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THE EFFECTS OF APARTHEID ON THE STATUS  
OF WOMEN IN SOUTH AFRICA AND NAMIBIA

Item 7 (a) of the provisional agenda

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Report of the Secretary-General

SUMMARY

The present report has been prepared in pursuance of Economic and Social Council resolution 1978/33, by which the Council recommended to the Preparatory Committee for the World Conference for the United Nations Decade for Women: Equality, Development and Peace the inclusion of an agenda item on the effects of apartheid on the status of women in southern Africa, and of General Assembly resolution 33/189, by which the Assembly decided to include such an item in the provisional agenda of the World Conference. The report contains an overview of apartheid, discusses the effects of apartheid and racism on the economic, social and political status of women in rural and urban areas, and takes up the questions of women and employment, social security, health and education.

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## I. OVERVIEW OF APARTHEID

1. At the core of South Africa's system of apartheid lies the need for a cheap and constant supply of labour in order to ensure the continued exploitation of and profit from the country's great mineral wealth. Gold, diamonds, uranium, copper, manganese, platinum and vanadium lie in critical quantities beneath its soil, making South Africa vitally important to most of the industrialized countries of the world. The labour force used to extract these resources has been found within the African population, and in order to maintain it, the South African régime has found it necessary to exert considerable control over its black population. The system of apartheid has therefore evolved, with its extensive laws, in order to establish control over every facet of the lives of the African members of the population. The fundamental characteristic of this system is that its legal structure, as well as its political and economic structure, is firmly based on racial discrimination. The ideology of racism provides justification for and reinforces the extreme inequality that persists in South Africa.

2. The population figures for South Africa give some indication of the extent of this inequality. In mid-1977 the South African Government estimated that the population stood at 26,946,000 and comprised four official population groups: 19,369,500 Africans, 4,379,000 whites, 2,432,000 coloureds and 765,000 Asians. <sup>1/</sup> Of these, only the whites are permitted to elect the Government, which is entirely white, and the whites alone promulgate the laws.

3. Two of the most far-reaching aspects of apartheid are the system of migrant labour and the establishment of bantustans, or reserves for blacks. These are based on the premise that Africans can live in a white urban or rural area only in order to sell their labour. When they are no longer considered economically productive, they are expected to return to the reserves to live with their families. The families of African workers are not allowed to accompany them to the white areas but must remain in the reserves, subsisting on the land. These reserves are enclaves located in various parts of the country; together they constitute only 13.5 per cent of the territory.

4. Because it is impossible to live off the land, which is generally non-arable, and because of heavy taxation, African men have been forced to seek work in the white areas. This need is backed by laws that require every adult male to register for work with a labour bureau. The African men who have permanent residential status in the urban areas represent a small minority and must, in general, live without their families, since their wives are seldom given permission to join them.

5. Every African, male or female, must carry a "pass" from the age of 16. This document must be kept in his or her possession at all times, since it indicates

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<sup>1/</sup> Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1978 (Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations), p. 49. These figures incorporate those for the Transkei. As the Transkei figure of 14,500 for whites, coloureds and Asians was not differentiated, it has been incorporated into the figure for whites.

whether the bearer is lawfully in a particular area or not. If not, he or she is subject to immediate arrest. The pass laws enable the Government to regulate the flow of Africans into the white areas. Africans are not permitted in those areas without a pass unless born there or unless they have worked there continuously.

6. The list of inequities suffered by black South Africans is a lengthy one. Whites, for example, consume 60 per cent of the nation's income, occupy 86.5 per cent of its land, are eligible for free and compulsory education, enjoy extremely good health and live, for the most part, in luxurious homes with the service of poorly paid domestic workers. Africans, on the other hand, do not have free or compulsory education. A limited number of schools cater to only a small percentage of the African population and follow a different and grossly inferior syllabus. The pupil-teacher ratio is roughly 50 to 1 for Africans and 20 to 1 for whites; government expenditure per pupil per year in 1978, for example, was 48.55 rand for Africans and 654 rand for whites. <sup>2/</sup> The housing provided for Africans in the towns is inadequate, lacking running water or electricity. The over-crowded and sparse conditions add to the hardships of town life in general. Poverty causes extensive malnutrition and disease. The medical service provided in the towns is inadequate, while that provided for the rural population is extremely limited. The effect of this situation is reflected in the high infant-mortality rate, which is estimated at five times that of the white population.

7. The situation of Namibia is very similar to that of South Africa. South Africa illegally occupies the Territory and applies its apartheid laws there. Although certain changes have occurred in recent years, in fact little of substance has changed. South Africa has refused to recognize the United Nations Council for Namibia and enforces its rule through its army. In effect Namibia is still a fifth province of South Africa.

8. Namibia is a large territory, possessing rich and abundant natural resources (notably, diamonds, uranium and copper), and as such is important to South Africa. However, another factor of particular concern to the apartheid régime is that the Territory serves as a political and geographical buffer between the racist south and much of independent Africa. Hence, the continued control of Namibia is of extreme strategic value to the apartheid State. Although the population is relatively small (687,000 Africans, 70,000 coloureds and 100,000 whites), <sup>3/</sup> South Africa relies heavily on the labour of African males from the Territory. Up to two thirds of Namibian men work as migrants, a higher percentage than that of the African population in South Africa. <sup>4/</sup>

9. Although the policies of apartheid are detrimental to the whole black population, it is most sorely felt by women. For while men constitute the majority of the cheap labour force, women are relegated to a shadowy position, expected to remain in the reserves and to support their families without the help of the menfolk. This creates special problems for women who already suffer from discrimination based on their sex.

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<sup>2/</sup> Ibid., p. 399.

<sup>3/</sup> Ibid., 1977, p. 460.

<sup>4/</sup> Gillian and Suzanne Cronje, The Workers of Namibia (London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1979), p. 6.

II. THE EFFECT OF APARTHEID AND RACISM ON THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL STATUS OF WOMEN IN RURAL AREAS

10. African women in South Africa and Namibia suffer a triple oppression. As Africans - which for the most part defines their class position - they have to contend with the restrictive and repressive legislation enacted by the apartheid and racist régimes, which ensures alien control over all facets of their lives. In addition, as women, they have to contend with the fact that they are regarded as dependants and as inferior to men; as such, they are even further discriminated against within the framework of apartheid and the racist social order imposed by South Africa.
11. The impact of apartheid and racism on the cultures of the African peoples in this region has been devastating for both women and men. However, there is a crucial dimension to the impact of the system on women which makes them the most adversely affected. This goes beyond the more obvious effects on the role of women as mothers and nurturers who have to ensure their own survival and that of their children under extremely adverse conditions. Most particularly, it concerns their role in the economy of their communities, where the physical input of women into agricultural production is greater than that of men and yet the land they occupy is so barren and yields so little that their economic fruits are virtually non-existent.
12. The Economic Commission for Africa (ECA) estimates that women provide 60 to 80 per cent of agricultural labour in Africa. <sup>5/</sup> Hence, in most countries, women make up the bulk of the agricultural work-force where agriculture is the mainstay of the economy. The customs defining their roles and rights were firmly embedded in the life of the people and inextricably intertwined with the village economy. Such customs have survived not because they provided the basis for the most efficient economy but because the economy which they supported was a viable one. Consequently, there was little internal demand for further adaptation. Polygamy was not the only way that a man could gain many workers for his land, but it was one way. The bride-price provided compensation for the worker that a father was about to lose through marriage and thus fitted into the economic reality of village life. Divorce for women was out of the question in this context, since the whole system would founder if women were free to dissolve their marriages. Those who ran away had to leave their children behind. If they had no children, their families had to return the bride-price.
13. These customs not only served to provide workers and to produce the next generation of workers, they also provided a system of social security for village life, an environment for mutual responsibility among the women. Women who were ill were looked after by other women. Children whose mother had died were cared for by her co-wives or husband's relatives. At harvest time all the women pooled their labour to help each other bring in the crops. Such customs, while restrictive, enabled a particular economic system to work. <sup>6/</sup>

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<sup>5/</sup> "The role of women in African development" (E/CONF.66/BP.8).

<sup>6/</sup> Stephanie Urdang, Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1979), pp. 18 and 19.

14. The erosion of women's economic role as a result of apartheid and racist policies has undermined their social and political role as well. The rapid growth of the industrial sector since the 1930s has been matched by the equally rapid deterioration of the subsistence sector. This has had the greatest detrimental effect on African women. While in the traditional subsistence system women provided the labour that ensured the survival of their families and communities, this role did not give them obvious political prominence, although it guaranteed them some power in the allocation of resources. Not only has the reduction in land area reduced the economic productivity of women and hence their political and social power, but it has also increased their dependence on their husbands, fathers or male guardians - thus reinforcing the existing patriarchal system. 7/

A. The reserves or bantustans of South Africa and Namibia

15. The rapid deterioration of the economic and social role of women since the establishment of apartheid has increased their workload to inhuman proportions as they try to produce enough from the land to feed their families. With the men off working as migrant labourers, the women face an arduous existence, working at their daily chores in the home and in the field.

16. Netumbo Nandi, a member of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) who grew up in northern Namibia near the Angolan border, described the hardships experienced by the women of her rural community as a result of the apartheid laws:

"The South African colonialists ... made a conscious effort to prevent subsistence agriculture from evolving into advanced commercial farming. They prevented mechanization and large-scale cultivation that would produce cash crops ... to make sure that the largest number of African men would always be readily available for contract labour ... As a consequence, much of the cultivation in rural Namibia is still done with hand hoes, and it is the women who do much of the field work, using their hands for tilling, sowing, weeding, harvesting and threshing." 8/

17. Expanding on the onerous workload for women, another SWAPO member, Mathilda Amomo, spoke about women's role in agriculture:

"You find that apart from something like a one-hour break about 10 a.m. to go for breakfast and to feed children, women in these areas work in the fields from 5 a.m. to 1 p.m. from Monday to Saturday every week. This is true whether you are talking about cultivation, weeding or harvesting seasons of the year. The men help when they are not on contract, except for threshing and grinding

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7/ Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, "Underdevelopment and African women" (Paper presented at the Conference of the Southern Africa Research Group, Maryland, United States of America, September 1976).

8/ Carole Collins, This is the Time: Interview with Two Namibian Women (Chicago, Committee for African Liberation, 1977), p. 9.

grain for flour, which is women's work. After spending up to 7 hours of backbreaking labour in the fields, women in the rural areas do not retire to rest for the day. They must also fetch water, grind grain into flour and prepare meals, not to mention washing the babies and their diapers. I do not mean to suggest that our men do nothing at all ... But on the whole, their work entails far less energy-taking duties when compared to those performed by women." 9/

18. As the two young women pointed out, the absence of men from the rural areas when they are "on contract", working as poorly paid migrant labourers, has an extremely adverse effect on the women left behind in the reserve areas of South Africa and Namibia. One of the rationales for paying such extremely low wages to African migrant workers is the assumption that the wives and children of these so-called migrants remain in the reserves and secure their families' subsistence from the land. The primary economic function of the African woman in South Africa and Namibia is the reproduction of an African labour force, to the point that the domestic labour of women in fact subsidizes the apartheid system. Forced off the land by poverty and by a system of oppressive laws, the men take up employment in mining and industry. To maintain a high rate of profit, the corporations, both national and multinational, pay extremely low wages which are consistently below the Poverty Datum Line. in other words, not enough for basic subsistence. 10/ The employers are able to get away with these low wages only because the women and children of the workers live in the reserves and are expected to provide their own subsistence. 11/

19. This rationalization for paying low wages to migrant labourers has proved to be nothing more than a theoretical construct on the part of the South African Government. In practice, it has served to drive the African population into a state of desperate poverty, while providing the régime with a justification for its policies. Millions of African women are affected by the migrant labour laws. Condemned to live on the 13.5 per cent of the land set aside as reserved are 4,013,880 women, children and old people. A further 1,768,860 women, children and old people live in the white rural areas, while a similar number - 1,866,280 - live in the white urban areas. 12/ As government statistics are notoriously inadequate and this hampers the possibility for providing a rational breakdown of the population, it is not possible to pinpoint the number of adult females in the reserves at any one time. What is clear is that the majority of women and of children under the age of 15 live in the reserves, which have aptly been described

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9/ Ibid., pp. 6 and 7.

10/ The Poverty Datum Line is estimated each year as the minimal amount needed for a family to survive. In May 1978 it was estimated at \$174.16 for an urban family of five (see Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1978 ..., p. 157).

11/ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Ideas and Action, Bulletin 126 (1978), p. 28.

12/ Government of South Africa, Department of Statistics, South African Population Census, 1970.



as reservoirs of women, children and old people, while the strongest and most able-bodied men leave to seek work outside. The degree of land hunger in these areas is chronic, with the result that agricultural production has stagnated or declined over the years. 13/ It is totally impossible for the residents of the reserves to subsist on the land.

20. This has been demonstrated, for example, in a study of the Transkei published in 1977. 14/ The Transkei is the largest of the areas designated independent "bantustans" by the South African régime. Its total population in 1970 was close to 2 million, comprising 715,032 resident males, 184,788 males away at work as migrant labourers and 1,029,531 females. It can be presumed that a large percentage of the resident males are children. In 1974, 83 per cent of the Transkei's economically active males were employed as migrant labourers outside the area. The study found that while 83 per cent of the population were subsistence farmers, with another 8.4 per cent combining subsistence and cash crops, only 23 per cent of all rural households engaged in subsistence farming are able to feed themselves in a good year. The remaining 60 per cent are never able to produce sufficient amounts of food to provide for themselves. Thus their survival depends totally on migrant labour. 15/

21. The wives, mothers, daughters and sisters of the migrant labourers remain behind. In the Transkei, for instance, the percentage of women between the ages of 15 and 44 - the most productive age group - is 68.4. 16/ Other studies confirm the situation. In Venda, women make up 84 per cent of the population between the ages of 30 and 39 and 75 per cent of those between the ages of 40 and 49. 17/ Hence, the conclusions drawn in the Transkei study are pertinent to all the reserve areas, namely:

"Rural production in the region is now virtually exclusively undertaken by women - the burden having fallen particularly heavily on the old (1st) generation women remaining in the Transkei. Thus the number of tasks performed by women has in effect at least doubled. Women, and more particularly older women, have now to perform tasks previously undertaken by males of two generations." 18/

22. Women's work has been extended to include all of the work involved in cultivation, as well as such tasks as preparing mud for hut walls and thatch for

13/ Land Tenure Conditions in South Africa (Centre Against Apartheid of the United Nations Secretariat, Notes and Documents Series, No. 37/76, December 1976), p. 54.

14/ Duncan Innes and Dan O'Meara, "Class formation and ideology: the Transkei region", Review of African Political Economy (London, 1977).

15/ Ibid.

16/ Ibid.

17/ Barbara Rogers, Divide and Rule: South Africa's Bantustans (London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1976).

18/ Innes and O'Meara, loc. cit.

roofs and raising cattle, which in pre-industrial society was considered "a masculine occupation par excellence and was surrounded by all sorts of taboos against women". 19/ Tending cattle is a time-consuming task, since, in addition to milking the cows twice a day, the cattle need to be taken out to graze every morning, brought back at sunset and closed in byres at night.

23. While it is not possible to survive solely off the land, neither are the wages paid the migrant workers sufficient to supplement the reserve incomes. In 1954 the annual per capita income for the reserves was R 25.80. This figure increased to R 48 per annum when income from migrant workers was incorporated. By 1969 the per capita income emanating from the reserves had dropped to R 22, increasing to an average of R 53 per annum when migrant income was included. The drop in real income resulting from inflation was felt most heavily in the reserves. The inflation rate between September 1973 and September 1974, for instance, was 8 per cent for the country as a whole, but 14 per cent in the reserves. 20/

24. These figures represent averages for the reserve areas as a whole and mask the difficulties that confront an individual woman as she tries to make ends meet in her small village at well below the average income. In order to set aside a portion of their hard-earned wages to send home, migrants have to make a considerable personal sacrifice. Even with the best of intentions, these contributions cannot do much to alleviate the harsh conditions for those remaining behind. The supplements are generally erratic and of varying amounts, others simply never arrive. Large numbers of families are forced to subsist without them, and no rural community is exempt from the problems caused by a lack of financial support from male relatives working on contract. Innumerable examples bear this out. For instance, according to one typical account:

"N. arrived at Dimbaza [resettlement camp] in 1968. Her son went as a migrant to the Transvaal. Months later he sent his first letter home - there was no money in it. Nevertheless her rations were stopped because she was told she 'had someone working for her'. This is typical of many cases. Often young sons go off for the first time in their lives and take some time to settle down; sometimes they forget those left behind - often because they cannot manage to live in town on what they earn." 21/

Another example illustrates the hardships endured by wives:

"Mrs. M. X. was living with her husband and family near Cape Town. They were not well off but they managed; then they were removed to a resettlement

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19/ Land Tenure Conditions ... .

20/ Rand Daily Mail, 28 March 1978 (cited in Rogers, op. cit., p. 29).

21/ Voice of Women, Special Issue on International Women's Year (Lusaka),

township. Her husband was required to leave his family and become a migrant. At first he sent R 10 home each month; in time it became rather less, then it became irregular. He had turned to drink and found another woman." 22/

25. The extent of dependence on income from migrant workers and the basic fragility of the reserve economy is well demonstrated in a study of Nqutu, a village in Kwazulu. 23/ The 1975 study, based on 150 sample families, found the monthly income per family to be R 14.87, of which more than half came in the mail from relatives on contract. Monthly income came from three main sources: R 9.90 from migrants; R 2.37 from earnings from home industry and income in kind from livestock and agriculture; and R 2.60 from pensions and disabilities grants. The study found that the main source of income was irregular, so that the family might receive R 5 one month, R 20 the next and perhaps another R 5 a few months later. Because their cash income is limited and inconsistent, the women made small, uneconomic purchases of poor quality goods. 24/ The same study estimated that the monthly income needed by a family to subsist at the barest minimum but still remain in poverty is \$103.99 (approximately R 87).

26. The effect of migrant labour on women and their families does not stop at economic hardship. Women also experience considerable emotional stress in living apart from their husbands, lovers and fathers and having to bring up their children alone. 25/ Writing about women in the reserve areas some years ago, Phyllis Ntantala said poignantly:

"It is the tragic story of thousands of young women who are widows long before they reach the age of thirty; young married women who have never been mothers, young women whose life has been one long song of sorrow - burying one baby after another and lastly burying the husband - that lover she has never known as husband and father. To them - both men and women - adulthood means the end of life; it means loneliness, sorrow, tears and death; it means a life without a future because there is no present." 26/

27. The disruption of family life is one of the cruellest aspects of the inhuman apartheid laws. Men are forced to stay away for months on end, at best returning for a few weeks a year, but often not seeing their family for years at a time. They become alienated and set up a new life in the towns, which helps alleviate the pain of separation from home. Their wives do not have similar possibilities in the countryside and wait month after month hoping for a letter and for money. A Transkei woman spoke out bitterly in an interview about the life she had to lead as a married woman:

22/ Ibid., p. 22.

23/ Liz Clarke and Jane Ngobese, Women Without Men: A Study of 150 Families in the Nqutu District of Kwazulu (Durban, Institute for Black Research, 1975).

24/ Ibid.

25/ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, op. cit., p. 28.

26/ Quoted in Hilda Bernstein, For Their Triumphs and for Their Tears: Women in Apartheid, South Africa (London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1975), p. 23.

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"Marriage is not worthwhile for us black women. It traps us. Men are having it all right in town with their girl friends and money, while we must keep home on empty pockets and empty promises. We feel deserted. We feel lonely in this desolate place.

We have pity for our husbands. We know why they must take town girls - men are men - and we also know why they want us to stay home, to keep a home for him ... Our husband must sweat their lives away from Cape Town, but there is no security for them there.

We will tell you what sometimes happens to us ... how we are forced to give our husbands to other women. This is how it happens. I do not hear from my husband for many months. The money has stopped coming, even when I cry for it, it does not come. My children are hungry. No food. No money. My neighbours lend me money to go to Cape Town to look for my husband ... I am shown the place where my husband lives ... It is a men's hostel.

I sleep on the floor until my husband arrives. He is not pleased to see me. He is angry, embarrassed, he looks away but eventually tells me about this other woman ... I can sense that it is this woman who has been eating the money that my husband should have been sending to me and our children. She is now fat and attractive. I am starved and ugly in my husband's eyes. I have become a burden to my very own husband." 27/

28. Despite the suffering that women must undergo through the break-up of their families, many understand that it is not their husbands but the social conditions resulting from the apartheid laws that are responsible. A woman living illegally with her husband in Cape Town, expressed her feelings on the subject:

"My belief is this: That when you are married to your husband, whether he be working in Cape Town or whatever, according to standards of refinement or culture, you should stay together where he is working. Stay together. Because you are depending on this husband for food, for clothing, for shelter and in case of illness ... It is the law that separates us that is to blame here. Because husband and wife are supposed to be together at all times." 28/

29. The men suffer too. Not all those living in the towns break ties with their families in the rural areas. Then there are large numbers of migrant workers who never see the urban centres. As they are shunted from the reserves to mining compounds, where they have little contact with women, they experience great loneliness and count the days when they can return home even for a short visit. While collecting evidence on the effects of migrant labour on family life, a Finnish missionary in Namibia received letters from workers attesting to their suffering:

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27/ Race Relations News (Johannesburg), November 1978.

28/ We Shall Not Move: The Struggle for Crossroads (Cape Town, National Union of South African Students, 1979), p. 17.

"God did not agree that the Christian marriage should be broken. Read Genesis 2:18-25. We do not know why a person has to be separated from his wife for 12 months. It means much, much longing. And later the man commits adultery because of the length of the months of the contract."

"Because of the contract my children do not know me."

"I left a small child at home and when I return he will ask his mother: 'Who is this funny man?' I feel depressed because of this thing." 29/

#### B. Resettlement camps in South Africa

30. One of the most inhuman expressions of the policies of the apartheid régime is the programme of resettlement, under which over 2 million people have been forced to leave their homes and removed to remote, undeveloped areas of the reserves. 30/ There are a number of situations deemed incompatible with apartheid policies that spur the Government to render individual families, communities or large populations homeless. For instance, the Government strives to eliminate so-called "black spots", pockets of land owned by Africans in areas declared "white" by the Government or areas considered too close to white-owned farms or towns. Forced removals also take place under influx control laws, in order to reduce the number of Africans living in white urban areas. "Non-productive Africans must leave and if such individuals have no homes or families, the only alternative is a resettlement camp. Some African leaders have called the resettlement camps "concentration camps designed for mass genocide." 31/

31. It has been estimated that the resettlement villages or camps will eventually hold close to 4 million people. 32/ By 1974 there were 86 such camps, whose populations totalled at least 600,000. 33/ These areas are closed to the public, making it virtually impossible to investigate the conditions under which the residents live. None the less, press reports and other eye-witness reports have alerted the international community to the plight of those forced to live there. No amount of outrage has been able to effect a change, however. In fact, the forced removals have been stepped up and the hardships have increased.

32. Once again, it is the women who have been hardest hit by these policies. Considered fundamentally non-productive, they constitute the majority of those being

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29/ Quoted in Gillian and Suzanne Cronje, The Workers of Namibia (London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1979), p. 37.

30/ Sunday Post (Johannesburg), 8 July 1979.

31/ Pan Africanist Congress submission to the Third Session of the Preparatory Committee of the World Conference of the United Nations Decade for Women, New York, April 1980.

32/ Rogers, op. cit., p. 35.

33/ Ibid.

expelled from the urban areas. When communities are uprooted, the already small male population is further diminished as men leave to seek work because of the increased level of poverty.

33. Eighty-six settlement camps will have 86 stories of destitution to relate. A recent investigation of 10 such resettlement areas in Natal and Eastern Cape Province uncovered the extent of the poverty in these camps and found "malnutrition, sickness, unemployment, and a general feeling of helplessness among the people restricted to these areas against their will." 34/

34. One typical settlement visited was Sada, the first resettlement camp in Ciskei, established in 1976. Thirty thousand people are crammed into this area, mostly living in houses comprising two rooms, each room being approximately two square metres in area. Adjacent to Sada is a mud village, nicknamed "Village of Tears" and populated by people unable to find housing in Sada:

"With an estimated 10,000 people [Village of Tears] has 13 privately-owned toilets and the rest of the population has to make do with the bush ... There is not a single tap in the village and people have to go to neighbouring Sada for water. An outbreak of typhoid is imminent in the area." 35/

35. The residents of all the resettlement camps visited spoke of excessively high infant mortality rates, with children dying from malnutrition and such illnesses as measles and gastro-enteritis. The land is barren and plots of land have not been allocated for farming. The diet is hopelessly inadequate: "Some of the families rely entirely on the ration scheme of mealie-meal [corn-meal], margarine and condensed milk". 36/ Very few people are able to find employment.

36. Of the 30,000 people living in Sada, 400 (mostly women) are employed in a factory complex, with an additional 400 employed on a casual basis. The Ciskei Government employs a few women from the areas as street sweepers - at a salary of R 11 per month.

37. The conditions that the residents, and most particularly the women, have to contend with is not confined to one or two resettlement areas. For the 10 areas covered in the report, and others as well, they are the rule. The sense of helplessness reflected in what one elderly inhabitant told a visitor to a camp in Kwazulu pervades all the camps:

"This Government is very tricky. It makes the cost of living rise everyday. And we have no jobs. We have no land to plough, no land to keep livestock. We have been here for ten years now and we are going to collapse and die." 35/

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34/ Sunday Post (Johannesburg), 8 July 1979.

35/ Ibid.

36/ Ibid.

His sentiments were echoed by an old woman from another camp:

"I don't know if we have any hope for the future. I'm going to die. We live to die. That's what we do." 36/

38. In many instances communities have either resisted the move or mounted a protest once they reached the resettlement camp and saw how they were expected to live. The community of 2,000 Tswana who were forced to leave their village, Majeng, was one such case. They were offered a larger area within the BophuthaTswana bantustan, to which some moved voluntarily but many only under strong protest, in 1975. Within nine months the first group of women had returned to Majeng, complaining about the conditions at Vaalboschhoek. The first 10 women to arrive were arrested and convicted of trespass. A second group of 42 women was sent back to Vaalboschhoek where their case was apparently referred to a local magistrate. When the third group of women was charged and taken to court the women were not prosecuted, since the court decided that something had to be done about the conditions, leading the magistrate to make a press statement supporting the women's grievances and confirming that the area was swampy, that heavy rains had damaged the crops and caused houses to collapse and that mosquitos had caused animals to die. Nevertheless, he made it clear that Majeng was now a "prohibited area". 37/

39. The comments from government and administration officials rule out the possibility of a change of policy and practice by the apartheid régime:

"It is a habit with many Zulus to say they are starving." 38/

"The Bantu people like being moved ... The Bantu people like the places where they are being resettled." 39/

"Each of these places is a manifestation of the successful implementation of the policy of separate development." 40/

C. Effect of migrant labour on women in Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana

40. In Lesotho, Swaziland and Botswana women suffer under the indirect effects of the apartheid régime, as it spreads its quest for cheap labour beyond its borders. Even though these countries are independent, their economies are so intertwined with and dependent upon their industrialized neighbour that they cannot escape the noose of migrant labour.

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37/ Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1976 ..., pp. 221 and 222.

38/ Johan Eyssen, Liaison Officer, Department of Cooperation and Development, Government of South Africa. Quoted in the Sunday Post (Johannesburg), 8 July 1979.

39/ P. W. Botha, quoted in the Star (Johannesburg), 21 November 1969.

40/ Statement made by the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development in the House of Assembly Debates (Hansard) on 4 February 1969.

41. It is not difficult to appreciate that the role of women in these three countries has been profoundly changed by the men leaving their countries to work in South Africa on contract. The interlinking of these countries with the South African economy has led to increased impoverishment, which in turn has increased the number of men driven to seek work in South Africa and increased the hardships for those left behind. The ability to recruit mine workers from outside the country is extremely beneficial to the apartheid régime, since mining is the most despised work in South Africa and, where there is a choice, the South African will opt for other work. Foreign workers do not have an economic choice.

42. The country most affected by this export of labour is Lesotho, which supplied almost a quarter of the mine workers in South Africa in 1978. These workers represented 45 per cent of the male workers in Lesotho and provided 60 per cent of the incomes of their families during the same period. In 1967-1979, 60 per cent of rural incomes came from agriculture. By 1973-1974, it was down to 30 per cent and in 1977 it stood at only 15 per cent. 41/

43. Once again the pattern is repeated: the men go off to work on contract to the mines and factories of South Africa, while the women remain at home embroiled in the ongoing struggle for survival. The concomitant breakdown of family life is also repeated. In a village in Lesotho one researcher found that:

"Many migrant's wives complain that husbands do not send sufficient money, some receive none for long periods, and some say their husbands have simply disappeared, leaving them technically married, but with no financial support ... The average migrant's wife receives only a small per cent of the man's earnings for household expenses so many wives must seek other means to supplement irregular remittances and the minimally productive subsistence agriculture on Lesotho's impoverished land, of which only 13 per cent is arable." 42/

44. A pregnant Basotho peasant woman described her feelings about her family relationships as follows:

"I miss him, I don't know why. He doesn't send me money very often. But I'm lonely. I wish he didn't have to go. And when he comes home, I'm frightened. I'm shy, its been so long. He does strange things to me, too. I can't talk about such things, but other women say the same. It's because in the mine all they have for company is men. Sometimes I wish he'd never come back, and just that he'd send me money.

Tsolo /her six-year old son/ will go to the mines like his father and Malefa /her four-year old daughter/ will be like me. Waiting. I hope she never married. It's better to be educated. To be a nurse, or a doctor even. But her father will want her bride-price. Its not fair. If you're a women, you're trapped, you see. If he's lucky, he (the baby in my womb), will be a boy." 43/

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41/ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, op. cit., p. 11.

42/ Judy Gay, "Basotho women as migrant workers" (Paper presented at a seminar on women in development, University of Sussex, England, 16 May 1979).

43/ Bernice Rubens, "The gold widows", Observer Magazine (London), 11 June 1978.



III. THE EFFECT OF APARTHEID AND RACISM ON WOMEN IN URBAN AREAS

45. Permission for an African to reside in a "prescribed" 44/ urban area in South Africa has to be granted; it is not a right. An African must be there for one specific purpose - namely, to provide labour for the industrial sector. This fact gives direction to much of the apartheid law, with the result that three million so-called "superfluous" Africans have been expelled from the urban areas since 1970. 45/ The majority of these people, because they are judged to have no useful purpose, are women.

46. Every effort, then, is made to keep African women out of the urban or prescribed areas. The laws and regulations governing their movement in the urban areas are so extensive, pervasive and intricate and are so arbitrarily and indifferently carried out by the governmental officials that only a small proportion of women can be considered settled "urban dwellers". The rest are confronted with the daily possibility of being "endorsed out" and sent back to the area in which they were born, even if they have lost all ties with that area, or of being considered "displaced" and sent to resettlement camps. In South Africa, therefore, cases such as those discussed below are commonplace.

47. Mrs. Msini is married to a crippled factory worker; they have one child, aged four. She was arrested and fined R 30 for living with him illegally. She had left Dordrecht, the place of her birth, and had forfeited her right to return. But because she has been "endorsed out" of the area in which her husband lives, she is not legally entitled to live anywhere in South Africa. She was finally given a temporary permit to live in Dordrecht, where she must live with her child, apart from her husband. 46/

48. Mrs. Mokola was born in Alexandra and has lived there all her life, except for a few months' visit to Natal in 1957. None the less, she now lives there illegally. In 1959 when she first applied for a pass, she was asked the birthplace of her father, which was Swaziland. Swaziland was therefore shown as her home district. In 1962 and again 1970 she was "endorsed out" and told she had to leave her home and live in Swaziland. She has never been there in her life, and while she can produce proof of long residence in Alexandra, she has no proof of her birth. Her mother deserted her when she was a small child and cannot be traced, and her father and her only brother are dead. If forced to go to Swaziland, her two children will have to go with her and lose their rights to live in Alexandra. 47/

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44/ A prescribed area is one which has been designated a "white" area, but where a large number of Africans can - with appropriate permits - live and work.

45/ According to reports by the South African Institute of Race Relations cited in Bernard Magubane, The Political Economy of Race and Class in South Africa (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1979), p. 146.

46/ Bernstein, op. cit., p. 34.

47/ "Memorandum on the pass laws and influx control", Sash, vol. 16, No. 8 (February 1974), p. 19.

49. Mrs. Ndlovu was born in Johannesburg and qualified to live there. Her husband is only entitled to live in Johannesburg if he keeps his job, and qualifies to live in Alexandra township, in "singles" quarters. Mrs. Ndlovu has not been permitted to leave Johannesburg to live with him. They have to live apart although they are lawfully resident within a few miles of each other. 48/

50. The key to legal residency in the urban areas is to be a "section tenner". This refers to those who qualify under the Bantu (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act of 1925, as amended by the Bantu Laws Amendment Act of 1964. Section 10 governs the right of an African to be in a prescribed area, and the conditions under which he or she may remain there. While a "Section 10" African is permitted to be in a white urban area, his or her status is not necessarily permanent or secure. The four subdivisions to Section 10 of the Act dictate the level of permanence. The categories are as follows:

Section 10(a) covers those who were born in the urban area and have lived there continuously since birth. There are cases of children losing their 10(a) status because they were sent to relatives in the reserves while their mother was working;

Section 10(b) covers those who have worked for 10 years continuously for the same employer or who have lived lawfully and continuously for 15 years in such an area. A term of imprisonment exceeding six months will rescind this status;

Section 10(c) covers wives of men who qualify under Section 10(a) or 10(b) and entered the area legally and "ordinarily reside" with their husbands. Because of the embargo on the entry of women in the urban areas, it is extremely difficult for a man to bring his wife from outside the area to live legally with him. In addition, the phrase "ordinarily resides" implies that a wife is living with her lawful husband in quarters that are considered suitable for married people. She cannot claim this if he is officially resident in a hostel or in authorized accommodation on his employer's premises;

Section 10(d) covers those who are granted permission from a labour bureau official. This section applies to most of the migrant workers, for the duration of their contract only. 49/

51. It is not difficult to appreciate how insecure even those who appear to have every reason to remain in the city must feel, for the legal status of a women might be rescinded in a moment on a large variety of pretexts. She can retain her legality only as long as her husband does not divorce her, desert her or die, and as long as she does not lose her job and is not classified as "idle". Strict enforcement of Section 10 regulations result in greater hardships for women than for men.

52. For instance, women have not been lawfully able to enter an urban area for more than 72 hours in over a decade. A woman might therefore have remained in the area

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48/ Ibid., p. 30.

49/ Ibid., pp. 29 and 30.

for any number of years without problem and suddenly be forced out if discovered. Few women are able to qualify under Section 10(a) or (b) of the Urban Areas Act. Many will have spent disqualifying periods away from the area and employment opportunities are very much more limited for women. Marriage to a qualified African does not legalize her status, regardless of how many years she has been married, if her first entry was unlawful. Marriage can in fact have the reverse effect for women who qualify in terms of their fathers' status. Unless she qualifies in her own right, a woman will lose that status if she marries an unqualified man. If her husband lives in a different urban area and she goes to live with him there, she will lose any qualifications she may have under Section 10(a) or (b) without necessarily gaining a new one under Section 10(c). 50/

53. In addition, the Government's ability to declare an individual an "idle" person provides a convenient catch-all for declaring many more people - especially women - unqualified. It is possible to be declared "idle" or "undesirable" for a wide range of reasons. Such a pronouncement may be made if a person who is over the age of 15 and under the age of 60 (for a woman) or 65 (for a man) and is capable of working is normally unemployed. Refusal to accept employment offered by a Labour Bureau unless a person has "acceptable" reasons and dismissed within the first month of employment from more than two jobs in any six-month period or on more than three occasions in one year is also grounds for being declared idle or undesirable. 51/

54. Since it is legally the responsibility of the persons declared idle to prove that they have a right to be in a particular area, 52/ officials have considerable latitude and power in applying the law and are thus able to undermine the already fragile hold that Africans, most particularly women, have on remaining in a prescribed area.

55. The lives of women living both legally and illegally in the urban areas are further complicated by the chronic shortage of housing for Africans in urban areas. As of June 1968 it became impossible for an African to buy a house in an urban area. Since then, Africans have only been able to rent their houses, and houses bought in accordance with prior regulations could only be sold to the local authorities and could not be inherited by members of the owner's family. Furthermore, there are numerous restrictions limiting the number of people able to apply for a house. Only male heads of family over the age of 21 are entitled to a house and they must have dependants who are lawfully in the area. 53/

56. If all the conditions and documentation required for the application of a house are fulfilled, the family then has to resign itself to a four- to five-year wait, and maybe longer, for the actual allocation of a house. In the meanwhile, they will have to live as lodgers, again with the appropriate permits, in the homes of others (who themselves must have permits to take on lodgers). The overcrowded conditions for all concerned places a strain on daily life.

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50/ Elizabeth Landis, "Apartheid and the disabilities of African women in South Africa" (Centre Against Apartheid of the United Nations Secretariat, Notes and Documents, December 1973).

51/ "Memorandum on pass laws and influx control" ..., p. 19.

52/ Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1977 ..., p. 398.

53/ "Memorandum on pass laws and influx control" ..., p. 38.

57. The allocation of a house, however, does not mean that a family is automatically reunited. The clue to who lives in a house lies with the names listed on the original application. If children are away at school, for instance, at the time their parents applied for a house, their names would not be included on the house permit. Others might have been living with relatives in the rural areas. Once parents are finally given their house, permission to have the children with them is very often refused. This has led to psychological breakdowns for both mothers and children. 54/

58. Unless a woman is qualified to be a resident of an urban area in her own right, she will find herself without a roof over her head should she be deserted, divorced or widowed. Unqualified women are not allowed to remain in their homes, even if they have dependent children and are able to pay the rent. Should a woman have an adult son resident with her, he may be permitted to take over the tenancy. 55/ If he is not, the family will either be allowed to stay and seek lodgings or will be "endorsed out" to a reserve area at the discretion of petty government officials.

59. A divorced woman may be given permission to stay on in her home only if she was not the guilty party in the divorce suit and has been granted custody of her children, if she qualifies in her own right to remain in town, if she can pay the rent and if her former husband has agreed to vacate the house. If he has remarried immediately, he may choose to remain in the house with his new wife. 56/

60. The options provided for those who do not qualify for family housing are grim. The choice is between living as registered lodgers in other people's already overcrowded houses or in singles' quarters, where available. The conditions in one such singles' hostel located in Soweto, have been described as follows:

"A hostel for single women has also been built in Soweto. It is situated in Mzimhlophe Location. It consists of four-roomed houses each with a common bathroom. Two occupants share a room. The 'single' women inmates of this hostel are mostly domestic servants, factory workers, and office workers. They are mostly from the homelands, and some of them are push-outs from the Soweto housing system. The latter group are girls of working age who no longer qualify to stay with their parents. Widows and divorcees, orphans and unwed mothers are also included. Mothers are not allowed to reside with their children in the hostel. Men are also forbidden in the hostel premises. The hostel premises is [sic] fenced with barbed wire. These hostels are hovels for men and women denied the right to lead creative lives." 57/

61. As children cannot live with their mothers as lodgers, they must be sent "back" to the reserves, even if they have no contact with people there. African women living illegally with their children are in constant fear that they will be found out. To make matters worse, in order to register a child for school, parents must

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54/ Ibid., p. 33.

55/ Muriel Horrell, Laws Affecting Race Relations in South Africa (Johannesburg, South African Institute of Race Relations, 1978).

56/ Ibid.

57/ Joyce Sikakane, "Women under Apartheid" (Paper presented at a London conference, April 1976).

obtain a "pink card", which is issued only for children listed on a residential permit and which is impossible to procure if the mother is living illegally in the urban areas. 58/

62. The situation forces a woman into an exaggerated dependence on her husband. Many a woman finds herself prolonging an unhappy marriage and tolerating her husband's behaviour - afraid that he might desert or divorce her - rather than risk the consequences.

63. As a result of these impossible restrictions, a rapid growth in the number of squatter camps has taken place, particularly in Cape Town, which was declared a "Coloured preferential area" in 1966. Since it is even more difficult for African women to get permission to remain in this area, many have chosen to live in a constant state of insecurity as long as they can maintain some semblance of family life. Squatter camps such as Modderdam, Unibel and Crossroads have flourished, as men have left their single's quarters in nearby townships and together with their wives and children built small shacks out of whatever material was available. The first two camps were razed to the ground by government bulldozers, but Crossroads, with a population of some 20,000, still stands. The Government appears wary of the bad publicity that would accrue if it razed this one as well, and after much pressure has promised new housing for those "legally" in the area.

64. The people of Crossroads, while risking arrest and suffering grave physical hardships, have established a tightly knit community of families that have managed to organize most of the basic services for themselves. Crossroads' very existence is an act of defiance, particularly on the part of the women who, more than the men, risk arrest and further dislocation. 59/

65. Until 1977, the pass laws controlling the movement of Africans in South Africa were as stringently applied in Namibia, with similar effects and resultant hardships for women. But although these particular laws have been repealed by the South African authorities, in fact little has changed in the lives of the Namibians, since "a multiplicity of controls and restrictions remain to confront the black population at every stage of their lives". 60/ For instance, no new housing has been provided for women, and although the regulation that previously barred their entry into an urban area without permission for more than 72 hours at a time has been revoked, in fact there is nowhere to stay and no possibility of employment. The large compounds that were built to house male mining and industrial workers are still restricted to men.

66. African women in the urban areas of South Africa and Namibia face a common predicament. They are not tolerated in the towns because their labour cannot be exploited sufficiently to satisfy the needs of the white capitalist sector. Nor are they able to survive in the rural areas. An end to this dilemma can thus come only with an end to the repressive systems that create these restrictions.

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58/ Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1974 ..., p. 175.

59/ Stephanie Urdang, "Crossroads", Southern Africa, vol. IX, No. 7 (New York), October 1978.

60/ Cronje, op. cit., p. 30.

IV. WOMEN AND EMPLOYMENT IN RURAL AND URBAN AREAS

67. Despite the efforts of the Government to keep the African women in South Africa out of the wage labour market, the number of employed women has been growing. Driven off the land by its inability to provide subsistence, women, like their men before them, have taken the route to the urban areas or onto white farms - more often than not, illegally.

68. The point has now been reached where one out of three African workers is a woman. 61/ In general, women hold the most unskilled or semi-skilled jobs, and when they do the same work as men they earn considerably less. Of the 1,508,080 women workers who were employed in 1970, the majority were either service workers, mainly domestic servants, numbering 724,020, or farmworkers, totalling 655,040. 62/ Both of these areas of work exclude unemployment benefits or other forms of social security and are exempted from minimum wage guidelines. Furthermore, the average earnings of African women are less than half those of African male workers and amount to only 8 per cent of the income of white males. 63/

69. There are a large number of women among the illegal workers, for whom no figures are available. The difference between the number of men and women working as migrant labourers is stark. The total figure estimated in 1975 was 1.75 million, which has been broken down as follows: 64/

	<u>From rural reserve areas</u>	<u>From other rural areas</u>	<u>Foreign migrants</u>
Men	1,030,000	67,000	393,000
Women	147,000	113,000	

It is believed that the estimated figure of 1.75 million amounts to only 80 per cent of the actual migrant work-force. Another 20 per cent of that work-force are

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61/ South African Congress of Trade Unions, "Conditions of working women in South Africa" (Dar es Salaam, June 1979).

62/ Government of South Africa, Department of Statistics, South African Population Census, 1970. The figure for agricultural workers must be regarded with extreme caution. A vast increase over the 10-year period between 1960 and 1970 has been recorded but has little to do with the increase in the number of farm workers and far more to do with the change of the base for calculations for the 1970 census. All female adults born in the rural areas and unemployed were classified as farm workers unless they were the wives of household heads. This kind of distortion is used to mask the unemployment rates that have been rising steadily and serves as a concrete example of the over-all unreliability of South African Government statistics (see South African Congress of Trade Unions, op. cit.).

63/ South African Congress of Trade Unions, op. cit.

64/ Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1976, ..., pp. 284 and 285.

illegal migrants. It is safe to assume that the largest proportion of the illegal migrants are women. 65/

70. As women workers are confronted by different obstacles and difficulties according to the nature of their work, a brief look at some of the different job categories may be worthwhile.

A. Agricultural workers

71. Farm workers are among the lowest paid of all workers in South Africa, and once again women workers receive even less than men. In some cases, women receive no pay at all, as they are compensated by being allowed to live free on the farmland. Whenever possible, men seek other forms of employment; but as women seldom have this option, they have increasingly been drawn to the white farms. Many of the women feel that, because they are illiterate, they could not be hired as industrial workers. The children will have the same fate in the many cases where there are no schools on the farms. This is reflected in the following excerpt from an interview with an unemployed woman in a squatter area just inside Bophuthatswana, 35 kilometres from Pretoria:

"At present I am not working ... I do domestic work ... The 20 rand they give us, it is not enough. I am now doing piece jobs. I prefer it because the salary is enough to manage for your family. But it is also temporary ... I would like to work in a factory but I cannot read and write." 66/

72. Since the early 1960s "squatters" and labour tenants on white farms have been forced to move. White farms and estates have increased in size, eliminating small peasant holdings as they move towards increased mechanization. The white farms and estates need seasonal workers at harvest time and during other periods of intensive work; thus, the demand for permanent employees is decreasing. 67/ In a number of ways, this changing situation has had the gravest effect on women. Increasingly, farmers are hiring migrants, thus avoiding the need to provide family housing for their workers. At the same time, fewer domestic workers are being hired.

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65/ Any assessment of the situation of women workers in South Africa is exacerbated by the difficulty in trying to assemble employment figures in the country, as well as by the unreliability of the figures that are available. In addition, statistics fail to provide an adequate breakdown of the population according to age, region and sex.

66/ Joanne Yawtich, "Woman and squatting: a Winterveld case study" (Johannesburg, University of Witwatersrand, May 1979).

67/ Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, op. cit., p. 29.

73. Many women have had to move to resettlement camps while the men sought migrant work in the urban areas. It is the fortunate few who have been able to find employment at all, mainly as agricultural workers for pitiful wages. Moreover, on many farms, wages are paid solely in kind, either in the form of corn meal, the staple food, or part of the crop harvested. Women and children constitute the majority of casual farm workers; since farm work is among the lowest paid forms of labour, men, who have a choice, which is very limited, sell their labour elsewhere. 68/

#### B. Domestic service workers

74. While a considerably larger proportion of women than men are service workers in South Africa (716,700 women compared with 295,240 men, according to the 1970 census), 69/ the reverse is true in Namibia, where domestic service provides one of the few employment possibilities for women, but where the majority of this labour force is male.

75. Women domestic workers have to carry the double burden of their own and their employer's household chores, as well as the worry resulting from having to leave their children at home, often unattended. A Windhoek woman described her situation as follows:

"We as housewives must leave our children at home during the day because there are no centres to look after our children. We have to get out and go look for work; and if we get work then we have to start early. We have no one to look after our children, and yet we are supposed to remain content. We work for the white housewife - we have to look after her children, while we have to leave our children at home. We are forced to do this. We come home after work; we find our houses dirty; we have to clean the children now without care - they have stayed hungry the whole day. These are the problems which oppress us when we come home from work. When we come home, we don't know whether they have been to school, because they don't have a law which forces children to go to school. And we don't know whether they have eaten. Most of the time children go to the dirt-bins to scratch for food." 70/

Many children assume the roles of their parents by doing house chores as well as looking after the younger children in the family.

76. In keeping with most other areas of the economy, the number of people

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68/ Ibid.

69/ Cited in Bernstein, op. cit.

70/ Cronje, op. cit., p. 61.



employed in domestic service is on the decline. With the economic squeeze that came in the 1970s, domestic workers came to be regarded as a luxury, and in many instances domestic workers have to accept lower wages or work fewer hours in order to retain their jobs and the permits needed to remain in the urban areas.

77. There are many restrictions placed on their lives. In South Africa and Namibia, women who live at the homes of employers cannot have their husbands stay over for even one night, even though their rooms would either be separate from the main house or would have a separate entrance. Those who do so illegally run the risk of being caught in one of the regular police raids of domestic servants' quarters. Even in situations where both husband and wife are domestic workers within the same area, and their respective employers are agreeable, it is still against the law for the couple to live together. To strengthen the intent of this law, a government proclamation now makes the employer subject to a fine, should a domestic worker's husband or children be found with her overnight.

### C. Industrial workers

78. During the past 30 years the composition of the industrial work-force has undergone considerable change. The work-force was initially made up of a large number of white women who have since been replaced by skilled and semi-skilled black workers throughout the secondary industry. By 1970 only 4 per cent of the production workers were white women, 50 per cent were Coloured women and 31.4 per cent were African women. This situation is reflected in the food, beverage, liquor, tobacco, clothing and foot-wear industries. 71/ Of the total number of workers in manufacturing industries, one out of every five is a woman. However, of the 214,000 women workers, only 70,000 are Africans. Women are concentrated in certain industries - in particular, clothing, textiles, food processing and canning. In the clothing and textile industries, for example, 23 per cent of the women workers are African. 72/ The wages that women receive are noticeably lower than those of their male counterparts. In the textile industry, women are paid 20 per cent less than the industrial minimum wage.

79. Not only is equal pay not guaranteed by law, it is against government policy, which is consistently defended by government officials. For example, in defence of wage gaps, M. Sybrand van Niekerk, the Administrator of the Transvaal, stated:

"... it was [the] height of irresponsibility to call for the rate for the job ... Blacks themselves did not wish the wage gap to be scrapped in a disorderly manner." 73/

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71/ Joan May, "African women in urban development" (Salisbury, Mambo Press, 1979), p. 25.

72/ South African Congress of Trade Unions, "The chains that bind black women workers", Workers, Unity, Issue No. 14 (March 1979).

73/ Rand Daily Mail, 6 September 1978.

80. These wage discrepancies are written into many of the industrial contracts themselves. For example, a study by the International Labour Organisation (ILO) published in 1975 indicates that the textile industry in South Africa pays women workers 20 per cent less than the minimum wage. The study cited two recent collective agreements that specified unequal pay for equal work. For instance, in the Transvaal a qualified male marker-in received R 36 per week, while a qualified female received R 28. A qualified male sewing machinist received R 27.50 per week and a qualified female received R 22. The agreement for the liquor and catering trade in the Cape specified that a male clerical employee/receptionist should earn R 39 a week, whereas a qualified female clerical employee should earn R 25. A qualified male cook earned R 27, while a qualified female cook earned R 21. 74/

81. As part of the minimal development programmes for the reserve areas, the so-called "border" industries have been planned with the intention of providing work for reserve area residents just outside - on the "borders" - of the bantustans. In fact only a few such factories have been built, so that hardly a dent has been made in the unemployment status in the reserve areas. Many of the border factories that do exist have been built by employers eager to escape the wage determinations which lay down minimum wages - meagre as they are - in the major industrial areas. For instance, the largest single employer in the bantustans, Kool Look Wigs in Babelegi, employs about 600 workers, mainly women, at a basic wage of R 4 a week and an average of R 6 a week. There is no pension fund, medical assistance, transport or paid sick leave. The Poverty Datum Line at Babelegi, is R 18 a week, that is, three times the average wage at Kool Look. 75/

#### D. Skilled and professional workers

82. The small number of women professional and clerical workers reflects the basic lack of education provided both African males and females and the very small percentage that reach university level, as well as the lack of opportunity open to those with an education.

83. There are two areas of professional work where women figure prominently - namely, teaching and nursing. Both professions tend to be extensions of woman's role within the home. However, as recently as 1973, there were no African women lawyers, judges, magistrates, engineers, architects, chemists, pharmacists or veterinary surgeons. 76/

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74/ International Labour Organisation, Eleventh Special Report of the Director-General on the Application of the Declaration concerning the Policy of Apartheid of the Republic of South Africa (Geneva, 1975), p. 30. Cited in document E/CN.6/619.

75/ Rogers, op. cit.

76/ Bernstein, op. cit., p. 37.

84. Even for professional employment, women doing the same work as men receive less remuneration. The following table shows the discrepancy for male and female teachers that existed in 1974: 77/

<u>African teachers' salaries per annum</u>		
	Male	Female
Head of large secondary school	R 4,089-5,288	R 3,525-4,759
Teacher with degree	R 2,115-3,525	R 1,904-3,102
Qualified teacher	R 1,163-2,538	R 987-1,798
Unqualified teacher	R 987	R 917

85. Further discrimination against women can be found in situations not related to wages. For instance, there is a regulation that prevents African women from continuing to be employed in the public service and at black university colleges once she marries - a condition which is not applied to male employees. 78/

86. Likewise in Namibia there is a considerable gap between the number of men and women in professional, semi-professional and technical fields. For instance, in 1971, there were 1,684 male teachers from nursery school upwards, and only 43 female teachers; there were 530 male clerical workers and 24 women; the food, drink and tobacco industries employed 4,038 men and 65 women (in comparison, the food industry in South Africa employs a large number of women); the textile industry was the only one to employ more women than men - 105 to 75. Many industries employed no women at all - for example, the metal, plastics and motor industries. Of the Africans employed as supervisors and other skilled and semi-skilled, 2,592 were men and 7 were women. The service industry (mainly domestic workers) employed 3,310 men and 1,057 women. 79/

87. A study of Namibia carried out by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) points to the discrimination practised in the training of female teachers:

"Women teachers were to be deliberately trained for the lower primary classes, and the requirement for their admission to special teacher training for the lower grades was to be Standard IV. Women therefore were to be selected by the educational process for the lowest and the worst-paid rungs of the teaching ladder. In addition, the so-called expansion of African education at primary school level was to be accompanied by a lowering of teaching standards." 80/

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77/ Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1974 ..., p. 349.

78/ Landis, op. cit., p. 21.

79/ Marion O'Callaghan, Namibia: The Effects of Apartheid on Culture and Education (Paris, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization, 1977).

80/ O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 121.

### E. Foreign workers

88. With the 1968 law forbidding the entry of foreign African women into South Africa and the repatriation of those who did not qualify to remain, it has been extremely difficult for women from Botswana, Swaziland and Lesotho to enter the country to seek work or join their husbands. In 1970 the number of foreign-born women in South Africa totalled 84,520, with the majority - 53,740 - coming from Lesotho, and slightly over 12,000 from Botswana and Swaziland, each.

89. This 1968 law has hit women from these countries particularly hard. While recruitment continues for male mine workers there is no recruitment of women. Only small numbers of older women qualify and the only way that younger women can enter the Republic is illegally, thereby risking arrest and deportation.

90. A study of Lesotho women shows that most women were employed as domestic servants or as farm workers, many of whom also worked as brewers. 81/ Many women preferred to brew because of the independence it gave them. But the anti-brewing laws have affected the livelihoods of South African and Lesotho women alike. The government policy is to provide beer in municipally run beer-halls and in mine company compounds, and this is putting women out of business. It has driven the independent brewers underground or back to the reserves or Lesotho. Brewing beer is one of the only ways that women - both in Lesotho and in the South African reserves - are able to obtain a small share of the money that men have made from the industrial sector. 82/ However, it is also widely believed that the aim of the racist régime of South Africa is not to provide facilities of entertainment to the employees in the compounds through the establishment of government-run beer halls but to condition them to live in compounds where they have no social intercourse with people other than themselves.

### F. Unemployment

91. Whatever the field of work, both women and men are affected by high rates of unemployment. As is the case with many government statistics, those for unemployment are unreliable. Therefore, conclusions drawn about numbers have to be accepted with caution and on the assumption that they are far too conservative. The official definition of "unemployed" excludes persons who have been out of work for such a long time that he or she has given up looking for a job the previous month and includes persons who worked six hours during the preceding week. The definition also ignores those who work a few hours a week to eke out an existence and who form a large percentage of the economically active population. 83/

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81/ Gay, op. cit., p. 11.

82/ Ibid., p. 17.

83/ Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1978 ..., pp. 170 and 171.

92. An independent survey of unemployed workers conducted in Lebowa and KwaZulu, for instance, gives a more realistic picture. Fifty per cent of the male respondents had been unemployed since prior to the beginning of 1977, with 25 per cent of Lebowan men unemployed since a year before that. In Lebowa the figures for women were noticeably worse, with 56 per cent of women last employed before 1975. In KwaZulu, the number of unemployed women was much lower, being 5 per cent for the same period; 68 per cent were last employed in 1977. The difference between the two areas was due to the fact that the majority of Lebowan women had been domestic workers and cleaners on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria, where the number of full-time domestics had dropped appreciably in the 1970s (a trend that can be traced throughout the urban areas). On the other hand, KwaZulu women did not rely as heavily on domestic work. 84/

93. An assessment by a South African economist of the unemployment question paints a gloomy picture:

"More than half of the black workers who have come onto the labour market since 1970 are still without work ... No fewer than 57 per cent of the increase in the African labour force between 1970 and 1976 have remained unemployed. Add to this that the unemployed are mainly the young people and that the bulk of those that are unemployed are under the age of 30, and it is clear that a situation is being created that bodes ill for the country." 85/

94. The rapidly rising unemployment rate has a spiral effect on employed women. Not only are they losing their jobs in large numbers, but women from the reserves whose husbands have lost their jobs are now seeking employment in order to alleviate the situation, thus creating even tougher competition than before. In some cases, men are being hurt more than women, as factories choose to replace male workers with female workers because of the lower salary scales for the latter.

95. Given the precarious nature of women's employment and the active and conscious obstacles placed in the way of African women to prevent them from entering the job market, the already extreme hardships under which they live in apartheid South Africa can only be exacerbated. It is, however, important to note that despite the small number of women in industry, for example, their role in political resistance and organization within that industry has far outweighed their numbers.

96. The apartheid Government's solution to the problem of unemployment does not, as can be anticipated, lie in the transformation of the society. Government supporters, for instance, cite other solutions, such as the statement made by the General Secretary of the white-controlled trade union congress, Arthur Grobbelaar: "The long-term solution is birth control." 86/ This is further corroborated by the

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84/ Ibid., p. 170.

85/ A. Jacobs, Rand Daily Mail, 19 October 1978.

86/ Rand Daily Mail, 10 October 1978.

many reports from the South African people who have complained about the drugs for contraception prescribed solely for the use of black women teenagers and young women. A good example of such a drug is a contraceptive injection called DEFOVERA, which has been classified as cancerous and dangerous in the West and other countries but which has found a ready market in South Africa. The significance of this drug is that it is used mainly on black women. WHO has been asked to investigate this matter.

## V. WOMEN AND SOCIAL SECURITY

97. Social security is provided at such a negligible level in South Africa and Namibia to African individuals and families that it makes little, if any, impact on the conditions of life. Only a small number of people fall within the requirements that make them eligible for such benefits. The assumption of the capitalist sector and the Government that justifies the lack of provision of such services parallels the rationale for cheap labour: the subsistence sector will provide for itself. As Ivy Matsepe states it:

"By preserving the pre-capitalist sector from which male labour was extracted in growing numbers and in which women were to predominate, the acquisition of labour at incredibly low cost was made possible. Costs normally contributed to by the capitalists were met exclusively by the pre-capitalist sector. In real terms, women provide what otherwise would be called unemployment insurance, pension funds, education and reproduction of new labour force, health and sickness benefits etc." 87/

98. The earlier descriptions of the poverty racking the subsistence sector leave no doubt that reserve families are incapable of providing such services.

99. The limitations on those who qualify for unemployment insurance in South Africa, for instance, are severe. Among those excluded are: (a) those earning less than R 10.50 per week, or less than R 564.34 per year; (b) domestic workers and agricultural workers (and hence the largest majority of women workers); (c) seasonal workers and those whose earnings are calculated on a commission basis. The benefits paid amount to 45 per cent of the weekly earnings, for a maximum of 26 weeks per year. 88/

100. But even those Africans fortunate enough to be eligible find many obstacles in their way. In one town people have been signing for unemployment benefits for months, some since the beginning of the previous year, without receiving any money. In Natal people were prevented from applying for unemployment insurance because the Department of Labour had run out of forms. Others have complained that they were sent on interviews for jobs for which they were unqualified or which had already been filled and that they were deliberately being kept on the move to prevent them from applying for benefits. 89/ As the rate of unemployment has increased, so have such abuses.

101. Old age pensions are even more restricted. As of October 1978 the maximum monthly pensions for Africans was R 23.75, in comparison to R 88.00 for whites. 90/

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87/ Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, "Cheap labour policies and their implications for African women in South Africa" (Paper presented at a conference on women's development, University of Sussex, England, 1978).

88/ Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1977, p. 221.

89/ Ibid.

90/ Ibid., 1978, p. 484.

In order to qualify for pensions in the urban areas, the applicant must prove that he or she is living there lawfully, which necessitates that his or her name is listed on a residential or lodgers permit. Many old people are simply not able to provide documentary proof of their age, and even when pensions have been approved, an individual can find it withdrawn after a period because the district administrator suddenly decided that the proof was insufficient. 91/

102. Because of the principle that the aged must return to the reserve areas, facilities for their care in the urban areas are totally inadequate. Official policy concerning the provision of old age homes is that these should be built in the bantustans, where they are the responsibility of the bantustan "government".

103. Only four homes for the elderly exist in the urban areas, and not even one home has been provided in Soweto, the largest African township in the country. 92/

104. The homes that are provided in the bantustans are few and far between, and service is substandard. A young Namibian woman from Windhoek expressed the general concern among Africans regarding this situation:

"Because I am young and strong, I can work for myself even if it is for a very poor salary. But I am very concerned about the people of Namibia, who have a very raw deal. There are so-called homelands, to which the old people have been forced to leave. These old people have been offered a so-called old age home, which in reality is only a little corrugated room in this terrible heat of Namibia. While they build beautiful flats and houses and with lawns, trees and shade, and every possible convenience, for the white old-age (people) our old people have to live in these iron huts where they are being burnt by the sun and where they have no facilities whatsoever. It's very difficult for us because we live in the cities, and we don't know what's happened to these old people. We need a permit to visit them in the first place, then we are worried because they don't get their food regularly, although it is only porridge in most cases - most of the time their diet consists only of porridge, and we don't even know when they do get this." 93/

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91/ Ibid., 1977, p. 555.

92/ Ibid., 1978, p. 484.

93/ Quoted in Cronje, op. cit., p. 49.



## VI. WOMEN AND HEALTH

105. The white populations of South Africa and Namibia enjoy an extremely high standard of health care. There are no malnutritional diseases to be found among them, there is a more than adequate supply of doctors per 1,000 people and the hospitals deserve the high reputation they have gained in their treatment of patients - white patients. The infant-mortality rate among South African whites is only slightly higher than that of highly developed countries such as the United States of America, Canada and Great Britain and Northern Ireland. In 1971 it was 20.9 per 1,000 live births.

106. The fact, therefore, that the African populations in these countries suffer under some of the worst conditions of health in the world is clearly an outcome of the racist and apartheid social order. The infant mortality rate of this population tells the story. In 1969 the rate recorded in the Transkei, for example, was 216 per 1,000 live births. 94/

107. One of the main problems in trying to assess the health conditions of the African population is that statistics are singularly lacking. The careful recording of such statistics is reserved for the white populations only. Attempts to discuss the effect of apartheid and racism on the health of African women in South Africa and Namibia is further hampered by the fact that what little information is available is not broken down by sex. There are certain aspects of the health status of the African population that pertain particularly to women, especially in the rural areas, where women have the task of rearing children and caring for the aged under difficult circumstances.

108. Among the African population of South Africa and Namibia, malnutrition has reached epidemic proportions, a fact that has been recorded in numerous studies. 95/ A group of black South African doctors analysing the effects of apartheid on health based on their own experiences, expressed considerable concern regarding the situation:

"Malnutrition has assumed crisis proportions in South Africa and, with the price of essential daily food such as bread and milk rising, there is every possibility that hunger will rage through the deprived black community of South Africa like a dreadful scourge. Indeed the prospect for blacks is grim and forbidding. ... 75 children (African and coloured) are dying everyday from lack of proper and adequate food." 96/

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94/ "Implications of apartheid on health and health services in South Africa" (Centre Against Apartheid, United Nations Secretariat, Notes and Documents Series No. 18/77).

95/ Ibid.

96/ Ibid., p. 4.

109. As already noted in connexion with other problems facing the African population, however pernicious the conditions in urban areas, they are even more widespread in the rural areas, where even less protein-rich food is available and where low family incomes prevent the residents from buying dietary supplements. However, when malnutrition does occur in the urban areas, it attacks with more ferocity, since the support system that exists in rural areas is lacking. This is exacerbated by the need for mothers to enter the wage labour force and hence to wean their babies earlier than is healthy. 97/

110. Malnutrition takes the form of kwashiorkor (a disease resulting from protein deficiency and characterized by swelling of the stomach and limbs), marasmus, pellagra and, less commonly, rickets, scurvy, beri-beri and anaemia. 98/ Communicable diseases play havoc with malnourished young bodies, so that a high rate of tuberculosis, typhoid, tetanus, measles, polio, diphtheria, hepatitis and pertussis are common. More children die from measles, for example, in South Africa in one year than in the United States of America, where the population is 10 times the size.

111. As women are responsible for feeding their children and many families are without fathers, it is the women who must face the daily horror of watching their children fall ill when only minimal health services are available and there is no money to pay for such services anyway. One woman who left the Transkei to live illegally in Crossroads described what commonly happens:

"After I started to have children I began to feel the hardship. For example, if a child fell sick it would take time for me to write to my husband and for him to reply and all the time the child would be getting worse. By the time I received money from my husband to pay the doctor, the doctor would be angry that I had not brought the child before. Perhaps I would be able to purchase only one bottle of medicine with the money I was sent and then not be able to take the child back to the doctor. This happened with my first child but when this happened to my second child my husband advised me to come to Cape Town." 99/

112. In addition, malnutrition has extremely serious effects on the health of pregnant women and on foetal development. But it is not only a person's physical health that suffers so grossly under apartheid. As one writer points out:

"It is unthinkable that racism would be without implications for mental health. Healthy mental functioning and personality development depend on the presence and continuity of such essential experiences as the individual's sense of security and worth, freedom for personal growth and identification with a community of equals. Racism undercuts at the roots of healthy mental life by depriving its victims of these experiences and by conditioning them into accepting the myth that the cause of their inferior status in society lies irrevocably within themselves." 100/

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97/ FAO, op. cit.

98/ "Implications of apartheid on health and health services in South Africa"...

99/ We Shall not Move ...

100/ Assen Jablensky, "Racism, apartheid and mental health" (Geneva, World Health Organization, December 1977).

113. Migrant labour is the cause of much of the mental illness experienced by Africans, women in particular. This is clearly stated in the study conducted by a group of black doctors cited above:

"There can be no doubt that the migrant labour system is damaging to the mental well-being of black people. This enforced separation of migrant labours in city hostels from their families in the homelands has destroyed the fabric of traditional African society and robbed Africans of the fundamental human right of working and living within the security and comfort of their own families.

"Mothers and children in the ethnic 'homelands' are denied the fulfilment provided by the presence of the husband and father. The emotional and intellectual deprivation of this enforced and totally inhumane separation must result in incalculable harm to the family unit." 101/

114. It is notable that the suicide rate for all races jumped sharply during the year after the National Party took power in 1948. In Durban the rate increased from 8.8 to 18.1 per 100,000 for Africans, from 16.8 to 36.3 for Coloureds, from 20.5 to 23.6 for Asians and from 17.5 to 19.2 for whites. These figures showed the most substantial increase for Africans to a level which has been maintained ever since. 102/ The pass laws and other restrictions have maintained a high level of pressure and insecurity for the African population. While the suicide rates are still high for whites, a different motivation can be inferred from the fact that among whites suicides occur mainly among the older population, while for Africans the majority of suicides are committed by young adults. The régime frequently uses this statistic by claiming many prison deaths are suicides. However, evidence shows that many "suicide victims" were actually murdered by prison officials.

115. Hypertension, which is usually associated with psychological stress, is extremely common among Africans living in the urban areas, while rare in the rural areas. In 1976, an appreciable proportion of young African women attending the family planning clinic at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto township outside of Johannesburg were found to be suffering from hypertension. 103/

116. While figures are not available to assess the effects of these factors on women in relation to men, given the foregoing discussion, it is not unreasonable to suppose that such symptoms affect women gravely and probably more than they do men.

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101/ "Implications of apartheid on health and health services in South Africa" ...

102/ Jablensky, op. cit.

103/ World Health Organization, "Health implications of apartheid on women" (CWO/1979).

VII. WOMEN AND EDUCATION

117. The goal of establishing a separate educational system for African children was clearly and unambiguously stated in 1954 by Dr. H. F. Verwoerd, who later became Prime Minister of South Africa:

"When I have control of native education I will reform it so natives will be taught from childhood to realize that equality with Europeans is not for them. ... People who believe in equality are not desirable teachers for natives. 104/

"There is no place for him [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour. ... For that reason it is of no avail for him to receive a training which has as its aims absorption in the European community. ... Until now he has been subject to a school system which drew him away from his own community and misled him by showing him the green pastures of European society in which he is not allowed to graze." 105/

This philosophy still provides the basis for the education of Africans.

118. In general, there is little distinction between the education of girls and boys under the so-called "Bantu" educational system: for neither is it free or compulsory. In other areas of Africa, it can be found that parents favour education for sons above education for daughters for a number of reasons. For instance, owing to the substantial contribution that girls make to the village agricultural economy, they cannot be spared for school attendance. In addition, many girls are expected to marry young. In patrilineal societies they will leave their parents' village for that of their husbands, so that the benefits to be derived from their education will accrue to the latter, even though it was the parents who made the initial sacrifices. An educated son on the other hand is expected to reap economic benefits in the future and thus provide his parents with a measure of security as they grow older. In South Africa, however, as has been shown, the social structure has been so critically disrupted that these factors appear not to apply.

119. While statistics for illiteracy rates among the African population of South Africa are not available, it would appear that the percentage of girls among the population that do attend school is relatively high for Africa. Statistics are available for other areas of southern Africa, and in the areas affected by migrant labour the percentage is strikingly high - well above the average for Africa. For 1969 one of the highest percentages was found in Lesotho, where 52 per cent of those attending secondary schools were girls, as compared to 46 per cent in Botswana and 42 per cent in Swaziland. 106/ The following table shows that throughout the lower

104/ Quoted in Freda Troup, Forbidden Pastures: Education under Apartheid (London, International Defence and Aid Fund, 1976).

105/ Ibid.

106/ Ivy Matsepe-Casaburri, "Cheap labour policies and their implications for African women in South Africa" (Paper presented at a conference on women's development, University of Sussex, England, 1978).

grades and secondary school, girls generally outnumber boys, the number dropping only for the matriculating class. While 543,164 girls began school in 1970, only 2,064 reached the final grade, a minute percentage of the female population of that age group. In contrast, school is compulsory through age 16 for whites. 107/

African students in South Africa, 1970

	Substandard A and B	Standard I	Standard II	Standard III	Standard IV	Standard V
Africans	1,131,420	429,550	342,208	261,108	186,944	146,509
Boys	587,978	219,770	160,159	127,803	89,344	68,885
Girls	543,164	209,780	164,049	133,305	97,600	77,684
	Standard VI	Standard VII	Standard VIII	Standard IX	Standard X	Unclassified
Africans	135,440	49,504	37,175	26,695	6,117	2,938
Boys	60,893	22,393	16,767	12,370	4,113	2,068
Girls	74,547	27,111	20,408	14,325	2,064	870
<u>Totals</u>						
Africans	2,737,450					
Boys	1,372,543					
Girls	1,364,907					

120. The difficulty of obtaining adequate statistics limits the possibility of determining the reasons for these fluctuations, and it is necessary to resort to conjecture. It is likely, for example, that for the majority of males education is not seen as a stepping-stone to a better future since most will be forced to work. As migrant labourers, on the other hand, girls are not restricted in the same way and are encouraged to become primary-grade teachers. This is one avenue of work open to a relatively large number of women.

121. In March 1973 there were 58,319 teachers in African schools. With the exception of about 900, all of them were African. Of these, close to the two thirds

107/ Republic of South Africa, Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Yearbook, 1973.

were women. 108/ The policy of recruiting women primary-school teachers, in particular, is a conscious one and came after a decision made in 1954 and described by Dr. Verwoerd as being necessary "in order to save money in teacher training and salaries, and also because women are generally better than men in handling small children". 109/ This statement captures the essence of the stereotyped attitudes prevalent in South Africa regarding female sex-roles and reveals the entrenchment of such attitudes in the regulation of salary scales. Such attitudes are equally pervasive in Namibia, where a study by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) found that women teachers were deliberately trained for the lower primary classes, with Standard IV being the educational level required for admission to the teacher-training courses. Women are thus selected for the lowest and most poorly paid teaching positions. 110/

#### VIII. CONCLUSIONS

122. While the position of women in relation to men in South Africa and Namibia parallels that of women in other parts of the world, and particularly in other areas of Africa, the process of working towards equality for women has been stultified by apartheid and racism. Apartheid permeates, controls and distorts all facets of the lives of African women, making it impossible for them to benefit from even the most minimal kinds of programmes being instituted elsewhere. It is clear, therefore, that to begin to encourage the women of South Africa and Namibia to play an equal role in the political, economic and social structures of their countries, the present apartheid systems must be abolished and replaced by systems and a social order in which women are able to participate fully. Women's crucial and positive role in the fight to eradicate the existing oppressive régimes testifies to the fact that they can continue to contribute effectively to the restructuring of new societies.

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108/ Troup, op. cit., p. 40.

109/ Ibid.

110/ O'Callaghan, op. cit., p. 121.