

Building a Human Rights Culture
South African and
Swedish Perspectives

Karin Sporre &
H Russel Botman [eds.]

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South African and Swedish Perspectives

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THE VANISHING FATHER

CHANGING CONSTRUCTIONS OF FATHERHOOD IN DRUM MAGAZINE 1951–1965

BY LINDSAY CLOWES

In early modern Europe, fathers were generally considered as more important than mothers in the caring, raising and education of children, including over-seeing wet-nursing and feeding of infants and taking primary responsibility for older children's moral and religious instruction, preparing them for their adult duties (Lupton & Barclay 1997: 37).

In recent years unmarried South African fathers have had to fight for the right to be legally recognised as fathers. Lawrie Fraser, an unwed South African father, is, for example, currently part way through his four year sentence for kidnapping his biological son, Timothy. As an unwed father Fraser had no rights to his child when his ex partner, Adri Naude, decided firstly to give up her baby, and secondly to refuse Fraser's request to raise the child himself, on the grounds that she deemed him to be an unsuitable parent. Despite Fraser's plea to the court to rule against Ms Naude, his request for permission to raise his son himself was denied. His appeal to the constitutional court brought no relief. Although it ruled in Fraser's favour, deciding "that fathers of illegitimate children had the right to veto decisions by mothers to give up their children for adoption" the court also ruled that this could not apply retroactively. Because Timothy had already been adopted Fraser could not reclaim him. It was in response to this ruling by the highest court of the land that Fraser concocted the unsuccessful kidnapping plan that eventually saw him charged and convicted of conspiracy to kidnap (Cape Times, 4 April, 2003).

In South Africa there has been a degree of change regarding fathers rights since the dramatic events surrounding the foiled kidnapping of little Timothy. But even though the Natural Fathers of Children Born out of Wedlock Act of 1997 has allowed natural fathers rights to their children, these are not automatic rights, and to obtain them a father has to apply to the High Court (de Villiers 1998). Even married men's access to their offspring cannot be taken for granted. South African Trade Unions, for example, have endeavoured to move away from the notion of maternity benefits to parental benefits, but this has had limited impact because paternity agreements normally offer about one weeks leave to

fathers, and only provide this leave when the baby is new-born (Appolis 1998). South African employers furthermore are generally unwilling to offer leave to fathers because child rearing is understood as a woman's issue, while fathers themselves are often reluctant to use parental leave to care for their children, fearing either that "friends would make fun of me" (Appolis 1998: 79) or that they might lose seniority or be seen as less ambitious. Further afield one only has to think back a few years to the birth of British Prime Minister Tony Blair's child to recognise how contentious an issue paternal leave is: the public debate about whether he should or should not take the minimum paternal leave raged in British newspapers for months before the child was born, and reached even South African papers.

Such struggles around fathers rights need to be seen as the product of our histories and the consequence of essentialist ideas and discourses around motherhood and fatherhood that are almost diametrically opposed to those quoted at the beginning of this paper. Essentialism understands contemporary notions of 'motherhood' and 'fatherhood' to be ahistorically rooted in biology, to be an unchanging and fundamentally unchangeable essence of our humanity – in other words to be just 'human nature'. My argument here is that far from being an essential part of human nature, the meanings we ascribe to 'fatherhood' and 'motherhood' can and do change according to time and place, and that if we look carefully we can start to see how those meanings change. In the West, the twentieth century has seen, at least until recently, a privileging of the role of 'mother' at the expense of that of 'father'. It was widely believed – and reflected in our laws – to be only 'natural' that as well as bearing children, it was also women's work to raise them, and that all women were born with the innate ability to nurture – or to mother. Instead of a skill that was learnt, child raising was perceived to be an inborn quality. There were, in contrast, very different expectations of men. A brief comparison of the wording of Universal Declaration of Human Rights with that of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, documents separated by a mere 40 years in time, illustrates clearly how such understandings change.

In the preamble of the former, adopted in 1948, the discourse is almost entirely around man and men. The human subject is clearly understood as male. As Article 1 makes clear "all human beings" are expected to "act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood". "Everyone" states Article 13, "has the right to leave any country, including his own". "No one", continues Article 15, "shall

be deprived of his nationality”. In contrast, the wording of the Convention on the Rights of the Child – adopted in 1990 – is scrupulous in its avoidance of such an assumption. In this document there is no sense that the human person is seen as male, and the discourse is consistently around “persons” who could be of either sex. Implicit in both of these documents are changing ideas about gender roles, and change in the social understandings of ‘fatherhood’ and ‘motherhood’ in the decades between the production of these two documents is clear from the wording each uses. For example, despite stating, in Article 16, that “the family is the natural and fundamental group unit of society”, ‘fatherhood’ is not mentioned once in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. Motherhood, in contrast, is singled out as in need of special assistance. As Article 25 puts it, “[m]otherhood and childhood are entitled to special care and assistance.” In contrast, the Convention on the Rights of the Child refers to mothers only in terms of their specific pre and post-natal health care (Article 24). All references to financial and material obligations towards children are couched in language that is gender neutral, as, for example, the wording of Articles 26 and 27 demonstrates. Speaking of “persons having responsibility for the maintenance of the child” and “persons having financial responsibility for the child”, there is little sense that these are understood to be gender specific roles. In reflecting the values of the societies in which it was produced, the terminology of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, simultaneously helped reinforce those values. In privileging the role of ‘mothering’, in reflecting and tending to establish ‘nurturing’ as something of which only women – and all women – are capable, the document concurrently denies such a role to fathers. It is this understanding that has shaped much twentieth century family law, and that, in South Africa, has seen Lawrie Fraser’s rights as a father denied.

As the quotation at the beginning of this paper suggests, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that in other times and other places fatherhood – and motherhood – have been constructed differently. “[I]t was the father who was considered to shape the child, to be the ‘natural parent’” in early modern Europe for example (Lupton & Barclay 1997: 37). Closer to home, in the early 19th century Western Cape slave society, ‘fatherhood’ was reserved for freemen. Slave men were not acknowledged as fathers before the law, and had no legal claims or obligations towards their biological offspring, and at least one slave rebellion was partly inspired by conflict over the meaning of fatherhood (van der Spuy 1996). Scully (1997) argues that for male slaves emancipation was given

meaning by the social recognition of the role of father it entailed. In assuming that what it means to be a 'father' – or a 'mother' – is culturally and historically specific, this article explores a momentary 'lapse' in the broader construction of the twentieth century essentialist and hegemonic discourses around motherhood/fatherhood exemplified by the wording of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The article emerges from my recent PhD study that explored changing constructions of masculinity in *Drum* magazine in the second half of the twentieth century. As an historian interested in changing gender roles, and based in a department of Women's and Gender Studies at the University of the Western Cape, I had embarked on the study to explore change in the magazine's representations of femininity. But when I came across, for instance, advertisements for baby food that featured no women I soon found my focus shifting to an exploration of the way the magazine constructed masculinity and manhood.

In marked contrast to images elsewhere (Lupton & Barclay 1997; Chopra 1992; Davidoff & Hall 1987) the 'nurturing father' was a crucial component of the manhood portrayed by the early volumes of *Drum* magazine. Between 1951 and 1965 when the magazine turned into a supplement to the weekly newspaper *Golden City Post*, images of men privileging their roles as fathers slowly vanished. Far from muted, fatherhood was central to representations of manhood in the early editions of *Drum* magazine. In contrast to magazines aimed at white audiences *Drum* consistently represented manhood as something achieved through the social recognition of the male roles of husband and father, brother and uncle, son, grandson and grandfather. These early editions acknowledged the complex and mutually supportive relationships centering on family members inside and outside the home, and provided public recognition of a social 'manhood' that was rooted in an extremely wide variety of domestic obligations inherent in these roles. Men's relationships with their children were privileged by the magazine in a variety of ways. Over the course of the 1950s though, this began to change such that by the 1960s it was a man's relationships with his colleagues and employers that were increasingly emphasised. At the same time *Drum* recognised fewer familial obligations to the extent that, by the middle of the 1960s, a man was represented as having little or no domestic obligations to his children beyond that of financial provider. Vanishing from texts or advertisements that contained children, by the mid 1960s manhood had been largely separated from fatherhood, with the former established via

relationships with apparently independent and autonomous interactions with non kin men outside rather than inside the home, as well as (although not the focus of this chapter) through sexual relations with women (Clowes, 2002). Establishing, by the mid 1960s, a manhood with few connections to fathering/children, men were effectively written out of *Drum's* discourses around fathering.

Drum Magazine

What has come to be known simply as *Drum* first appeared as the *African Drum* in March 1951. Funded, owned and edited by white men, the post World War II society into which the magazine was born was one in which industrialization, and its corollary, urbanization, had seen significant change in South Africa's racial demography. Census records indicate that there were more than two million black South Africans living in urban areas in 1951, compared to a little over one and a half million in 1946, and just one million in 1936 (SA Statistics 1980: 1.17, 1.13). The rural migrant labour workforce upon which white industrialists had previously relied had effectively been replaced by an urban black working class during the course of the 1940s, a working class that was both 'settled' and 'permanent' according to a government commission of 1948 (Fagan nd: 7) In the 1950s this urban black population was to become *Drum's* main audience.

Within a year of the first edition *Drum* had established a solidly increasing circulation with a primarily urban black male audience, and by the following year was claiming to articulate 'the authentic voice of non-Europeans in Africa' (*Drum*, November 1953: 5). This growth was matched by an increase in the number of employees who were, in contrast to the white owner and editor, almost without exception black. All were male. This was a trend set to continue such that by the mid 1960s every editor was white and male, and almost every writer published in the magazine had been male and black. On those rare occasions when authorship was attributed to women, closer inspection frequently revealed the authors to be black men (Driver 1996; Nicol 1991). The audience too, was imagined to be largely male, because, as an early editor noted, it was urban black men 'who were the main buyers because they had the spare cash' (Sampson 2000). So although it was owned and edited by white men, the magazine was written and produced by black men for an urban black male audience.

The magazine was enormously influential, and by the mid 1960s had developed into five separate editions produced in five different locations around Africa. It was, according to one analyst, 'one of the most popular magazines in Anglophone Africa in the 1960s and 1970s' (Mutongi 2000: 1). Wole Soyinka records that the 'average Nigerian reader' of the mid 1950s 'was weaned on *Drum*'. (Soyinka 1988: 168). The focus of this paper though, is on the South African version of *Drum*, which produced world class photographers in the persons of Peter Magubane and Bob Gosani, and employed as journalists men who, through their writing, subsequently became household names in South Africa. Henry Khumalo – Mr *Drum* himself – was joined by Todd Matshikiza, Arthur Maimane, Can Themba, Casey Motsisi, Bloke Modisane, Ezekiel Mphahlele, Lewis Nkosi, Nat Nakasa, Stan Motjuwadi as well as many others.

The Political Context

The political context into which the magazine emerged was one in which, after winning the election of 1948, the Nationalist Party was in the first stages of implementing its plans for separate development or *apartheid*. The times were characterised by the growth of authoritarianism and political repression alongside rapid economic growth. The racially charged conditions touched the lives of both producers and consumers of *Drum*, helping to infuse both black and white notions of sex and gender and informing the particular images of manhood and masculinity produced by the magazine. The magazine regularly alerted readers to the appalling impacts of the unequal power relations between black and white South Africans, constantly protesting against the apartheid regime. If apartheid is imagined to be – at least in part – an attempt to construct and maintain a subordinate masculinity defined by race, then *Drum's* challenges to the apartheid state can be seen as repeated attempts to assert the manhood of black men. As black American writer bell hooks notes, '[s]ince competition between males is sanctioned within male-dominated society, from the standpoint of white patriarchy, black masculinity must be kept 'in check'', and 'black males... made subordinate in as many cultural arenas as possible' (1995: 99). Growing increasingly intolerant of opposing voices, the patriarchal white state made a number of increasingly successful efforts to limit what could be said, and *Drum* was not alone in finding itself confronting the government in court several times in the 1950s and 1960s (Merrett 1994).

Images of men at home

In marked contrast to accounts in magazines aimed at white audiences, such as *Outspan* and *Femina*, the early *Drum* treated men as males whose lives were shaped in important ways by kith and kin, hearth and home. Not only were fathers, mothers and wives acknowledged to have played significant roles in both the private and public lives of the soccer stars, musicians, community leaders and gangsters featured on the magazines pages, it was also recognised that men, as husbands, fathers and sons, had significant domestic roles to fulfil. Articles about older men frequently observed that as young boys they had been expected to fulfil their share of the domestic chores. *Drum* revealed, for example, that as a child the ex mayor of Benoni location had received a “thorough spanking for forgetting to wash the pots and pans for his mother at home” (November 1955: 61). The young Ezekiel Mphahlele, (a journalist at *Drum* and later one of South Africa’s most eminent novelists) had, said *Drum*, been responsible for several chores including fetching and carrying washing for his mother (January 1956: 6).

Older men too, had important tasks around the house. Marshall Zibi, whose claim to fame was his newly acquired status as husband of cover girl, Priscilla Mtimkulu, washed dishes after meals and helped hang out washing according to the magazine (April 1956: 40,41). An 18 year old soccer player who lived “with his parents and his elder brother, Lucas, at Moroka Section JX, Johannesburg” played a highly significant household role according to *Drum*. “His brother and he are the only children at home, and as he is the youngest, he does most of the domestic work. With mother’s help Steve does the cooking, cleans the home and washes and irons the family’s clothes” (November 1955: 39). Photographs of local heroes engaged in a variety of domestic chores and contexts further reinforced the idea of men as males intimately connected to the home and to women. The magazine seemed to see nothing unusual in the photograph of well known local musician Wilson “King Force” Silgee of the Jazz Maniacs cooking bacon and eggs for his wife (February 1955: 38). Golfing champion Simon ‘Cox’ Hlapo, was snapped washing dishes in his parent’s house, another photograph captured a defeated boxer engaged in the task of reading to his grandmother, while yet another depicted Peter Clarke hugging his mother on receiving the news that his entry had won *Drum’s* short story competition (February 1955; June 1955; April 1955).

Men and families

Domestic interactions with parents, grandparents and siblings were thus an unremarkable part of a man's daily life, as recorded by *Drum*. The intergenerational familial relationships between individuals were marked by the magazine both through the naming of those relationships and through the foregrounding of such relationships. The members of a man's family were very clearly foregrounded in an article about a retired black cricketer. Oom Piet Gwele was the ostensible subject of an article entitled "Old Man Cricket", which began with the words:

We found the Gwele family cuddled around a glowing fire on a chilly evening: parents, children and grandchildren. Mama Nancy Gwele had a bad 'flu, and eldest daughter Edna Mnguni had left her boxing promoter husband in Germiston to nurse her – and contracted the 'flu too (November 1954: 21).

The *first* mention of Oom Piet himself, only occurred in the *second* paragraph. The successes and ambitions of each of Oom Piet's several offspring were recorded, while photographs of his extended family framed the text. Oom Piet was surrounded, both metaphorically and literally, by his offspring, his grandchildren and other individuals marked as family.

Articles in magazines produced for white audiences, such as *Femina* and *Outspan* tended, in stark contrast, to downplay white men's experience of domesticity. Such magazines seldom had much to say about the individuals who shared the lives of the male subjects of their articles, and had even less to say about the domestic chores white men might have undertaken. Even on those rare occasions when white readers were promised something more than a simple account of a man's public life they were disappointed. "It seems queer, somehow that these great national figures should live quite ordinary, suburban lives and go to work everyday just as lesser mortals do" noted *Outspan* in a feature article focusing on Dudley Nourse, Captain of the South Africa cricket team. But despite promising that "we [will] tell you about the man very few people really know" the text held almost nothing other than a summary of Nourse's cricketing career, mentioning Nourse's father simply because he too had been a cricketer and that young Dudley had equalled "his father's record as the country's most prolific runner" (May 18 1951). The focus was, very clearly, on Nourse himself.

Fathers and children

Articles in *Drum*, on the other hand, frequently saw a man's children claim centre stage in stories about their fathers. Israel Alexander, hailed by *Drum* as "South Africa's richest African" was photographed with his daughter, Joy, at work, and with his family at home (December 1954: 21). It was Jake Tuli's children who were foregrounded in *Drum's* coverage of the boxer's fights. After losing the Empire flyweight title *Drum's* headline declared that "Jake loses crown, kids comfort him", while two of the three pictures published alongside the text featured his children (December 1954: 41). An article which emphasised the large debt he owed his mother, portrayed King Edward Masinga (the first black radio broadcaster to be employed by the South African Broadcasting Corporation) with his two daughters and a niece. (April 1955). Even political and traditional leaders – as the coverage of future Botswanan President Seretse Khama, his wife and children made clear – were portrayed against the backdrop of their families, while at the other end of the social scale it was "husbands" and "fathers" rather than "men" who were the victims of homicide attacks (July 1955; June 1955). Further demonstrating the richness and complexity of intergenerational male relationships, notable men without children of their own were often featured with youngsters identified as cousins or siblings (January 1955; May 1956).

Family and community was central even to *Drum's* investigative journalism. An exposure of the harsh conditions on farms and the dangers of the 'tot' system (by which labourers were paid with alcohol), made it clear that such practices dated back many years and had been condemned not only by the Dutch Reformed Church, but also by successive governments as well. But the main problem of the 'tot' system, as outlined by *Drum*, was not its cause (decades, if not centuries of racist laws), but its results: the destruction of family life. Of the seven men whose views were sought, four were recorded as expressing concern over its effects on family life. One "had all too often seen homelife spoilt", another argued that "people who have tots don't care a hang for the family". A third believed it led "to the breakdown of families", while a fourth complained that drink played havoc with domestic life. The only woman whose views were recorded expressed concern about health rather than family affairs (June 1952: 8). Similarly, an article attacking the colour bar did so on the basis that it broke up families, while coverage of the long queues for buses condemned the resulting delays on the grounds that parents did not see their

children, or, more significantly, that fathers did not see their sons (November 1955:49; July 1952: 32).

As late as 1959, in a report on changes to the criminal law, *Drum* framed its discussion in terms of the likely impact on fathers and families. The example given to illustrate the likely effect of the law was that of a “desperate father-to-be” who rushed from home at midnight to call a midwife and was duly arrested under the pass laws. To the new father’s distress, his wife was forced to give birth alone at home. Seen through the eyes of an involved father, *Drum’s* opposition to the changes in the law was couched in the language of the family, and the nuclear family at that (April, 1959: 23).

Fathers and babies

Advertisements in the early 1950s also clearly signalled that fathers and husbands were intimately acquainted with mundane household matters, concerned for and involved with, the well being of sons (if not daughters). Perhaps constructing the black male breadwinner as guardian of the family purse, advertisements (usually placed by white owned firms) tapped into notions of black fathers’ pride in their sons to sell products. A variety of advertisements featuring black men and babies but not mothers (which were almost unthinkable later on, and which did not appear in magazines aimed at white audiences) clearly privileged the role of father, suggesting that at least some advertisers believed the route to a man’s pocket lay through his male offspring. “Your baby is a fine healthy son” declared a female nurse to a solitary man in an advertisement for the antiseptic liquid, Dettol. “How happy a father feels when he hears those words” commented the text (September 1952: 12), while another advertisement for Dettol, erased both the female nurse *and* the mother who had given birth, portraying one man congratulating another on “a healthy childbirth – and such a fine baby” (October 1952: 30).

These kinds of advertisements constructed explicit emotional links between black fathers and sons, linking the health of sons to the happiness of black fathers through the latter’s involvement in the domestic preparations for the arrival of the former. But advertisers in *Drum* did not stop at portraying a black father’s part in the preparations for a successful birth. Manufacturers clearly believed that black fathers continued to be involved in child rearing after the birth, and drew on this belief to boost sales. Ovaltine, a milky drink, was mar-

keted to men on the basis that, amongst other things, it gave tired fathers the strength to play with their children (September 1955). It was father, rather than mother, for example, who appeared to be holding the baby in an advertisement for Incumbe baby food that ran in April 1952 (April 1952).

Contrasting with the kind of advertisements placed in both *Outspan* and *Femina* which used only white women and white babies, the manufacturers of Nutrine baby food employed both black and white fathers of sons to sell their product. Tapping into local working class aspirations of upward mobility, and employing the racialised hierarchies so familiar to South African audiences, Stanley Msomi, a skilled mechanic is confronted by his white male boss. "You used to be a good worker Stanley, now you stand around doing nothing. What's wrong?" Msomi explained that it was domestic affairs that had impacted so adversely on his work. "I'm worried about my little boy. He's thin and weak and always crying." The supervisor's response, as another knowledgeable and concerned father, was to identify with Stanley's problem, and recommend Nutrine. "My son was thin and weak too till Nutrine made him strong. You should try Nutrine." The next frame shows Stanley informing his wife, Rose, of the values of Nutrine and declaring that "we must get it", followed by the penultimate frame in which Rose informs us that "Nitrine certainly is nourishing. It has made baby fat and strong in only 3 months". The final frame presents the reader with a smiling Stanley Msomi who "works better than ever now" (November 1952).

The rare advertisements drawing attention to white fathers published in magazines aimed at white audiences tended, in contrast, to identify a narrow financial obligation as the province of fathers or family men. One example of a company that advertised in white magazines (but not *Drum* at this time) was Old Mutual life insurers, which drew extensively on the discourse of 'the family' (i.e. nuclear family) to sell insurance. But the images such advertisements employed were those of children with weeping women, or solitary children whose futures had been 'smashed', to draw attention to absent men (*Outspan*, March 9 1951: 56).

The early 1950s saw the male writers, editors and publishers of *Drum*, as well as its advertisers, position the males they portrayed firmly inside nuclear and non nuclear families and households where members relied on each other through a fluid rather than a rigid gendered division of labour, and where the intergenerational ties surrounding men were highly significant. The early *Drum*

saw males portrayed as men through the strong social and emotional ties they had with their children, wives, and parents as well as through their intimate involvement in child raising and household chores. Even though many children, wives, parents and grandparents lived apart from their husbands, fathers and sons, most of the successful males whose stories appeared on the pages of the early *Drum* were, in contrast to magazine coverage of white men, established as men precisely through the social recognition of these relationships.

Images that distanced men from their families

This way of representing manhood was not to last, and as the 1950s drew to a close articles and features about important men contained fewer details of their domestic arrangements and the inhabitants of those domestic spaces. Likewise, photographs of men with their children, or busy with household chores grew scarce, giving way to images of men away from home. Advertisements for household products tended increasingly to group women with children rather than men and children. Although men were often still acknowledged to be husbands, they were seldom acknowledged as fathers, let alone as sons or brothers. And even where men's marital status was proclaimed, the chances of pictures or texts revealing any of the practical ways they shared their lives with their children and wives diminished.

Feature articles

Signs of change were evident from as early as 1956. In a story about Jeremiah Mofokeng, who apparently opened the first African owned hotel in South Africa, not a word was said about his children or any other family members. Instead the focus was on Mr Mofokeng's business dealings, with his wife named only in the caption to a photograph (*Drum* 1956). The same edition saw a story about a dead gangster, the story of "how an ordinary man went wrong" make no mention about any of those who had been part of the man's life (*Drum* 1956:57). Later on such reporting became more common. A feature article on gang leader and ex-boxer King Kong in 1959 made no reference to his family circumstances. Just a few pages further on was a profile of a nineteen year old black South African athlete who had beaten the world champion, and again no mention was made of his domestic arrangements – in marked contrast to the sorts of coverage of young sportsmen earlier in the decade (February 1959).

These kinds of shifts in reporting were underlined in a three part biography of black South African cricketer, Basil D'Oliviera the following year. In this biography the magazine remained entirely silent about D'Oliviera's family, apart from one brief mention of his father, but even then *only* in his capacity as his son's first cricketing coach. Although the Cape Town street in which D'Oliviera and his family lived was named, the people comprising that family were neither identified nor mentioned (*Drum* June 1960; July 1960; August 1960). Both text and images more closely resembled that of *Outspan's* article about Dudley Nourse in 1951 than they did *Drum's* article about Oom Piet in 1954. Other sportsmen too, were represented as self made. Boxing champion Kangaroo Mado appeared, according to *Drum* a few months later, to have made it to the top entirely on his own, while the domestic background and relatives of another boxer, Enoch 'Schoolboy' Nhlapo were passed over for details and pictures of his actions and deeds in the ring (October 1960; March 1963).

Politicians were increasingly divorced from their families as well. Where much had been made of Sir Seretse Khama's children in an earlier story in 1955, not a word was written about the family of Hastings Banda, future president of Malawi, in an account of Banda's achievements in March 1959. The same year saw attempts to identify "the man of Africa 1959", remain absolutely mute on the subject of the children, wives or parents of the men short listed for the title, and when the photograph of a woman accompanied those of the male contenders, she was neither named nor discussed in the text (January 1960). Anonymous children and unnamed wives might be the justification for the demand for higher wages which "would bring immense benefits to a majority of below breadline workers" and let "the black man...stand on his own two feet", but this was a construction that, like those in magazines aimed at white audiences, emphasised a masculinity built around financial commitment only (July 1960: 33).

Advertisements

Similar trends were evident in advertisements. Although the range of baby foods promoted in *Drum* increased, the number of adverts portraying involved fathers decreased, and by the mid 1950s black fathers had vanished from baby food advertisements. Instead, emulating advertisements placed in white magazines, it was either women or white males dressed in the white coats of authority who exhorted mothers, rather than fathers, to buy the products (*Drum*, May 1956;

Drum, August 1956). Dettol dumped fathers as well. Replacing fathers and children with solitary men dabbing the liquid on themselves, or being treated for injuries by anonymous women, nurses or white male doctors, the ties and obligations of kinship amongst and between black men and children seemed to have evaporated. If women still regularly nursed men in these advertisements, the care they took was never reciprocated by men. Although Dettol was still marketed to children and babies, it was done so through black mothers, or white male doctors rather than fathers.

Numerous advertisers utilised images of crowds witnessing some spectacular male achievement to demonstrate the popularity or versatility of their product. Men, women and children were portrayed watching other men win races, score goals, thrash opponents and so on. These images reinforced the notion of men as individual rather than social beings. Producers of canned milk goods Nestle and Gold Cross for example ran a series of advertisements in *Drum* in which goalkeepers, cyclists and labourers were set apart from their team members, competitors or co-workers. There was little hint that winners or achievers were the product of anything other than individual effort and the canned milk promoted by the advertisements. Such men, it seemed, owed little to their teams, their competitors or their colleagues let alone the invisible members of their families (February 1960; March 1960). In contrast advertisements produced by the same companies, and focusing on women, retained either children or babies in close proximity to women. If men were no longer constructed as fathers, women remained constructed as mothers, a division that was very clearly symbolised by an advertisement for Gold Cross Milk in August 1960. While reuniting the family in one sense, the advertisement used a band drawn diagonally across the advertisement to very clearly segregated men from both children and mothers (August 1960).

There were, of course, one or two advertisements that bucked the trend. “Proud fathers”, for example, appeared once or twice in advertisements for Klim (a dried milk product) the early 1960s, but were seriously outnumbered by the “worried mothers” and “clever housewives” who dominated the adverts (*Drum* July 1961: 34; February 1962: 56; April 1962: 65). In terms of articles, while the magazine published far more stories, articles and features about men than it did about women, it seldom acknowledged them to be husbands, fathers or sons, consistently downplaying or disregarding the roles of family members in men’s success. Instead, on those rare occasions when images of men

did appear in a domestic setting, it was to demonstrate just how low they had sunk. “Downfall of the Playboy Prince”, for instance, was an article illustrated by a photograph of the prince in question helping his wife wash dishes in their Johannesburg home (June 1964: 24).

The ‘new’ man

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, a much clearer and more consistent division had emerged between public and private in *Drum’s* construction of gendered urban life. While there were obviously exceptions, the articles and advertisements in the magazine generally constructed men as solitary and autonomous individuals who inhabited a public world far away from the home as workers, politicians, employees and sportstars rather than fathers, sons or husbands. Women and children, on the other hand, were portrayed as inextricably rooted in the private world of the home. Men were breadwinners; women were mothers, housewives and nurturers. Yet *Drum* had constructed men as breadwinners and women as financially dependent housewives from its earliest days (January 1952). What had changed was the meaning *Drum* ascribed to the term ‘breadwinning’. Consistently imagining breadwinning to be primarily a man’s burden, the early *Drum* had portrayed it as an activity shaped by intimate relationships with numerous others in a social context where domestic obligations were everyone’s business. But as the changes discussed above indicate, the male role of breadwinning became increasingly to mean a simple financial obligation.

Accounting for change in the representations of men

It is difficult trying to account for these changes, and in this article I will only tentatively point to what are probably a multifaceted and complex set of causes. The first thing to note is that although, by the mid 1960s, *Drum* portrayed men as solitary, autonomous and distanced from their kin, these images hinged on the continued presence of invisible wives and unseen children. *Drum’s* portrayal of men located them within the archetypal nuclear family of a breadwinning father, a home based wife and mother of two or three children. These family members were a continuous but absent presence in the lives of the men represented in the magazine: the role of breadwinner *required* such dependents. By the 1960s advertisements and articles reiterated over and over again that women’s work revolved around children and the home maintenance that (implicitly and invisibly) permitted men’s expeditions into the world of work. But if this was the image, the reality was a little different.

The material world

To begin with the deteriorating conditions in the rural areas, alongside the rapid economic development after the war had impelled increasing numbers of wives into joining their husbands in towns (Mager 1998; Bonner 1990). By the middle of the twentieth century some urban couples “were remarkably Western in form,” with “increasingly large proportions” of urban Africans on the East Rand, for instance, “living ’in family circumstances.” (Bozzoli 1991: 238; Bonner 1988: 394). But instead of supporting the continued development of nuclear families, the political changes following the election of 1948 saw the possibilities for men and women to live together in towns as husband and wife (let alone as breadwinner and housewife) increasingly undermined by the apartheid measures of influx control, pass laws, forced removals and the Group Areas Act (Bozzoli 1991). According to one source, the 1950s and early 1960s had seen the “number of men living with their wives and children in urban areas... drastically reduced” while the “only family life for by far the greater proportion of African men and women in the country is the short period they are at “home” in the reserves (Wollheim nd: 6,8). Making no mention at all of whether children lived with their fathers, surveys in the 1960s indicated that around 30% of children did not live with their mothers in towns (Market Research Africa 1968: 27,28). By the mid 1960s it seems that few were able to live together in the kinds of “Western families” that had been relatively common just 10 years earlier, and as the apartheid regime tightened access to towns more and more children were forced to grow up with their grandmothers in the rural areas rather than with their mothers in towns.

Familial or kinship ties evidently remained important though. Despite recording that “the transformation from a society based on kinship to one based on association is complete” with the “very fact that kinsman are so scattered prov[ing] that kinship is no longer dominant,” one study took care to emphasise that although “kinship ties have weakened, they are more evident than among the majority of whites in the cities of the Republic” (Wilson & Mafeje 1973: 174,175; Hellmann nd: 21). And Bonner notes that the ties of kinship were further maintained in town through the clustering of urban residents with others from their home region (Bonner 1995). The evidence thus suggests that the archetypal nuclear household, with breadwinning fathers and homebased housewives and mothers, was more common in white society than it was in black. Certainly magazines aimed at white audiences portrayed white men as

if this was the norm: wives and children were silently and invisibly present in the stories about white males, just as magazines aimed at black audiences suggested they were for black men. But, for black families, the material reality of *apartheid*, and its impact on access to education, jobs, housing, and the right even to be in an urban area for more than a couple of days, limited the accuracy of this image.

But if not a simple reflection of socio-economic change, how else can the shifts in representing men over this period be accounted for? Any answer to this question needs to take into account that there were two entirely different sources for the material that ended up in *Drum*. Advertisements were, for the most part, drawn up and placed by white men. In contrast feature articles, stories, investigative journalism and photographs were produced, and even edited, by mainly black men. That the material from both sources changed suggests either a link between them, and/or wider change that affected both in similar ways.

Different discourses

Nineteenth and twentieth century Western discourse has, by and large, written nurturing out of the role of 'father'. As van der Spuy notes of biographies of South African political leaders (with the exception of Stephen Clingman's study of Bram Fischer) "any form of domestic relationship is profoundly silenced" (van der Spuy 2002: 9). As de Kanter (1987) notes there are multiple meanings to the term 'father'. It may mean, for instance, an individual who has never met his offspring, whose role may simply have been to provide the biological material that generated a child. On the other hand there may be no biological relationship between a father and what are perceived to be his children, either legally, through adoption, or informally, as the live-in partner of their mother. A 'father figure' may also be simply be a friend of the family (Lupton & Barclay 1997). The term 'father' does not automatically imply the same emotional and physical interaction with a child that the term 'mother' suggests: the twentieth century Western world has tended to see the praxis around child raising centralise the role of the female parent. Baby and childcare manuals are generally addressed to women, advice about how to raise one's offspring is either located in women's magazines or on the women's pages of magazines and so on. Nurturing, as even the Universal Declaration of Human Rights indicates, has not been understood as men's work. The "nurturing father", as the historian Chopra argues, has been "muted" within the "gendered discourse of childcare" in the

West in the twentieth century (Chopra 2001: 445). As Lupton and Barclay note of the English speaking world:

both childcare manuals and magazines for parents have been in existence in the Anglophone world since the early nineteenth century, and were at first directed at both fathers and mothers. By the turn of the twentieth century, however, fathers were rarely mentioned in these texts, while mothers were positioned as having primary responsibility for raising children. This has remained the case until the last few decades (Lupton & Barclay 1997: 88).

It is only very recently that academic studies focusing on men and masculinities have begun even to speak about men as fathers. Critiquing contemporary feminist scholarship that has sustained a discourse around motherhood and mothering as a single role and practice for women only, Chopra's examination of ethnographic studies conducted in the decades since World War One, alongside an exploration of contemporary film suggests that "fathers have been written out of the picture" and that "the 'absent father' as the hegemonic ideal eclipses any alternative versions of fathering and care provided by them." "The presence of the father is posited as an absence, in contrast with the hands-on vital involvement of the mother" (Chopra 2001: 447). It is only very recently in the West that this kind of understanding has begun to break down, as the shift in wording between the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Convention on the Rights of the Child demonstrates.

Editorial change

The early *Drum's* recognition and celebration of fatherhood and the family man, may then, have been connected to the unfamiliarity of *Drum's* black employees, most of whom had no experience of writing, with the 'proper' Western discourse of fatherhood characterising the early to mid twentieth century. Editorial inexperience may have further contributed to the 'improper' discourse. The owner of *Drum*, Jim Bailey, is on record for noting how Anthony Sampson, editor between 1951 and 1955, was an outsider, with no journalistic experience, who "knew nothing whatever of Africa". This, said Bailey, had permitted Sampson to allow South African writers to write what they wanted (Bailey in Caccia 1982: 124). "[I]gnorance" recalls Sampson, "had its advantages. I had to let the black journalists tell their own stories with a vigour and freshness that broke all the rules, but that expressed the true spirit of the townships" (Sampson 2001: 13). Perhaps it is no more than a coincidence that the first

signs of change corresponded with Sampson's departure and the appointment of South African journalist Sylvester Stein, highly experienced in writing for white South African audiences, as the new editor. Nevertheless, change of editorship might well have played a role in subtly changing the discourse around men and families, especially if Stein and, later on, Humphrey Tyler, adopted a more hands on approach. Later still, the end of the 1950s, another British emigrant, Tom Hopkinson, was appointed as editor. Unlike Sampson and Stein however, Hopkinson had vast amounts of experience in publishing and representing men in the European manner, and there is little evidence to suggest that he took anything remotely approaching a back seat during his tenure.

Journalists

On the other hand, it is possible – and perhaps more likely – that black journalists themselves subtly adapted their writing to embrace the 'modern' (i.e. Western) narrative of white writing that, even within the nuclear family, treated men as isolated, autonomous and independent of both women and children. Perhaps, early on, local discourses around the social importance of fatherhood, and the recognition of a black manhood that was built around social relationships and responsibilities outweighed the more 'modern/Western' discourse of individualism. Hall has claimed that the very idea of modernity and its celebration of civilisation, progress and rationality, is predicated on difference (Hall 1992). As Hodgson has put it "the modern not only presupposes but requires the existence of the traditional to acquire its meaning" (Hodgson 1999: 144). At the same time, feminist scholars have argued that the discourse around colonialism is characterised by "a common pattern of regarding the colonised country and the colonised people as 'feminine'" in opposition to the colonisers who are set up as masculine (Moane 1999; Sinha 1997; Markowitz 2001). Although it would be simplistic to argue that these two dichotomies of traditional/modern and feminine/masculine can be superimposed onto each other so that feminine/traditional are set up in opposition to modern/masculine, it is possible that representations of black men *with* women and children (in opposition to white men without them) were understood by some to imply the absence of modernity.

Given that early twentieth century biomedical discourse in South Africa had already established "Hottentot women" as representing "the least advan-

ced human life form” it may also have been deemed an advance for men to be distanced from women (Burns 1996: 8). Ferber has made this point in relation to white supremacist discourse in the United States, noting that “[t]he more pronounced degree of differentiation between white men and women is offered as one factor separating whites from other races and signalling their superiority” (Ferber 1999: 77). That this notion was held by significant elements of the South African establishment is clear from the 1957 report of a Commission of Enquiry into undesirable publications that examined the South African Press which noted that:

[i]n every civilised community and among all cultured nations it is a characteristic feature that women are held in esteem and treated with respect. Women are pre-eminently the guardians of morals and the upholders of moral values. They are the embodiment not only of motherhood but also what is good and noble in this country (UG 42/1957: 52).

Combining editorial change with a context in which texts recording the lives and achievements of white men remained silent about their social existence and the people who shared that existence, and as the journalists of *Drum* grew more familiar with their trade, as they themselves perhaps aspired to the trappings and trimmings of the ‘modernity’ described by Driver as a ‘Western future’, it may be that the ways in which black writers positioned black men in their writing also changed (Driver 1996: 232).

The ideas outlined above can offer only a partial and limited explanation of the changes that took place in *Drum’s* representations of men because, as noted earlier, advertisements were changing in more or less the same way and at more or less the same time, and neither journalists nor editors had much to do with the construction of advertisements. Perhaps the beginnings of an explanation for why advertisements changed can be found in an exploration of developments within the advertising industry itself. To begin with, a spokesman for the industry had declared, in the late 1950s, that advertising was “the most important single factor in influencing, particularly our urbanised Bantu, towards the acceptance of at least the outward symbols of our Western civilization” (O’Grady in Burke 1996: 126). Evidently the industry saw its task as one of bringing modernity to those it constructed as ‘traditional’.

Advertising

At the same time the middle of the twentieth century saw the South African advertising industry in a state of transition. The industry professionalised firstly by setting up the Society of Advertisers in 1951, and secondly through establishing the first industry wide journal in 1953. It also began to systematically support research which explored the changing relationships between black consumers and advertising in the post-war period (Sinclair 1997: 236). The late 1950s had also seen the government commission alluded to earlier express its “shock” at the kinds of images of women appearing in advertisements in magazines aimed at non-Europeans, and advertisers were also having to take stock of this report (UG 42/1957: 65). At the same time advertising organisations had taken the dramatic step of recruiting black men into white owned firms as advisors on how to approach the black market. Nimrod Mkele, with an M.A. in psychology, had been appointed head of the African market division of J. Walter Thompson and, by 1959, was making conference presentations discussing the nature of the black market from his unique involvement in both worlds (Mkele 1959). Likewise, Dan Chochco, who had joined *Drum* straight after leaving school, was appointed first as an advisor and then as the manager for the African Research Division of a local agency in 1960 (*Selling Age* March 1960; May 1960). In 1959, Mkele argued that:

The most important values that influence African buying behaviour – and this includes advertising reactions – derive from European standards, which the African has come to accept as the yardstick with which to measure his own integration into the society whose ideals he has come to accept as his own (Mkele 1959: 23).

Given the absence of family men from advertisements in white magazines, alongside input of this nature from Mkele it is possible that advertisers simply reworked their focus in the mid to late 1950s to treat black and white men in more similar ways. If Mkele was right in his argument that “Africans” accepted European values and standards as their own then it made sense for advertisers to recognise this. It is clear from Burke’s research that, by the mid 1950s, a good many advertising executives had come to believe that one could not successfully market products advertised specifically for Africans (Burke 1996: 135). “It was, in fact, extremely difficult to sell [the African] any article which was packed differently from that packed for European trade” noted the advertising manager of Lever brothers in 1953 (Cited in Burke 1996: 135).

Another black advertising executive, J. E. Maroun, believed that rather than wait for blacks to “come to accept” European standards, it had been and still was the role of advertising and marketing to “change culture”. “The only African markets that do exist”, he claimed in 1960, “are those that have been created, those that have been made through the efforts, conscious or otherwise, of manufacturers and marketers” (Maroun in Burke 1996: 127). The increased emphasis on marketing directly to black women was apparently precisely because by the late 1950s local advertisers had come to believe that, as in the west, “it is [women] who determine what shall or shall not be bought” (Mkele 1959: 25). It seems clear then that the nature of advertisements was more closely linked to the beliefs of the producers of the advertisements than it was to the material worlds of the consumers and purchasers of such products.

Whether black consumers “naturally” aspired towards these kinds values, or whether, as Maroun argued, they learnt to aspire to them, it appears likely that advertisements aimed at black customers would be considered more likely to achieve the desired result if they reflected the values portrayed in advertisements typically aimed at white consumers. Values which, as one analyst was later to claim of advertisements in American magazines “conjure a world of objects detached from people and of people disengaged from others” (Masse & Rosenblum 1988: 132). So while it is possible, that the disappearance of family men and fathers from the advertisements reproduced in *Drum* reflected the influence of the black men asked to advise on how best to attract black customers, it may also have reflected broader changes in advertising representations of gender emanating from the industrialised world. Or, more likely still, it was an uneven combination of all these possible explanations that explains the shift away from representations of the family to the solitary man.

All men live their lives surrounded by a network of connections with both other men and women. Relationships between men as fathers and sons, uncles and brothers, grandfathers and colleagues, lovers and opponents etc. are an integral part of a man’s life. Women, in the form of mothers and wives, daughters and sisters, grandmothers and aunts, friends, lovers and neighbours also impact in varying ways on each man’s life. The evidence outlined above suggests that urban South African men of the 1950s lived lives shared with both children and wives: many families “were remarkably Western in form” at the beginning of the second half of the twentieth century (Bozzoli 1991: 238). This began to change with the imposition of apartheid laws that increasingly tried to restrict

the access to towns of a workers dependants, that determined, on the basis of racial classification, where one could or could not live and so on. Children and wives were supposed to stay in the rural areas, and as the second half of the twentieth century wore on, fewer urban families were able to aspire to the Western format of the nuclear family.

Conclusion

Yet this is not what is portrayed by *Drum*. The early years of the magazine saw an adult man established as such through the portrayal of personal relationships with a wide range family members, in particular through the foregrounding of children. The magazine was comfortable publishing images, texts and advertisements that publicly demonstrated men's proximity to and interactions with the private space of the home, to the extent of showing men playing with children, buying baby food, washing dishes and reading to their parents. The family structures concerned were represented as tending towards the nuclear with fluid gender roles in which men had a wide set of obligations towards their children and towards household maintenance. In contrast, by the middle of the 1960s, although families were still represented as nuclear, the gender division of labour seemed to have solidified, with men appearing outside the home and having little to do with the mothers and children who were supposedly located inside the urban home. Child raising and home maintenance was conceptualised by the magazine as women's work, with motherhood increasingly represented as "the essence of a woman's being" (Gillis in Lupton & Barclay 1997: 38). Marginalised as parents, manhood for men was established through a narrow portrayal of a male's relationships with other non kin males. Within the space of a decade, urban black men (like urban white men, and despite a social reality that was very different) were constructed as autonomous and isolated individuals, having little or no emotional or physical legacies from – or attachments to – parents, grandparents, siblings, children or even wives.

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