains more descriptive than explanatory and risks the danger of being marginalised into the 'women and' category. Once again, the effects of the social construction of gender in the context of patriarchal gender relations should be an integral part of **any** empirical analysis of urban transport and policy issues.

Other geographical work that I am aware of which is specifically feminist in orientation and confronts some of the problems with androcentrism, raised earlier in Chapter One, is mostly unpublished. In the final section of this chapter I will review some of this literature, and in Chapters Four and Five I will address some of the unanswered questions in South African geographers' work. But first, I will detour away from geography in particular, and briefly examine the South African social science literature generally on class, race and gender. Significant questions for geographers will be raised.

3.3 SOUTH AFRICAN FEMINIST AND GENDER CONSCIOUS LITERATURE

It can be seen thus far, that while international British and American geographers have begun to redress the imbalance in gender-blind research, South African geographers have a long way to go. There is, however, a growing body of literature from disciplines such as sociology, history and economic history which begins to unravel the links between class, race and **gender** in the South African context. The bulk of this work would fall in my level three category as described in Chapter One. That is, the authors are self consciously aware of the oppression of women. They often choose their research areas in order to explain aspects of this oppression with the express aim of assisting in its eradication.

Deborah Gaitskell (1983) has already presented an adequate overview of the historical development of 'womens' studies' and overtly feminist work in South Africa. She has also outlined those studies which make women visible; those which are concerned with women or with 'family' and she mentions particular women academics and the areas of research they concentrate on. Of the more recent work, it appears that many authors have focused on the position of African women(1). To some extent the conflictual relationships between African and white women have also been examined. There seems to have been a common perception, therefore, that one only needed to look at **gender**, if one was specifically studying the position of **women** and the intersection of race, class and gender if one was looking at **African** women. For me, this detracts from the usefulness of the concept which should more accurately be used to refer to **gender social relations**. This means that southern African studies in **general** need to be transformed, and 'feminist' insights not be restricted to "merely inform analyses explicitly concerned with women" (Gaitskell, 1983:15). In other words, all studies need to take into account the fact that gender relations will be embedded in all forms of social relations (Foord and Gregson, 1986:199).

I now briefly scan some of the issues addressed and developments within this literature. I contend that geographers should take cognisance of important points raised by the following authors. Jacklyn Cock's (1980a, 1980b, 1981) pioneering work, for instance, deals specifically with how domestic labour affects African working class women, and she examines the historical changes that have occurred in the nature of domestic service in the political economy of South Africa. The crucial role that domestic workers have played (and still are playing) in the South African economy and their degree of ultra-exploitation is highlighted. In her book, for example, Cock (1980b) locates her analysis of domestic workers at three levels: "in terms of historical processes; in the wider social structure and in the home; in both the political and domestic economy " (p7). Above all, individual biographies are not only respected for their "colour and richness" (Cock, 1980b:7), but vividly illustrate the human agency of domestic workers. In fact Cock (1980b:p8) emphasises that "(d)omestic servants are not deferential workers but trapped workers."

Four reasons why domestic service is a significant social institution in South Africa are explored (Cock, 1980b). Firstly, it constitutes the second largest source of employment for African women. Secondly, it reflects changing patterns of sexual and racial domination in South Africa. Thirdly, domestic workers play a central role in reproducing labour power at both the physical and ideological levels. (Cock, 1980b touches on the theoretical problem of domestic workers as 'wage-workers' doing supposedly 'non-productive' labour in a capitalist social formation.) Fourthly, domestic service is one of the most important points of incorporation into urban industrial society for many African women.

Questions raised for geographers from this body of work might include: How are domestic workers catered for in transport and housing policies? What do domestic workers mean for an understanding of household forms and urban structure (eg. backyard khayas)? How has domestic work as an institution been reflected in and/or entrenched in the built environment?

Gaitskell et.al. (1983) suggest that an important factor missing from Cock's (1980b) analysis is the "political economy of gender relations between black men and women" (p89). They therefore attempt to include in their article, the broader issues of job segregation, the social relations of household domestic work and the gender subordination of black women. Of specific interest to urban studies are the issues of the impact and implications of changes with respect to 'live-in' versus 'commuter' domestics. An understanding of 'urban-form' and the organisational mobilisation of people around 'urban issues' may well be considerably expanded if such insights were to be included.

Mark Swilling (1984) for instance has commented in a different context on the fact that in Katlehong, male migrants use female domestic workers' 'backyard' rooms as 'escape-hatches' from hostels. This respite from state-control over their 'living space' gives these migrants added leverage in their 'work-space' struggles. These structural conditions may also have implications for gender relations between men and women. For instance, women may have greater control over the free space which could give them some power vis a vis the men. Furthermore, live-in domestic workers may be able to escape the political turmoil of township life and thus retain a relatively secure and stable space.

Unlike Cock's (1980b) major study, Belinda Bozzoli's (1983) seminal paper does not reflect original empirical research. Neither does she

concentrate on one specific group of women. Rather her paper is the major scholarly work which attempts to conceptualise, at a macro-scale, what a South African history that integrates race, class and gender would mean. She is one of the few South African theoreticians who has been prepared to attribute a relative autonomy to the concept of patriarchy. At the time Bozzoli (1983) made an important intervention. In fact her article at present offers the most developed conceptual framework for understanding these links (ie. of race, class and gender social relations) in the complex South African society.

Bozzoli (1983:168) argues that "neither radical, separate feminist approaches, nor economistic, functionalist and reductionist approaches will suffice in advancing our understanding of female oppression and its relationship to capitalism". She coins the concept of 'domestic struggle' to assist analyses of the "relationships between particular social systems and particular forms of female subordination" (p168). In pre-industrial systems the concept applies to struggles within the non-capitalist 'domestic sphere'; and in the urban areas, to struggles within the 'domestic economy' (or in a stunted form as the urban family). There are not only struggles in the domestic sphere, but also between the domestic sphere and the "wider, capitalist society" (p147). The latter Bozzoli (1983) refers to as the external domestic struggle (p170). Bozzoli (1983) recognises the importance of understanding how gender relationships interact with those of class and race. She also asserts that "pre-capitalist domestic relations are crucial determinants of the pace and sequence of proletarianisation" (p170), and stresses the possibility of internal family conflict. Foord and Gregson's (1986) 'reconceptualisation', nevertheless raises some serious problems for Bozzoli's (1983) concept of a 'patchwork quilt' of patriarchies in South Africa.

First and foremost, Bozzoli (1983) does not define what the basic characteristics and internal relations of these 'patriarchies' are. As a result, she sees a variety of 'patriarchies' (eg. in various African societies, Boer society), instead of one set of patriarchal gender relations that manifest themselves in different ways, dependent on different contingent relations. Her conceptualisation is therefore a 'chaotic conception' (see 2.3.4) which leads to the potential danger of compartmentalism. That is, there is a danger of equating the domestic sphere with patriarchy, rather than seeing patriarchal gender relations as inherent in the whole system. The way Bozzoli (1983) argues her case does not make this clear. Furthermore, the issue of the control of women's sexuality and fertility and its significance to the social system, is inadequately theorised in Bozzoli's (1983) framework.

A number of questions of particular relevance to urban geographers are nevertheless raised in Bozzoli's (1983) paper. For example - as regards housing policy and a stable working class - "why was the presence of wives and children seen as beneficial to capital in the case of whites, but detrimental to it in the case of blacks" (p159)? What was the impact on the urban fabric (*vis a vis* housing) when Afrikaner women were the first to leave the land and work in the towns? Bozzoli's questions raise further issues. For example, was there any significance to the fact that many people in the 'chaotic encampments' (McCarthy and Friedman, 1983) were women, not part of the industrial proletariat but involved in 'autonomous work' often centred around the home? What does it mean for single women, divorced women and women headed households when housing policy favours married men? (Cock et al, 1984; Meer, 1984).

Bozzoli (1983), only hints at an idea of different forms of reproduction of

labour power in different sectors of both the working classes and dominant classes. For example, she mentions how domestic labourers were incorporated into the minimum level of subsistence for white workers. Both the impact of domestic labour for ruling class women, and their functions with respect to the generational replacement of labour power, are noted. The effects of the tendency for domestic labour to be socialised under capitalism are also touched upon, but more specifically in relation to family households of whites say, as opposed to migrant hostels. Because Bozzoli (1983) locates her discussion within a framework that stresses the dual "domestic struggle" (one internal to the domestic sphere and one external : between the domestic sphere and external forces), she is still somehow locked into the 'family'-type category. Greater conceptual clarity might be gained from thinking of different forms of reproduction and sex/gender systems occurring within the society, and then examining how they change as a whole rather than accepting different 'family' forms as the basis for analysis. Migrant hostels for instance are excluded from a focus on domestic economy and household. 'Domestic struggle' furthermore implies that gender struggle is only confined to the household.

Before I move on to the geographically related literature that recognises gender-relations as an integral part of its analysis, I will discuss at some length the work of Joanne Yawitch. I have chosen Yawitch both because she has left an influential stamp on southern African studies, and because she is representative of those authors who are concerned about women but do not theorise patriarchal gender relations. While I do not expect Yawitch to answer everything relating to the subordinate position of, in her case-studies, African women in South Africa, I find her analytic perspective fundamentally flawed. I hope that by clarifying my problems with Yawitch's work, my own theoretical understanding as outlined

in Chapter Two will become less abstract.

In her significant study on 'The Relation between African Female Employment and Influx Control in South Africa, 1950-1983', Yawitch (1984) stressed from the outset that "questions relating to the nature of male domination" cannot be "a major focus of the study" (p1). She argues that "it is not possible to analyse in detail, issues such as those of the ideological forms of female oppression" (p1) because she is focussing specifically on the **economic** and **political** structural position of African women, with respect to South African capitalism and apartheid.

If I understand her argument correctly, she suggests that those aspects of (African) female oppression which relate specifically to 'male domination' are really 'only ideological' in form. That is, African women's economic and political position in South Africa is primarily a direct result of South African capitalism and apartheid, rather than male domination.

However, while discussing the nature of state interventions that control and structure the relationship of African women to both capital and the state, Yawitch (1984) simultaneously emphasises the enforced dependence of African women on African men: "African women have been made increasingly dependent on men for a wide variety of things - whether or not they want to be, and whether or not men are in fact prepared to provide them" (p12). These women are therefore bound "ever more tightly into a nuclear form of family and a relationship of dependence, entrenched both **ideologically** and **materially**, that is highly oppressive" (p151, my emphasis). (For other examples see pages 86, 106, 108, 112, 146 in Yawitch (1984)).

For me, there is a contradiction in Yawitch's (1984) theoretical/conceptual argument on the one hand and her empirical discussion on the other. She

appears to be **describing** the 'lived experience' of the women she has interviewed in a way which clearly illustrates that their position is determined both structurally and individually, by virtue of their simultaneous class, race and **gender** characteristics. For instance, her detailed portrayal of the differences between African women: urban - rural; permanent - migrant; working class and professional, emphasises her point that it is inadequate/inaccurate to perceive 'women' as any homogenous category.

However, at a higher degree of abstraction, in her explanation or analysis, Yawitch (1984) implies that capitalism/class and apartheid/race are the overarching and all important conceptual tools that can make sense of African women's position. At an abstract level, therefore, Yawitch (1984) fails to adequately consider the patriarchal form of gender relations which she so vividly describes at an empirical level.

If the material position that African women find themselves in is functional to the apartheid, capitalist system, it is at the same time reinforcing a particular form of gender relations (ie. patriarchal). For both a better understanding of the situation and a means of deciding on appropriate political action, these gender relations have to be more adequately theorised. In other words, Yawitch (1984) seems to imply that because a particular form of gender oppression is functional to South African capitalism, then it was also therefore produced or formed by it. This approach ignores the pre-existing social relations and the capacity for resistance and impact such relations may have had on the forms of both capitalist development and subsequent gender relations. In the process, a functionalist approach necessarily portrays women as perpetual victims. Struggles which lead to **relatively** better or worse conditions with respect to gender relations and/or capitalist relations can be

contradictory in effect. The complexity of such struggles and contradictions are also ignored in a functionalist argument.

In order to pursue Yawitch's argument more fully, I will therefore discuss in some detail her case study of women and squatting in Winterveld (Yawitch, 1981) which clearly reflects her insufficient theorisation of gender relations. This discussion might be of interest to geographers interested in 'informal settlements' and their relationships to 'urbanisation'. In her introduction Yawitch (1981) mentions the errors we need to avoid and asserts that an adequate "analysis must be able to explain the specificity of the position of black women and of **sexual oppression** without diminishing the **primacy** of class exploitation and relations of production and without ignoring the factor of racial oppression (p199, my emphasis). Yawitch (1981) does not **explicitly** say why she chooses to focus on (African) women in particular as opposed to (African) men or in relation to each other. The answer to this all-important question is only implicitly dealt with in her focus on women's specific reproductive abilities.

She suggests firstly that the "material basis of the **exploitation** of women" (with respect to what? Capitalism?) is to be "explained in terms of their reproductive role and the way in which their involvement in production is predicated on it" (Yawitch, 1981:218, my emphasis). That is, women's function under capitalism defines them as reproducers of labour power and a reserve army of labour. And secondly, "the **roots** of female **oppression** (with respect to what? Patriarchy or capitalism?) are also to be located in the reproductive sphere. For reproductive labour is privatised and domestic as opposed to social and collective" (Yawitch, 1981:218, my emphasis).

This means that in Winterveld in particular (for example) the fact that the squatter women do not have access to either the means of production or subsistence, renders them totally dependent on a male provider. Furthermore, because of high levels of unemployment and the political powerlessness of their husbands, the women therefore "bear the brunt of the frustration and aggression that their husbands are powerless to express in the workplace" (Yawitch, 1981:p219). The women then accept sexual aggression (such as rape, wife-beating, child abuse) as an immutable fact of life. This kind of behaviour and other less physically violent measures of controlling the women (eg. not allowing their wives to work) - is explained by Yawitch (1981) as "an indication of how working men, through their acceptance of the dominant (**capitalist**) **ideology** are facilitating the oppression of their women. This is also rationalised in terms of a **distorted perception** as to the nature of women's role in tribal society" (p220, my emphasis). In other words, Yawitch (1981) implies that it is primarily capitalism which facilitates these men's oppression of their women. She seems reluctant to attribute any causality to patriarchal gender relations (which are both ideological and material). In the process, she implicitly absolves the men of any responsibility for their actions and implies that an eradication of capitalism (and apartheid) is a sufficient condition for improving the position of the Winterveld women.

Similar implications are evident in her 1984 work. In explaining how African women are often of necessity forced to work Yawitch (1984:147) argues: "...their involvement in wage labour is often on an exceedingly unfavourable basis, and one which has its origins in a series of **ideological** assumptions made by capital, the state and also by **male members of the working class**" (my emphasis). The latter is glossed over: "suffice it to say that it is an issue which relates particularly to the

sexual division of labour within the household, and in particular to the sole responsibility women assume for domestic labour, whether or not they are full-time workers" (p147).

Yawitch's (1981) focus on 'male domination' as primarily ideological, leads her to the following conclusion in her discussion of the Winterveld women:

"The kinds of issues that define female oppression elsewhere - those relating to sexual oppression, rather than sexual aggression; to male chauvinism with a dynamic of its own; to the entire welter of issues relating to discrimination against women in terms of divorce-law, abortion-law etc, have not been touched on. In an important sense it is the **exclusion** of these issues from the analysis that in some way moves one towards a definition of the **specificity** of the **oppression** of black women in South Africa and Winterveld women in particular" (Yawitch, 1981:222, my emphasis).

This analysis argues that "at the most **fundamental** level" these women's experience of oppression and exploitation is due to South Africa's "historically specific form of exploitation of labour-power - that of migrant labour" (p222, my emphasis). This analysis, however, neglects to explain how male domination is a **structuring** element within South Africa's political economy.

While I would not begin to deny the significance of the role the migrant labour system has played in reinforcing and perpetuating African women's subordinate position in society, I would argue that **fundamental** to this system, in turn, is a multitude of **patriarchal**, (ideological as well as material) controls (cf. Chapter Five for more details). This distinction is significant, for in ignoring it, Yawitch (1981) fails to explain how gender social relations are an integral part of the social totality, and how they interact with other social relations.

I therefore agree with half of Yawitch's (1981) conclusion that "in essence, the most urgent concerns of black women are economic - their

oppression is experienced as an intensification of their economic exploitation as members of the working class" (p224). I disagree, however, that "the chauvinism and aggression of their men, the complaints about the way in which their men have forgotten their responsibilities, are all a consequence of the form of the capitalist division of labour which has been imposed upon them. It is **only** the abolition of this and all its refinements that can alter their material situation in any sense" (p224, my emphasis).

We can see therefore that while Yawitch (1981) does describe the material, structural and individual power that the men of Winterveld have over the women, she appears to be reluctant to acknowledge any kind of theoretical / explanatory power to patriarchal gender relations. Her problem is that she sees these powers as only ideological and not **material** (eg. control over sexuality, fertility etc.). Perhaps her reluctance stems from her seeming rejection of the contemporary feminist focus on sexual politics or sexual power relations initiated by the 'radical feminists'. Her focus on patriarchal control as only ideological is also a problem of structural functionalism.

Yawitch's (1981) emphasis on 'differences' between women seems to imply that she rejects any notion of women as a specifically oppressed group: hence her rejection and denial of the specificity of patriarchal gender relations in her study. She can therefore reduce patriarchal relations to economic ones, functional to the reproduction of capitalism. However, the crucial point to note is that while there are definitely material and class differences between women, there are **also** distinctly different material relations and positions between women and men - particularly **within** specific race and class groupings. It is these relations which Yawitch chooses to gloss over in her theory and analysis.

The implications of such a denial loom large. Firstly, while it may be near impossible (for economic reasons) for Winterveld women to leave their husbands/men who beat them, this ignores the fact that in other situations middle-class women who are economically independent do **not** always leave the violent circumstances they find themselves in. Also ignored is the fact that women who are not living with men are not necessarily free of patriarchal gender relations. Secondly, while the material/economic conditions of African women will never improve within a highly exploitative economic system, there is no guarantee that they will automatically improve in any other (particularly a socialist) economic order either (cf. Molyneux, 1981). Nazzari's (1983) discussion of Cuba and Jaquith's (1986) on abortion in Nicaragua are acute illustrations of how women have to wage a battle on all three fronts - against racism, capitalism and patriarchy together for their material positions to improve.

As Alison Jaggar (1983) claims, women require a change in the mode of production **as well as** a change in the mode of procreation! That is, the way women have to challenge the oppressive and exploitative structures of South African capitalism, has to be from their **gender specific** position. For many African women their economic dependence on men makes it extremely difficult to struggle with patriarchal gender relations on an individual level - (except there are those women who are simply 'dumped', and those who can afford it are opting not to get married - see Buijs (1983), Preston-Whyte (1978), van der Vliet (1984) and Yawitch (1984) herself on Soweto). At a more structural level, African women would ideally benefit from a **particularly** structured mode of production that comprises a specific mode of procreation and reproduction.

If the insidiousness of the way in which these patriarchal gender relations

are interfused with capitalist and racist social relations are not adequately assessed **theoretically**, then it will be even more difficult at a practical level to either attack them or ultimately change the structures that keep women subordinate. Some of these criticisms made in relation to Yawitch (1981, 1984) have been/are being met, but, from a geographical perspective, in a limited way.

Helen Bradford (1984) for example, begins to address some of the issues in a historical context. Her paper is one of the few local works which refuses to conflate patriarchal relations with those of class exploitation and national oppression. Her analysis of the women's beer protests in 1929 is therefore an excellent illustration of double-gendered vision. It grapples with how racist and capitalist social relations and patriarchal gender-relations intermesh to form a complex web.

Bradford (1984) has managed to weave many diverse components into her analysis. For instance, insights include those relating to the social construction of gender, gender-differentiated legal controls, economic opportunities, relationships to political protest and organisations and behaviour with respect to violence and militarism; sexual violence/harassment; the ideological role of religion and missionaries and the creation of 'free' spaces for women's unity; internal household conflicts over resources; relationships between women existing outside of wage-labour relations to working-class men and state implemented practices related to beer monopolies and housing.

Other literature dealing with the contemporary period which has focused specifically on gender struggles includes Mikki van Zyl's (1986), and Ingrid Vining and Amanda Kleeberg's (1986) research on domestic violence. These studies raise some interesting questions for geographers and

planners. For instance, housing policy and housing shortages can be experienced in qualitatively different ways by women and by men. For example, those women who are dependant on men for shelter, have little or no recourse to leaving a situation of severe domestic violence.

We clearly need far more detailed research in the South African context on the role that housing has played in producing or reproducing a certain role for women within different 'family' forms.(2) How does our society define and create housing needs? How is housing allocated and provided to structure or exclude specific forms of household? For example, does the availability of a certain kind of **physical** space (eg. communes) enhance certain women's abilities to be 'independent' and pursue feminist lifestyles? Is the land and housing shortage in certain areas instrumental in preventing the development of a feminist consciousness for other groups of women? What does all this mean for progressive, urban struggles, for social change and housing demands? We need a South African analysis that explores more thoroughly how it is that "houses are not simply bricks and mortar". In what ways do they "play a central part in how we live our lives" (Watson and Austerberry, 1986:3)?

Another issue that has plagued progressive South African analysts and activists alike, geographers included, is the relationship between so-called work place or trade-union struggles and so-called living place or community struggles. In focusing on the 'double-shift' that is the tiresome lot of most women workers, the editors of Southern Africa Report (1986:7) have made a provocative suggestion.

"Women workers with one foot in the 'productive sphere', the other in the 'reproductive realm' of household, cost of living, education and community, are best placed to understand the implications of broadening the reach of working class struggles beyond the factory floor to take up issues that effect working class life more generally. Women are thus likely to be the ones

promoting the collaboration of trade unions and community organisations...."

This hypothesis clearly needs to be tested with rigorous empirical research. It raises serious questions about political struggles currently being waged - for instance, who participates? Who leads? Who makes decisions? The percentage of women in leadership and decision-making positions is generally low, although it appears as if many women are particularly militant and involved in struggles on the ground (cf. Beall et.al. 1987). What does this mean for the theoretical debates around these issues, for the developing of practical democracy and for the relationship between 'leaders' and 'led'? For example, it is often precisely because of the 'double-shift' that many women do not have the time to participate in trade union or community organisations on a daily and ongoing basis. If the issue of shared household labour for instance is not forcefully addressed by the working class organisations, it is questionable how many women will be in a position to promote 'collaboration'. Moreover, women activists have been known to complain about husbands who refuse to let them attend meetings. Husbands have suggested for instance, that their wives use this time for sexual liaisons (cf FOSATU (1984), SACHED (1984)). In other words, it is clear, as illustrated by the summary of Jaggar (1983) in Chapter Two, that women's sexual beings, as wives, mothers, childrears and as members of organisations, are all fundamentally interconnected. These interconnections need to be actively considered by political theory as well as practice: as much to recognise the conditions which inhibit women's participation as to develop strategies that will confront some of the obstacles.

A second point that needs to be considered is that although the percentage of African women in the 'formal' labour force has risen steadily in the

last 30 years, they are still only a small minority of the African labour force (only 12,8% of African women were employed in production work in 1982 (Yawitch, 1983:86)). The majority of African women live in the rural areas (bantustans) or in resettlement camps (Platzky and Walker, 1985). How are they to participate in building a future democracy? Finally, it appears as if women and men are involved in 'violent' struggles in different ways. This also needs to be tested empirically, and if necessary the implications of 'communities' being divided along gender lines, assessed.

Cole (1986) for example, provides a tentative analysis of some of these issues in Crossroads 'squatter' camp. She has argued that a

" narrow focus on the workplace for the attainment of class consciousness becomes increasingly inappropriate in capitalist societies where the marginalised labour force is increasing. It does not acknowledge family and community roles as alternative bases for the development of political activity and consciousness... As a result of struggles within these spheres - away from the point of production - women are beginning to create their own patterns of emancipation from all levels of oppression" (Cole, 1986:52).

Cole's (1986) work in fact falls within the 'new-wave' gender-sensitive studies that have relevance for geographers. Some examples from such literature will be discussed in the following section of the chapter.

3.4 'NEW WAVE' GENDER-SENSITIVE LITERATURE PERTINENT TO GEOGRAPHERS

Since 1984 there seems to have been an increased acceptance among some local academics of the need to consider patriarchal gender relations as an integral part of the totality of social relations. Hence, recently published work that addresses race, class and gender is somehow more prepared than previously to explore the unpleasant facts of the at times gender-divided African and working class communities. The precise reasons for this are unclear. A certain legitimacy perhaps has been found

partially in the growing articulation by (African) working class women of 'internal' gender conflict (ie especially within race/class groupings).(3)

In this section of the chapter I will briefly examine the newly published articles by Josette Cole (1986) on Crossroads, and Mamphela Ramphele (1986) on migrant hostels. I will then make some cursory comments about the unpublished work of John Sharp and Andrew Spiegel (1986) on inter-household conflict in farm and bantustan households; and Collette Pudifin and Sarah Ward (1986) on gender and industrial decentralisation.

In her paper on 'Women and Squatting in the Western Cape', Cole (1986) has begun to explore why it is "that the struggle of so-called squatters and women has been so interlinked historically" (p6). For Cole, **African women's resistance** to state control over both productive and reproductive roles "has been a consistent feature of the **class struggle** in South Africa" (p7, my emphasis). This study is one of the best published accounts I have seen of a contemporary political issue. While it primarily isolates "particular trends and processes, specifically as they relate to 'illegals' and women" (p8), this study simultaneously highlights the complexity of broader urbanisation questions in a new way. Cole (1986) discusses the way in which race, class and gender relations have combined to create the specific conditions that led Mrs N of Crossroads to say: "it was really us - the women - who were really feeling the pain" (p21). Some of the elements which are woven into the analysis include the women's differential access to employment and accommodation; their struggles with the local state and with the men of Crossroads; their desire to educate their children and their well-organised and creative resistance.

The struggle within Crossroads, (ie. that between men and women) operates at "the domestic level" (p54) for Cole (1986) and "therefore demands not

only a class, but a feminist interpretation". I would go further to argue that the total structural position of these women requires a materialist feminist analysis, not just at the domestic level. As was outlined in the previous theoretical chapter, there is sexual oppression in all spheres of their lives, not just in the 'family' or "their own domestic sphere" (Cole, 1986:57). Geographers or planners who are concerned with comprehending the contemporary phenomena of informal settlements and squatter resistances will find much of value in this paper by Cole. It is a good beginning for developing a sense of how an analysis that integrates gender can enhance if not transform our understanding.

Ramphele (1986) is, like Cole (1986), concerned with housing and gender relations within the South African context. Her focus is on the problems of gender relations in the Western Cape Hostels. Although this is a short article which is more of a preliminary survey than an in-depth analysis, it raises some important points. The state's role in reinforcing the dependence of African women on men for example, is made very clear in the hostel context. Ramphele (1986) suggests that "the particular class position of the men in the hostels seems to be significant in creating the specific context of the oppression experienced by women in these hostels" (p15).

She also attempts to link gender relations to the totality of power relations in society. Two examples of this are 1) the relationship between hostels and overall labour control (racist, capitalist and patriarchal power relations); and 2) the use and perpetuation of the system of headmen and chiefs ('patriarchal' power relations). Ramphele's (1986) emphasis on power relations as a whole leads her to question the "rhetoric about people's democracy" (p24) and to conclude that "there are no short-cuts to the evolution of alternative power relations" (p24).

Once again, those geographers who are researching housing, community struggles; and struggles over 'urban issues', will find useful ideas in Ramphela (1986) on how gender makes a difference to the total analysis. For instance, it is suggested that hostel dwellers perceive township dwellers as relatively privileged and this affects their behavioural patterns. Moreover, these distinctions are gender-differentiated. Urbanised women and rural wives of hostel dwellers often compete with each other.

Sharp and Spiegel's (1986) unpublished seminar paper would be of particular value to those geographers interested in relocation and resettlement. Their research is especially useful for its documentation of some aspects of the "historical and regional variation in the broad system of labour migration" (p2). The focus of their paper: inter-household conflict (or 'domestic struggle') and the changing nature of patriarchal control, in their two research areas has clearly been influenced by Bozzoli (1983). Their investigation of the nature of personal relationships and men's control over women (especially wives) is discussed in relation to family; household and the kinds of employment opportunities available in the two areas. The intersections of what is commonly seen as 'the personal' context with 'the political' context (ie. the changing labour process on the white farms; entrenched labour migration and state-imposed resettlement schemes) are made vividly explicit.

The different and historically changing material conditions existing in both QwaQwa and Matatiele, are for Sharp and Spiegel (1986) of central importance in understanding the women's experience of resistance to patriarchal authority. Their analysis therefore, graphically illustrates Massey's (1984:53) point that : "geography in both its senses, of distance/nearness/betweeness and of the physical variation of the earth's

surface (the two being closely related) is not a constraint on a pre-existing non-geographical social and economic world. It is constitutive of that world."

The main difficulty with Sharp and Spiegel's (1986) analysis is that they seem to view 'patriarchal authority' as only control by individual men over individual women. I find this perception problematic because a study of patriarchal gender relations would need to go beyond individual's control and resistance. This is not to deny, of course, that there is 'individual experience' of such relations. It is also necessary to show how these relations have intersected with capitalist and racist social relations to become embedded in the very fabric of the total society.

Their current paper contains the elements/data for such an analysis, but the conceptual side is undeveloped. For instance, I would argue that patriarchal gender relations are a **fundamental** part of the women's lives and material circumstances in QwaQwa. "Patriarchal authority" did not just add "to their hardships" (ie. lack of resources and past experiences on white-owned farms, pl4). It was a crucial part of the mechanisms creating the conditions that maintain these hardships. Take for example women who are independent of men. They may be able to resist certain forms of patriarchal controls at an individual level, but remain subordinate with respect to others at a more structural level. These kinds of contradictions need to be accounted for theoretically.

Pudifin and Ward (1986) in their unpublished joint town planning masters dissertation make a bold attempt at analysing just how centrally integrated patriarchal gender relations are to industrial decentralisation. They focus on Isithebe in KwaZulu as a case-study. This work is more than a corrective 'women and' study. Although the authors claim they did not have

sufficient time or money to ask men similar questions to those they asked the women, they do try to examine women's lives in their entirety. Hence, in a case study on industrial location, they have simultaneously considered both 'home' and 'work' lives. The effects of the social construction of gender are analysed and they are at pains to illustrate that for the women these two 'spheres' are not always so separate.

Patriarchal gender relations are shown to form a crucial part of the labour process within the factories; of wage determination; of housing allocation as well as individual men:women relationships. They outline some aspects of the historical development of why women should be found in the border areas; of why women are a cheap labour source and of the role that gender hierarchies play in the national and international division of labour. In this way they begin to grapple with some of the unanswered questions left by Martin and Rogerson (1984).

A commitment to 'feminist research' meant that Pudifin and Ward both tried to present the women workers' perspective of Isithebe and to make explicit the ways in which 'the personal is political'. They furthermore suggest that their research led them to initiate contact between the women workers and various women's organisations and trade unions. Such commitment to research 'subjects' is part of what Andrew Sayer (1984) calls 'emancipatory' research and is one illustration of how the object/subject dichotomy can be broken down.

Their interview material could perhaps have been better used and explored in greater depth. There are also problems with the overall structure, and the **contradictory** effects of industrial decentralisation on women's lives is insufficiently recognised. Nevertheless, this dissertation is a pathbreaker. The authors' theoretical recognition of patriarchal gender

relations; their problematisation of the social construction of gender; their focus on the personal as well as the working lives of their research subjects and their commitment to emancipatory research, render it a valuable contribution to a South African feminist geography.

3.5 SYNTHESIS

In sum, I have focused in this chapter on some specifically South African geographical and other gender-conscious social science literature. The androcentric bias in much local geography has been highlighted, together with its insufficient cognisance of the growing body of local literature which deals with race, class and **gender**. A sample of this gender-conscious literature was reviewed with the aim of directing geographers to new questions and assisting in cracking their androcentric shield. In particular, I have argued that we need to take theoretical and empirical consideration of the social construction of gender, historical changes in gender relations and their expression in space. In addition, I have suggested that in the local context, a patriarchal form of gender relations needs to be understood in conjunction with racial and capitalist social relations.

In the following two chapters I will present some illustrative material on certain aspects of the historical development of Durban. I attempt to flesh out some of the theoretical arguments raised in Chapters One and Two as well as answer some of the questions raised in this chapter. Ultimately, however, the questions increase, while the solutions remain few!

3.6 FOOTNOTES

1. Notable exceptions that do begin to grapple with the position and role of white women in 'white' dominated South Africa are:
 - a) Cock (1980b);
 - b) Van-Helten and Williams (1983);
 - c) Van Onselen (1982a);
 - d) Walker (1979).

Beall's (1982) unpublished Masters Thesis and Gaitskell's (1981) unpublished Phd are also significant contributions. (A number of honours and masters students at the University of Natal are also researching the position of Indian workers from a feminist perspective.)

Throughout this thesis, unless when citing secondary sources, I have used the term 'African' to refer to African women living in Natal. I have used it instead of the term 'black', because I think the latter is more appropriately used when referring to a broad black grouping - namely Africans, Indians and so-called coloureds. The differential experiences and definition of African women vis a vis the South African statutes (eg. influx laws) makes this distinction necessary.

2. Elsabe Brink's (1985) paper on the lives of garment workers on the Witwatersrand, for instance, explores some of the links between hostel accommodation and the protection/control of white (Afrikaner) women: "It is evident that these hostels were intended to fulfil a distinct social function to ensure the moral protection of young and innocent women at danger of becoming exposed to immoral forces lurking in the slums" (p2).

Susan Parnell's (1987) forthcoming Masters dissertation also details some of the ways in which white single women were housed. It was primarily single women who were given access to hostel 'space'. Moreover, during the late 1930's and 1940's, it was possible for single women with **dependents** (even if unmarried) to get access to council housing. These kinds of facts are important stepping stones for helping us understand the complex interactions of race, class, gender and urban form. (See Chapter Five for some discussion of how single African women had/have virtually no access to 'formal' accommodation in the cities at all).

3. See for instance Bird (1985); Forrest and Jochelson (1986); Fosatu booklet on Women Workers (1984); SALB (1983); SACHED (1984).

CHAPTER 4

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF GENDER - HISTORICALLY CHANGING MEANINGS
OF WHITE FEMININITY AND MASCULINITY IN DURBAN 1910 - 1980.

"Men do not have absolute power in a patriarchal situation - gender relations like class relations are characterised by struggle and resistances" (Game and Pringle, 1984:141).

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In the first three chapters I outlined and contextualised some of the concepts that are central to a feminist paradigm. From a critique of androcentric knowledge in general, I went on to discuss in some detail the more recent debates in socialist-feminist social theory. In light of this background I then focused more particularly on feminism and geography. Trends in both the international and the local geographic literature were commented on, via a selective review of contemporary work. Lastly, I presented some of the more important developments in the South African debate on race, class and gender. The relationship between the latter literature and the concerns of local geographers was specifically noted.

In this chapter and in Chapter Five some of the theoretical issues outlined previously will be illustrated with respect to a particular unique instance. Selective material pertaining to the development of Durban is utilised. This material shows how an analysis of society and/or urban form is greatly enhanced, if not transformed, when the relative autonomy of gender relations is recognised. More specifically, the social construction of gender roles; the historically changing nature of gender relations and the particular form of patriarchal gender relations are emphasised. These points are discussed in relation to the white middle class in Chapter Four and the African working classes in Chapter Five.

I therefore use Durban as an empirical study in order to integrate and apply some of the more general feminist insights with South African geography. I have made the social construction of gender and the interaction of gender relations with racist and capitalist social relations central to this synthesis.

As explained in the introduction, when I began this study there were no secondary texts which explored the changes in women's and men's lives in Durban. It was therefore impossible for me to develop an understanding of the precise relationship between changes in gender relations and changes in urban form. Unlike British or American feminist geographers who had a wealth of general feminist sociological literature to draw upon, I had virtually none. Hence, this chapter is largely 'aspatial' - simply being a first stepping stone towards a more comprehensive geographical analysis. In order to begin developing an understanding of changes of gender relations in Durban, I decided to use the material I had collected from the **Natal Mercury** newspaper. This newspaper is one which reflects white liberal capitalist interests in a general sense. It is acknowledged that class formation is not static and the **Natal Mercury** may have represented different fractional interests at different times in the seventy year study period (Beall, 1986). I have assumed, nevertheless, that the dominant media image portrayed related most closely to the lives of the white bourgeoisie. Hence, in this chapter, I have limited myself to discussing changes in social meanings, the social construction of gender and changes in socio-economic conditions pertinent to the white middle class.

Initially I outline how I selected advertisements from the **Natal Mercury** and why I have chosen to use them as empirical data. I then contextualise

my analysis in relation to other analyses of advertising and of "women in the media". Finally, I reference select advert illustrations, relevant theory and statistical data to outline the macro trends and dominant features of the period 1910-1980.

I have chosen to use the advertisements as empirical data for two main reasons. Firstly, they provide a certain continuity over the period. Secondly, they "are selling us something else besides consumer goods: in providing us with a structure in which we, and those goods, are interchangeable, they are selling us ourselves" (Williamson, 1978:13). It is precisely because "advertising expresses a wider social and cultural world than can be accounted for in terms of specific messages about specific products" (Millum, 1975:11), that I think it is a useful source for investigating historically changing social meanings. John Berger(1972:132), for instance, has already argued that "publicity is about social relations, not objects". He has shown how publicity increasingly uses sexuality to sell any product or service and how it "interprets the world"(Berger,1972:149).

The **Natal Mercury** is one of the oldest daily newspapers in the country and for most of the century had the largest circulation of all news media in Natal. Before the advent of contemporary womens' magazines(1) in the 1960's and television in the 1970's, newspapers were the most widely read print media. For this reason, newspapers serve as the best example of advertising throughout the period (Tomaselli, 1986; Wilks, 1977). Although the paper itself experienced many changes as an industry, its ownership remained in the hands of the Robinson family - bastions of support for British colonialism and, later, 'liberal' capitalism. The advantages of this continuity seemed important in selecting the adverts I would use as empirical data.

4.2 METHODOLOGY

The advertisements which inform much of this chapter were simultaneously collected with any articles referencing Durban and its development. The years 1910-1980 were chosen since they mark the period of the city's greatest growth. Fourteen issues of the **Natal Mercury** newspaper were randomly selected from each year in the study period as a whole. The final sample is therefore both stratified (ie. by time), and random and constitutes four and a half percent of the possible universe. This size was ultimately defined by the constraints of field research time available and accepted statistical norms for sampling. The advantage of such a data base is that the coverage of time on the one hand and randomness on the other allows for generalisations over fairly broad time periods. Given that gender relations change relatively slowly, the identification of long term trends was preferable.

For any one edition, all advertisements and newspaper articles which referenced social attitudes or practices relating to gender were noted. It must be observed that the "'concept-dependent' nature of social phenomena" (Sayer, 1984:31), no doubt implies that my own social construction as a woman and my personal/political feminist consciousness, influenced this choice. In order to avoid duplication, repeated adverts were deleted from the sample. A total of approximately three hundred adverts eventually comprised the final data base that was used for analysis. The historical analysis of changing gender meanings has been based primarily on the advertisement meanings. A considerable amount of additional empirical material is contained in the footnotes in order not to disrupt the flow of a complex argument. The text itself is illustrated with a selection of adverts which epitomised or particularly portrayed the respective gender

social meanings of any one 'era' within the seventy year period. These illustrations can be found in Appendix 4.1, in the folder at the back of the thesis.

In the following section, some of the literature that analyses women and sexism in the media is briefly reviewed in order to contextualise the analysis of the empirical data.

4.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

Most of the literature dealing with the analysis of 'cultural' and/or 'ideological' production is concerned with the analysis of texts. Specific problems for analysis include how meaning is produced within texts (and visuals); how biological individuals become social subjects; how those subjects are fixed in positions of knowledge in relation to language and representation; and how they are interpolated within specific ideological discourses. Theories of semiotics, psychoanalysis and ideology are all central to this discourse (cf. Grimshaw, 1980; Hall et.al., 1980; Merck, 1979).

The available literature that concerns itself with women in the media, does not, as far as I am aware, provide any **historical** analyses of why the current social presentations of women and men should be what they are. Rather, it tends to focus primarily on the contemporary period (eg 1965 onwards) and on adverts in so-called womens' magazines. Erving Goffman (1979) examines gender in a relational sense (ie. women and men), asserting that gender specifications are culturally prescribed and produced. His work nevertheless, remains descriptive rather than explanatory and is confined to latter day illustrations. Trevor Millum (1975) concentrates on images of women only, and thus on what it means to

be 'feminine' - but again he is not concerned with the historical transformation of these images as much as developing a classificatory system for deciphering such images. Mieke Ceulemans and Guido Fauconnier (1979) review research materials relating to the image, role and social conditions of women only. They do move beyond description, but their study remains brief and again limited to recent times.

With specific reference to advertisements, Judith Williamson (1978), for example, argues that they "provide a structure which is capable of transforming the language of objects to that of people and vice versa"(p12). In her book she examines, firstly, how this structure functions, and secondly what the systems and things are that it transforms. These "referent systems" (p19), which provide the adverts with their basic 'meaning' material, draw their significance from areas outside of advertising. Williamson's (1978) acute perceptions are useful in 'decoding' advertisements in general, as artefacts of capitalism, but other than scattered references to gender and sexuality (cf.p57; ppl68-170), she is mainly concerned with 'deconstructing' the internal workings of the adverts themselves. Her analysis is cogent in its explanation of how adverts come to be so effective, and their role in 'constructing' consumers. Janet Winship (1980) expands on Williamson (1978) to discuss "some elements of an ideology of sexuality" (p219) as an important aspect of femininity in contemporary advertising. Her analysis is noteworthy for its investigation of how femininity is constructed in a contradictory way, and of how it is masculinised "by the commodity form to create a dependence both on men and commodities" (p220). She also elaborates the modes "in which we, as readers, are inescapably ensnared in the signification processes and in those modes of femininity" (p220).

Frenkel et. al. (1979) provide one specifically South African example which

proposes a critical theory of sexism in advertising. Again, their concern is contemporary and tends to focus mainly on women and their role as consumers in capitalist society. Their study specifically focuses on the purpose and working of 'family' ideology, why the ideology is so pervasive, and how adverts function conservatively in relation to it. 'Family' ideology then is their specific starting point, rather than gender relations *per se*. In consequence they do not illustrate the historical transformations of such gender relations to explain how sexism in advertising has emerged to what it is today.

In summary, the authors examined above are all primarily concerned with contemporary advertising. When their central focus is 'sexism' it is either done in a descriptive mode, or it tends to look mainly at women rather than at gender. The bulk of the analytical literature has been particularly interested in the internal structure of advertising and how it works. In this chapter I have assumed what these authors have shown. Namely, that advertising utilises aspects of the 'real world' in its marketing of commodities, such that these aspects are re-presented to us in a new image. This image is produced in the sign system itself. As such, I acknowledge the importance of understanding the increasing sophistication of the internal systems of advertisements themselves. For example: technique, lay-out, graphic-text, juxtaposition, etc., need to be considered in relation to changing technology *vis a vis* the newspaper medium in particular and the printing and graphics industries in general. However, it is on the transformations in the meanings and portrayal of social actors, that I have chosen to concentrate my analysis in this chapter. That is, I have been more interested in looking at the historical development of aspects of the advertisements "referent systems" (Williamson, 1978:19). Those meanings and systems external to, yet drawn into the work of the advert itself, have been the object of my concern,

rather than the semiotics of how adverts come to be as effective as they are.

While other theorists such as John Berger(1972) have argued for the necessity of focusing on advertisements in a historically specific way, my research is innovative in the South African context. My focus on historical changes in social meanings that are both reflected and created in the adverts over a seventy year time period, allow me to explore precisely what has led to the 'contemporary' images. The latter can then be seen in a broader context, as representations which are linked to "historically constituted real relations" (Barrett, 1980:92). The image of 'women as sex objects/commodities' would not then be seen in isolation and as the **only** image we have of women in the media.

4.4 GENDER RELATIONS OVER THE PERIOD 1910 – 1980.

In this section I emphasise in my discussion, the changes over time in the **social relations of gender**. That is, I have **not** ordered my material according to a variety of **themes** (eg. woman as 'mother'; 'housewife'; 'sex-object' or man as 'husband'; 'breadwinner'; 'macho he-man'), or tasks that different people perform or, indeed, products/commodities that include any of these. Rather, I incorporate all these different aspects of what it means (in advertisements) to be a woman/feminine or a man/masculine into a more general interpretation of **gender** as a **social power relation**. I am less interested in the fact that certain behaviours or tasks seem to remain constant over the period, and more concerned with how they are 'presented' in a new way, and with how the material conditions and social relations under which they occur are different.

Ann Game and Rosemary Pringle (1984), for instance, use the dynamic nature of the sexual division of labour to illustrate that while the **content** of womens' work and men's work is subject to **change**, it is the **distinction** between their work that remains **fixed**. They argue that gender "is not just about difference but about power: the domination of men and the subordination of women. This power relation is maintained by the creation of distinctions between male and female spheres - and it is the reproduction of these distinctions which accounts for the persistence of the so-called 'naturalness' of it all" (p16). In the following section, I attempt to illustrate how this power relation is maintained during the seventy year period I have isolated for analysis.

For purposes of clarity and manageability, I have divided the seventy year period into three broad eras - 1910-1930; 1931-1960; 1961-1980. This division is not intended as a fixed periodisation. Rather, I see a metamorphosis occurring whereby the contrasts between the first and the last 'eras' are most visible. These two 'eras' will therefore be discussed in the greatest detail. Illustrations from the transitional period will hopefully provide a sense of the movement and fluctuation that occurs with respect to gender meanings and social relations. Factors which I have considered important in my discussion include: (a) the nature of household labour (eg. production vs consumption); (b) the relationship between sexuality and procreation; (c) the legal, political and economic position of women in society at any one specific point in time; (d) gender struggles and changes in capitalist development(2).

There are a number of significant defining characteristics that can be identified with respect to the first twenty years of the period under discussion - 1910-1930. One of the most glaring features is that many white middle-class women who were married, were at this time involved in

'productive' activities within the home. Even if they had black domestic workers (at this stage male)(3), white middle-class women would still have to be involved in **producing** household goods for consumption. To a large extent, items such as clothes(4), jams, bottled preserves etc. were produced by the housewife. Without certain technological aids like irons and vacuum cleaners general household labour, as in cleaning, ironing and washing of clothes, was difficult and was **seen** as 'hard-work'. This labour was officially acknowledged as labour (in the 1911 census 74.8% of white women, excluding 'dependents' and 'indefinites'; were classified under 'occupation' as 'performing household duties'). Hence such labour was not invisible, even though it was never considered for, or calculated as part of the official statistics on the economy.. Production of household goods was productive labour in the sense that it produced use-value for consumption in the home. It was not, however, productive labour within the context of the capitalist mode of production. That is, the labour of women who work outside the market is unpaid and does not produce surplus-value or profit(Jaggar, 1983).

The social value attached to this household labour (because it was hard and skilled) gave these women a certain status or respect and meaning in life. While they never had political status or rights (ie. the franchise) they performed a very definite role, which was seen as important. At the same time men also had a specific role - namely that of breadwinner and head of household. Marriage was overtly a labour- contract. Gittins (1985:77) cites Leonard (1980) who argues:

"we need to see marriage as a particular form of **labour** relationship between men and women, whereby a woman pledges for life (with limited rights to quit) her labour, sexuality, and reproductive capacity, and receives protection, upkeep, and certain rights to children. A husband who fails to provide adequately for his dependants is seen as failing to keep a contract in the same way as a wife who fails to take care of husband, home and children. Caring for husband, children and home is **implicitly** seen as the job a woman undertakes - albeit

unpaid - by marrying, and her failure to carry out these duties can be grounds for divorce or for losing her children" (my emphasis).

Furthermore, the value placed on women/wives as producers and managers in the home, was perhaps greater in Natal than in Britain. The former had just moved out of the Colonial period where the ratio of women to men was small. British women were encouraged to immigrate and were soon absorbed into matrimony by 'keen male colonists' (Beall, 1982; Van-Helten and Williams, 1983).

The woman was almost an extension of her husbands' being. Even though she derived a certain worth from the hard household labour and productive activity that she engaged in, as well as her ability to bear children and 'mother', her **identity** was subsumed under her husbands. In this way her position was relatively secure. That is, she did not need to 'sell' herself via her beauty as much, as via her **function**. This clear definition of roles, tasks, duties, and obligations was by and large **accepted** at that time, and there was little blatant challenge between women and men(5). The nature and duty of household labour is clearly visible in the adverts A2; A3. In none of these early illustrations do women and men **appear** in the same advert, even though a certain product may be indirectly aimed at both genders (eg A4). References to women either show them **in** the home, as housewife (eg A6); mother (eg A7) or concerned with beauty (eg A8) and appearance (A5). While references to men always show them **outside** the home, as 'brain' workers who suffer from 'excessive mental strain' (eg A9i); 'civilised' (eg A9ii) or involved in business or leisure (eg A10)(6). The mothers role with respect to children in these years is portrayed more as a nurse/carers than as a teacher/educator. This is perhaps because there was a presence (though diminishing) of governesses. The latter were either immigrants or

unmarried daughters who could safely teach/work in the home (Beall, 1982). Alternatively, the lack of emphasis on mother as educator could have been because the church played an important role in education. The focus of the adverts is not on the children at this stage but on the nursing/healing mother (also see *Natal Mercury*, 9/3/1921 and 20/11/1924 adverts for baby products).

The 'connection' between women and men is somehow assumed and **taken for granted**. It is never made explicit or blatant in the adverts. Furthermore, it is interesting to observe that while an important aspect of the relationship between procreation and sexuality has always "been posed as much closer for women than men" (Barrett, 1980:69), at this stage the two were virtually synonymous. Discussions in the newspaper relating to 'women' and sexuality, morality, contraception and birth control clinics appear with increasing intensity only from the late 1920's into the early 1930's (see *Natal Mercury*: 20/3/1926; 3/1/1926; 24/10/1929; 8/1/1931; 28/3/1932; 7/3/1933; 11/7/1933; 2/11/1933; 9/7/1934). A scarcity of adequate contraceptives; a certain 'reverential' attitude towards sex and sexuality and a widespread ignorance and lack of 'free' discussion around these subjects meant that womens' sexuality was primarily defined as 'reproductive' (ie. with a certain function), rather than as something separate in and of itself (for 'pleasure', for instance). Ironically, ideologies of 'motherhood' and 'domesticity' "admit to no sexuality even though premised on reproductive sexuality" (Winship, 1980:220)(7).

Moreover, while adverts for face creams and soaps (for example) emphasised a womans' beauty and even vanity (eg A4; A8), they had qualities which would ostensibly enhance her 'purity'; 'freshness'; 'naturalness'; or 'clean looks'. The associations of 'natural' with woman were at that stage very clearly linked to her reproductive capacities, as adverts for

Feluna Pills show (eg All). The equivalence of womens' sexuality with procreation meant that women were viewed primarily as reproducers. They carried and bore children, they reared them (as mothers) and they made sure that the goods necessary for daily maintenance and re-generation of the labour force (potential children and current husbands) were provided. There was very little opportunity to view these women as individuals in their own right. Their economic/productive functions as mothers and/or domestic housekeepers were set firmly within the marriage labour contract. What it meant to be a woman or a man was more aligned with practical roles and functions than it was with personal sexual identities.

In sum then, the home was in many senses still a productive unit. Although the development of capitalism generated an increased schism between household productive labour and re-production (biological and generational) on the one hand, and so-called economically active productive labour (in the factories and offices) on the other, there was a strong material basis for the white middle-class family form to remain. Firstly, relatively few women worked for wages (only 15.3% of all enumerated white women in Durban were classified as employed in 1911); secondly, gender role divisions within the family were largely unchallenged; thirdly, the economic foundations of marriage were clear and in large measure necessary (in fact marriage was seen as a trade - (Hamilton,1981), and the widespread commoditisation of goods and services that we need for individualised survival were not yet available); fourthly, there was a virtual synonymy of procreation and sexuality which specified women as primarily 'reproducers'; fifthly women had no political status or rights.

While the family may have served emotional and sexual needs of its members, its economic basis was blatant, necessary and acknowledged. Gender power

and social relations were established, therefore, in terms of clearly demarcated **social** roles and functions as defined by the (social) division of labour based on (biological) sex. This **sexual** division of labour then meant that woman/femininity was defined in terms of 'motherhood' (reproductive sexuality and nurturance); 'domesticity' (household production and maintenance labour); and a 'look' that was 'pure'; 'natural'; 'fresh' and ultimately demure. So a white middle-class feminine woman, would be both gentle and capable; 'soft', 'dainty' and accepting of her position, function, role and duty as a wife and as a mother. By contrast, white middle-class men/masculinity were characterised as 'civilised'; 'rational'; gentlemanly and as providers for women. Gender social relations were clearly demarcated and not obscured. Woman's place was firmly within the home and men's within the world. They both had definite roles to fulfil which determined their worth and status - yet men were the providers and the household **heads** - in control. The letters written by a Byrne settler to her sister in the United Kingdom confirm this definition of white women in the immediate post-colonial period in Natal (cf. Gordon, 1970). The men, however, were not only required to be the perfect English gentlemen as described above, but also 'pioneering' and 'rugged' (cf. Gordon, 1970 and Hattersley 1940; 1950).

During these twenty years, however, there were significant changes in the South African political economy, which did not leave gender relations untouched. While educational and employment/economic opportunities were still fairly restrictive for white women, there were signs of change. Industrial growth during World War I, (8) provided increased employment possibilities for everyone, including women, and by the mid twenties "clerical and typing work had outstripped teaching as the largest area of white female employment" (Walker, 1982:17). Mariotti (1980:98) has furthermore pointed out, that whereas between 1921 and 1936 all production

workers increased one and a half times, white women production workers increased three times. In Durban, the clothing and textiles industries in particular, demanded women workers. For instance, in 1923-24, white women comprised 14,5% of all workers in textiles in Durban and Pinetown, and in 1925-26, 44,6% (see 9th and 11th industrial censuses).

Those women from the more privileged strata of society, who had leisure time and access to education had begun (as early as 1902) to organise as suffragists. It was only when more (white) women had moved into greater public employment and higher education that the struggle for the enfranchisement of women increased in momentum. Although the local suffrage movement was closely linked to the changing position of women and the international suffragists, the specific timing and the scope of the legislation that finally 'gave' (white) South African women the right to vote had less to do with womens' rights than with the removal of black rights (ie. it was expedient for the government of the day). The suffrage movement itself was not concerned with the enfranchisement of black women (Walker, 1982). Even though this movement in South Africa was a racist one that was concerned to protect its members privileges as part of the ruling class, as **subordinate** members of that class they had waged a specifically **gender** struggle. They had fought as white **women** and had challenged their defined status as second class or inferior citizens(9).

Nevertheless, white women's greater public/political presence, in combination with the growing commoditisation of household labour; the greater numbers of women in wage employment and the growing awareness and discussion of birth control all had a significant impact on the ways in which the dominant ideology (in this case newspaper media) came to present the relationship between the genders. From the late 1920's, more and more commodities were being 'marketed' with an almost crude association between

women and men. In Al3i,ii for instance, the social power relation between the men and women are made very blatant. We see how the women concentrate on making themselves beautiful either for men's benefit (Al3i) or to succeed in the 'marriage trade' (Al3ii). Either way, it is the woman's beauty (clear, fresh, white skin or lovely complexion) which is her saleable aspect. 'Being beautiful' therefore becomes the woman's trade. In Al2 the woman is visually presented as **waiting** (passively) for a man who will **create** (actively) a good impression. The passive woman once again supports the submissive role of woman **vis a vis** men. The men are never referred to as beautiful. They are "distinctly dressed" (Al2) or "millionaires" (Al3). It is good clothing rather than beautiful skin which are essential to the man's appearance. The men are therefore clearly linked to the world of business of trade (**implying** a 'provider role') while the focus for woman is on her being a **woman** that does not 'make mistakes' and is perfect for the man. The sexual/romance part as opposed to the functional part of the relationship between women and men, therefore begins to gain greater prominence in the ideological representations. The old accepted roles and gender functions were no longer so easily assumed. The gender social power relation had been challenged and even if the majority of women were still performing household duties, the dominant portrayal of this relationship was shifting.

A number of significant features of the transitional period I have identified, 1931-1960, need to be highlighted. To begin with, many technological aids were being produced which began to 'deskill' household production. As Game and Pringle(1984) argue, the labour process of production (within the household) was slowly being transformed into a labour process of consumption (eg Al4 - Al7). The status and worth that women previously obtained from doing visibly difficult and necessary labour was waning. Shopping for and consuming goods was not going to be

seen to be as important as producing them. The labour involved in household consumption is more hidden and ostensibly less valuable than household production.

At the local municipal level, the Durban Civic Association was founded as early as 1916. It was formed "in order that women... may be fitly represented on the council, may arrive by study and survey at a fuller understanding of the city and its region and carry the knowledge thus gained into the work of education and social service" (*Natal Mercury* 31/10/1916). Women citizens of Durban were to be encouraged to "take a more active interest in the affairs of the town"(10). The association also fought for an amendment of laws to equalise the position of women and men in the borough. It was asserted that women were "better able to give opinions on local matters" (because of their close management of daily life) and that more women "should be appointed to act on the housing board" (*Natal Mercury* 7/9/1921).

Meanwhile, once they had won the vote, there were a number of articles by women bemoaning the fact that the mass of women were not interested in using their right to vote in a 'useful' way. In an article entitled 'Wage Slavery Among Durban Girls' (*Natal Mercury* 16/8/1935) we are told how "white girls are living in appalling conditions in slums cheek by jowl with Indians and Natives(sic)". They are challenged to improve their lot by organising economically: "unless there is a spirit of trades unionism among them in every branch of their newly-won business activities, women will continue to be exploited as cheap labour, with less and less claim to any dignity in their new callings." Both factory workers and girls "coming from better homes, yet of necessity independent" are challenged to stop being apathetic and oppose their poor economic and living conditions. The author of the article is clearly concerned about struggling against

patriarchal gender power but is quite happy to retain her and her 'sisters' 'racial' power. She argues that white girls should not be trained for "a type of domestic labour that belongs essentially to the Native(sic) of this country" and scorns the fact that white girls should be mixing with black men.

At the parliamentary level, women were taking up the issue of the 'inferior' legal and economic position of (white) women. The **Natal Mercury** (20/3/1937) reported on Mrs Reitz's United National Party (UNP) plea to the government for the appointment of a commission that would inquire into the legal and economic inequalities, discriminations and disabilities from which (white) women suffered. Again, this whole debate and the support it had from the majority of (white) women citizens needs further research. I might mention, however, that the newspaper report (**Natal Mercury** 20/3/1937) on the parliamentary debate *vis a vis* 'Women's Position in the Union' raised a number of important points. Primarily, any discussion of women's position immediately revolved around their reproductive capacity.

In responding to Mrs Reitz' suggestion that women be given greater guardianship powers over children and greater equality in economic life, Dr Malan of the National Party raised one major objection: the question was being dealt with "**purely** from the **woman's** point of view," (my emphasis). As far as he was concerned, "... in the past, woman had regarded it as her function, her duty and her honour to shoulder the responsibility for the **continuance** and the **preservation** of the **race**, she was now turning in another direction and taking her part in other spheres of life" (my emphasis). The falling birth rate meant that everything possible should be done to "encourage a sound and healthy family life." That is, Malan wished to encourage women to continue

"fulfilling their functions in preserving and continuing the race" (*Natal Mercury* 20/3/1937). As long as women accepted this function of producing children for the empire / white civilisation as primary, the inequalities that Mrs Reitz was opposing would never change. Women needed control over their fertility as much as they needed greater guardianship over children or economic equality.

Although General Smuts' United National Party (UNP) disagreed with the vehemence of Malan's views on children as 'cannon fodder' he nevertheless stressed that "the family function of women was their **main** function in life" (*Natal Mercury* 20/3/1937). 'Family' becomes used as an almost crude synonym for 'reproductive'. The way in which 'the family' was bolstered, came to increasingly obscure women's worth as producers/managers in a contractual relationship, and reinforced their subordinate position within it(11).

Ironically, when it came to supporting this 'family/reproductive' function of women in a **material** sense, the ideological rhetoric was unsubstantiated. In 1928 for instance, the Durban City Council was refused capital by the Province to build a maternity hospital, "because we have far more important things on which to spend our money" (*Natal Mercury* 20/1/1928).

During these transitional years, the dominant image of women seems to shift from her being demure to that of being alluring, romantic and glamorous (eg A18, 19). She becomes more and more specifically connected with men and we can see an increase in 'romantic' ideology, 'dating', a blatant 'genderisation'(12) of qualities attributed to commodities (eg A20 the tailored hats are "mannish in design, yet full of feminine charm"). A definite masculinity - separate from the 'business world' as it were also

becomes more visible (it is linked at this stage to the war - "our fighting men" in A21 for example). The women, moreover, were appealed to by the officer commanding the Royal Durban Light Infantry. They were asked "to see that their men did the right thing... It was necessary that every available man should join the forces to bring about this final victory and it was the **duty** of the women to see that their menfolk played their part" (Natal Mercury 11/3/1943).

During the war years, the women were not only obliged to emotionally encourage and support the men. They were also appealed to as workers to 'serve the cause' in an unproblematic way. In A22 for example, we can see the way in which previous ideas about women and what they are capable of doing, are completely upturned. The war recruiting advert, is however, juxtaposed with a fashion advert, showing women in a 'glamorous', almost decorative manner. These two adverts could have been appealing to different classes of white women, or they could have simply been reflecting some of the contradictions of the period. The large number of women that were labouring outside the home in these years, in conjunction with the fact that many men were away from home, led to significant changes in gender relationships (Mrs B. 29/5/86)(13). Women had an opportunity to explore the world beyond 'home' and get a taste for 'independence'. They would become involved in extra-marital and experimental affairs, which significantly altered their perceptions of their own sexuality. The production of items like sanitary towels and the displaying of womens' underwear in shop windows (Mrs B. 29/5/86), in combination with a more 'alluring' image of women, assisted in the shift from a reverential attitude towards sex to one which was more 'daring' as it were. The rise in employment opportunities provided by war-time industrial expansion and the increased production of consumer commodities such as cosmetics (see for example an advert for 'Red Majesty' lipstick,

Natal Mercury 15/9/1947) or cereals (eg A23) gave women both the chance to spend more (with money in their pockets) and to be defined increasingly as consumers. (see Waters, 1985). It is difficult to determine for these transitional years to what extent changes paralleled those occurring throughout the western world at the time, and to what extent they reflected Natal conditions and changes.

During the twenty years of the third period I have identified, 1961-1980, changes in world capitalism in a general sense had severe impacts on gender relations. As John D'Emilio (1984) argues, capitalism weakens the material bonds that once kept 'families' (and productive household units) together. The development of many technological aids, marketed as household labour saving devices effectively removed much of 'production' from household labour. The effects of this expansion of market relations increased both the necessity and the potential for purchasing the means of life (D'Emilio, 1984; Game and Pringle, 1984). In displacing many productive activities into light industry, it also 'opened up' more employment opportunities.

These transformations can be seen to have had a twofold, even contradictory impact. Firstly, it became increasingly possible (materially) for individuals to live independent lives as an alternative to 'nuclear' families. Most goods and services that we needed for individualised reproduction could be bought as commodities; household labour had been deskilled so that it was easier for more people to perform its tasks; the role of schools, media, peer groups, etc. have become increasingly important in childrearing, and individuals have learnt to fend for themselves, rather than to exist as part of a group. The larger percentage of adults who have been drawn into the 'free' labour system (including women), the mass development of oral contraceptives and the

challenge of the 'sexual revolution'(14) to the synonymity of procreation and sexuality, have all served to intensify the focus on individualism and sexual identity in both women and men (see A24-A28 for example).

As Game and Pringle (1984:134) suggest "eroticism threatens to break out of existing structures of masculinity and femininity". It is no longer sufficient for a man to be a provider/breadwinner/head of household in a functional sense; or for a woman to be a 'mother'/'housewife'/'hostess'. They now have to assert a specific masculine or feminine **sexual** identity in relation to each other, to make clear what exactly this difference is. When the sexual division of labour was predicated on primarily females' reproductive ('biological') capacity (eg.1910-1930) gender relations were established in terms of clear role definitions between women and men; with men in a structurally dominant and powerful position. Once these roles were in part challenged, (ie. through commoditisation; consumerism; more women in wage labour, etc.) the foundation of mens' power could potentially be eroded. However, for the gender power relation to be maintained, the constant factor in the equation - biological sex - had to be asserted more forcefully. Both because it was womens' reproductive sexuality that previously defined her role, and because biology is 'natural', there was an emphasis on **sexual** identity. In relying on 'biology' and 'nature', the **social** content of this identity becomes obscured.

In A24 for instance, we can see how 'woman' is defined as "the female of the species". (Note "species" is symbolically used to refer to nature). Furthermore, this deodorant, Dante', is "strictly animal". Of course, it is nothing of the sort. It is so animal/natural, that it has to be produced synthetically, and when used in fact destroys 'natural' body odours. The text, however, implies that the 'woman' who wears Dante' will

be provocative like the 'animal' she emulates. It will **make** her more fascinating and mysterious for the 'men' against whom it offers no protection. Indeed, it allegedly tells every man in range that she is a **woman** - ie. available; provocative; 'ready' for him like an animal. He is of course the 'hunter'/aggressor. Underlying the whole advert is her availability for an implicit sexual encounter. In other words, the deodorant, a commodity, is being advertised or put on offer. The woman's sexuality in turn is also being portrayed as 'on offer' or available. By association therefore, the woman becomes a sex-commodity.

Since technological changes provided the pre-conditions for the demise of the sexual division of labour, "the consumption sphere is organised around (hetero)sexuality, around a supposed complementarity of masculine and feminine" (Game and Pringle, 1984:124). Two, almost extreme stereotypes become necessary to retain and/or maintain the gender power relation. The contradictory way in which capitalism "has socialised production while maintaining that the products of socialised labour belong to the owners of private property" (D'Emilio, 1984:148), has led to serious instabilities in the system. Note that for individuals who seek and can afford alternative lifestyles, these conditions can in part be "liberatory". Many 'self-conscious' feminists would probably fall within this latter category of people.

In sum, many of the material forces which previously propelled women and men into families, and kept them there, have weakened. The **ideology** of capitalist society, on the other hand, has in fact "enshrined the family as the source of love, affection, and emotional security, the place where our need for stable, intimate human relationships is satisfied" (D'Emilio, 1984:148). This factor, clearly correlates with the second important impact of the changes stemming from capitalist technological development.

At the level of the household, the most important effect of these changes for the housewife (and the social relations of gender) have been to **deskill** household labour. While some tasks have been made easier (eg. washing, ironing, cleaning, cooking), old craft skills have been replaced or incorporated into machines. Housework has been divided into various separate, routine tasks, devoid of old craft knowledge. "There has been a shift from what might be loosely called productive work to work associated with the transformation and servicing of commodities" (Game and Pringle, 1984:125). To a large extent, there has been an acceptance of consumption as a way of life, with 'the bought' considered superior to 'the home-made'. As Williamson (1978:13) has pointed out: "instead of being identified with what they produce, people are made to identify themselves with what they consume".

The new technological aids may have lightened the burden in the 'new' household labour process of consumption; but it need not have necessarily reduced the time spent on such labour or the drudgery involved. For instance, in mass consumption society, the acquisition and transformation of commodities is **necessary** labour that is time-consuming (Game and Pringle, 1984; Vogel, 1983). In South Africa, the extent to which domestic workers perform various aspects of this labour on behalf of white women makes their burden even lighter. As Schindler's (1980) research shows, domestic workers are not often allowed to use labour-saving appliances in white households. Various aspects of household labour have therefore not necessarily become 'deskilled' for such workers. It is interesting to note that these domestic workers have effectively been rendered invisible by the dominant ideology. I only found one advert/media representation which 'portrays' a black domestic worker as a part of a white household see A29(15). It seems therefore that these workers were either treated with such disdain and insignificance that they

were non-existent for the advertisers. Or else it was 'embarrassing' for the white public to be visually presented with the stark reality of intimate black:white household relationships? (cf. Cock 1980a, 1980b, 1981; Gaitskell et.al.1983 on black domestic workers in South Africa).

The role and impact that African domestic workers have had on the gender construction of white middle-class women needs further exploration. I would tentatively suggest, however, that its effect is a contradictory one. On the one hand, white women are 'saved' from aspects of domestic drudgery. On the other, the 'sexualisation' of the remaining aspects of domestic labour is particularly heightened and a 'feminist consciousness' inhibited. In fact, in a situation where a woman/wife does not earn her own money but is dependent on a man/husband to provide for her, both the impact and perceptions of black domestic labour are contradictory. Men pay for domestic labour in order to relieve women of their burden. Women's (house)wife function is therefore further trivialised at a personal/individual level, not only at the level of capitalism. Men then demand or expect that women perform the remaining domestic labour for love. The possessive and ownership characteristics of the 'love' relationship are therefore further masked.

Whether linked to new technological aids, paid domestic workers, or both, the remaining aspects of domestic labour have assumed sexual and emotional connotations out of proportion to their own inherent value. This labour is trivialised and despised because it is not 'productive', and women now do it for 'love', therefore rendering its economic content invisible. Women are shown more specifically as living for or existing for men. While they are occasionally (especially so in the late seventies) shown as independent, 'career' women, their image is predominantly sexualised. Womens' bodies (from the sixties approximately) were increasingly used to

sell commodities. They were not only defined as consumers, but became "the objects of consumption". As sex objects they were expected to find pleasure in pleasing men. These shifts, however, did not threaten the domestic sphere.

In fact they went alongside the emotionalisation of housework and the establishment of private life as the place where we 'find our real selves' (Game and Pringle, 1984:128). Womens' 'function' was no longer (as in 1910-1930) sufficient to guarantee her a man/provider/protector, she now had to sell her **sexual-self** to achieve this goal. In advertisements A30-A32 for instance, we can see the assumed (hetero)sexual/romantic connection between the women and the men. It is the men's power and control which is emphasised in this relationship. In A30, he "is the special guest". "At social gatherings he stands still and others circulate". The poise of the woman subtly implies that it is not only the "waiters who wait" on the "man whose look prompts service"; it is the woman who in a romantic/sexual sense waits on him as well. Similarly in A31, the man is described as "the man about town". "He is a **leader** among men and a magnet among women". Again, the poise of the woman suggests that she exists to be drawn towards the "magnet" (ie. the man) in order to support and serve him. The man's 'smart' look and expensive suit combined with the textual messages of control, also imply that he has economic power.

In a different context (A32) we see how the 'woman' (implicitly the mans' wife -ie. a **social** relationship) is **worth** (money/value connotations) a carpet! The advert clearly reflects the **gender** social relations of the situation. The woman/wife is in all senses living for the **man**, not herself. She uncomplainingly(?) raises **his** children; darns **his** socks; looks **beautiful** for **him**; makes **him** laugh etc. In fact her 'labour'

is even described as a tough job, which is valuable (because it's "worth" a present). The superficial reality of the two peoples' lives is presented in the text (she as wife who works hard for him, he as husband who earns and controls the money), but the **social** power that the man has in the situation, and the economic nature of their relationship is masked(16). She works for 'love' - if he gives her a gift, perhaps she will carry on forever. In other words, as far as the (subordinated) woman is concerned, her "tough" situation is recognised, but it is inevitably reinforced. As long as she can be 'kept in her place' with a gift, she won't try and **change** the situation, gender power relations will remain intact.

Moreover, while advertisers do stress the virility of 'male' products (see A28), it is rarely claimed that the product is essential to masculinity. They rather stress that the product is compatible with masculinity. For women however, the advertising is directed to her need to please, which is essential to contemporary femininity (Game and Pringle, 1984). Or, as Marjorie Ferguson (1983) argues, women have to be taught femininity. She suggests that "(f)emininity as a career is a lifelong commitment. It requires refresher courses and occasional updating of its central tenets" (p 8).

One other aspect of the changes in gender construction that needs further exploration is the definition of motherhood. Additional research is needed to investigate the exact ways in which notions and practise of motherhood for white middle-class women has changed. In the third era discussed, images in the adverts portray white women much more in the context of 'the family' as a whole(17) than as early childhood educators per se. The ideology of the nuclear family is bolstered and children appear with increasing frequency in the images. The focus on 'scientific'

childraising as discussed by Jaggar (1983) for the British and American cases is not, however, made evident in the sample. One reason for this could be that from the 1950's African women began to displace African men in Durban as domestic workers. In other words, they would perform the role of early childraising. The crucial role that domestic workers play in maintaining the white middle-class household is rendered invisible and therefore insignificant in the media images.

Another area that needs more detailed investigation is the exact relationship between urban form (say in Durban) and gender relations. For instance, many of the shifts in white gender relations as outlined in this chapter are reflected in the built environment. The direct and/or conscious manipulation or perpetuation of certain gender relations by town planners, is, however, less clear. In the brief overview of white Durban that follows (18), the finer nuances of a differential middle-class, the provision of state housing for the white working class and the provision of loans and subsidies to state employees unfortunately cannot be developed. These issues are nevertheless significant and raise questions about the relationships between family form, housing structure, class, means of occupation and the degree of communal versus privatised living.

4.5 BRIEF OVERVIEW OF CHANGES IN WHITE GENDER RELATIONS AND CHANGES IN URBAN FORM

The task of assessing the interconnections between class, race, gender and urban form is taken up more fully in chapter 5. In the interim, however, we can sketch a brief scenario of the relationship between changing gender relationships within the middle class white group, and changing patterns of urban development in the white occupied areas of Durban. In the 1910-1930 era, the urban morphology of Durban was far more compact than in

contemporary times. There was a high degree of functional mix in land-use. Commercial and residential space often coincided. The congruence of such functions would have served a household based consumptive and productive unit well.

In the transitional era, a number of mixed land-use areas remained. Florida Road in Morningside, for instance, is a case in point. It was a street characterised by upstairs/living downstairs/working, easy access to trams and public parks. There was less privatised living than in later years and the motor-car was not yet freely available. Trams and trains were still integrated into the suburbs which meant that women had relatively easy access to transport and hence a fair degree of spatial mobility(McCarthy,1986).

In the 1950's or the post Second World War Verwoerdian era, there was a noticeable growth in building societies and a boom in the building industry (McCarthy and Smit,1984:95). The first experiments with suburbanisation began. For instance, Westville. This trend continued and was propelled during the 1960's, partly by the rapid growth in the national economy. The 10 years from the mid-1960's to 1974 were characterised by a high degree of outer city suburban property development (Davies and McCarthy,1984). The suburb of Glen Anil, named after one of the major construction companies of the period, is a classic example of one of these suburbs. Its ranch style housing and suburban home-ownership was modelled on American cities (McCarthy,1986). There was an emphasis on privatised family living and a 'right' environment for children (ie. safe, free of traffic, quiet, lots of garden space, focus on schools). This style of living had the potential side-effect of severe isolation for mothers and housewives. The provision of public transport was radically reduced thus limiting these women's mobility. Although the number of male car-owners

multiplied, the two-car family only became a common phenomenon in the late 1970's (Davies and McCarthy,1984). In other words, changes in family form, the nature of motherhood and conceptions of childhood do influence the way in which planners plan space.

Parallel to this development of suburban housing was a massive boom in high-rise flats (for example the beachfront, Albert Park and lower Glenwood areas) aimed at young people or retirees, with a focus on 'easy-living' and modern conveniences (Davies and McCarthy,1984). In fact, in the late 1960's and early 1970's children were banned from some flats altogether. They were considered noisy and nuisances. A form of segregated living was therefore entrenched in the built structures of the city. Child-rearing as a particular labour process was acceptable in the suburbs but not in the flats. The deskilling of household labour and a lifestyle suited to mass consumption was accommodated in the flat development.

Furthermore, the institutionalisation of domestic service in South Africa (Cock, 1980b) is similarly an integral part of the urban landscape. In the suburbs, the notorious khaya or backyard room developed to house the 'live-in' domestic worker. By the late 1950's African women had come to dominate in this category of work and played a significant role in the childrearing of white children. (This fact probably explains the minimal provision of day-care centres in white suburbs). Flat developments generally have minimal facilities for domestic workers who are often daily chars rather than live-in workers. In other words, class and lifestyle differences and the type of paid domestic labour that was encouraged would all affect the nature of internal domestic/household relations.

4.6 CONCLUSION

From the above analysis of the advert illustrations, it is hopefully clearer why gender is socially constructed. That is, it has a specific social meaning that changes over time, depending on changing historical and material conditions. Furthermore, this meaning is an intrinsic part of the definition of individual women and men within specific 'race' and 'class' groupings. In this chapter I have explored the meanings of femininity and masculinity specific to the dominant/ruling group in Durban - namely the English speaking, white middle class. Given the expansion of capitalism; the commoditisation of everyday life and the power that the ruling classes have over 'creating' meaning in society, it is essential to understand both the process and the implications of gender construction. Gender is currently constructed within and as part of a social power relation that defines 'women' as subordinate to 'men', but within subtly altered terms, to satisfy changing social and economic requirements and new types of social agents. Because it is so intrinsically linked to people's self-identity, **any** struggle for social change needs to confront this power relationship in order to really work for the 'freeing' of human potential.

While I have focused on changing gender meanings for the white middle classes, the dominant ideology had serious ramifications for other social groups.(19) A glance through contemporary magazines aimed at the 'black consumer market' (for eg. **BONA**, **True Love**) clearly illustrates the influence of the current 'sexualised' gender images. This is an obvious area for future research. Some of the questions that ought to be investigated include: how closely related are these images with black peoples' lives? Do they only influence the middle classes? What is the gender meaning of the working-classes - both black and white? How important are these images in constructing peoples' perceptions of themselves and/or life aspirations? What are the precise links between

changes in gender meanings for all classes and races, and changes in urban form?

With hindsight, it has become clear that an analysis such as that presented in this chapter, would be enhanced by further oral evidence. A potentially useful technique would be to use the advertisements as a stimulus for discussion. The perceptions of dominant gender meanings within different class and race groupings of women and men could be fruitfully gauged.

In the next chapter, I pursue my argument that an understanding of the social construction of gender is central to any analysis of society and urban form. I do not, however, rely on media images as my source of information this time. Rather I begin to explore how the dominant colonial social relations combined with patriarchal gender relations and capitalist development to determine the material conditions and 'spaces' in which African people came to experience their environment in Durban.

4.7 FOOTNOTES

1. It should be noted however, that womens' magazines play/ed a significant role in contributing "to the wider cultural processes which define the position of women in a given society at a given point in time" (Ferguson, 1983:1). This impact on the newspapers in general and the adverts in particular cannot be ignored. Furthermore, the magazines are aimed specifically at women, whereas newspapers are supposed to aim at a more 'gender' neutral audience (- even if controlled by men). I perceived this 'double-gendered' audience, as it were, useful for my purposes of investigating historically changing meanings in gender relations.
2. It may be useful to observe at the outset, that the adverts being used as illustrations for my argument were largely controlled and managed by men, as was the **Natal Mercury** itself (cf. 23/9/1959, article on how advertising is a mans' world; and Wilk's (1977:262) list of advertising managers).

3. Numbers of African Domestic Servants in Durban and Suburbs

Year	Men	Women
1921	7590	1354
1936	13708	5377
1946	15952	11420
1960	19859	25102

Sources: La Hausse, 1984: 320,334; U G 41,1954.

I have not investigated in any detail (at the level of sexuality) the contradictions resulting from a situation where black male domestic workers were in close contact with white middle-class 'madams' or their daughters. Throughout the years 1911 - 1923, there were however numerous 'black peril' cases reported in the **Natal Mercury** newspaper (see for example 7/1/1911; 8/5/1911; 11/6/1911; 10/7/1911; 14/8/1911; 19/9/1911; 19/3/1912; 3/4/1912; 27/4/1912; 2/7/1912; 6/9/1912; 7/10/1912; 6/2/1913; 18/4/1913; 12/12/1913; 5/1/1916; 2/2/1921; 9/9/1922; 27/2/1923). It is unclear if the 'accused' men in such cases were domestic workers; if they were in fact guilty or if white racist power constructed a stereotype of a 'black man rapist'. Angela Davis (cited in Eisenstein 1984:133) argued for the American case, that the myth of the black rapist "was developed as a political weapon during the period of Reconstruction when the lynching of black men became a basic weapon in presenting the economic and political subordination of black people after their emancipation from slavery". Etherington (1985) shows how there was a similar attitude locally in the late nineteenth century; Beall(1982) relies on the 1913 commission investigating assaults against women and the Natal Legislative Assembly debates to make a similar point with regard to Durban and Natal in the early twentieth century.

4. In the **Natal Mercury** 9/11/1912, p10 there is an article for instance, which advertises "A Woman's Industrial Agency" (WIA) which is "a useful institution" for "helping women". The agency was purported to accept orders for various kinds of sewing work which they would then distribute "among reliable and needy women

for them to execute in their homes. Many women are thus enabled to **assist** in breadwinning in a manner which is **dignified**" (my emphasis). While this article assumed that all women who were 'needy' would be secondary breadwinners, there is no guarantee that this was always the case. Although "a **large** number of women" were appealing for work from the Agency, no mention is made of precisely which kind of women these were.

Furthermore, the suggestion that "kaffir(sic) suits" are the one form of sewing which are requisite in most homes and can be obtained through the WIA" emphasises the blatant racism of the newspaper. White women were the obvious targets of such an advert; while black men domestic workers were clearly the ones who would wear the kaffir(sic) suits.

Interestingly the WIA played on the values of unalienated 'homecraft' labour. For instance, "the **locally** made article is of course greatly **superior** in **quality**"; even though its "prices compare favourably with those retail storekeepers in town" (my emphasis). If the article is correct, the agency seemingly ran on some kind of 'socialist' or 'co-operative' principles (at least at the level of surplus distribution). "**All money** except costs goes to the women **workers**... Any balance from expenses is distributed in the form of a bonus".

Another illustration of the way in which women were encouraged to take up 'home-craft' is an article called "Crafts for Women" (Natal Mercury, 8/9/1915). Woodcarving, leather work and metal work were among those crafts that were deemed suitable 'handicraft(s)' which can be '**worked at home**'. This is an interesting point to note, given that in contemporary times carpentering and leather work are more commonly considered 'mens' work. In contrast to the 1912 article, this author discourages sewing on the grounds that the needlewoman is expected "to work for a mere nothing".

5. In an article headed "Daughters of the Nation" "How to educate girls" (Natal Mercury, 15/2/1912) the views of a certain woman member of the Durban County Education Committee were expressed. This article is a useful illustration of the extent to which white middle-class women were questioning their position. The author, Amy Black, was primarily concerned to point out that both boys and girls need a 'good all-round education'. She noted that although girls were recently permitted to do "other than 'domestic' subjects" at school, they nevertheless had to suffer in some ways. The problem lay in the fact that the girls had to do both 'regular' subjects and 'domestic' subjects, while the boys only had to do the former. Given that they had equivalent time to spend, the girls would obviously be less proficient than the boys and the cycle whereby girls were considered 'less intelligent' would be perpetuated. Amy Black did not, however, complain about girls being schooled in the 'domestic arts' **per se**. She argued that "the preparation of the future mothers of the nation for motherhood is too important a matter to be dealt with in a few lessons to children under 14". These domestic subjects could be learnt in compulsory evening schools. In other words, it was **not** recommended for **boys** to learn domestic skills; girls were still to be primed as the 'domestic keepers' but it was now "essential that they should have as a foundation a

good, all-round general education".

6. An article, written by a man, called "Should Women Rule" (*Natal Mercury*, 3/6/1914) is an illustration of these polarised perceptions of womens' and mens' capabilities. For example the author categorically states: "It is characteristic of man that he is able to deliberate, to give "considered" judgements on most matters". "Woman is still easier deceived than man, and generally speaking incapable of deliberating and coming to logical conclusions on given premises".
7. It has been suggested that the invisibility from public life was in part responsible for a certain **respect** of 'sex' - and perhaps by implication of 'woman' (Mrs B., 29/5/1986). The way in which 'sexual' knowledge was hidden, could maybe have given women greater control and resistance in 'their' world. This hypothesis would have to be tested however, against further information from women who lived at that time. That is, did mothers pass on their hard-learned knowledge to daughters - or did the latter remain ignorant until after marriage?
8. The editorial of *Natal Mercury* (11/6/1917) for instance, suggests that "In all the changes that have come over the world since the outbreak of the war, **none is more remarkable ...** than the modification which has taken place in the relationships of men towards what we may perhaps still venture to call the **gentle sex...** In every variety of war work, even the hardest and most exacting women have made a record which a few years ago we should have described as inconceivable... We shall all have to adjust ourselves to the extension of women's work.

It is important to recognise that as long as women were active in the 'public sphere' in a way which 'supported the nation' they were given great acclaim. (See also reference to the first South African Woman's Weekly' which would "endeavour ...to inculcate a love of and interest in our national institutions and ideals". The newspaper proprietors wished that it be accepted as an expression of their "desire to assist in the whole task of building up a truly great and **virile** South African nation", (*Natal Mercury*, 12/10/1922).

By contrast when they were fighting for **themselves**, they were branded 'reckless and unbalanced' (see references to the suffragettes in same article. Also see *Natal Mercury* (5/10/1918) - "the Bluff women had made the **cause** their own, a **patriotic** purpose and not **personal** gain nobly animating them").

The editorial of *Natal Mercury* (5/10/1918) similarly pays a tribute to the women (especially of the Durban Women's Patriotic League) for their 'splendid contribution', 'well-directed enthusiasm' and 'organising ability'. The editor 'marvels' at "the readiness with which women have applied themselves to all descriptions of work which used to be done by men...". Moreover, the growing participation of white women in waged-employment must have threatened the automatic job security of (young) white men. The *Natal Mercury* (6/11/1919) editorial suggests that "It is surely possible to draw up a scheme for the training of these men without breaking any reasonable trade union regulation or usage".

9. White women did not only challenge their second class status at the level of political rights. They were also concerned to improve their economic positions and objected to the definition of themselves as 'secondary breadwinners'. For instance, the South African Woman's Weekly section of the **Natal Mercury** (7/6/1923), reprinted an article called 'Equal Pay' from a London issued pamphlet. The article addressed itself to teachers and presented an excellent argument showing how men were (and still are) **not** paid according to the number of their dependents and how women's breadwinning responsibilities had increased since the war. Ultimately salary scales did not meet the material requirements of 'real' individuals. Also see **Natal Mercury** (10/10/1925) and 25/8/1934, for why 'equal pay for women would be disastrous' as far as the chamber of commerce was concerned.
10. Womens' role (of all 'races') in the affairs of Durban needs to be researched in far greater detail than I have presented here. 'Internal' gender struggle on the various city councils themselves needs to be investigated as well as women's role on the various education, health, social welfare and housing bodies. Did the politically active woman predominate in these areas of public life? If so why? Did they have any different political concerns to the men within those bodies? How were these concerns expressed and did they have any influence on the development of Durban? The political struggles around state provision of services such as maternity hospitals, creches, birth control and child welfare clinics similarly need to be included in an analysis of Durban's development. (For an interesting discussion of some of these issues in the British context see Mark-Lawson et. al.(1985) on "Gender and local politics: struggles over welfare policies, 1918 - 1939").
11. See chapter five for some discussion on what 'family' meant for African people during this period. In chapter six I raise some theoretical questions relating to the different constructions of 'family' for African and white South Africans.
12. This 'genderisation' as it were, and a more explicit definition of what it meant to be a woman, or a man, is also evidenced in some of the newspaper articles from the period. Take for instance the piece called "Have Men All the Imagination?" (**Natal Mercury**, 8/3/1931). "Woman is a practical creature... Give her the material things of life - a home, a husband and a baby - and she is content to let him who will wander in the land of illusion...It is not within her ambit to brood over the problematical conditions of a problematical different world." Similarly, the male author of "Women" (**Natal Mercury**, 5/3/1931) asserts: "women... like far better to obey than to be obeyed. They pretend to be our equals, but they know jolly well themselves that they are not..." While Muriel Seagrove (**Natal Mercury**, 18/3/1939) strongly suggests that "it is a woman's duty to foster her husband in his career". Moreover, such women are advised to "go out as much as possible in the day time", so that they do not become stale and despondent!!
13. The **Natal Mercury** reflected a certain concern for this 'crumbling' of the 'family'. In an editorial called 'The Social Structure' (1/6/1946) we are told how the shortage of adequate housing and exorbitant rentals makes a 'decent family life' for

whites impossible. "Unlimited flats" were not seen as a solution. They were equated with a 'barrack-like existence' which would not help give the "ordinary man... a stake in the country." The interconnectedness between housing, 'family -life' and women working were all made explicit by the editor. He begrudgingly admitted that "for purely economic reasons many (women) are compelled to augment the family income by going out to work themselves."

For him, those women who gained and valued a certain measure of independence during the war years were clearly not 'normal'. "Some (women), it is true, do it (work) for no better reason than to make money for selfish ends - to get the **most out of life** that money can buy and to do as little as possible for the common good." Most of the **normal** women, even in these days of so-called modernistic independence, achieve their greatest happiness in **homebuilding** and in **motherhood**."

A similar sounding editorial titled "The Way Back To Family Life" appeared in the **Natal Mercury** on 22/5/1954. Working mothers were increasingly being blamed for the declining morals and sex-delinquency among teenager girls. (Also see **Natal Mercury**, 2/8/1955 on the National Council of Women's support for (white) 'working women').

14. Although local white South Africans did not partake en masse in the 'sexual revolution', its influence certainly spread to the Southern hemisphere. By this stage the international impact of advertising and womens' magazines had permeated to South Africa.
15. See Chapter Five for a more detailed discussion of some of the issues that relate to domestic labour as a form of employment for African women and men.
16. Whitehead(1981) in fact shows in her essay on "The Politics of Domestic Budgeting" how "the relations of exchange, distribution, and consumption which comprise the conjugal contract characterise household relations even where the household is not a unit of production"(p91).
17. See advertisements for example in the **Natal Mercury**: Austin Mini (1/8/1964); Carpets and vacuum cleaners (14/9/1964); Allied Building Society and station wagons (9/11/1964); swimming pool (21/4/1965); building society adverts (21/11/1973); sunshine margarine(28/8/1974).
18. I would like to thank Jo Beall, Jeff McCarthy and Alison Todes for their useful comments with respect to this discussion of Durban's development.
19. For reference to :
 - a) Beauty contests, see **Ilanga lase Natal** : 4/6/1955; 10/3/1956; 8/12/1956; 2/3/1957;
 - b) African male attitudes to women's beauty, see **Ilanga lase Natal** : 18/6/1955. For instance an African man requests that African girls refrain from wearing lipstick made for white women - "can't our Durban African girls wait until a lipstick that will be in accordance with their

skin is manufactured?"

- c) The increasing number of jobs available to African women models, see **Ilanga lase Natal** : 6/4/1957; 13/9/1958.
- d) Advice columns on beauty for African women, see **Ilanga lase Natal** : 27/4/1957.

CHAPTER 5

TOWARDS A GENDERED PERSPECTIVE
OF AFRICAN URBANISATION IN DURBAN

"Patriarchal relations have been collapsed into those of class exploitation and national oppression, and in the process, the resistance of black women has been at best distorted and at worst hidden from history" (Bradford, 1984:1).

"The question of passes for women was virtually synonymous with the immense question of black urbanisation" (Wells, 1982:3).

"Social change is not, as it were, being mapped for the first time, on a clean slate. Social relations are **already** unevenly developed over space as a result of previous social developments **before** any particular current round of social changes occur. This pre-existing uneven development actively shapes the processes of change. Space is a **formative** element in social change, not simply an effect of it. People use space, respond to it, and act within it" (Anderson et. al., 1983:3, original emphasis).

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In the previous chapter I focused specifically on historically changing meanings of femininity and masculinity within the white middle-class in Durban. I showed how the social construction of gender and gender relations are an integral part of the social totality and cannot be ignored in an analysis of society. I also suggested that certain divisions in space, 'particularly those between 'home' and 'work', cannot be fully understood without recognising and exploring what women and men do; what defines the nature of their work and in what spaces they carry out their actions.

In this chapter, I pursue some of these themes in a more general sense with respect to the development of African urbanisation in Durban. In particular, I aim to illustrate how an explication of the social construction of gender can enhance our understanding of changes in urban form: a problem only hinted at in the closing sections of chapter 4. In particular, I want to investigate how race, class and gender relations

intersect so that they result in visible patterns of urban transformation. For example, the type of accommodation inhabited by African people (ie. homesteads, backyard rooms, barracks, compounds, shanties or formal township housing), would be dependent on the specific intersection of all these social relations during any particular historical period.

The ultimate focus of the chapter is the period from +-1940 - 1960 when the city was radically altered. I argue that in order to understand this period of social flux, it is necessary to review the historical changes of gender relations in the region under consideration. Hence, I illustrate how pre-colonial patriarchal gender relations were both moulded and used, and in this process transformed, by the colonialists in their racist control of the South African economy. I argue that by the time capitalist social relations dominated the political-economy, such patriarchal gender relations were well entrenched within the whole social and physical fabric of township life.

In the following pages I am not presenting a detailed history of gender relations in Natal/Zululand. I wish rather to illustrate with reference to Durban in particular, and Natal/Zululand more generally, some important connections and conceptual points. In my interpretation I rely on selected material from the *Ilanga lase Natal* and *Guardian* newspapers; the collection of oral histories housed in the Killie Campbell Africana library; and various secondary sources.

In the first section of the chapter, certain historical conditions of pre-colonial African society in Natal/ Zululand will be briefly sketched. These conditions provide a sense of continuity with respect to the manifestation of patriarchal gender relations in the period of rapid 'African urbanisation' in Durban, in the 1950's.

Secondly, various components of the intersection of colonial and pre-colonial social systems will be outlined. This is done in order to detail some of the specific physical manifestations of such social relations. Some of the choices open to women remaining in rural Natal, for instance, will initially be explored. Then, select aspects of the 'Durban Urban System' of the first few decades of the twentieth century will be discussed. From this discussion I aim to illuminate the gender-specific experiences of 'urban' material reality.

The final part of the chapter focuses on aspects of African social life during a period of massive social change. The twenty years from 1940-1960 mark an important stage in Durban's history. There was a drastic decline in subsistence production in the rural areas and a massive influx and concentration of African women into the town(1). There was a marked physical transformation of the city and it was generally a period of great social flux. It was also a time of considerable political resistance, that was often waged in response to abject 'urban' material conditions. Authors such as Kuper, Watts and Davies(1958) and Maasdorp and Humphries(1975), have focussed on the salience of race relations during this period of change. Respectively, they provide detailed information on the group areas act and on the transition from 'shantytown to township'. By contrast, I will discuss the gender-differentiated experiences of African women with respect to housing and employment conditions; mass township construction; resistance to pass laws; bus boycotts and protests against removals in Durban (specifically Cato Manor and KwaMashu) during the years 1940 - 1960. I thereby illustrate how an investigation of gender relations as intermeshed with those of race and class, can shed new light on the complexities already raised in the extant literature.

5.2 PRE-COLONIAL GENDER RELATIONS IN NATAL

South African studies that concern themselves with understanding the position of African women, have been greatly influenced by Joanne Yawitch's(1979) work and her reliance on Harold Wolpe's(1972) article on articulation of modes of production and the 'reproductive' functions of the reserves for South African capitalism. William Beinart(1985), Belinda Bozzoli(1983) and Frederick Cooper(1983) all stress, however, a need to incorporate people's defensive struggles in the rural areas, and that migrancy as a specific form of proletarianisation could have arisen as much out of the dynamics of African societies as out of the demands of the mineowners. Bozzoli(1983) suggests, furthermore, that these processes were gender-differentiated and that gender power struggles have to similarly be included in such an understanding. In the schematic and somewhat generalised historical sketch that follows I want to raise what for me are important aspects of pre-colonial society that can assist in an understanding of African women's position in Durban during the 1950's.

John Wright(1979) for example, in discussing men's control of women's labour in the Zulu kingdom (1820 -1880), poignantly illustrates how gender relations are embedded in all forms of social relations within that society. As in any other society, the organisation of gender and sexuality (or the sex/gender system) was a fundamental part of the Zulu political economy. In identifying the main forms of control which men exercised over the productive and (re)productive labour of the women (and thereby also their fertility), Wright(1979) simultaneously delineates how the social relations dominant in that society attributed most power to the men, in particular the married men and elders. He furthermore suggests that the subordination of women pre-dated the emergence of the Zulu state (p4, p12) and that "the Zulu kingdom's very existence depended on the

surplus created by labour within the homestead" (p4).

In this section, I have relied to a considerable extent on Wright's(1979) paper because he deals directly with women's subordination in the Zulu kingdom and highlights some of the mechanisms of customary patriarchal controls. Given that my aim is to identify the specific expression and transformation of patriarchal gender relations pertinent to African society (ie. following Foord and Gregson(1986)), the detailed historical debates that are concerned with this period are beyond the scope of this overview. For instance, state formation, the smaller Nguni chiefdoms in Natal and the collapse of the Zulu kingdom are excluded from this discussion.

As in the case of the white middle-class household, discussed in the previous chapter, gender construction within African society was closely related to the functions and roles of men and women within the homestead. The very strict division of labour along gender lines meant that it was the women and young girls who were responsible for agricultural production; domestic labour; the rearing of children; the manufacturing of pottery and mats; the rethatching of houses and portering work. The men and young boys were in turn responsible for animal husbandry; building and repairing the framework of houses and fences of homesteads; the manufacturing of wood, iron, basketry and tanned hides; and served as *amabutho* in the Zulu military regiments and/or worked in the king's homesteads.

The economic significance of farming production, domestic handicrafts and the fact that human labour was the prime source of productive energy, meant that female labour (both (re)productive and productive) was of central importance to the survival of the Zulu social system (Beall, 1982). The "control of women's labour, and of its products was thus vital for the

continued domination of men within the domestic community, and of the Zulu ruling class within the kingdom" (Wright,1979:3).

Wright(1979) argues that men exercised control over women at both an ideological and material level. Ideological controls are identified as including a socialisation process which stressed the inferior status of females from an early age. In addition, females were taught to observe various avoidances and taboos which supposedly emphasised their inferior status. One of the more significant amongst these were the menstrual taboos, for menstruating women were regarded as unclean. At this time girls for example, were taught to withdraw, not to touch *amazi* (or sour-milk) and to keep away from cattle and grain supplies(Beall,1982). Paradoxically, the undermining of women's fertile potential occurred concurrently with a simultaneous valuing of its products. That is, children were greatly valued as human labour power. Not surprisingly, married women in particular, experienced the "full weight of a system that socially subordinated females to males"(Wright,1979:6). In fact marriage represented a transferal of rights "in the women's reproductive functions from her father to her husband" (Wright,1979:7).

The biological differences that existed between these females and males were thus exacerbated via the social construction of gender roles and feminine/masculine behaviour that was internalised in each individual's own socialisation process. Such differences formed the basis for sex discrimination, made possible only because of patriarchal power. In other words, the prioritisation and superior value attached to boys, men, men's behaviour and men's socially defined roles was only possible because men had power in the society. This power enabled the men therefore, to use intrinsically meaningless physical/biological differences as a means of exercising social, economic and political discrimination against women.

While Wright(1979) identifies the above controls as primarily ideological the serious material effects they would have on female's lives should not be ignored. Physical activities which prevent females from tending cattle; or which emphasise certain 'passive' behaviours (particularly in relation to men); or the undermining of natural biological processes all potentially limit and impair those female's physical and psychological development in important ways. Such ideological mechanisms then become effective as physical controls over their fertility, sexuality, psychology and access to physical resources. Furthermore, it must be noted that men's fertility was also controlled in the Zulu kingdom. The king decided when the **amabutho** should be released for marriage, while men in general could only marry, dependent on their ability to pay **lobolo** (Beall,1986).

The more overt material controls that Wright(1979) discusses include the physical power that men had by virtue of their monopoly over weapons and their training in hunting and warfare. If a woman deviated from the norms of behaviour prescribed for her, she would probably be outcast as a social failure and not find a husband. In a socio-economy that functioned along group as opposed to individual lines, and where men controlled all access to productive resources (eg land and implements) as well as decision-making processes, this was virtual suicide.

Moreover, married women were firmly kept in place by the fear and practise of any amount of physical violence(eg. beating, binding, starving) to which husbands had legal entitlement. Husbands were also in a position to regulate women's social status and as head of the household would be "arbiter of disputes and dispenser of favours" such that disobedient wives may easily be outcast (Wright,1979:9). At the same time he would 'provide' each of his wives with her 'own' agricultural land, with cattle

and agricultural implements, thereby controlling the households' grain production. Women were ultimately denied access to the means of producing various socially and economically important items, while simultaneously being separated from the product of their agricultural labour.

In sum, a relatively static picture of some examples of the controls, both material and ideological, that women in general were subjected to in the Zulu kingdom, has been presented above. There were also, however, contradictions within the society. For example women participated in "reproducing the conditions of their own domination by men" (Wright, 1979:15); and although subordinate and unequal, women were also afforded a certain amount of physical protection and economic security. This security was eroded when that society came under attack (Beall, 1982; Simons, 1968; Wright, 1979). A few individual women managed to acquire considerable prestige in their communities by becoming diviners, for example, or in being appointed to powerful positions as heads of homesteads. Significantly, women who were past childbearing age were treated like **men**, allowed greater access to cattle and were accorded a higher status (Beall, 1982:66). That is, infertile women were no longer producing valuable human labour and therefore did not need to be so controlled.

Moreover, some authors (cf. Simons, 1968) have argued that polygamy for example, can be perceived as a protective measure for women. Given a context where children were seen as a valuable source of labour power, such a shared responsibility could be an important consideration to both the health and lifespan of individual women. Similarly, any one woman would not be responsible for all the agricultural production and domestic labour within a homestead, young children (especially girls) would be able to assist and some kind of female solidarity network would possibly be

forged.

Similarly, the **lobolo** marriage exchange can equally be seen as having contradictory meanings and material results. On the one hand a symbolic exchange of women for cattle could mean that the woman was important enough to 'swop' for such a valuable resource as cattle and therefore she was valuable, to be treated with respect. On the other hand, the exchange could also give the man the right to do with her what he will - she now being his property. Mary De Haas(1983) also points to **lobolo's** symbolic role in consolidating relationships **across** society, marriage being more of a relationship between two groups than two individuals(De Haas, 1983).

In concluding this section, it must be noted that the gender division of labour within the Zulu political economy was an example of what Anne Whitehead (1981:90) describes as "a system of allocating the labour of the sexes to activities, ... and a system of distributing the products of these activities". Importantly, in such an economy, the arrangements within the conjugal contract were not separate from the way in which labour was rewarded, or from the distribution of the products of work. (In market economies, for example, these would occur outside the household and in the market). Household based production would occur within a particular homestead in which women and men co-operated as members of a single productive enterprise (Whitehead, 1981). The significant point to note, however, is that men controlled the distribution both within the household and the wider society.

A side-effect of this kind of socio-economic system meant that there was minimal **spatial** separation of the productive and reproductive aspects within the Zulu political economy. Even though women were prohibited from participating in certain forms of productive labour (Wright,1979), the

tasks they performed were nevertheless both reproductive and productive. The conditions existed whereby women could be involved in or could combine both sets of tasks in a way that did not limit them to either one or the other. Childcare and breastfeeding ('reproductive responsibilities') could be undertaken for example in the agricultural fields, where there could have been other people (usually women or girls) to assist the biological mother. There was thus no need for creches or other 'formal' childminding institutions. Similarly, women within the homestead were not isolated in space from each other and could potentially form solidarity liasons.

5.3 COLONIAL INTERVENTION - AND ITS EFFECTS ON AFRICAN GENDER RELATIONS

The growth of towns in Natal/Zululand and the functions they would come to serve as the 'space' where many African women and men would live out their lives, is closely bound up with the 'collision' between the Zulu kingdom and the colonial government. In fact, the processes ultimately leading to rural decay and urban growth have to be understood as extremes of the same continuum, in order to grasp the complexity of the dynamics that influenced women's and men's lives in gender-specific ways. Both extremes and the processes of proletarianisation and urbanisation will be discussed in turn in the following section.

5.3.1 COLONIAL INTERVENTION - AND ITS AFFECTS ON WOMEN IN RURAL NATAL

The combination of overt military powers (expressed via war) and indirect coercive powers (eg. via poll and hut taxes) of the British colonialists, together with rinderpest epidemics and drought all had a severe impact on the internal workings of the Zulu kingdom. As far as the general position of African women was concerned, the intersection of the two societies, as it were, can be seen as having had contradictory effects.

On the one hand, those women whose husbands and/or fathers left the rural areas as migrants to the towns would not have to face the immediate authority and control of the male household head. This created the opportunity for them to either leave the rural areas themselves, or have more control over their daily lives and decision making processes within the homesteads. On the other hand, most of the latter women would still be subjected to the authority of the local chief, if not the Zulu king, and they still required permission from absent husbands for a range of activities. At the initial stage of particularly male migration, rural society was increasingly reliant on the labour of the women who would cultivate for subsistence needs. This was in fact a long process. At first the young men were sent out as migrants to work to meet the cash needs of the homestead/chiefdom. Male migration became more generalised when they started working on their own account (eg. to pay **lobolo** or to resist older male power). The impact on women would have been more intense in the second phase of this process(Beall,1986).

However, the barring of women from crucially important productive activities and dealings with cattle(Wright, 1979), meant that with the introduction of the cattle-drawn/ox-drawn plough, women farmers were disadvantaged. The prohibition with regard to cattle, for example, prevented them from using the plough. As Jo Beall(1982) points out, women's reliance on tools that were permissible for **their** use (eg. the hoe) led to them being reliant upon uncompetitive methods of production and hence the potential of the peasantry to reproduce itself was weakened, particularly as men were often slow to take up 'women's' tasks and become the cultivators themselves.

While initially perhaps, more men migrated and some women may have resisted

proletarianisation, as far as Beall(1982:83) is concerned, "Nguni men preferred that women remain within the confines of the pre-colonial rural economy". This preference was probably due as much to the need for keeping women under patriarchal control as it was to the need for women's productive and reproductive labour that was so crucial to the survival of the peasant economy.

Although male proletarianisation and female peripheralisation were significant causes of the decline of the Natal peasantry (Beall, 1982) we should not ignore the influence of certain patriarchal controls over women in general. The gender division of labour (as outlined earlier in 5.2) whereby women were primarily responsible for agricultural production meant that, in the absence of migrant men, the survival of the peasant economy was increasingly reliant on women's labour and management. Yet, ironically, those self-same patriarchal mechanisms which prevented women from controlling the products of their labour, in the face of the colonial onslaught, simultaneously served to undermine the survival of the peasant society as a whole.

Interestingly, as Harold Simons(1968) points out, the colonialists' supposed rejection of the slave-like position of African women served to couch their own interests. Their rejection of polygamy and harsh judgements of 'lazy African men', for example, had little to do with raising the status of African women. For instance Simons (1968:15) argues that "tribal marriage and self-sufficiency were blamed for a scarcity of wage-workers that impeded the growth of the colonial economy", and quotes a Mr Pine (p21): "How can an Englishman with one pair of hands compete with a native man with five to 20 slave wives?" Meanwhile, the marriage fee proposed by Shepstone would discourage polygamy while simultaneously bringing in revenue (Simons,1968:25).

In codifying the tribal law, the Natal Native Code implemented by Shepstone (in 1878) enforced the rule of perpetual tutelage. That is, all women were minors, unless exempted from native law or emancipated from guardianship. While this code supposedly originated "in an avowed attempt to free women from the tyranny of patriarchal power," it imposed "disabilities greater than those endured in the old society" (Simons, 1968:202). The colonists entrenching of customary law left little room for flexibility that might have been possible in pre-colonial society. One of the most significant effects of the colonial imposition was that of the reserve system, and the imposed territorial segregation of the 1913 Land Act. Whereas previously, sufficient land meant that each wife in a polygamous household would be allocated her own land to cultivate, the colonially enforced land scarcity meant that "women's rights are subsidiary to those of the men" (Simons, 1968:261)(2).

While all African people were discriminated against and suffered colonial oppression, there was an apparent collusion, nevertheless, between pre-colonial forms of patriarchal authority and mechanisms of control, with those of colonial patriarchal control. In his discussion of how exempted, unmarried African women required 'proper' European guardianship, Simons (1968:24) sums up such collusion, and the ambiguity of the colonialists' position, in a nutshell: "White Natalians seemingly shared the tribal prejudice, which they so often disparaged in the African, that women were not competent to care for themselves".

How the increased decay of rural Natal, the acceleration of capitalist agriculture and the alteration in nature of patriarchal controls all combined to effect rural women, are described by Bradford(1984:8,9). In the next section, some of the conditions influencing the lives of those

women who left the rural areas will be examined.

5.3.2 COLONIAL INTERVENTION AND RACIAL CAPITALISM:

THE FIRST DECADES OF TOWN LIFE AND ITS EFFECTS ON 'URBAN' WOMEN

Those women who did not remain in the rural areas as subsistence cultivators, similarly found themselves in an ambiguous position. The Natal Native Code (1878), for example, gave African women the right for the first time to sue for divorce if ill-treated by their husbands and they were no longer forced to marry against their wishes (Beall, 1982). This created a relatively freer social/sexual space for some. For example, those who desired independence from agricultural work and the personal restrictions that went with it ended up in the Natal towns or at the mission stations where they joined the **Kholwa** (ie.Christian) communities(Beall,1982; Marks and Unterhalter,1978). Christian morality prevailed for the latter women, such that monogamy for example and a rejection of **lobolo** in some senses led to an elevation of their individual status. Other positive aspects for the **Kholwa** women were that they would be given greater opportunities for education (many of them later becoming teachers and nurses) and had greater chance of being recognised as individuals in their own right. Bradford (1984:18) suggests furthermore that church associations would give women the opportunity to "express a certain proto-nationalist autonomy from the colonial order"; "to assert a degree of religious independence from male-dominated church hierarchies" and that "the participatory group worship of some unions was infused with an incipient feminism".

The mission stations and schools at the same time, however, perpetuated "an ideology infused with bourgeois patriarchal ideas"(Bradford, 1984:15).

Women were primed for domesticity, the schools encouraging needlework and cooking (Beall,1982). Christian rites prevented women from inheriting land, and their break from the patriarchal lineage destroyed any hope of a previously guaranteed security. Unlike the contained 'productive/reproductive' homestead units of the rural economy, Christian inspired monogamy and domesticity further served to entrench a separation between a private, domestic or reproductive sphere and a public, political or productive sphere. 'Women's place' was ideologically defined as domestic - both figuratively and literally.

African women's position in the towns (in this case Durban), evidently altered considerably during the first three decades of the Twentieth Century. I will therefore attempt to outline in broad terms a number of themes that to me appear to have been significant in determining these women's interaction with, and perspective on, the early Twentieth Century city. Suggestions that may be relevant in connecting such disparate factors or themes will be considered. In particular, the factors in need of connection are those pertaining to relationships with men (as husbands, as individuals, as chiefs, as bosses, as sexual partners), with 'family', other women and children; with political organisations and the state; as well as access to employment and accommodation. In drawing out these connections, I will focus on why women left the rural areas, how they survived in the city and what their relationship was to local state interventions.

Cooper(1983:12,3) has suggested that instead of using the term 'urbanisation' which "suggests a self-propelled process", we should rather be asking "what is the relationship of particular kinds of space to particular social processes". In other words, we should try and understand how specific kinds of spaces come to be constructed. Useful

distinctions he makes are those between legal and illegal space, and controlled and uncontrolled space. He describes illegal settlements as "less closely integrated into state-run urban structures"(p31). "(H)ouses do not conform to codes; amenities do not meet established standards; and construction, local services and other businesses take place outside of labour, commercial, and tax regulations"(p31). For Cooper(1983), legal space does not define urban social structure, it is only an attempt to forge a hegemonic urban order. I have found Coopers'(1983) suggestions a useful structuring mechanism for portraying the following aspects of the gender differentiated life experiences of African women and men in Durban.

In 1904 approximately twenty eight percent of the town's total population were classified as African(Maylam, 1985), of whom approximately ninety five percent were men(3). The main source of employment was togt or casual labour on the docks. As early as the 1870's and 1880's, Shepstone, an archetypal symbol of colonial power, implemented various regulations to discipline and control these togt workers. A registration system, payment of fees, wearing of badges, control over living space in the form of barracks, and the attempt during the 1880's to destroy all independent shacks in the dock area, served in various ways as measures of controlling the 'work' and 'social' space of the dock workers(La Hausse, 1984; Padayachee and Haines, 1985). The remaining African men survived as ricksha pullers; borough police; employees in offices of merchants or machine shops and domestic workers(La Hausse, 1984, estimates the African servant population between 1902 - 1909 as approximately 2000).

It is interesting to note the contrast between these early stages in the development of Durban's economy with the more recent decades, ie. 1950 - 1980. In the former period, domestic work was both dominated by men and, importantly, was relatively well paid(La Hausse, 1984:31; see also Ch 4,

footnote 2). In the more recent period, domestic work is commonly considered 'women's work'(cf.Gaitskell et.al.,1983)) and is relatively poorly paid. This means that the current vertical and horizontal gender division of labour (cf. Cock et.al., 1983), so central to the racist, capitalist social division of labour existing in South Africa today, is by no means a biological given.

In other words, the stereotype associating women with domestic work, as a 'natural outgrowth', as it were, of her 'reproductive' and 'domestic' duties in the home, is therefore rendered an ideological construction. Men and women are both, obviously, equally physically capable of performing the tasks required in domestic labour (both paid and unpaid)(4). It would be interesting nevertheless, to investigate the effects on the gender construction of African working-class men, given that domestic labour is and has been dominantly defined as 'women's' work(5).

There were relatively few African women living in Durban in the early 1900's (approximately five percent of total enumerated African population). These women had moved to the towns either to escape poverty or the burden of agricultural labour (Marks and Unterhalter, 1978) or on five day passes to visit and bring beer for "brothers, fathers and sweethearts"(La Hausse,1984).

In discussing the early twenties, Bradford(1984:7) gives additional reasons for female migration to Natal towns. These included elopement, joining husbands and simply running away from home (see also **Natal Mercury** 30/8/1935). A number of the African women living in Durban were single (widowed, divorced or unmarried) and resisted individual forms of patriarchal control by remaining independent of men. As both

Bradford(1984) and La Hausse(1984) show, neither the chiefs nor the white male authorities were impressed by independent or autonomous women. A Chief Magistrate in Durban is quoted as saying: "old natives complain that they are losing control of their womankind; who have become used to these jaunts to town and who, in consequence, have begun to despise the humdrum kraal life" (La Hausse, 1984:48).

This view is corroborated by Bradford (1984:7) who quotes a prominent Natal African politician expressing his feelings against "the solvent effect of capital and the state on patriarchal controls locking females into rural families". He complained: "that process of undermining is entering even into the closest family relationship, into our family life; our womenfolk are getting out of hand and they are leaving us". Furthermore, those females who had defied their elders were recognised by the Whites as having had a history of resisting patriarchal structures which "in turn made them unreliable domestic servants"(Bradford, 1984:7).

The material basis of the majority of these women's independence or autonomy was, by 1910, beer brewing and prostitution (La Hausse, 1984). The reasons why it was women in particular who came to keep themselves alive by these two measures are important for understanding a) their position in the towns, b) their numerous protests, boycotts and riots against municipal beerhalls in subsequent decades and c) their relationship to 'controlled' and 'uncontrolled' urban space.

It has been suggested that the desperation of chronically destitute women, who had fled farms and reserves, been blocked off from the labour market, or whose menfolk were denied family wages, were "tempted to turn into commodities the use values they inherently owned"(Bradford, 1984:12). In other words, Bradford(1984) acknowledges how poverty amongst women,

proletarianisation of single males, "combined with a tradition of premarital sexual intimacy and the breakdown of sanctions ensuring marriage after seduction, had...contributed to a veritable sexual revolution by the 1920's" (p12). At the same time, however, we are warned that the perceptions of black patriarchs and white officials of "innumerable urban African women" as whores, was a partial reflection of the "double standard of sexual morality, and male antagonism to women who flouted feminine roles" (p12). In any event, these women who earned their living from prostitution, had an interest in boycotting beerhalls. They had more chance of finding clients in an 'uncontrolled' space like a shebeen, rather than the policed beerhalls. It was their means of redirecting the wage packet.

Bradford(1984:10) further explains that beer brewing also was an attractive option for women, because firstly, *utshwala* was important to the men. It "was a core component of working class culture among Zulu speaking men". They were the wage labourers with cash to spend and the women would be assured of a market for the commodity. Secondly, the sexual division of labour within the pre-colonial Zulu homestead had allocated beer brewing to the women so it would have been a traditionally familiar skill. Thirdly, it was relatively remunerative and, fourthly, women were able to combine 'domestic' duties with 'home industry' in its production. This last point is significant given that many women would have plenty non-wage labour to complete in any one day, and the spatial congruence of the two sets of tasks played an important role in shaping their coping strategies.

Moreover, beer brewing was no longer so traditional. The use of additives increased the speed of fermentation which made the process less time-consuming than in the rural culture(Bradford,1984). This meant that individual women would have additional time for other activities -

especially if they were on their own and could not rely on other members of a homestead to assist with domestic labour. They could also make more beer in less time. Bradford(1984) further argues that in the shebeens, male control over women's labour and sexuality was undermined.

In sum, beer brewing was an important component of women's economic activity. Such activity might have been marginal to the 'general' economy of Durban, but it certainly wasn't to the women's survival. Their petty-commodity production was crucial to urban subsistence. Furthermore, if they were living with men as wives or as lovers, their contribution to the household economy, albeit as a supplement to males' wages, would have given them some basis for challenging men's authority.

The beer brewers, prostitutes and other 'casual workers', such as those women who lived off petty trading in used clothes, home-sewn clothes, cooked food or laundry work(Wells,1982; La Hausse,1984) were "too footloose to discipline properly"(Cooper, 1983:22). They were not engaged in formal capital-labour wage relations and did not live in municipally provided and controlled barracks. Many of these women, in other words, avoided the 'time-space' disciplines imposed on the wage-workers by both capital and the local state. Many lived in stables, ricksha sheds, backyards and rented rooms(La Hausse, 1984:47). 'Home' for many of the beer brewers was the same space that accommodated living, working and selling: that is, brewing, domestic labour and exchange. It is unclear from the secondary sources whether many of these women cared for their own children in these circumstances, or if they were sent 'home' to the rural areas. Such spaces served as self-contained productive units that were perceived as peripheral to, or as servicing the 'main' male wage-labourers. Although peripheral in spatial and visibility terms, the brewers were far from insignificant or invisible in either moral or

economic terms, as far as the local state was concerned.

The 1908 Native Beer Act, for instance, was the first formal legislation passed by the Natal Parliament with the aim of suppressing informal brewing (Maylam, 1985). The municipality was instead to benefit from monopolising both the manufacture and supply of beer. The accumulated profits stored in the Native Revenue Account were meant to be used for 'Native' administration and housing (La Hausse, 1984; Maylam, 1985). The controls on beer brewing were therefore fundamentally linked to the creation of municipal beer halls and the establishment of barracks as a major form of accommodation. These new measures had the effect of a multiple pronged attack on the women and increased state control over the men.

At the economic level, there were few if any other job opportunities besides beer brewing available. Many women and young girls therefore faced the risk of deportation, or were forced into prostitution (Dhlomo, 1975:16). The prohibitions on shebeens and creation of beerhalls meant that the prostitutes' incomes were also affected. The supply of alcohol and sex was no longer spatially congruent and therefore imposed certain limits on prospective clientele. Meanwhile, men's dependence on wage-labour was intensified. Given the close relationship between labour control and housing, men who were unemployed could not find a bed in the municipal barracks.

These economic constraints were not the only effects on African women's and men's lives. The barracks and beerhalls allowed for significant control over personal lives, sexual and social space. For instance, those women who persisted in brewing beer risked harassment by male police or intrusive raids on their living 'space'. That is, the categorisation of

these women's activities as illegal by the dominant ideology, by definition, made them vulnerable to police enforcement of 'law and order'.

Moreover, given that the barracks prioritised single sex accommodation for wage-workers, women (whether wives or single) were excluded from hostels. The limited amount of alternative accommodation also exacerbated the tenuousness of their 'autonomous' positions(6). On the other hand, the men, as wage-labourers, were disciplined and controlled. They had to be 'maintained' on a daily basis in order to continue working, so they were housed. As long as men were the majority of the labour-force, the state controlled barracks were simultaneously male-dominated spaces.

Furthermore, the barracks, compounds and a minimal amount of family accommodation all served to exacerbate the conditions where "natives were drifting into the grossest immorality"(Torr, 1987:9). The colonialists, therefore, at least at the level of housing provision, did not only benefit from cheap reproduction of the labour force, but actively controlled both African men's and women's sexuality(7). In the process they were responsible for creating the material conditions whereby their own racist stereotypes (with respect to African sexuality at any rate) could be reinforced.

In other words, in a society where heterosexuality was a presumed norm, strict controls over personal living space in barracks prohibited men from engaging in such relations. Moreover, any 'homosexual' liaisons were stamped out as alien or perverse (cf.Drew, 16/1/81 for evidence in the 1950's). Given a situation, therefore, where patriarchal gender relations assume that men have some greater urge or desire for sex than women, it is noteworthy that white men were serviced by eight municipally sanctioned and police controlled brothels (La Hausse, 1984:105), while black men were

officially prohibited from engaging in any sexual activity at all. Yet, when they went to seek out informal 'prostitutes' they would be labelled the 'noble savage' (Etherington, 1985). Moreover, black women as a whole, especially prostitutes, and white women prostitutes were all termed immoral and criminal, while the men were merely satisfying basic needs (Beall, 1982).

In sum, the local state creation of the beerhalls and brewing monopolies served patriarchal, capitalist and racist social relations very directly. Like the hostels, the beerhalls were controlled, and reinforced a male-dominated working-class culture; they divorced the supply of alcohol from sex (affecting the prostitute's incomes); they intensified the dependence of men on wage labour; they minimised women's position in the economy; and they provided the revenue for the maintenance of the 'Native' administration system and municipal barracks (Bradford, 1984). Moreover, the material conditions were created whereby racist stereotypes of African sexuality could be perpetuated.

This new system of controls however, generated its own contradictions. There were protests, petitions and beer hall boycotts in 1913, 1926 and 1929. Many women, for instance, managed to avoid the authorities' controls between 1908 and 1936, because their shebeens were outside of Durban's borough boundaries. Furthermore, the controlled urban spaces did not remain unchallenged for long.

Bradford's (1984) paper on the beer hall riots in rural Natal in 1929 delineates the complexities surrounding women, men, beerhalls, and male-controlled working-class organisations such as the ICU yase Natal. Although the bulk of Bradford's (1984) paper is directed to rural Natal, some interesting observations are made in relation to Durban. It was the

one city where African working-class men were centrally involved in the organisation of protests against canteens but for very particular reasons. It is argued that the ICU (largely representing these working-class men) were deliberately recruiting women from shebeens "in an attempt to combat waning finances and membership" (Bradford, 1984; 5). There were also rumours that it was the women who directed the Durban protest in its anti-canteen channels. The women were so conspicuous during the beer boycott that the "union's processions incorporated members of the ICU's Women's Auxiliary armed with sjambok and other weapons" (Bradford, 1984; 5). These women supposedly projected an image of militant aggression and violated the feminine role assigned them by society (Bradford, 1984).

It is hoped that the example of beer brewing and protests has sufficiently illustrated the point that (at least certain) African women, primarily because of their gender-specific positions, were confronted by different material conditions to the men, and this difference is central to our understanding of their relationship to urban space and those controls which affected them in gender-specific ways. While Bradford (1984) insists that the women's riots of 1929 were attacking patriarchal, colonial and capitalist social relations, not all women's gender-specific resistance would necessarily be so blatantly opposed to the men of their race-class or other race-classes. This does not, however, deny the fact that resistance, like experience, is differentiated according to gender, where women and men are confronted by different material realities. It is my contention, that this distinction has to be a fundamental part of understanding any social and geographical situation.

Thus far, it has been argued that the relationships between African women, African men and the colonial authorities were ultimately paradoxical and sometimes pulling in quite opposite directions. The colonialists' quest

for labour and the growth of the capitalist sector led to the undermining of the customary socio-economic relations. In attacking both the means and relations of production as well as the institutions holding them together (eg. polygamy and **lobolo**), the colonial policies had conflicting effects for the women. Patriarchal customary authority was partially eroded, yet the previous guaranteed security of the African women within the patriarchal homesteads was simultaneously threatened.

Some opportunities were presented for women to escape the control of parents or husbands (mission stations or towns), yet the material effect of the Natal Native Code and various Land Acts meant that in many ways the women, while 'independent' were still in a structurally subordinate position to men. African men, particularly migrants, were hardly in a position of power with respect to the colonialists, often being subjected to harsh controls themselves (La Hausse, 1984). However, evidence presented to the 1906/7 Natal Native Affairs Commission "reflects a general sympathy for African men with regard to their plight when deserted by the women, despite continued stated abhorrence by whites for the practise of polygamy and the exploitation of female agricultural labour " (Beall, 1982:86). The "growing independence and laxity among Nguni women" was resented by white men and African men alike (Beall, 1982:86).

Finally, although independent and autonomous in some ways, African women in the towns in general still struggled to survive. As beer brewers and prostitutes they were not treated generously by the authorities. The former competed with the beer monopolies which were crucial for the continuance of the Native Administration department revenue fund, while prostitutes were blamed for causing social immorality and chaos. On the one hand, many of these women were excluded from the municipally controlled living spaces. But on the other, they were still subjected to

police harassment in the uncontrolled shack areas and shebeens. Ultimately, a prioritisation of male labour, a Christian bourgeois 'nuclear' family ideology and the colonialists' desire to keep 'superfluous' African people out of the cities, meant that for African women, pre-existing forms of subordination were transformed rather than eradicated. The next section of this chapter explores similar aspects of a later period in the growth of Durban, that is 1940 - 1960.

5.4 GENDER RELATED ASPECTS OF AFRICAN SOCIAL LIFE IN DURBAN 1940 - 1960

A thorough analysis of the multifaceted complexity of African social life in Durban during the two decades 1940 - 1960 is beyond the scope of this section of the chapter(8). My primary intention here is to raise those points which are significant for informing a gendered perspective of how urban space is both site and process. Further research is therefore necessary to 'tease out the many ambiguities and contradictions that existed between African women of different class positions, between elite African men and African men in general, or between organisations such as, the African National Congress Womens League (ANCWL); the Federation of South African Women (FEDSAW); the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) and the African National Congress (ANC) itself.

First, the material conditions that African women of a variety of class positions were facing will be briefly outlined. Second, the kinds of issues some of these women chose to take up as a form of political resistance will be considered. It is argued that the women experienced the material conditions of Durban's space and environment in a gender-specific way and their opposition to these conditions was accordingly directly linked to, and resulted from, this gender-specific experience. Finally, some of the implications of the destruction of Cato

Manor - an 'illegal space' shanty town and the creation of KwaMashu - a 'legal' space formal township - will be explored. The contrasts between the two types of urban space will hopefully illuminate some of the historically constructed gender-specific connections between African women and the overall process of urbanisation in South Africa. Elements central to this process include: pass resistance, urbanisation controls, influx controls, prioritisation of 'family' accommodation on the one hand and single sex hostels for men (primarily) on the other, rent boycotts, shack removals, employment conditions and legal status.

5.4.1 MATERIAL CONDITIONS

Besides those people living in Durban throughout the first three decades of the 20th Century, there was in the 1940's and 1950's a massive influx of particularly African women to the towns (Mackenzie, 1984(9) Simkins, 1982; Yawitch, 1984). The women that were leaving the rural areas did so for a number of reasons. Second wives for example, who were not being supported, and younger daughters of farm workers and labour tenants who did not have work and wanted to escape the patriarchal authority of fathers and farmers, are cited by Yawitch (1984) as prime candidates for migration. Edwards(forthcoming) in his description of conditions in M'Kumbane (in Cato Manor) also claims that most of those entering the area as individuals were women.

These women reportedly moved to Durban because health and medical facilities in the rural areas were inadequate,(10) and women remained in the city because of childbirth complications, impoverishment and an inability to return home. Other women may have arrived in Durban because a male spouse failed to send money to a rural home, or they had heard of a husbands' infidelity and would move with their children, or the tragic

dislocations in the countryside pushed women to the city to start a new life. Although the reasons varied, the significant point is that women did not just move as part of a 'family' but as individuals.

The types of activities these women would be able to be involved in, included petty trading(11), beer brewing, laundry work, work in Indian shops, domestic work, professional work. It is unclear if many women in the shantytowns themselves earned money via renting to tenants and sub-tenants, or if they merely benefitted from husbands or lovers who kept lodgers (cf. Wells, 1983). There is also evidence of prostitution : "an expert in morals has revealed that Africans are the worst in morals. The expert said there are 700 prostitutes in Durban. 1 White : 17 African prostitutes" (22/3/1947 Ilanga lase Natal; see also 23/7/1955; 20/8/1955). The expert's focus on morality blinded him/her to the fact that women were forced to earn an income either to supplement inadequate male (husband's) wages or for their own subsistence. The lack of casual work and the difficulties African women had in obtaining trading licences (Ilanga lase Natal 3/5/1947) was also ignored in this view. Moreover, prostitutes that managed to survive on their own terms (ie. those who escaped pimps) could well have been taking control of their own lives, thereby avoiding individual patriarchal control.

Other factors relevant to understanding the material conditions of life in Cato Manor are raised by Edwards (forthcoming) in his chapter on "The growth of a new shantytown community". Firstly, it is claimed that both men and women were resisting full proletarianisation. The majority of male wage-workers who came from nearby peri-urban areas preferred to commute/migrate. Those living close to the city were reluctant to work there, preferring to use the city environment in ways that could assist in sustaining pre-capitalist social relations. This group often included

women. Second, given that there were more economic opportunities and hostel facilities available to men, "African women were more marginalised in the city than African men" (Edwards, forthcoming, Ch 2). Thirdly, in the late 1940's Africans became interested in establishing co-operative societies which assisted in developing African aspirant entrepreneurs, and M'Kumbane for example, was one of the wealthier shantytowns in Durban. "African women who already controlled the household budget became centrally involved in many co-operative societies" (Edwards, forthcoming, Ch 2). These women clearly enjoyed the latter societies' strong concerns with economic matters (*Ilanga lase Natal*, 16/8/1947).

By the 1950's, when manufacturing in Durban began to dominate the economy, many employment opportunities were opening up. These job prospects, the higher salaries on offer in comparison to those being paid to domestic workers, and the "very important psychological reasons why African men did not like domestic service" (*Ilanga lase Natal*, 20/4/1957) all contributed to the domestic labour shortage (*Ilanga lase Natal* 20/4/1957; 15/3/1958). An article in *Ilanga lase Natal*, (20/4/1959) suggested that African men "like to see what they are working for in cash, not kind and also say that it makes them feel more manly not to do domestic work. That is easy enough to understand against the feeling of a Zulu, with his tradition as warrior, in a job where he has to wash dishes and take orders from a woman" (my emphasis).

Furthermore, an article in the *Guardian* (29/9/1955), describes how African girls were being trained specifically for domestic labour. Commenting on the Bantu Education Std. 5 syllabus for housewifery, it was reported that the latter was "devoted to the theory and practise of cleaning and scrubbing up utensils and kitchen equipment, brushes and brooms, carpets and shoes and glass. Daily and weekly cleaning of a coal

stove, laying a fire, sweeping and dusting of various surfaces"(12).

As far as physical conditions relating to housing were concerned, Edwards (forthcoming) asserts that by 1950 more than twenty percent of the total African population in Durban were living in the shantytown area. He claims that soon after the 1940 riots, 4456 African families lived in 1264 shacks. Africans elsewhere in Durban began to move into Cato Manor, which was to be liberated "from all forms of unwanted external authority" (Edwards, forthcoming, Ch 1).

Edwards (forthcoming) is not clear what he means by 'family' although he notes that many people moving into the area as individuals were women and that the area was seen as a 'special' place for relationships whether married or unmarried. There is also evidence in Cato Manor of female-headed households (Preston-Whyte, 1978) and a special area called 'Place of Darkness' where 'gay' male domestic workers from the Berea would have their own shacks (Edwards, 1986). The different connotations of 'family' for the individuals living in Cato Manor at the time, for officials who controlled the later removals, and for academics writing about the subject are important in unravelling the implications of the destruction of the shantytowns and the creation of the 'formal' townships (see below 5.4.2).

In the remainder of Durban, there was little legal family accommodation and few spaces in the women's hostels (see Ilanga lase Natal on overcrowding and inadequate facilities in women's hotels: 6/7/1946; 12/10/1946; 8/2/1947; 3/7/1948; 13/10/1956). There was no accommodation for infants or expectant women in the hostels (Edwards; forthcoming) and given that a number of women coming into the town did so to take advantage of superior medical facilities, they would be left with little choice but to move into

a shantytown. The problematic meaning of 'family' and the difficult and deprived conditions many Africans were living under are further evidenced in the multitude of reports on baby dumping, illegitimate children, malnutrition, tuberculosis, starvation, etc. (see for example *Ilanga lase Natal*: 13/4/1946; 12/4/1947; 8/1/1949; 28/7/1951; 20/4/1957; 25/5/1957; 12/12/1959).

A final aspect of the material conditions in which African women and men lived is that concerned with sexual violence, morality and controls. It is an area worthy of far more detailed research, which should, amongst other things identify the class basis (13) of the acceptance or opposition to these conditions and ideas, and the extent of their influence. Specific pointers that can be identified here are as follows:

- 1) The Fagan-Barrett report of the 1940's for instance contains detailed evidence relating to "African moral and family standards", and "the development of inversion and unnatural vice" (p37, 38).
- 2) There are numerous articles in the *Ilanga lase Natal* citing rape cases (eg. 12/4/1947; 10/5/1947; 5/7/1947; 14/8/1954; 6/10/1956); incidents of women resisting sexual harassment (eg. 2/7/1955; 12/5/1956) and extreme cases of domestic violence such as a wife and girlfriend being killed "after bashing" or "with an axe" (6/4/1957).
- 3) Other reports present a clear picture of certain attitudes towards African women which may or may not have had serious repercussions for women living in Durban and particularly in the informal and uncontrolled shantytowns. For instance, a Mr V L D Maillie, secretary of the African Central and Industrial Society (*Ilanga lase Natal*, 14/9/1946) explained how money had been collected to build an Industrial School for African

women: "Indians are exploiting our women who will in turn work in our businesses as bookkeepers etc, rather than work for Indians who exploit them and satisfy their sexual lusts on them" (my emphasis). (See other articles in 5/5/1951; 18/5/1951; 21/7/1951; 6/10/1951; 15/3/1952; 20/8/1955; 23/2/1957; 10/3/1956; 28/4/1956; 6/12/1958).

4) While Edwards (forthcoming, Ch 1) quotes a Mr T Phewa reporting on an account of rioting in Cato Manor in 1949 : "Then the cops arrived - navy blue coats. We sat on their trucks and Pelwane came out. He said we could take everything - just leave me alone. Ja, but you see we just laughed and said we just wanted his women - the police - they could take the blankets and things. He just ran away with all the others" (my emphasis). In other words, the looters were more interested in the women (ie. as spoils of war) than in the material goods. This raises doubts as to the common gender participation or acceptance of certain styles of resistance.

The precise extent to which African women (of all classes) experienced direct physical/sexual violence or other sexual harassment is hard to measure. It is even more difficult to calculate how much their experiences of patriarchal 'sexual' power either undermined them, informed their consciousness, or contributed as a causal factor towards the 'uprising' of the period. While this area clearly needs further research, there is some evidence to suggest that the women who were actively resisting many other structural constraints on their lives were also angered by and consciously fought against sexual harassment. For instance, Edith N is quoted in the *Guardian* (8/9/1955) : "We will never submit to pass laws. We know that these new certificates will put us at the mercy of every policeman to kick us about like our husbands" (my emphasis); and Lilian B in the same article : "why should we have to carry

passes and be molested by every policeman?" We need to know much more about which women, from what class position and in what relationship to men, were self-consciously struggling against patriarchal gender relations.

Edwards (forthcoming, Ch 2) gives us some ideas in his discussion of an interesting organisation called the Daughters of Africa (DOA) which by 1946 was well supported by women in the Durban and Pinetown areas.

"The main focus of the movement was concerned with developing African women's concept of their self-worth and dignity; the advancement of women's particular roles in a society that should not be dominated by men; and with discussing the problems of maintaining a household in a city environment... Local branches started craft clubs...and generally attempted to establish the women's role in controlling a decent household and legitimise her influence in broader political issues".

The conflict existing between the ANCWL and the DOA seemed to be less one of difference in aims, than one of political strategy. The latter "were more interested in initiating...independent women's groups in the various shantytown and townships than in seeking to promote an all-embracing city-wide or national movement" (Edwards, forthcoming, Ch 2). In addition, many of these groups "were active in promoting non-racialism, through discussions with Indian women's groups...and through co-operation with Indian women in anti-black marketeer activities". The DOA focused therefore on localised issues, craft clubs and meeting with other women's groups. They were reluctant to be subsumed within a broader national body and desired to advance women's status. The above are all significant pointers suggesting that these women were self-consciously aware of their gender-specific experience and actively worked to deal with their particular conditions in a way that was sensitive to their gender-specificity.

It is furthermore, interesting to observe that the kinds of protests and

issues that (at least some segments of) African women were particularly involved in, are what a number of urban sociologists (eg. Castells, 1978; 1983) have identified as 'urban issues'. The social movements developing in response/resistance to these issues have been labelled 'urban social movements'(14). Some of the struggles documented for the period such as those over increased rents(15); evictions(16); and location of and inadequacy of bus services(17) would fall well within the ambit of 'urban social movements'. Other struggles of the time, including those pertaining to a rejection of medical certificates and 'certificates of privilege'(18); the rejection of passes(19) and the boycott of beerhalls(20), would for urban sociologists more conventionally be labelled 'political resistance.' In other words, they would not necessarily be related specifically to the urban material conditions of individuals' lives in the same way as rents or bus fares, for instance.

While African women's resistance to medical certificates (Mackenzie, 1984), passes (Walker, 1982; Wells, 1982; 1983) and rejection of municipal beerhalls (Bradford, 1984; Ladlau, 1975) in particular have been fairly well documented, the specific connections and interrelationships between these so-called 'non-specifically urban' issues and the other 'urban economic' issues (like rent and bus fares) have been less well teased out (Castells, 1983 makes some of those connections for non-South African examples). It is my contention that all of these issues, the specific role of women's active participation in them, and the way in which specific groups of African women were experiencing urbanisation all have to be seen as part of the same process.

In other words, neither an analysis of "women's resistance" nor one of 'urban development' will be adequate without considering how the socially constructed gender roles of African women and men, from different class

positions, affected their relationships to urban space; the urban economy and urban political resistance. Again, this is an area that needs far more detailed research, but I will raise a number of issues which would seem relevant to an understanding of the relationship between African women's role in popular resistance in the 1950's and African urbanisation as a whole.

The medical examination certificates; the letters of privilege, and pass books were all directed at controlling the numbers of African women moving into the urban areas. As Cheryl Walker (1982:127) has observed, in the early apartheid period the state was more concerned with the "growing permanency of the urban African community" that African women's presence revealed, rather than controlling them as labour units. The legislation (Section 10) provided for a small number of **wives** and unmarried **daughters**, implying that those women's function was perceived primarily as "reproducers of the already existing urbanised work-force" (Walker, 1982:28).

At the same time, some of the more vociferous and militant African women involved in the Durban pass resistance were from Cato Manor at least according to **Ilanga lase Natal** and the **Guardian**. The newspaper reports also seem to imply that the majority of women who protested against removals; shack demolition; rent; transport problems and beerhalls were from Cato Manor. It seems, therefore, that the physical proximity of these women in space, and the uncontrolled nature of Cato Manor, facilitated a certain organisation and integration of the community. I would argue furthermore that those women resisting the pass laws, in their struggle for the right to remain in the urban area, were struggling to maintain their very existence as women and/or as mothers.

It was **women** "who formed a large percentage of the 'legal' population who were threatened by the removals" from Cato Manor (Walker, 1982:231). It was the **women** who were the beer brewers and on the receiving end of numerous police raids and destruction of **isishimiyane** (21) and it was also **women** who suffered from inadequate transport routes. This was because transport networks are prioritised for wage-labourers and many of the activities the Cato Manor women were involved in would require alternate routes. For instance, those earning a living as domestics or via laundry work, would have had to travel into white suburbs. The authorities were doing their best to prevent **women** from obtaining trading licenses (**Ilanga lase Natal**, 3/5/1947); also in the 1940's only African **males** could queue for food under the Durban City Council scheme (Edwards, forthcoming). As their role as mothers required that they control the household budget (**Ilanga lase Natal** 15/5/1954; Edwards, forthcoming), the **women** would feel most immediately the pressure of increased rent, food and transport costs. It was also their concern and often sole responsibility for children, which implies that 'family' for many of the women resisting passes in the 1950's meant something closer to 'women and children' than to 'nuclear' (Wells, 1982:362-363 makes a similar point).

In other words, what women were doing in the city (eg. illegal or informal trading); where they were living (eg. Cato Manor) and their responsibilities as mothers (eg. carers of children and of the household budget), were all material realities which affected their relationship to urban issues and to labour controls in a gender-specific way. Their resistance against any of the general pressures of the time, was therefore a simultaneous struggle against the structural conditions which subordinated them in a particular way as women.

Wells (1983) suggests that it was particularly single women and/or female heads of households (especially if employed in 'informal' or 'casual' employment) that were the most vulnerable in the face of pass restrictions. She further argues that those women not tied to wage-labour and who were desperate to maintain some economic opportunities, were in part also resisting full proletarianisation. It was the 'home-based' workers who would lose the most economically, and who therefore responded with the strongest intensity. This militance was probably enhanced by the fact that these women were less subordinated to bureaucratic discipline than the men.

Bourquin (8/9/1980) offers some additional comments as to why Zulu women in particular were so militant at the time. "It had been said beforehand that these protests should be staged by the women, so the men would not lose their jobs"; the women were free and "had more time at their disposal"; "the police would handle women less roughly". So for Bourquin, the men "were obviously the ringleaders"; "there were a handful of men who participated and saw to it that the right thing was done at the right time but the masses were provided by the women". Available evidence pertaining to other instances of women's protest seem to contradict some of Bourquin's views about the inability of women to lead(22). I would argue therefore that his opinions and their implications for our understanding of the women's resistance need further testing.

Other questions that need further exploration include the fact that the 1949 riots and 1960 Cato Manor murders were sustained primarily by men, whereas the 1959 riots were directed and led by the women (Ladlau, 1975). Is there any significance to the fact that the kind of violence evident in the 1959 riots was qualitatively different to that in the other two events? What did it mean that some ANCWL supporters were keen to assist Mr

Pelwane, the Indian shopkeeper who was being attacked by Africans in 1949(Edwards, forthcoming)?

Did it matter that there was a shift in focus during the period of the 'disturbances' in 1959? Initially, these 'disturbances' "appear to have been spontaneous demonstrations of anger" focusing on the beerhalls (Ladlau, 1975:138, my emphasis). The women emptied the Corporation beer on the ground and "beat up" any men who tried to drink it (Hadebe 26/4/1981). They resented the fact that men spent their wages on beer, came home drunk and "were useless to the family" (Thipe 26/4/1979). Yet by mid-July when the ANCWL had "assumed the initiative", the liquor question was of secondary importance - being superceded by poor wages and the implementation of influx control (Ladlau, 1975:138). Given what Bradford (1984) has argued about the beerhall riots of 1929, and the fact that Leo Kuper (in Ladlau, 1975:138,9) "has suggested that the (1959) disturbances contained elements of an embryonic suffragette movement among Natal's African women", it seems that this altered emphasis may well be significant. It raises questions about the relationship between the mass of women protesters, the ANCWL (as a formal organisation), the ANC itself, and how the causes of spontaneous anger on the part of the women protesters were articulated by the leadership.

So far I have explored some of the material conditions of the struggles certain African women were experiencing in the 1940's and 1950's. The struggles and conditions have been related to gender roles, identities and women's overall position in the South African economy. The final section of this chapter now assesses some of the implications of the state's new housing policy adopted in the 1950's and what it meant for those women who lost their battle against passes and the removal of Cato Manor. The destruction of Cato Manor and creation of Kwa Mashu is well described by,

(Cooper, 1983:33,4): "(t)he spatial restructuring best fit a direct relationship of worker to employer rather than the complex interweaving of ties within a neighbourhood".

5.4.2 IMPLICATIONS OF PRIORITISING 'FAMILY HOUSING'

What happened in the shifting of Africans from their 'informal' settlements in Cato Manor to the 'formal' settlement of Kwa-Mashu, has come to be symbolic of a wide range of similar government interventions in South African cities during the so-called Apartheid era (cf. Lodge(1983) on Sophiatown; Western(1981) on District Six, etc.). Coopers' (1983) interpretation of this shifting of blacks from centrally located informal settlements to suburban, planned housing estates rests upon a 'labour control' thesis that leaves the role of gender relationships unproblematicized, as I shall show shortly. It is important to recognize, however, that it is not simply Marxist authors, such as Cooper(1983) who have ignored the gender question. The conventional wisdom on the shift 'from shantytown to township' in the Durban case, for example, has been established by liberal scholars such as Maasdorp and Humphries(1975). In their view, the removal of Africans from Cato Manor to Kwa Mashu was primarily a demonstration of white racism, 'social distancing' and unsympathetic government evaluations of the needs of urban Africans. This insensitivity, according to Maasdorp and Humphries(1975), was 'dysfunctional' in economic terms. insofar as it increased the overall costs of labour reproduction, and undermined the petty commodity sector of the urban economy. Cooper(1983) restores some balance to this view, but what both have in common is an inability to grasp why it was that government wanted African urban life 'tidied up' in particular ways in the shift to Kwa Mashu. After all, the shift from Cato Manor to Kwa Mashu was not simply a locational shift : it was a shift, more fundamentally, in

the connections between physical forms of settlement, and the structure of social relations.

As has been pointed out in the discussion of Durban in the early part of the Twentieth Century, there has always been a strong relationship between labour control and provision of accommodation. The fact that "housing policy emphasised a direct relationship between employment and residence and residence and the direct authority of managers and bureaucrats over residential space" (Cooper, 1983:29) was accurately reflected in the housing schemes of the 1950's. Bourquin, an ex-director of Bantu Administration, in two interviews in 1979 and 1980 said: "we as a municipal department, or even as a board, have always argued that if we have to control labour in an area, we also ought to control the accommodation or the housing, because in terms of ... existing legislation and policy, people should be allowed to work in an urban area only if they have approved accommodation" (18/10/1979). "Control was necessary for a number of reasons, namely the numerical preponderance of blacks in the urban areas" (Bourquin, 6/11/1980). Moreover the Bantu Administration department only had to find accommodation for those "legally employed in the municipal area of Durban" (Bourquin, 18/10/1979).

The combination therefore, of urban Africans requiring 'legal' jobs; the drastic shortage of housing in general and the accommodation for single women in particular(23), influx control measures and the marriage pre-requisite for moving into 'family' accommodation in KwaMashu (see *Natal Mercury*, 18/11/1960; *Ilanga lase Natal*, 28/3/1959; *Guardian*, 23/9/1954), all had drastic material effects on the lives of both African men and women.

Only minimal amounts of 'family' accommodation had been available in Durban

from the early part of the century, and then only for a small number of the African petty bourgeois elite (Torr, 1987; La Hausse, 1984). Given the government's intransigence with respect to the provision of 'family' accommodation, the mass construction of 'family' housing in the late 1950's and early 1960's could, for some African people, therefore, be perceived as a victory for the dominated working classes. As Cooper (1983:29) suggests: "Might not the changing structure of the city... represent real concessions by capital and real gains by workers: better houses, water, a fuller family life".

It seems, however, that 'family' for Cooper, as for Bourquin (6/11/1980) is an unproblematic concept. In their discussions of housing policy, both of them appear to conflate a specific 'family' form (ie, a monogamous, 'nuclear' couple with one or more children) with a certain household structure. Michele Barrett (1980), for instance, asserted the necessity of distinguishing between household structure and family form and Gittins (1985) has shown how the nuclear family is a historically specific social product that has only really evolved, even in Europe, during the past 300 years. Moreover, in South Africa, the vestiges from the pre-colonial practice of polygamous unions, as well as the impact of the migrant labour system, meant that by the 1950's the reality of many African women's and men's lives was a far cry from the nuclear model. (See earlier section 5.4.1 for existence of multiplicity of 'family' and household forms in Cato Manor).

The fact that more African men than women were in legal employment(24) together with the fact that more accommodation was made available to men, either in the form of 'family' housing or single sex hostels, had a number of repercussions. For those men living in the Cato Manor transit camp who were not married, there was pressure to get married if they could not get

into a hostel and wanted to remain in town. This, in turn, meant that they would automatically have great 'individual-structural' power in any relationship with a woman. Willson (14/2/1981), an ex-Port Natal Administration Board official, for instance depicts the attitude of some men as "how he'd have married some old bag there, you know as far as he was concerned she was just an old bag".

There is also reference made in **Ilanga lase Natal** (28/3/1959) to the fact that women were only marrying to avoid getting deported. Ladlau (1975:43), moreover, points out that many 'legals' (like single women with children and extended families) did not qualify for family accommodation. If these statements are accurate then an immediate material effect of the housing policy was to force women into marriages they may not have wanted to be in. Furthermore, the total powers given to male guardians under the Natal Native Code meant that these women were also being forced into a position of legal, structural powerlessness they might otherwise have chosen to avoid. Simons (1968:206) for instance, outlines how the Daughters of Africa protested to the Native Laws Commission of 1946-8 against the powers given to male guardians.

In addition, it was suggested that the Natal Native Code be used to rid the city of unattached women (**Ilanga lase Natal**, 9/4/1955; 28/3/1959). Bourquin (6/11/1980) explains how he was opposed to the by-product of a policy which meant that as a last resort, women entirely on their own would have to live as lodgers in the Townships. He argued that the tenuous position of these women encouraged prostitution. Makhathini (27/9/1981) corroborates this perspective in his comments: "Location girls don't just have one man - most of them are trying to make a living to earn money"; "Sometimes married women sleep with male lodgers as prostitutes to make money" and when a woman is a lodger in a house she "begs the male owner to

carry on staying there - to do so she will sleep with him".

Other women were forced into domestic labour. Willson (23/1/1981), an ex-Port Natal Administration Board official, is quoted as having said that "shebeen queens were very independent...otherwise she wouldn't do that sort of thing". He also did not think that shebeen queens were necessarily any worse than other African women as a whole. Yet these independent women "would not be allowed in KwaMashu. They would become employed as domestics or whatever" (25). As independent and perhaps single women, these shebeen queens are classic examples of how the prohibition on domestic brewing combined with a prioritisation of 'family' housing meant that, if they wanted to remain in Durban in 'legal' space, they had little choice but to become domestic workers. At least then there was a slight chance of shelter in a backyard room in such cases.

However, the relative security of a roof and a job were accompanied by new kinds of controls. For instance, married domestic servants were not allowed to reside in servant's quarters (Bourquin, 6/11/1980). There was no recreational space which, in turn, assisted in the maintenance of 'white space purification' (see Ilanga lase Natal 24/4/1954). That is, domestic workers were not able to congregate in public in white areas. Moreover, the 'madam' would sometimes choose the boyfriend of the domestic worker (Edwards, forthcoming) and there were often strict rules pertaining to friends' entertainment and curfew hours (Wells, 1982).

Those women, who did not get married, or find a room in one of the few women's hostels or as domestic 'live-in' workers, seemingly disappeared. For instance, Willson (14/2/1981) in discussing how shebeen queens were forced into alternative employment such as domestic labour said: "A lot of people (eg. rack renters) disappeared". The question arises, where to?

Back to the reserves? Bourquin (18/10/1979), for instance, has noted that 12-15000 people who did not qualify to live in KwaMashu evaded their department and disappeared. There were allegedly many Basuto women from Matatiele who had come to Durban to trade. They moved out, although Bourquin did not know where to. He suggested that some moved into shacks in Newlands. Single women, therefore, and women who avoided 'full proletarianisation' seem to be in the majority among those who suffered the brunt of influx and urbanisation controls; and it was they who were kept moving from 'illegal' shack-space to 'illegal' shack-space. Preston-Whyte (1978) provides a case-study of one particular woman's life who was affected in some of the ways described above(26).

A further interesting and important side-effect of the Cato Manor removals for married women was the way in which people were moved into the new areas. Bourquin (8/9/1980), for instance, comments that in the township, the only "differentiation we made at the time was in regard to the place of work". "We took an arbitrary line down West Street and split Durban into two areas - North and South. Then said, anyone who works South will move to Umlazi and anyone who works North will move to KwaMashu". The division was mostly "to assist them in regard to cost of travel and also ease of travel". The focus again on wage-labour, meant that in general, men's jobs would define where the women would live. If a man's wife worked for wages say, her location vis a vis her job was not the deciding factor. In fact Bourquin (8/9/1980) remarked on "a demonstration by Bantu (sic) women about the inadequacy of the bus services...they said it was no good us taking them to KwaMashu unless we could supply them with adequate buses...and they wanted a through service,...and that was strongly resisted by the transport department".

In addition, Bourquin (18/10/1979) maintained that in the removal there was

no real breakdown of community links: "I don't think moving them out to KwaMashu had any psychological effect on the community as such". Two African women interviewed in 1979 and 1980, however, seemed to differ with Bourquin. A. Mnguni (19/7/1979) for example, said:

"In Cato Manor people were very co-operative with one another".

"They would always discuss things".

"People used to help each other".

"Myself I say Cato Manor we were much better ...of unity which I think is very important".

"Here, honestly, nobody cares for one other person".

"We used to gather as women to discuss our problems".

Likewise Albertina Mzimela (23/9/1980) in describing the "sense of community" in the Good Hope area of M'Kumbane used adjectives such as 'loving' and 'caring'. These perceptions and changes are worthy of further research. Nevertheless, I would tentatively suggest that the contrast between Cato Manor (where many women would have been combining 'domestic' duties with income earning activities, where the 'informal' housing arrangements allowed for easy access to one's neighbours and where many of the women's activities would occur in a collective space) and the formal, ordered and controlled environment of KwaMashu was vast. In the latter case, the housing types and layout reinforced individualism and separation, and structurally minimised the kinds of networks and linkages that were formerly possible between many of the women. The stage was set for contributing to the isolated housewife depression syndrome that has been discussed in other contexts (cf. Oakley, 1974).

A further implication of the 'family' housing policy that should be raised here is that relating to widows. Under the Natal Native Code and the rule of perpetual tutelage, widows would have to have male guardians. In principle, this may seem an appropriate law, given that men are structurally prioritised as breadwinners and providers for women. However, Bourquin (18/10/1979) admitted that the fact widows did not automatically acquire title was "a source of much discontent". He

explained further that in some instances a house could be registered in a male guardian's name if the widow would continue living there. This was not always possible, though, "and the wife had to leave the property and either move back to her home areas or find some other way out". Moreover, a number of guardians (according, again, to Bourquin) "were of a mercenary nature". "They would not have the house transferred, required that it be sold and the proceeds passed onto them". Bourquin claimed he personally disagreed with the system and sometimes closed both eyes. Although as early as 1961 the KwaMashu Residents Association in a 25 point memorandum, requested "that widows should not be ejected from their homes upon the death of their husbands" (*Guardian*, 31/68/1961), the law was only changed in 1978 (De Haas, 1986).

The final comment that deserves mention is how this housing policy physically and structurally reinforced the division, not only between permanent and migrant dwellers, but also between married and single, predicated on 'moral' grounds. Drew (16/1/1981), a one-time superintendent of a hostel in KwaMashu, explained how the hostel area was fenced off from the rest of the township by trees and concrete walls for example. He said "...this was to stop any interference of the social life with the married section by hostel residents or them looking onto men walking around in the nude kind of thing. We did that to maintain morality and that - you know".

It has hopefully become clear in this section how a racist, capitalist, and sexist housing policy actively contributed to the creation of material conditions, whereby racist and sexist stereotypes of black men and women were reinforced, labour was controlled, and the structurally subordinate position of women was entrenched. To conclude this section I will focus on some of the possible implications of the shifting conditions affecting

African women in general during the period 1940 -1960. I aim thereby to concretise my hypothesis of the need to understand gender relations as a part of any social analysis of society and urban form.

In the 1940's and 1950's in Cato Manor in particular, there were many 'independent' and 'autonomous' African women who were either single, unmarried, divorced or widowed. This autonomous status in relation to men had an important bearing on the material opportunities and circumstances of their lives. Often it was closely correlated with the type of remunerative labour they were engaged in. Many women in Cato Manor were petty traders for example. At the time they were not engaged in wage-labour and could combine household activities with income earning (ie. lessening the problems of the double-shift to some extent). They were, furthermore, in a position to meet and talk to other women, thus stimulating the development of informal and formal support networks or organisations, and their relatively autonomous position goes some way towards explaining their degree of spontaneous militance and uprising throughout the late 1940's and 1950's. In addition to all other economic and political restraints prevailing at the time, the destruction of the Cato Manor shantytown and the building of a formal township in KwaMashu (for example), with an emphasis on family housing in the latter, had various significant effects on the lives of African people.

These effects may provide some clue as to why organisers specifically trying to organise women, in the 1980's, consistently come up with, amongst others, two significant stumbling blocks. One is that (some) men don't like women to go to meetings, especially political ones; and the second is that women have no time for politics, often because of the 'double-shift'. An examination of the altered conditions in KwaMashu during the 1960's raises some interesting facts in relation to these two

problems. For instance, influx control laws and the labour bureaux controls succeeded in limiting the number of African women coming into the towns (Yawitch, 1984). Those that remained in the cities became more tied to formal wage-employment, thus limiting the conditions for autonomous existence. Various factors combined to pressurise African women either into domestic service, an isolated and difficult sector to organise, or dependence on men and marriage under the Natal Native Code. Some of these factors include: the destruction of petty trading (via evictions from Cato Manor, and eradication of the conditions favouring brewing, etc); the industrial and domestic labour needs of the economy; the social construction of gender roles and identity; the pass laws; and the housing shortage.

In the formally created and state-controlled townships, isolated 'family' units were partially responsible for destroying a previous sense of community, together with the women's solidarity networks that were made so easy in the informal shanties. There were fewer single women around, and given their powerlessness under the Natal Native Code, married women would be subjected to individual patriarchal control. The separation of home and work could lead to further problems with the double shift, for example, since if there was no-one to assist in domestic labour, a 'working' woman would not find the time for organisations. Alternatively, if a husband refused to share household labour and insisted on enforcing his 'guardian' powers, a woman would similarly not be able to attend meetings. Furthermore, the increased structural dependence of women on individual men, puts them in particularly vulnerable positions when they were beaten or abused by husbands.

The new forces however, created new contradictions. While formal housing may exacerbate an isolated housewife syndrome, the increasing numbers of

African women in industry (cf. Cock et al., 1983) generate the potential for collective struggle. The personally experienced oppression by individual men, combined with some measure of economic independence, has begun to stimulate attitudes in women which either reject marriage or support divorce, and which challenge men's authority and control over them (see for instance interviews with Mnguni 19/7/1979; Mcoyi 8/6/1979; Ndaba 7/10/1981).

5.5 CONCLUSION

In short, what I have tried to illustrate in this chapter is how, in the face of racist, capitalist and patriarchal social relations and power structures, African women and men have struggled to find space - economic, physical, social and sexual - in which to negotiate and create their own history and geography. The chapter scans the transformation in African men's and women's lives from the integrated, yet hierarchical pre-colonial society through to the initial 'collision' with colonial ideology and the nascent capitalist economy, to the period of great social flux and upheaval during the onset of apartheid capitalism in the late 1940's and 1950's. I hope to have shown how pre-colonial patriarchal gender relations were both moulded, utilised and in this process transformed by the colonialists in their racist control of the economy. By the time capitalist social relations became dominant in both agriculture and industry, such patriarchal gender relations were already well entrenched within the whole social fabric. Housing provision and access to accommodation; employment possibilities and unequal wages (especially between women and men within 'race'/class groupings); female headed households and political organisations etc. cannot, therefore, be understood without considering the social construction of gender and its centrality to social and political life. Women and men are in different

individual and structural positions. Hence, if they are not adequately theorised or accounted for, we will neither understand our society nor will we be able to make intelligent suggestions for how to alter it, so that all oppressed and exploited people, ~~women~~ as well as men, will be liberated in the process.

5.6 FOOTNOTES

1. Number of Africans in Durban

YEAR	FEMALES	MALES
1936	15 964	57 296
1946	32 368	92 112
1951	50 560	117 175

Source: Simkins (1982:10).

2. For more explicit detail of how Single African women (unmarried, widowed or divorced) suffered particular disabilities under the rule of perpetual tutelage, and of how it was "official policy to buttress the patriarchal authority" see Simons (1968: p202-210 and 261-270).
3. The earliest figure I could find for Durban's African women population was for 1911 : 1165 women (La Hausse, 1984:48). If the total African population in 1904 was +- 19000 (Maylam, 1985) then I estimate the percentage of African men out of total enumerated urban population as 95%.
4. See third section of this chapter for reference to articles appearing in *Ilanga lase Natal* during the late 1950s when there was a shortage of domestic labour in Durban.
5. Van Onselen(1982b) has explored some of these issues in the Witwatersrand context. He suggests that although it is difficult to generalise about the duties of a 'houseboy', most of the "demanding work" (p24) was done by the black male servants. He also explores some of the complexities surrounding these male servants' responsibility for white childrens' socialisation. The internal conflicts of the male servants themselves; the contrast with their own expectations of their roles as men, or how their 'houseboy' duties may have affected their own familial duties or relationships is however more difficult to explore.
6. La Hausse (1984) documents that in 1915 there was one block of rooms for married men in the Depot Road hostel; in 1916 there were 36 two-roomed cottages in Baumanville for "family accommodation" and in 1918 a 24 cottage extension was added. Only in 1934 was Lamontville opened up for occupation (Torr, 1987).
7. La Hausse (1984:87) describes a police raid in 1913 for example where over 50 women were found in the barracks. Those found sleeping with their husbands were assaulted, stripped of their clothes and branded whores. In addition, African women who dressed in European clothing were similarly treated to this ungenerous definition of themselves.
8. See Iain Edwards (forthcoming) Phd thesis on the Social History of Cato Manor and transferral to KwaMashu for a more thorough analysis of the historically changing conditions between 1946 and 1972. I am indebted to Iain for giving me access to two of his draft chapters, his newspaper material and his invaluable discussions.

9. Masculinity Ratios in Durban

YEAR	RATIO
1911	16 : 1
1936	5 : 1
1943	4 : 1
1946	3 : 1

Source: Mackenzie (1984:76).

10. The maternity section at King Edward was overcrowded (see for example *Ilanga lase Natal* 17/4/1948, 28/10/1950; Edwards, (forthcoming).
11. Edwards (forthcoming) quotes a persistent and well-run operation by women from the Umbumbulu region. They would set up stalls outside the men's hostel in Dalton Road bartering poultry, goats, fruit and vegetables and basket weaving. These goods would be exchanged for almost anything. By the mid-1950s this operation had disappeared. In addition women would sell bones in Durban (*Ilanga lase Natal*, 18/9/1953) and be involved in illegal trade (*Guardian*, 22/9/1955).
12. More detailed research is required to investigate the effects of domestic service on the gender construction of African men and their relationships with white madams. Also see Ch 4. for additional statistical information; and Bozzoli, (1983:161 fn 58) for reference to young white women and their dislike for domestic service; and van Onselen (1982b) for reference to African male domestic service on the Rand.
13. See Kathy Eales (1986).
14. See Chaskalson and Seekings (1986); Helliker and Roux (1986) and Reintges (1986), for some examples of South African literature on urban social movements.
15. For instance, reports in the *Guardian* for 13/5/1954 - discuss how increased rents will affect Africans in general in Durban and 23/9/1954 - how 'family life' (often meaning women and children) will be destroyed - Africans will have to return to the country.
16. Examples include articles on resistance to the fact that evictions and deportations would similarly create family breakdown in Cato Manor (*Ilanga lase Natal*, 5/7/1958); or how women from Cato Manor want alternative accommodation and refuse to be deported (*Ilanga lase Natal*, 7/3/1959); or how demolishing of shacks leave women and children homeless in Malukazi (*Ilanga lase Natal*, 23/2/1957); how women can't afford to go to KwaMashu because of transport costs (*Guardian*, 18/2/1960); or marches to the commissioners office to protest against shack demolitions (*Ilanga lase Natal*, 25/8/1956 and 22/11/1956, - women from Cato Manor; *Ilanga lase Natal*, 1/9/1956, - women from Glebelands).
17. Articles in the *Ilanga lase Natal* for example discuss how 6000 women from Cato Manor protest against the location of the bus terminus - the distances they had to walk home were too far (20/7/1955; 6/4/1957) ; and how Cato Manor women request more

buses from the Durban Transportation Management Board (21/6/1958); how Clermont women were involved in stoning and boycotting buses (4/7/1959), - the service was inadequate; and how women in Newlands stoned buses in opposition to fare increases (10/10/1959; 19/10/1959).

18. **Ilanga lase Natal** reported for example that thousands of women from Cato Manor demonstrated against the 'certificates of privilege' (22/10/1955; 17/12/1955). These certificates were meant to show whether the woman was single or married, where in Durban she stayed, and the name of her father or husband. The ANCWL was also reported as having organised numerous meetings protesting against the compulsory medical certificates and examinations (eg. **Ilanga lase Natal**, 1/4/1950).
19. A few examples describing the resistance of Durban women, often specifically Cato Manor women to the 'reference books' are in the **Ilanga lase Natal**, (24/3/1956; 1/12/1956; 21/9/1957; 24/3/1956; 21/7/1956). A report on 28/3/1959 suggested that most of the women who were arrested and deported were from M'Kumbane. The **Guardian's** pages were similarly filled with reports on Durban women's resistance to pass laws during the period (e.g 20/3/1950; 8/3/1956; 15/10/1959).
20. Hundreds of Cato Manor women were reported in **Ilanga lase Natal** (25/5/1957) as protesting against police raids and arrests. They had permits to brew beer yet this made no difference. The beerhall riots and militance of the women in 1959 are described in a number of articles including 27/6/1959; 1/8/1959; 29/9/1959; and 26/6/1959 **Guardian**.
21. See, for instance, **Ilanga lase Natal**:
 31/5/1947 - police raid M'Kumbane and destroy 2000 gallons;
 5/7/1949 - 2500 gallons **isishimiyane** spilt;
 3/7/1948 - police raid M'Kumbane and arrest brewers;
 3/3/1951 - 80 Africans arrested; 900 gallons spilled;
 18/7/1959 - 85000 gallons **isishimiyane** destroyed.
22. For example see Bradford's (1984) evidence about the Weenen magistrate and certain 'black males' who refused to acknowledge the leadership role of the women in the 1929 beer riots; Hadebe's (26/4/81) comments that in 1959, "the men who tried to go in and drink were beaten up"; and more recently the Port Alfred magistrate who was adamant that the Port Alfred Women's April 1986 stayaway was organised by the men (Forrest and Jochelson, 1986:26).
23. See Bourquin (6/11/1980) for his perceptions of the conflict between himself and the Durban public (such as commerce and industry) on the one hand and the government on the other, with respect to the increased provision of family housing and hostels specifically for African women. He claimed that "officials in ... Pretoria... always had the idea that this type of accomodation would mean a glorified brothel, prostitution etc.". (See also Maylam, 1985 for more detail on the debates over migrant versus permanent labour).

24. Percentage of African women and men employed out of total enumerated women and men

YEAR	WOMEN	MEN
1946	54,5%	91.5%
1960	40.1%	79.4%

Sources: UG 41 1954; 1960 Census, Vol 2 no 5.

25. See **Ilanga lase Natal** (15/3/1958) on how the brewing of sorghum beer was prohibited in the new townships. Also see **Ilanga** (10/8/1946) for a report on how the Durban City Council had considered proposing a hostel for African women be built on the Berea, because of the increased numbers of these women who were being employed as domestics.
26. See also Cole (1986) and **Weekly Mail** (2/4/1985) for a similar point with respect to women in Crossroads squatter camp.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

In this thesis my primary intention has been to provide a critique of androcentric knowledge in the social sciences in general and in human geography in particular. The majority of local social science studies analysing South African society from a radical perspective, have primarily focused on the intersection of racial and capitalist social relations. The race-class debate, as it is commonly termed, has raged for some time, and has often ignored gender altogether. Although this race-class interconnection of social relations has been investigated in some detail, it is still unresolved. In contrast to the wealth of literature on race and class, there is a dearth of radical interpretations dealing with South African society which explore race, class **and gender**. Most radical geographers have followed the dominant race-class tendency and, in general, have ignored the local literature which is gender conscious. Moreover, the majority of gender-conscious literature has inadequately **theorised** gender relations.

A combination of the ideological dominance of race-class literature, the force of androcentric bias and the insufficient theorisation of gender relations in the gender conscious literature, has motivated me to concentrate my efforts in this thesis on conceptually clarifying gender relations in the South African context. While gender relations have been my object of analysis, I have recognised throughout this study that they are embedded in all forms of social relations and do not exist in isolation. I have argued therefore that the particular expression of gender relations in any specific space-time instance will be dependent on the contingent relations of race and class. It is hoped that such a focus

may, on the one hand, enrich the local race-class debate and, on the other, extend the local feminist debate. Furthermore, local geographers have been provided with specific pointers for moving beyond a gender-blind impasse.

Although this thesis is fundamentally a theoretical work, I have drawn on local empirical material to both illustrate and adapt my initial theoretical premise to South African conditions. In the first two chapters I relied on Western feminist literature to outline some of the significant feminist precepts which assist in challenging androcentric ideological bias. In particular, I explored the concept of gender and discussed a number of the problems inherent in androcentric knowledge. Subsequently, I developed a means of assessing the social scientific labour process from a feminist perspective.

The dialectical interrelationship between political and personal experience was recognised as being central to a feminist research methodology. Indeed, my own work has been informed by the fact that as a woman academic I have:

(a) experienced my invisibility in the face of androcentric knowledge, and
 (b) am conscious of the political dimensions of this experience. It is precisely this experience and political awareness which precipitated my exploration of the relationships between gender, geography and urban form. My own commitment to understanding and resisting the subordination of women therefore underpins this whole enterprise. In acknowledging my own personal context, I suggested that my commitment to a broadly based feminist politics contradicts my structurally dominant position at the levels of race and class. In the South African context a reliance on Western feminism is therefore insufficient. If a feminist theoretical analysis does not make sense to the majority of oppressed women in South

Africa then it is not much use as a vehicle for understanding, or as an organising tool. My political involvement in local women's organisations, my position as a white middle-class academic woman, my engagement with feminist theory and my investigation of local historical and geographical empirical material, have hence all combined in this thesis, in a way that, I hope, goes beyond Western feminism.

Following a clarification of my personal context, a variety of materialist feminist frameworks were presented to offer a means of theoretically understanding women's subordination in an historical and materialist fashion. The realist method of 'hierarchies of abstraction' was adopted as a valuable way of theorising the interconnections between race, class, gender and space. Furthermore, it was shown that while international geographers have been influenced by such materialist feminist perspectives, local geographers have been remiss in confronting their own androcentric bias. Thereafter, the local gender-conscious literature was reviewed, on the one hand, to assess the degree of conceptual clarity with respect to gender relations, and on the other, to provide local geographers with some pointers towards challenging their gender-blindness.

Finally, in Chapters Four and Five, illustrative material from Natal/Zululand in general and Durban in particular, was used to explore how gender relations have expressed themselves at particular times and places. As Sayer (1984:131) has suggested:

"Theories make their strongest claims at the abstract level about necessary or internal relations, and about causal powers, or in other words, about necessity in the world. Where relations between things are contingent, their form must always be an empirical question, that is one which must be answered by observing actual cases."

In the case of both white and African women, a number of themes, pertinent to an interpretation of the unique expression of patriarchal gender

relations, in the Natal/Zululand and Durban contexts, have emerged. In particular, racist social relations, the intensification of an ethic of individualised survival with the progression of capitalism, the control of women's fertility and reproductive capacities, the strength of the bourgeois/nuclear family ideal, the social construction of gender and women's resistance, have all been identified as significant. Moreover, the fact that this multitude of social processes have coalesced in certain spaces, cannot be ignored. In both cases it was argued that pre-existing forms of women's subordination were transformed rather than eradicated.

In the case of the white middle-class, it was argued that when the sexual division of labour was predicated on primarily females' ('biological') capacity (eg. 1910-1930), gender relations were established in terms of clear role definitions between women and men :- with men in a structurally dominant and powerful position. White women's function in preserving and continuing the race was seen as all important. Once these roles were challenged, (ie. through commoditisation and consumerism, the struggle for the vote, more women in wage labour, 'family' disruption caused by the war, etc.) the foundation of men's power could potentially be eroded. However, for a patriarchal gender power relation to be maintained, the constant factor in the equation - biological sex - had to be asserted more forcefully. In other words, because it was women's reproductive sexuality that previously defined her role, and because 'biology' is seen as 'natural', there was an emphasis on sexual identity. A focus on 'biology' and 'nature', obscures the social content of this identity, and it begins to appear as unalterable.

Whereas in the earlier part of the century (ie. 1910-1930), women and men were seldom shown in direct relation to each other, in the more recent past (ie. 1960-1980) this relation becomes dominant. On the one end of the

continuum, both men and women were increasingly portrayed in an individualistic mode :- men generally represented as being in control, and women vulnerable to men's desires. Since the so-called sexual revolution of the 1960's, when there was a growing separation between procreation and sexuality, women came to be represented more and more as sex-commodities. At the other end of the spectrum, the nuclear family ideal was bolstered. Within the 'family' context itself, white women were increasingly shown to be living specifically for men. The combination of new technological aids, the extent of paid domestic labour in white South African homes, and the growth of the household labour process of consumption, meant that those aspects of domestic labour which white women performed, assumed sexual and emotional connotations out of proportion to their own inherent value. In fact, the shift from productive household units (ie. where women used to produce use-values), to emotionally serviced homes, was also structurally entrenched in the built-environment with the development of suburbia.

Shifts in the South African economy and the resultant conditions relating to African urbanisation in Durban, were discussed in a different way from those affecting the white middle-class. Nevertheless, the expression of patriarchal gender relations within the white group, made its mark on the African population. In the Johannesburg context for instance, Kathy Eales(1986) has captured well how aspirant middle-class Africans rapidly absorbed ideologies relating to monogamous marriage, nuclear families and Christian morality. In the Durban case, I focused less on Africans of a similar class position who lived in model 'family' villages such as Lamontville or Chesterville, and more on those who lived in compounds, hostels and shacks, and the effect on social relations in general and patriarchal relations in particular, of the moves, in some cases, to formal settlements.

It was argued that the increased reliance of African people on cash incomes (and hence migrant labour remittances) eroded the integration of the pre-colonial economy and with time promoted a focus on individual as opposed to group survival. The convergence of pre-colonial patriarchal gender relations with colonial and capitalist forms generated a new synthesis with contradictory effects. Those women who remained in the rural areas, were still subjected to the male tutelage of chiefs and headmen at a general level. At an individual level they may have experienced greater freedom, in some senses, from husbands. The latter's power was undermined by an enforced individualist quest for survival. With the increasing destruction of the subsistence economies, however, the women's prior security steadily diminished and they would become ever more dependent on their husbands' remittances.

The women who escaped the customary patriarchy of the rural areas, either ended up on the mission stations or in the towns. Such women may have gained greater individual autonomy, but not always greater freedom. At an ideological level, African women were caught in a web of control mechanisms varying from menstrual taboos (pre-colonial heritage), to domestic docility and wifely duty (missionary influence), to the nuclear family ideals favoured by colonial and capitalist ideology and implicit in the emerging built environment. How they related to this web depended upon their circumstances, including their spatial location.

For instance, in Durban, where male labour was prioritised, especially in the first half of the twentieth century, many of the African women who lived in Durban made a living 'autonomously' from either selling beer or selling themselves. They were not always welcome in the towns by the African male working class (cf. Eales, 1986; 1906 Native Laws Commission

cited in Beall,1982) and were excluded from state provided accommodation in controlled compounds and single sex hostels. In living in shacks, stables, ricksha sheds and rented rooms, they simultaneously avoided the 'time-space' disciplines imposed on wage-workers by both capital and the local state. For Cooper(1983:8) discussing women in informal African settlements in a more general sense, "(t)he woman who brewed beer at night might refresh a downtrodden workforce for the benefit of capital, but she was a dangerously autonomous person, with too many ties to other people, with too few official eyes on her". This is confirmed empirically in the particular instance of Durban by the work of La Hausse(1984). The very nature of their work rendered the beer brewers and prostitutes illegitimate in the eyes of the state (La Hausse,1984) and the African bourgeoisie (Eales,1986), and hence confined them to illegal or uncontrolled space. Here they could live relatively independently (at an individual level), but risked the constant threat of police raids.

Whilst African men were regarded as useful labour units by the state, African women were perceived as representing stability, permanence and continuity (presumably because of their role in childbearing and childrearing). In fact the raging debate between the liberal capitalists and conservative nationalists around the values of a stable labour-force, revolved precisely around whether African women were to be encouraged to live in the cities or not (Maylam,1985). Those women who in fact resisted the dominant definition of themselves, as primarily reproducers, were often living in Durban as single women. They did not always migrate in pursuit of husbands. Beall(1982), Bradford(1984) and La Hausse(1984) all argue that neither the African chiefs nor the white male authorities were happy about autonomous African women living in Durban. The institutionalisation of beer hall monopolies, moreover, threatened this free space in which the women operated. They were forced to escape the

incessant police raids by living outside the Borough boundaries.

Until 1952 African women were not subjected to pass law controls in a serious way. The imposition of 'letters of privilege' and medical certificates in the 1930's were not severe enough to curtail the massive numbers of African women who flooded into Durban between 1930 and 1950. The Cato Manor shantytown became the uncontrolled space into which many of these women moved.

As for the gentrifiers discussed in a different context by Rose(1984), many of the people living in Cato Manor belonged to households that did not conform to traditional lifestyles. They were individuals who were excluded from formally designed space. Similar to the inner city areas described in Rose's(1984) case-study, Cato Manor seemed to offer a non-isolating environment for reproductive work, and a location suitable for single women with children.

In the years when Cato Manor was vibrant and thriving, African women were particularly militant and fought tooth and nail to retain some of their hard won independence. However, the assault on this space with the slum clearance and removal to KwaMashu, forced African women from Cato Manor back into controlled space. They were either forced into marriage under the restrictive and patriarchal Natal Native Code to live in isolating and matchbox-like houses designed for nuclear families; or small and isolated backyard rooms as domestic workers in white suburbs; or back to the rural areas where they were subject to patriarchal control of a more customary nature. Because men were in the 'stable' and formal or legal jobs they came to gain access to housing whether paid for by "individual capitalists or by the state" (Cooper,1983:28). Women on the other hand remained largely in temporary, informal and illegal occupations and did not get

access to formal township housing unless as wives. The massive resistance by African women against the introduction of passes must be viewed against this background. In struggling to be with their families (often consisting of mother and children), they were simultaneously struggling for their very survival as women and/or as mothers. In other words, the structural constraints preventing women from living in the city as single, meant that their resistance was gender-specific. As such, they were simultaneously confronting a combination of racial, capitalist and patriarchal control mechanisms in their battle to survive and to care for their children.

The breakdown of the subsistence economy, the rigidly enforced coalescence of labour control and housing allocation predominantly affecting men, and the minority of jobs available to women, all ultimately intersected to their detriment. In addition, the interests of individual African males vis a vis African women, were furthered by the way colonial and capitalist patriarchal relations 'negotiated' with them as opposed to women (eg. housing and urban rights).

In sum, African women in Natal/Zululand more generally and Durban in particular, have oscillated between controlled and uncontrolled spaces throughout the twentieth century. From strict gender role divisions and patriarchal controls in rural areas to uncontrolled shack settlements such as Cato Manor, to formal housing in the state controlled townships, a common thread is evident. Pre-colonial patriarchal gender relations were transformed rather than eradicated, and fused with colonial and capitalist patriarchal relations to become entrenched in the very fabric of the entire South African economy, and South African urban environment.

In conclusion, therefore, I have drawn on important principles developed by

western feminists, but have applied and adapted them in a way specific to the South African context. I have accepted the central feminist tenet that personal experience and political struggle are dialectically linked and that gender relations are embedded in all social relations. Furthermore, it has been emphasised that gender is socially constructed and therefore historically changing. Contemporary oppressive forms of gender are, as a consequence, not transhistorical givens, and are potentially alterable. In following Foord and Gregson's(1986) framework I accepted that the basic characteristics of a patriarchal form of gender relations include male control over species reproduction and heterosexuality. This perspective therefore takes seriously contemporary radical feminist claims that the subordination of women is centrally linked to men's control of women's fertility and sexuality. However, Foord and Gregson's(1986) 'hierarchies of abstraction' also suggest that the necessary relations of any one particular object of analysis, are always modified and/or transformed by contingent relations. This means, that although particular factors may be identified as common to the oppression of all women, it does not automatically follow that such factors will become manifest in the same way. In fact as has been discussed above, the contingent relations of race, class and age have all been crucially important in determining the exact expression of patriarchal gender relations, at specific times within Natal/Zululand and Durban. In other words, while Foord and Gregson's(1986) perspective adopts certain radical feminist principles it also offers a way out of the original idealism of 'sisterhood is powerful'. The crucial modifying effects of contingent relations, further implies that an abstract identification of a common oppression will not necessarily lead to a common political resistance. That is, there is no automatic corollary that all women could or will ever combine to resist their oppression as women. The modifications created by other contingent factors such as race, class, space, time and age will probably inhibit

such united resistance.

With respect to the subordination of women, Foord and Gregson(1986) have therefore merely suggested a way of theorising the interconnections between different social relations. It is a theorisation which identifies at an abstract level, the similarities underlying the oppression of different groups of women. However, the theorisation allows these similarities to become manifest in unique, individual instances, in different ways. Given the multifaceted nature of South African society and urban form, this perspective offers a useful means of making feminist interventions in both practical political struggles, and academic research.

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APPENDIX . 1

SELECTED ADVERTISEMENT ILLUSTRATIONS

The advertisements in this folder are used as illustrations in Chapter four. All have been taken from the Natal Mercury, and they are referenced as follows;

eg. A1 (16/4/1914) [NM p4]

This refers to:-

A1= advert one

16 April 1914

Natal Mercury

page 4

DO YOUR WASH WITH
SAPON
GATHEAL
-G-S-
POWDER



WASH YOUR FACE
WASH YOUR BODY
WASH YOUR HAIR
WASH YOUR CLOTHES
WASH YOUR LINEN
WASH YOUR DRESS
WASH YOUR SKIRT
WASH YOUR BLOUSE
WASH YOUR COAT
WASH YOUR HAT
WASH YOUR SHOES
WASH YOUR GLOVES
WASH YOUR STOCKINGS
WASH YOUR TIE
WASH YOUR SHIRT
WASH YOUR PANTS
WASH YOUR JACKET
WASH YOUR VEST
WASH YOUR COLLAR
WASH YOUR CUFFS
WASH YOUR BELT
WASH YOUR BRACELETS
WASH YOUR EARRINGS
WASH YOUR NECKTIE
WASH YOUR SHOES
WASH YOUR GLOVES
WASH YOUR STOCKINGS
WASH YOUR TIE
WASH YOUR SHIRT
WASH YOUR PANTS
WASH YOUR JACKET
WASH YOUR VEST
WASH YOUR COLLAR
WASH YOUR CUFFS
WASH YOUR BELT
WASH YOUR BRACELETS
WASH YOUR EARRINGS
WASH YOUR NECKTIE

A1 (4/16/1914) [NM p4]

Anglo Lamp.



If there are THREE who clean and fill LAMPs every day in every week, instead of ONE, who have colour, make and shadowed light, it is because she does not know of the

ANGLE LAMP.

Which burns 15 hours on one quart of PARAFFIN in ordinary shadowless operation. It has itself in six months by its economy in OIL AND CHIMNEYS. Always ready. All designs. New stock just arrived.

JOHN MAXWELL & SONS
11, 13 & 15, THE ARCADE
DURHAM

A2 (4/16/1914) [NM p4]

—freedom from Dust!

Your house can never be hygienically clean until it is free from dust.

But continual dusting and cleaning and getting down on your hands and knees, has been hard, back-breaking work. This labour will continue until you get an



Then the hard work ceases. But cleaning and dusting is not all the O-Cedar Polish-Mop does: it polishes at the same time—puts a hard, durable, lasting lustre to all varnished and finished surfaces. Besides, you use the same mop to dust and clean the tops of doors and all high furniture, standard woodwork and beamed ceilings.

The O-Cedar Polish-Mop is made from long fibres, soft cotton and treated with the world-famous O-Cedar Polish. It is cleaned by washing and then removed with a few drops of O-Cedar Polish. It is heavily padded to prevent marring or scratching the furniture. The handle is 34 inches long, making it is to clean those hard to get at places. There are more than two million O-Cedar Polish Mops in every-day use in all parts of the world.

Obtainable from all Leading Dealers

Wholesale and Retail Dealers
and Foreign and Domestic
1. BOSTON & CO.
2. H. H. Mump's Street, Cape Town.

Wholesale and Retail
Dealers
1. BOSTON & CO.
2. H. H. Mump's Street, Cape Town.

A3 (8/2/1917) [NM p6]

A1, A2, A3.
Note that in the same way the Lamp (A2) is "always ready" at the store, so the woman (by implication) is always ready to clean it. While all three of these items are supposedly meant to save labour time, the adverts' text simultaneously acknowledges the work involved in performing these tasks. The adverts do not appear to be responding to any challenges to the status quo. By suggesting however, that Oatmeal Powder "makes wash day play day" (A1), or with an O-Cedar Mop "the hard work ceases" (A3): there is a hint that this work might not be exactly enjoyed by the women 'housekeepers'. (It is unclear whether the woman with the mop is a 'white domestic worker' or a wife-housekeeper. The advert was printed by a Cape-Town Company, so it is presumably a South African image.)

Oatine

FACE CREAM

THE REAL BEAUTIFIER



Oatine is the new Face Cream that will bring natural beauty to the plainest face and will prevent the hot South African summer from spoiling your complexion. Soap and water remove only the surface dirt and leaves irritating water under the pores of the skin. Oatine the new Face Cream removes the waste and leaves the skin fresh and clear, soothing and healing all scars and blemishes. It is made from the fresh cream Oats and contains no animal fats nor injurious mineral salts. You find it delightful after shaving. Try Oatine now. It will remove all freckles and prevent the dry South African summer robbing your complexion of its bloom and loveliness. In delicate white jars. To be obtained from all Chemists, Stores etc.

FREE TO ALL

This Handsome Toilet Case

So convinced are we of the merits of the Oatine Preparations that we have decided to distribute absolutely free to all ladies advantage of our offer a dainty toilet case containing samples of cream Oatine preparations. All you have to do is send 4d in stamps to pay the cost of postage and packing, and you will receive a parcel containing a copy of our booklet, "Beauty Secrets" and samples of the following preparations all packed in a dainty toilet case (see illustration): Oatine Cream, Face Powder, Toilet Powder, Tooth Powder and Soap in Tubes.

THE OATINE
D. & J. 370
68 H. H. Mump's Street, Cape Town.

A4 (7/1/1911) [NM p2]



FRENCH "REYNITA" CORSETS

GUARANTEED BY THE MANUFACTURERS NOT TO RUST OR BREAK.

Will You Join the Ranks of Well Corseted and Satisfied - REYNITA Wearers -

HENDERSON'S ladies make a great display of these beautiful models, and heartily invite you to come and see the fine collection of styles now showing in one of their main windows.

In justice to your new costume, and to your self, you should make a point of seeing these splendid Corsets. They promote health and comfort, and give the figure the supple, graceful appearance which is the aim of every well-dressed woman.

An experienced corseteer is in charge of the section, and she is ready to give all desired information concerning the excellent and valuable features of the Reynita models, and also to give you correct fitting of same.

NO NECESSITY TO SACRIFICE COMFORT FOR STYLE—OR STYLE FOR COMFORT. THESE MODELS REPRESENT THE LATEST AND BEST ACHIEVEMENT OF THE CORSET MAKER'S ART, AND HAVE BEEN SPECIALLY ADAPTED TO WEAR IN A SUB-TROPICAL CLIMATE.



The superior merits of the Reynita and the fact that we can afford to combine to make a corset while the exhibition is in progress, please, and most profitable.

Reynita models are priced from 10/6 to 42/-

Reynita French Corset.

Made of White Canton. Low in bust and long over hips. Guaranteed rustproof. 14 inch above and 14 inch below waist. 4 suspenders. Size 19 to 30. Price 10/6

Reynita French Corset.

Made of Blue Batiste. Light weight. Guaranteed rustproof. 14 inch above and 14 inch below waist. 4 suspenders. Price 18/-

We stock a special Sports Corset. It will be found the same of comfort, no pressure above the waist, fast well cut and bowed below, according to the present style. Price 6/11

EACH NEW CUSTOMER HEARS A PLEASANT AND SATISFIED WEARER.

Reynita French Corset.

Specialty designed for stout figures. Made in strong White Canton; guaranteed rustproof. 6 suspenders. 5in. above & 11in. below waist. Sizes 27 to 34. Price 17/6

Reynita French Corset.

Made of very fine White Canton. Trimmed Satin and Blue Vandyke. No lace. Strong yet light in weight; guaranteed rustproof. 4in. above and 14in. below waist; 4 suspenders. Size 19 to 30. Price 21/6

The Tropical Corset No. 3

Made in White Batiste of light weight, same style as No. 1. Price 15 to 30. Rustproof. Price 7/6

Reynita French Corset.

Made in White Satin Cloth, embossed silk, strong but very light in weight; guaranteed rustproof. 4in. above and 14in. below waist. 4 suspenders. Size 19 to 30. Price 22/6

Reynita French Corset.

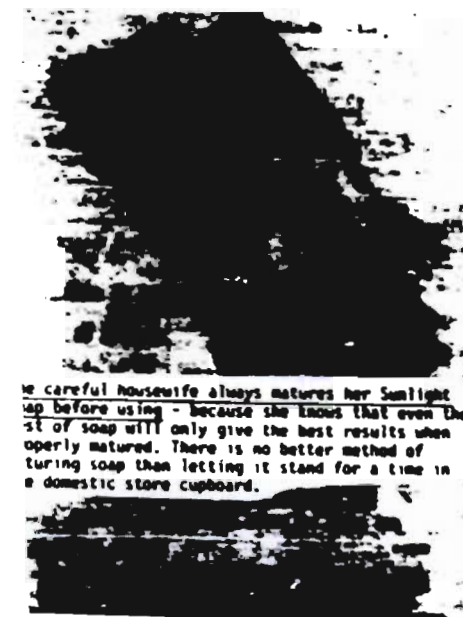
Made in Fine Silk in White and Sky. Very light in weight, yet durable. Trimmed satin and net lace. 5in. above and 14in. below waist. 4 suspenders. Guaranteed rustproof. Size 19 to 30. Price 42/-

The Tropical Corset No. 1

Made of strong White Canton, specially adapted for the present fashion. Low in bust and long over hips. 14in. to 30in. Rustproof. Price 24/6



A5 (13/3/1914) [NM p9]



Be careful housewife always matures her Sunlight soap before using - because she knows that even the st of soap will only give the best results when properly matured. There is no better method of turing soap than letting it stand for a time in a domestic store cupboard.

6 (11/3/1921) [NM p11]



Wine by Will-Daniel Mac Lachlan

Ask to see the New Rights card in the hands of the Principal Outlets who order for you. This Book The Home and Restaurant Trade Book is now in every shop, as Creamery Opening Card

A10 (28/2/1913) [NM p10]

"A MESSAGE TO MOTHERS"

"Every scratch or break of the skin opens the way for disease. Every cut, "chop", inflamed chilblain, burn or scald may turn to a nasty festering wound if you don't keep ZAM-BUK handy and use it as a first-aid dressing."

A7 (9/12/1917) [NM p10]

Keep Smiling.

Look at this man. If he keeps smiling wearing this smile just you were feeling good, healthy and generally out-of-sorts, but get right on your nerves. The cheerful, healthy smile is a very well - is that smile? They should they insist on to the latest joke when you don't want to hear it?

The fact is, you are a more steady dependent individual, a victim from BACON. You lack a good tonic. Brain workers, who worry, who are highly strung, whose work demands constant effort, all need special and nerve food, to make good natured, caused by excessive strain. Virata contains this in form which causes the local absorption by the nervous system. The value of Virata is felt immediately, and as it is continued the patient loses return of energy and action. Attacks of drowsiness fall away and from day to day hours smile.



Virata cream is better than other creams, because it (and it alone) contains the wonderful Iolima Natural Water. This stimulates the skin to natural beauty and makes the little oil cells supply just the right amount of natural oil to keep it soft and smooth. Fragrant and non-greasy.

A91 (3/9/1916) [NM p7]

A8 (3/9/1916) [NM p1]

"SHAVEX"
(drawing of man with hand feeling his chin/cheeks)

"Revolution in shaving
NO BRUSH NO SOAP
Shavex is an inspiration of reason and thought and is a production of modern civilisation whereby men can now shave without using soap made with soda and without rubbing with a brush for 5 to 10 minutes, and after bringing all the blood to the surface and drying up all the natural oil in the face they shave leaving the skin raw. With SHAVEX no brush or soap is used".

A911 (15/2/1926) [NM p5]

"BEFORE MOTHERHOOD"
(drawing of woman - text under)

"The health of the mother has a direct influence on her offspring and this is one reason why expectant women should use Feluna Pills for females only. Feluna Pills act upon the blood, the digestive system, and the functional organs. A woman's whole being is thus prepared for the event, and we have many letters from mothers telling of healthier children and easier confinements following the use of this great female remedy."

A11 (4/1/1919) [NM p9]

WOMAN'S GREAT MISTAKE

HOW SHE HAD FOUR
DEFECTS IN SKIN



Every day millions of women advertise their defects to men without every thinking about it. No man likes to see a woman take out a powder puff and cover her face, wondering how her nose looks with her at a restaurant. She tells him by her action that she has an ugly shiny nose and probably a bad complexion that she is trying to hide. By finding a little means of cream with your favourite face powder you can keep your complexion beautiful and lovely all day. The means of cream causes the powder to cling to the skin in spite of summer heat, wind, or rainy weather, or perspiration while dancing. It also has a tonic effect on your skin, and its continued use will soon banish your shiny nose permanently. The means

of cream in Poudre Takalon is scientifically blended in just the right proportions during the process of its manufacture. This remarkable powder is invisible on the skin. It stays on until washed off. No one will ever dream that your fresh, soft, velvet-like skin and marvellous complexion are not all your own natural beauty. 3,000,000 women use Poudre Takalon every morning - women of England, France, America, Italy - the most beautiful women of the world now insist on having Poudre Takalon. Obtainable in all shades, including ROSE (Dark Red), the new shade for tanned skin and pronounced brunettes. For 1/9 a box.

A13i (17/4/1929) [NM p7]

To suit your taste
and fit any pocket



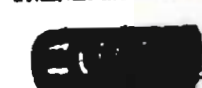
MOFFAT
NEW BEAUTY ELECTRIC RANGES

A14i (17/4/1934) [NM p13]

Why cook for HOURS...
when MINUTES will do?

No longer need you stand for hours in a chilly kitchen... you can now cook your food in minutes with the Filby Cooker. The Filby Cooker is a new and revolutionary invention... it cooks with the speed of your own hand, and you can use it to do 1 or 100.

Housewives everywhere are cheering for the Filby Cooker. The Filby Cooker is a new and revolutionary invention... it cooks with the speed of your own hand, and you can use it to do 1 or 100.



The Filby Cooker is a new and revolutionary invention... it cooks with the speed of your own hand, and you can use it to do 1 or 100.

A14ii (9/9/1938) [NM p5]

Millionaire Now Tells



Why He Married Poor Working Girl

"The moment she looked up at me I was fascinated by the clear, fresh white beauty of her skin. I decided there and then I wanted her to be my wife." Any woman can now easily have a skin that is soft, white and smooth - the kind of skin all men love and admire. Simply start the daily use of the new Cream Takalon Skinfood. White Colour (non-greasy). It contains concentrated dairy cream and olive oil combined with whitening, tonic and antirumpant ingredients. It instantly penetrates, soothes irritated skin glands, tightens enlarged pores, dissolves blackheads, so that they fall away. Whitens and softens furthest rough-out skin. Gives indescribable new skin beauty and freshness in 3 days - such as can be obtained in no other way. It should be used every morning.

A13ii (23/8/1933) [NM p23]

Pure Milk
"dairy
fresh
always!"



Borden's Eagle Brand Condensed Milk is the most delicious and nutritious milk product ever made. It is made from the finest milk and is packed in airtight cans for your convenience. It is the perfect food for infants, the sick, and the elderly. It is also a delicious treat for all ages.

Just add to cold water and stir

kitchenware

to help run your home
efficiently



Flour Sifters

Face 5/-

Cake Baking Tins

Round Shape Cake Tin 5/1

Springform Cake Tin with cover 10/6

Springform Tin 8/6

Star Cake Tin in aluminium will make a quality cake. Approximately 10/- 6/-

Dough Blenders

Each 5/6

Asbestos Mats

Travelling Mats 10/- to 15/0

Iron Mats 10/- to 15/0

Round shape above mats, 10/- to 15/0

Green Mats 10/- to 15/0

new stocks of famous

"JUDGE" BRAND enamelware



Triple Pots

27 1/2 x 14 x 10 1/2



Jugs

3 pint 10/6

2 pint 8/6



Pie Dish

Stoneware 10/6

Stoneware 10/6

Tessels

3 pint 10/6

2 pint 8/6

1 pint 6/6

1/2 pint 4/6

1/4 pint 3/6

1/8 pint 2/6

1/16 pint 1/6

1/32 pint 1/2

1/64 pint 1/4

1/128 pint 1/8

1/256 pint 1/4

1/512 pint 1/8

1/1024 pint 1/4

1/2048 pint 1/8

1/4096 pint 1/4

1/8192 pint 1/8

1/16384 pint 1/4

1/32768 pint 1/8

1/65536 pint 1/4

1/131072 pint 1/8

1/262144 pint 1/4

1/524288 pint 1/8

1/1048576 pint 1/4

1/2097152 pint 1/8

1/4194304 pint 1/4

Milk Saucepans



Porridge Saucepans or

Double Cookers

2 pint 10/6

1 pint 8/6

1/2 pint 6/6

1/4 pint 4/6

1/8 pint 3/6

1/16 pint 2/6

1/32 pint 1/6

1/64 pint 1/4

1/128 pint 1/8

1/256 pint 1/4

1/512 pint 1/8

1/1024 pint 1/4

1/2048 pint 1/8

1/4096 pint 1/4

1/8192 pint 1/8

1/16384 pint 1/4

1/32768 pint 1/8

1/65536 pint 1/4

1/131072 pint 1/8

1/262144 pint 1/4

1/524288 pint 1/8

1/1048576 pint 1/4

1/2097152 pint 1/8

1/4194304 pint 1/4

1/8388608 pint 1/8

1/16777216 pint 1/4

1/33554432 pint 1/8

1/67108864 pint 1/4

1/134217728 pint 1/8

1/268435456 pint 1/4

1/536870912 pint 1/8

1/1073741824 pint 1/4

1/2147483648 pint 1/8

1/4294967296 pint 1/4

1/8589934592 pint 1/8

1/17179869184 pint 1/4

1/34359738368 pint 1/8

1/68719476736 pint 1/4

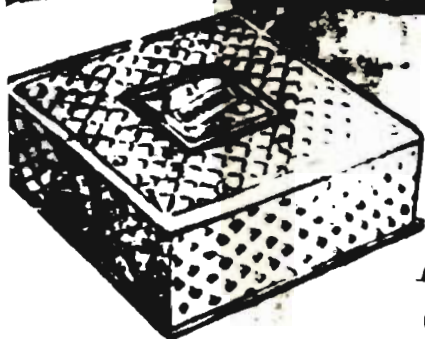
1/137438953472 pint 1/8

1/274877906944 pint 1/4

MEET FOR TEA AT GREENACRE'S

A16 (19/1/1953) [NM p13]

the healthy skin and flawless complexion that
comes with careful skin care... and the closed
r of complexion.
That air of elegance and flower fragrance that
is imparted by the use of INNOXA'S
gemmer-like long-lasting lot...
that keeps your complexion velvet smooth
without need for its quess retouching.



James Van Pelt
is available in the
hardcore shops.
There's **one** particu-
larly for you!
Ask to see them
all at your local
ANNUAL meeting.

Amoxa
NATURAL BEAUTY
preparations

A19 (8/12/1955) [NM p22]

SMARTEST NEW TWEED COATS

Latest save for your new Winter Coat with and without collar
the 100 per cent. linen that go to make Coat perfect. Tweed
Coat for utility wear, including the 100 per cent. Alsatian English Tweed
with the new Belgian sleeve effect, Chamois, Flannel, **52/9**
herringbone and Tweed

23'3"-

MANNISH TAILORED COATS

There is unequalled assurance in these carefully tailored Window Cords, smooth in design yet full of feminine charm. Perfect fitting bands, covering heads or tailored in Velour, Satin and Gabardine, in Black, Brown and Navy and all pastel shades.

£7'190

SHORT COATS, IN TARTANS AND CHECKS

Jeans are the feature of the moment and will be even more so when the colder weather arrives. Shop out smartly in one yearold in a two-season range of Turtan, Turtado and Corbis mostly in the fashionable collarless style. **32'6**

32'0"

**SHORT COATS,
IN SELF SHADES**

Everyone will be wearing them smart, little, short coats with their fur lining or tailored skirts this V. See our range in a host of popular self enclosing coats, Rayon, Mink, Oil White, Tan, Fawn, Wine, Navy, Rose, Khaki, Charcoal Brown, Black etc.

PRICED FROM \$9.95

1943 NEW FELT STYLES

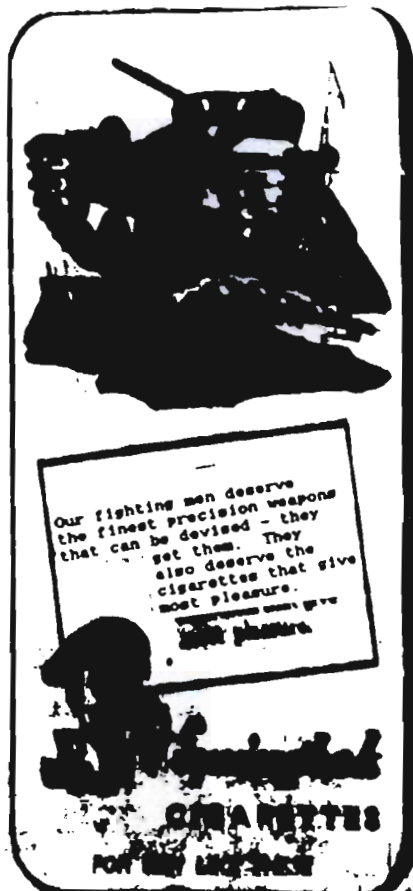
New shapes, new colors, dozens of lively new ideas are to be seen among these at the West and Fur Fete. The variety of ideas in costumes, included are dress, casual and sporty styles, dresses, small turned-up and large brims and basket style, suitable for all occasions. Youthful, medium and Matron types, in lively colors or contrast or blend with your own and suits.

PRICED FROM **13'11"**

WHITE TANGLED ORED FELT

Tailored smarten
gilded in White
very summat
sign, yet full of
luxe charm, with
adaptable, luscious
pull-on; they're a
word with your
tailored customer.
PRICES
AT 12/

A20 (10/5/1943) [NM p1]



A21 (12/6/1944) [NM p6]

THE FIRST IMPRESSION



FIRST Impressions are important. The man who is distinctively dressed has the advantage of immediately creating a good impression.

Good clothes are essential to a good appearance, that is why so many well dressed men favour "PYRAMID" Serge. The appearance of "PYRAMID" Serge attracts you immediately. There is that correctness of style and fit which characterizes the highest class of tailoring — and you also have the **GUARANTEE OF GOOD WEAR**. Herein lies the difference between "PYRAMID" Serge and many other cloths.

You are protected — you have our guarantee that "PYRAMID" Serge will not fade. Into it is woven the finest wool — skilfully woven to preserve the elasticity (peculiar to good cloth) which causes "PYRAMID" Serge clothes to retain their shape.

You will realize that you are purchasing with the certainty of satisfaction. In choosing "PYRAMID" Serge either ready-tailored or made-to-measure, you get a better looking suit that wears longer, at a price no higher than what you usually pay. Call and let us show you this excellent cloth. You have your choice of rich deep blues, soft-toned greys and stylish browns. If you cannot call, patterns will be gladly sent on request.

"PYRAMID" SERGE SUITS

MADE TO MEASURE

Two garments £9/6/0

Three garments £9/10/0

"PYRAMID" SERGE SUITS

for
BOYS, YOUTHS,
and
YOUNG MEN

In our Juvenile Department "PYRAMID" Serge Suits are stocked to fit boys from 6 to 17 years. Whether discerned from the "small boy" angle or the critical and discerning point of view of the young man of 17-19 years, it will be agreed that "PYRAMID" Serge Suits are exceptionally smart, well made and wear-enduring. Considerable care is taken over the style to ensure that our boys will be as well dressed as their cousins in England.

There is the guaranteed colour which, above all, tends to keep a boy's "PYRAMID" Serge Suit looking nice long after his other suits have been discarded.

Bring your boy along to us. We will be happy to show you the different styles. Obtainable in Navy Blue and Medium Grey .. **52/6**

Price from also 1



Old Country Club

"PYRAMID" SERGE

**Five articles that save time & trouble in the house,
and add pleasure & profit to the housework**

Adoptive children
Wanted on Sunday



Pure & Economical
SURFINE SOAP is the leader of the series of "Amazingly Good" products. It is absolutely pure, extremely economical, and lathers freely and quickly. For all household and laundry purposes.

For Dainty Fabrics.

JOY FLAKES are thinnest
waters of purest soap, dis-
solving instantly in warm
water. Safe for washing
the finest fabrics and all
woolens, laces, silks, etc.
Guaranteed not to shrink
anything.

For Windows and Glass

FRESCO is a magical cleaner for windows, mirrors, glassware, crockery, marble, enamelware, etc. Cleans and polishes in a flash; so easy to use. Absolutely non-scratching. Try it for your windows.

Rapid Cleaning

It cleans everything about the kitchen: pots, pans, crockery, knives, forks and spoons and other utensils. Removes dirt and grime or stains. Non-abrasive, economical and effective. Quickly cleans soiled hands.

A Health Protector

GOOD HEALTH SOAP is an absolutely pure soap, with strong antiseptic and disinfectant properties. Prevents the spread of infectious diseases. Mild and pleasant; recommended for Toilet, Bath and general Household use.

Free Gifts for You

[illegible]

SURPRISE SOAP



Clothes
in a flash



Free Gifts

Save the
Environment



Good Health Soap



MANUFACTURED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN OIL & FAT INDUSTRIES LIMITED, JACOBUS NATAL.

A17 (18/11/1925) [NM p7]



A STAR is a girl whose rise is judged by the number of people who fall for her . . . who is loaded with jewels, fired with ambition, and always makes a hit . . . who is called designing by other women because she draws male eyes . . . and whose three great joys in life are her fans, her marvellous coat, and Max cigarettes.

TAXES ON EASE

Men of the world smoke Mas



CHOICEST VIRGINIA

10 for 5d. 20 for 10c

A18 (13/7/1942) (NM p10)

Every Woman Who Joins the W.A.A.S. or the W.A.A.F. SENDS A MAN TO THE FRONT

Thousands of men in Base jobs are dying to get off to the War and to do the real work for which they joined. They cannot go. **THE BASE IS QUITE AS IMPORTANT AS THE FRONT LINE.** These men have to stay there because **THE WORK MUST BE DONE, QUICKLY AND EFFICIENTLY. BUT WOMEN CAN DO IT PERFECTLY** and, by replacing the men, let them go forward to stand by their comrades in defending the country.

No Woman who can pass the Doctor should stand back at a time like this

There is an infinite variety of work waiting and **ANY NUMBER OF WOMEN ARE WANTED.** There is

SUITABLE WORK FOR ALL

Come to the Recruiting Office now, find out all about it, and

RELEASE A MAN FOR THE FRONT

This space donated by JOSEPH GIBB & CO., West Street, Durban.

JOHN OFFICE SUMMER TIME JOHN OFFICE IS LINEN TIME!

FROCKS WHICH MAKE YOU LOOK AND FEEL AS COOL AS A CUBE OF ICE

A very beautiful display of Summer's most popular frocks is on view in our Showroom to-day. Styles of definitely smartness with that cool, refreshing look which is one of the main attributes of Linen. Many really delightful styles in this extremely new Summer display.



We
 Close
 To-day
 at
 4

IF Y
 CAN
 ENLI
 LENI
 BUY
 WA
 HOT

DOZENS OF NEW STYLES IN TAILORED LINEN FROCKS

SUMMER TIME IS LINEN TIME and we are specialists in tailored Linen Frocks. Dozens of different styles—many different types of Linen. You'll find these utility Frocks the smartest and most useful day-time Frock in your wardrobe. Well cut and beautifully made and you will find among these many styles just the type you are looking for. A very beautiful summery selection. Colours include Pink, Green, Gold, Rose, White and Blue. **PRICES: £6/10/6, £5/5/6, 80/6, 75/6, 57/6, 55/6, 54/6, 46/6, 39/6 and 35/6 and 30/6.**

BEAUTIFUL SELECTION OF ORGANDI BLOUSES

You'll look cool, smart and well finished in these crisp Organdi Blouses made in White and pastel shades. There are a number of most pleasing styles available. Sizes S.W., W.S. and W.L. **EACH 1/6**

JOHN OFFICE

"SERVE DAILY"

"Serve crunchy-crisp Kellogg's Cornflakes often these days for they are wonderful for all the family. And so rich with flavour."

More than 12 million people enjoy them daily. No cooking required. Pour from the packet and add cold milk or cream. Sold by all grocers in the red and green packet."

A23 (10/2/1932) [NM p10]



NEW DANTE DEODORANT

It's the most powerful deodorant yet. It's the most powerful deodorant yet.

Most deodorants have a floral perfume. But Dante's deodorant is strictly animal. It's secret magic lies in the mysterious blending of Musk and Amber. A provocative combination of rare animal essences which give you a new fascination.

Just be thankful that in Dante's, you have a deodorant which completely curbs unpleasant body odours as they've never been curbed before and, at the same time, tells every man within range that you are undeniably a woman. Try new Dante's deodorant. Surely, it works... refreshingly well.



Essentially, this advert re presents a commodity as offering something which it cannot deliver. The Dante' deodorant cannot 'buy' the woman an 'animal naturalnes or indeed a man. The adver is selling us both a commod ity as well as "our persona relationships in which we are feminine: how we are/ should be/ can be a certain feminine woman, whose attri butes in relation to men .. derive from the use of..." (Winship, 1980: 218 origina emphasis) this commodity. Ultimately "the exchange be tween the commodity and 'woman' in the ad establish es her as a commodity too." (Winship, 1980: 218) Moreover at the level of ap pearances the woman is pres ented as having a certain 'female machismo'/strength. However, the leading line of the text in fact emphasis her vulnerability, rather than her power in relation to men.

A24 (19/10/1965) [NM p11]

South Africans who use their brawn...

... deserve a refreshing, reviving, ice-cold Mainstay or two immediately the day's over; the quick-one to soothe a gritty throat and quench the thirst—the second to linger over, to enjoy more leisurely the fresh clean, tangy Mainstay flavour. Remember, Mainstay satisfies, which is why more of those who prefer spirits are calling for it every day.

Try Mainstay with your favourite mixed or neat and please do so, and remember to keep a bottle in your liquor cabinet.



MAINSTAY

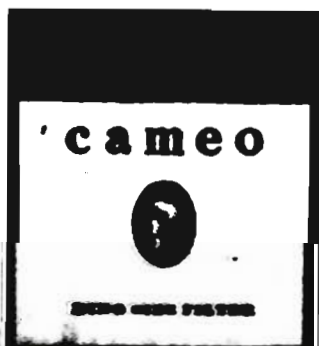
THE PURE SPIRIT OF SOUTH AFRICA

A25 (11/9/1965) [NM p18]



**"Yes I do intend to sulk—I want my Cameo.
I can't possibly smoke those men's cigarettes of yours."**

**"I expect I shall go through the entire exhibition in a sulk.
Daddy always brings Cameo for Mummy, you know,
so why should I smoke yours? Not when there's Cameo—
a cigarette specially made for women."**



Right, smart-smoking Cameo
long-are their cigarettes
as a new for pack are
specially made for a woman's taste

There is a specific link between mens cigarettes and womens' cigarettes. The gendered personification of the cigarette is made explicit. The genderised polarity occurring between men and women is portrayed to the reader. Emotional moodiness of femininity is reinforced ("I do intend to sulk"); while mens' economic dominance is clearly conveyed ("Daddy always brings Cameo for Mummy:").

AFTER THE LAP RECORD - WHAT THEN?

A slowing down to relaxation. Enjoyment of silence as screaming wheels fade to a memory. Always in control, he likes his hair to be the same way too. Uses Brylcreem for clean grooming without stickiness, for protection against dry hair, for the natural look.

**BYRLCREEM
KEEPS YOU
RIGHT ON TOP**

To look 'natural' for men means to be "in control". The implication in this advert is that real men are in "control" and "on top" emphasising their social power - not necessarily over women in particular, but in society in general.

A27 (31/12/1966) [NM p13]



NEW LIFEBOUY. FOR A NEW KIND OF MAN

A28 (4/7/1973) [NM p11]

MISSUS! BATHROOM SHINING NOW!

GOOD! NOW VIM THE KITCHEN!

EVERYTHING Cleaner! NOTHING Scratched!

Get more value out of every tin of VIM. Tell Jim to use it everywhere. Day by day you'll find more places in your home that VIM cleans more brightly, more safely too. For VIM is the double-action cleanser. First it gently lathers all the dirt, then holds it, ready for easy rinsing away. That's why it cleans quickly, well, and extra-safely too. For continuous brightness all over your home, say "Jim! VIM P— please!"

SPECIAL USES: GARNETTES
 Garnettes and Garnets, unchanged
 Due to limited supplies of garnets, we have found it necessary to reduce the size of the VIM label for the VIM in the outside is the same. The quality cleaner that you've always had, and after all it's the VIM that makes out the difference.

FOR EVERY CLEANING JOB SAY "Jim! VIM!"

VIM is a LAYCO PRODUCT

A29 (17/2/1943) [NM p1]

'The man in the 'Balance-Line' suit

This is the man whose look prompts service. For him, waiters and head waiters galvanise into action. At social gatherings he stands still and others circulate. He is the special guest. He is the man in the Balance-line suit. Pure wool, of course!



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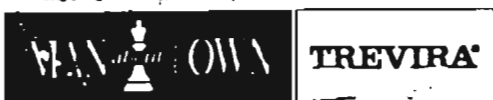
OUTFITTERS

377 West Street, Boston • Phone 7-1111



Get into that Man-about-Town suit... and then...let loose. Live it up..Make like a leader among men, a magnet among women. You know. It comes so easy in Man-about-Town. Cut tall, trim 'n free from summerweight TREVIRA to follow and flatter the shape of you however you care to cut free!

Today's design: Wear-spread, Carry her place. Tailor-crafted by Man-about-Town



A31 (28/8/1967) [NM p7]



Isn't she worth a Van Dyck carpet instead of another trivial Christmas bauble?

She's the uncompaining person who raises your children; darns your socks; looks beautiful for you, makes you laugh, puts up with your friends; keeps your secrets; cares for your animals; gives you love, and generally does the toughest job in the world - all for you. If she doesn't deserve a Van Dyck carpet, who does!

A van Dyck carpet is always there to brighten your day and to remind her of Happy Christmas 1967—for ever! It's an investment in years of pleasure and comfortable living. Now that's really spending your money wisely!

There's an almost unlimited range of Van Dyck designs and textures to choose from. You can afford these exquisite carpets more easily than you think. Ask your Van Dyck dealer. And give her the gift that makes it Christmas right through the year — and for years to come. She's worth it.



A32 (4/12/1967) [NM p9]

