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**The Growth of Feminist Themes from Anti-Apartheid to the  
Present**  
**Using the Autobiographical Work of Three Female Writers: Ellen  
Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender**

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## **Preface**

First of all, I wish to thank professor Desiree Lewis, whose insights regarding gender studies in South Africa were invaluable. Furthermore, she has taught literary studies as well at different universities and already did some research regarding autobiographical work of South African women. Without her knowledge of literary and popular culture, global feminist knowledges and politics and postcolonial writing and culture, I would not have been able to define the different theories I needed to analyse the autobiographies of Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender. She handed me a starting point for each autobiography by pointing out the theories of motherhood, sisterhood and gender and power and by referring to several authors I would need to explore these theories. Our endless one-to-one conversations were very inspirational and, more importantly, motivational.

Special thanks go to all the other professors and masters students I have met during my fieldwork at the Department of Gender and Women Studies at the University of the Western Cape in Bellville, South Africa. Their assistance and advice helped me a great deal. Especially the stimulating conversations I shared with Renee Titus, Zulfa Abrahams, Dawn Bosman and Monique Van Vuuren helped in the realization of my fieldwork. With two of them, Renee Titus and Dawn Bosman, I also shared an office, so we talked almost on a daily basis.

For my pleasant stay in Bellville, I owe gratitude to Henry and Linda Botha, my host family. They welcomed me so warmly and shared so many of their own experiences with me, I can only speak fondly of them. With the risk of sounding corny, I really have the feeling they became a second family to me. Till this day, I still have contact with them through letters and texting. They are the ones that keep my connection to South Africa alive.

Back in Belgium, special thanks go to my supervisor Annelies Verdoolaege for the support and the confidence. She gave me the space I needed and her thorough feedback ensured this thesis was pushed to its limits. I also wish to thank my co-supervisor Yves T'Sjoen, who possesses a remarkable expertise regarding South African literature, and gave me the necessary advice regarding my methods.

When it comes to moral encouragement, I want to thank my parents for believing in me and my good friends Hanna Vandenabeele, Magalie Kisukurume and Elke Devos for their endless support. Their pep talks kept me going and their company made the writing process less lonely.

I also wish to point out that I tried to be loyal to the interdisciplinary approach within the Department of African Languages and Cultures by consulting sources from different angles, such as history, literary studies, gender studies, anthropology, political science, etc. Furthermore, I decided to use a corpus query program, WordSmith Tools, to analyse the autobiographies of Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender. I would not have come to this idea without Gilles-Maurice de Schryver, who pointed out the possibilities of the program. I came to the conclusion that this broad spectrum of approaches was possible because my education at the Department of African Languages and Cultures equipped me with it and made me aware of such interdisciplinary method. For this reason, I need to thank all professors at our department, who did their very best reaching out these tools to us.

However, I also felt a lack within our department: a gender-based approach. Therefore I want to share the rationale I wrote during my fieldwork and which I shared during a presentation of the research topics of the masters' students at the Department of Women and Gender Studies. I am not sure if it is appropriate to share in this specific paper, but it gives a good insight in why this study is so important to me personally.

*Three years ago I decided to study African Languages and Cultures at Ghent University. I am not sure when my interest in Africa started and where it comes from, but I do remember that in my early teenage years I wondered why the media always spoke in a negatively way about Africa, such as pointing out poverty and war. I wondered if there was nothing positive to say. We all know the stereotypes, and as a student in African Languages and Cultures we explicitly search for those stereotypes in an attempt to get rid of them and the ignorance that comes with it. Such ignorance leads to collectivization/generalization and collectivization/generalization leads to racism. In our society racism and xenophobia are still very much alive. In times of economic, and perhaps even moral crisis, it are ways to save the position of the 'superior' whites. However, most of us studying African Languages and Cultures are white and we do not regret choosing this study field. African studies helps us looking at traditional disciplines using a critical lens that inserts African-centred ways of knowledge. During my studies, though, I felt a lack in this area. A gender-based approach was absent and I, myself, identify as a feminist. I have a male friend who the last couple of years started to refer to me as a feminist, but in a negative way. I always wondered why he did that and was often offended because I never called myself a feminist at that time and was not sure what he meant by using it to label me. I started learning more about the subject, taking a course 'Sexual Ethics', reading about*

women's movements and emancipation, and reading Simone de Beauvoir, Lynne Segal, Katie Roiphe and many others. From then on whenever friend called me a feminist again, I would take it as a compliment, even if he didn't mean it that way. So when I started feeling that lack of a gender-based approach in African Languages and Cultures, I decided to no longer seek into the direction of feminism from a Western perspective, but from an African perspective. I decided to look into the field of literature, as I didn't know any African feminists and didn't know where else to start my search. I believe literature deals with gender-based topics in a very subtle way and that is what I like so much about it. I choose subtleness over radicalness, as it can influence someone's thinking without that person even knowing and I also believe radicalness can change into extremeness, something that has to be avoided at all times. At first I looked into literature over the whole of Africa. I read Chinua Achebe, Ngugi wa Thiong'o, Nadine Gordimer, Mariam Bâ, etc. Along the way I started to notice the writers I chose were more and more South African writers. During the transition of apartheid to post-apartheid South African women didn't want to be silenced anymore. They wanted to be sure their voices were being heard and they would get the rights they deserved in the post-apartheid era. So a gender-based approach within South-African literature became the topic of my bachelors' paper and now I want to use it again for my thesis, but now with a focus on autobiographies.

## Table of Contents

<b>Preface</b> .....	3
<b>Table of Contents</b> .....	6
<b>Introduction</b> .....	8
<b>1. Background</b> .....	12
1.1 Gender in World History .....	12
1.2 Gender Research in Africa .....	13
1.3 Gender, Women and Feminism in African History .....	16
1.4 Women in South African history .....	20
<b>2. Methodology</b> .....	28
2.1 Theoretical: autobiographies and computational analysis .....	28
2.1.1 Use of autobiographies .....	28
2.1.2 Computational analysis vs. “Thick analysis” .....	36
2.2 Practical: fieldwork.....	40
<b>3. “Call Me Woman” by Ellen Kuzwayo</b> .....	44
3.1 Short biography .....	44
3.2 Motherhood vs. Feminism .....	46
3.3 Results.....	50
<b>4. “To My Children’s Children” and “Forced to Grow” by Sindiwe Magona</b> .....	62
4.1 Short biography .....	62
4.2 Sisterhood in Feminist Theory.....	63
4.3 Results .....	66
4.3.1 To My Children’s Children.....	66
4.3.2 Forced to Grow .....	77
<b>5. “Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination” by Pregs Govender</b> .....	87
5.1 Short biography .....	87
5.2 Power and Gender .....	89
5.3 Results.....	93
<b>6. Discussion</b> .....	106
<b>7. Conclusions</b> .....	114

<b>References .....</b>	<b>118</b>
<b>Appendices .....</b>	<b>123</b>
1) <i>Call Me Woman</i> by Ellen Kuzwayo.....	123
2) <i>To My Children's Children</i> by Sindiwe Magona .....	132
3) <i>Forced to Grow</i> by Sindiwe Magona .....	137
4) <i>Love and Courage: A Story of Insurrection</i> by Pregs Govender .....	142

## Introduction

*“No writer, female or male, is a feminist just by writing about women” – Ama Ata Aidoo*

Academic literature about gender studies is very extensive. From the 1980s onwards gender became a hot topic and was everywhere to be seen on the international platform. Within gender studies, women’s history and historical gender analysis have increasingly become international issues (Meade and Wiesner-Hanks 2004:1-2). However, looking at the different publications, such as those of Meade and Wiesner-Hanks (2004), Beasley (2005), Chanter (2006), and Esplen (2007), it is clear that this tradition mainly takes a Western perspective and works within a framework of Eurocentric gender ideology (Korieh 2009:1). Even when it comes to women and gender in African societies, most literature is written by Western academics.

One of the main purposes of this research is to analyse how gender and women roles are reflected in South African women’s perspective by taking autobiographies as a starting point. With the help of my mentor in South Africa, professor Desiree Lewis, I selected four autobiographies: *Call Me Woman* by Ellen Kuzwayo, *To My Children’s Children* by Sindiwe Magona, *Forced to Grow*, also, by Sindiwe Magona and *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination* by Pregs Govender.

The main question of this research is: “How are the feminist themes motherhood, sisterhood and power and gender reflected in the autobiographies of Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender?” Additional, I want to explore if there is a trend or evolution to be found within these themes.

I have decided to work within the field of literature, and more specifically with autobiographies, as I believe literature deals with gender-based topics in a very subtle way. Furthermore, “fiction and autobiographies are important means by which African women writers context legacies of imperial and male dominance” (Lewis 2001:7). Analysing such writings allows us to explore the possibilities for claiming and reshaping genres and writing processes that have always been formed by dominant groupings, such as western and male-dominated societies (Lewis 2001:7).

It was during my first week at the Department of Women and Gender Studies, when I first reached the topic of race, having a conversation with a professor anthropology, a South African woman with Malaysian roots. She asked me about the authors I used for my bachelors paper, since I already explained to her that I was familiar with analysing South African literature. I told her the authors I used were Olive Schreiner, André P. Brink and Nadine Gordimer. In her first reaction she pointed out I only



focused on white writers. It had never occurred to me that this was the case. Being aware of my own white privilege, I decided that moment to use black and coloured writers this time around.

Black authors have always been underrepresented in the western academic world, especially black women, so I wanted to acknowledge their voices by making them the focal point of my research. Since professor Lewis already suggested to work with autobiographies, my choices were limited. Finally, in agreement with her, the authors Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender were selected as the best choices.

To answer my research question, I have decided to use the corpus query program WordSmith Tools to analyse the autobiographies. This program has the ability to approach the contents of the autobiographies quantitatively. Being a Western-trained scholar myself, I feared I would be too biased while analysing. Of course, I still had to interpret the results, which is done subjectively, but the program already highlighted the most important keywords for each autobiography.

Throughout this thesis, no clear definitions of the notions 'gender' and 'feminism' will be found, because this has become untenable over the years. Take for example the notion of 'gender'. Some feminists define gender as "a system of meanings within cultures used to categorize male and female sexuality in hierarchal terms" (Oyěwùmí 2005:260). Other feminists have argued that it explores social and/or cultural processes involving a complex set of relations that interlock with other relations, such as age, race, class, ethnicity, ideology, etc. Still others emphasize the importance of politics of spaces and identities that are connected with and alter gender relations (Oyěwùmí 2005:260).

It is clear that no generalisation about gender has applied to all times or all places. The definition of gender as "a social category imposed on a sexed body" was acceptable over twenty years ago, but is highly contested today (Meade & Wiesner-Hanks 2-3). We are passed the studies about the difference between "cultural gender" and "biological sex", since the moment other disciplines have joined the discussion.

Moreover, for many African societies the notion 'gender' is not coded linguistically in their mother tongues. As a result, most African languages are "gender-free" (Oyěwùmí 2003:10-11). We have to be aware that we are imposing our own Western ideas about gender onto other cultures. Also, gender construction is indeed part of the process of knowledge construction, but "gendered knowledges are also located knowledges" (Nnaemeka 1997:9)

When using other scholars' works, I will cite the notions as how they are using them, but in my own analysis, I try to be careful in my use of certain notions. For the notion gender, I depart from the idea that most societies have two genders, male and female and that society has different roles and expectations for different genders, since they are believed to be different from each other (Ember & Ember 2004:xxvi).

However, for the notion feminism, I follow Oyěwùmí in her distinction between feminism as a noun and feminist as an adjective, whereby the first refers to historically recent European and American social movement that fight for female equality. The latter, on the contrast, has a broader reach, as it not confined to history. It merely reflects a range of behavior indicating female agency and self-determination (Oyěwùmí 2003:1).

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. In the first chapter a background of gender studies is sketched. Firstly, an idea is given about what we already know about gender in world history. Afterwards, the research field is narrowed down to African history by looking at how research about gender was done throughout time and by giving some facts and examples about what we already know about gender, feminism and women roles in Africa. To conclude this chapter, women's roles in South African history are discussed.

In the second chapter, I will describe the methodology I have applied. There are two sections in this chapter. On the one hand, the theoretical methods are discussed by, firstly, exploring how autobiographies can be used for research purposes and, secondly, by pointing out the advantages of computational analysis and elaborate on the different ways by which WordSmith Tools can be used. The second part of this chapter is a more personal account of the fieldwork I have undertaken during the months August and September of 2014 at the University of the Western Cape in Bellville, Cape Town, South Africa.

The Chapters Three, Four and Five deal with the selected authors individually, respectively Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender, and are similar in structure. Each chapter starts with a short biography of the respective author, as I believe it is important to display the circumstances in which these women have grown up. Throughout this thesis, I will point out how gender is always intersected with race and class, so it is obvious these influence each other. After this short biography, I explore the specific theory that is selected for each autobiography. For Ellen Kuzwayo's autobiography, this theory concerns motherhood versus feminism. In *To My Children's Children* and *Forced to Grow* by Sindiwe Magona, the theory reflects on sisterhood in feminist theory. Lastly, the selected theory for Pregs Govender's autobiography regards power and gender. Each chapter finishes with the results I

obtained through WordSmith Tools. Note that these are quite extensive, but I believe it was necessary to give the most comprehensive analysis possible for each autobiography. As a result, an overview is given of all outstanding keywords rather than limiting my results to those keywords related to the different theories.

The results of WordSmith Tools are only embedded in the theories in Chapter Six, Discussions. In this section, I try to determine whether or not my results confirm these theories. Also, the different results are compared with each other to discover a trend or evolution. Finally, in Chapter Seven, I will comment on the results I obtained throughout this research process.

## **1. Background**

A lot has already been written about women, gender and feminism around the world. Within this tradition an evolution can be seen as shown by different authors such as Meade and Wiesner-Hanks (2004), Beasley (2005), Chanter (2006), and Esplen (2007), but this tradition mainly takes a Western perspective and within a framework of Eurocentric gender ideology (Korieh 2009:1). Even when it comes to women and gender in African societies, most literature is written by Western academics.

One of the main purposes of this research is to see how gender and women roles are reflected in a South African perspective by taking the autobiographies as a starting point. However, for this section I have to work with the available resources and these include Western and African authors.

First, we are looking at what we know about gender in world history; afterwards we will narrow it down to African history by looking at how research about gender in Africa was done and by giving some facts and examples about what we already know about gender, feminism and women roles in Africa. To conclude, women's roles in South African history will be discussed.

### **1.1 Gender in World History**

Families and households are central organisations in human societies. Therefore, they are seen as universal, but shape and content are constantly changing. Relationships between men and women play an important role in household formation. Throughout the centuries, societies can be divided into a number of groups. In a hunter-gather society, gender equality was omnipresent since this society consisted of very small groups. Labour had to be divided equally in order to survive.

The Neolithic Revolution, which brought agricultural settlements, was characterized by some changes. Because they didn't have to move constantly, people were able to enlarge the population by raising more children. As a result the relationships between men and women altered. More differentiated and strict gender-defined societies were formed where men were the centrepiece of the public life and fulfilled all the important economical, political, social and cultural positions, while women were restricted to the private life.

When marriage and sexuality became more formalised through legislation, under influence of religion and ideology, smaller family relationships became more important. The nuclear family was placed in the centre of the social order.

However, men and women still had their separate places within the household. The man was seen as the breadwinner, while the women had to take care of the children (Vanhaute 2010:46-47).

Families, on the other hand, are not organized in a uniform manner. After 1500, major economic shifts had an impact on the organisation of families and on the relationship between men and women. Changes were the greatest in Western Europe, Africa and the American colonies. Europe has experienced major scarcity and Africa and America had to provide labour. This sharpened the tension regarding female fertility, by foreclosing the extended family or clan. Polygamy, for example, could be a response of some families to the increased imbalance between men and women.

The industrial world (Europe and North America) of the nineteenth century brought new changes. Women and children could work for money and new forms of birth control existed. In the twentieth century, a context of smaller and more sustainable families arose in the West, characterized by the dual earners model and new forms of households. But outside Europe, North America and Japan, the impact of economical and political transitions of the nineteenth and twentieth century were at least as significant. Urbanisation, colonial policy and new types of labour led to the reproduction of the European household model with smaller family ties and a dominant position for the male breadwinner. In the twentieth century the number of children per household decreased. Women had more opportunities to develop themselves, but it also meant income insecurity and broken families by prolonged migration. Traditionally, the woman remained the focal point of the small household, and often she could only work in the informal sector. Strong cultural and formal forms of inequality continued to exist (Vanhaute 2010:48-51).

## 1.2 Gender Research in Africa

When we look at gender in African history, divisions can be made in methodological and theoretical issues according to the time period research was done. Korie (2009:1-3) refers to five time periods in particular, which overlap. In the period shortly before the 1960s, an increasing interest in women by amateur scholars was noticeable. The emphasis was on social processes such as kinship relations, patriarchy, marriage, polygamy, etc.

From the 1960s onwards this trend continued with the production of ethnographic and anthropological monographs. In these monographs the inferior status of women in relation to men was the main focus. Information about women's lives,

experiences and activities was treated in a stereotypical way and reduced to abstractions that related little to the lives they led.

The following period, the 1960s and 1970s, was characterized by the independence of many African societies of colonial rule and attempts of African leaders to advance the structures of their “new” nations. This marked a significant shift in the methodological and theoretical framework for the study of African women. The traditional view that women had no history was counteracted from now on. However, work in this period was still dominated by Western ethnocentrism and the literature that emerged consisted of romanticised histories of great queens, amazons and matriarchies. This kind of literature is sometimes referred to as “The Golden Age of Merrie Africa”. Women were, in this way, invented as an analytical category.

Production of literature featuring African women boomed in the 1970s and 1980s. This period was influenced by neo-colonialism, feminism and worsening economic trends in Africa. Especially a dominant Marxist perspective concentrated on the political economy where women were seen as producers, attempting to establish their authority and independence. Again, the experiences of women were validated within a Eurocentric framework. This process of “making women visible is also a process through which women’s actual roles and class structures have been undermined” (Korieh 2009:2). We can conclude that such a representation of women’s experiences has a homogenous character and ignored “the ways local contexts and structures affected women and men” (Korieh 2009:3).

The final period, the 1980s and 1990s, has witnessed the most complex, far-going trends in the presentation of African women in history. Academics sought methods to change the accepted version of the past by studying women’s separate experiences, particularly to examine “women as actors in socio-political and economic processes rather than passive recipients of change” (Korieh 2009:3). This was the first time that African women had their agency recognized.

The literature on African women has expanded rapidly in the last two decades. Several factors come to mind for this growth, such as the political boost of the women’s movement and the crisis of the conventional development theory and practice. However, despite the growing literature on African women, women remain largely invisible or misrepresented in mainstream history, or “malestream” history (Zezeza 2009:11). African women’s history is still marginal and lacks recognition. The underdevelopment of African women’s history can partly be attributed to the fact that the writing of the history of Africa itself is recent

development, compared to history writing of other parts of the world (Zeleza referring to Awe 1991:211).

Mainstream African historiography has been dominated by three paradigms, which roughly correspond to the aforementioned time periods: the nationalist school, the dependency perspective and the Marxist approach. The first paradigm, the nationalist school was dominant from the time of decolonisation to the early 1970s. Nationalist historiography was characterized by the eradication of imperialist and racist myths that Africa had no history prior to the coming of the Europeans. Gender analysis was not on their agenda and they were primarily political and elitist. Not surprisingly, exploitation and oppression were only discussed in reference to colonialism. In its epistemology, nationalist historians had neither the conceptual tools nor the ideological tendency to deal with class or gender hierarchies, exploitation and struggles.

The second paradigm, the dependency perspective, existed from the late 1960s to the late 1970s. Their main goal was to unravel and explain the process by which surplus from Africa and the peripheries was discharged, expatriated, or appropriated by Europe or the metropolises in the world capitalist system. This paradigm produced a static, frozen history of Africa. As a result it completely ignored class and gender analysis.

Finally, the Marxist approach reached its peak in the 1970s and early 1980s. Despite their severe critiques of both nationalist and dependency historiographies, the Marxist scholars were hardly any better. Even though class is the central problematic of traditional Marxism, gender is seen as a secondary phenomenon. Women's oppression is merely a symptom of capitalist oppression (Zeleza 2009:21-23). However, there's no question that Marxists intended to subvert gender inequalities along with other forms of inequality. Their solution was the replacement of capitalism with an egalitarian society shaped by the proletarian revolution (Stearns 2000:134).

The inadequacy of the traditional Marxist paradigm has resulted in new feminist frameworks, such as racial feminism and socialist feminism. These new forms of feminism not only focus on the role of class, but also on other social constructs, such as gender, race and nationality, which help determine the creation of women's oppression and liberation (Zeleza 2009:23). This domain where different social constructs come together in a theory, is nowadays called "intersectionality". All too often race, ethnicity, and class are inserted as "additive analyses", while they should be on the same level, all of equal value.

The challenge for these feminist historians is not only to obtain women's history, but also to develop new theoretical framework that represent the reality better. In order to achieve this goal, feminist historians have been busy deconstructing hierarchical conceptual dualism, which hide women's lives. The binary vision that stems from these dualisms misrepresents the interdependence and interconnectedness of social processes and the reality (Zezeza 2009:23).

In African history, feminist historians are mainly engaged with the restoration of women to history, i.e. writing "compensatory" and "contribution" history rather than writing gender history. Zezeza (2009:25) brings out the distinction between women's history and gender history by referring to Newman (1991:59): "Women's history focuses specifically on women's experiences, activities and discourses, while gender history provides analyses concerning how gender operates through specific cultural forms."

In terms of periodization, most voluminous historiographies focus on the nineteenth and twentieth century, while women's histories before the 1800s are still very hesitant. Feminist historians are researching more systematically the historical development and construction of women's culture (Zezeza 2009:26). These researches include the importance of women's economic activities as demonstrated by White's (1987) research on women traders in Sierra Leone; women's participation in pre-colonial politics such as the Asante queen mothers (Aidoo 1981) and female chiefs among the Mende (Boone 1986); and even military participation. We can conclude with the following words of Zezeza:

*"Gender history cannot go far without the continuous retrieval of women's history, while women's history cannot transform the fundamentally flawed paradigmatic bases and biases of "mainstream" history without gender history. Mainstreaming African women's history and gendering African history are immense tasks."* (2009:34)

### 1.3 Gender, Women and Feminism in African History

There is a vast geographical and political fluidity within African feminisms, but they have one thing in common: "a shared intellectual commitment to critiquing gender and imperialism coupled with a collective focus on a continental identity shaped by particular relations of subordination in the world economy and global social and cultural practices" (Lewis 2001:5). We have to embrace the heterogeneity of African feminism (Lewis 2001:5). There are some features to keep in mind, namely regional, social and religious background (Arndt 2002:31-35).



Heterogeneity is also what Arndt (2002:31-35) argues. According to her, we have to use the term feminisms in plural, rather than the singular noun. However, a common means exists in African feminism: challenging the existing matrix of domination to be able to change the gender relations and conceptions in African societies and improve the situation of African women. The gender debates, which are influenced by post-structuralism, have put focus on the notions dynamics, complexity and diversity in feminism. African feminism has been developed by protest against the white history of white domination within feminism and by a necessity to identify material circumstances and the cultural history of African societies.

There are some mandatory criteria for African feminisms: first of all, a collaboration/complementary with men is necessary to affirm motherhood and criticize patriarchal manifestations; secondly, the critique of African societies, inherent to the critique of African gender relations, weakens the African position in respect to the West, so African resistance to Western cultural imperialism is necessary; a third criteria is to discuss gender roles in the context of other suppressive mechanisms; and finally, there is a need to identify both traditional as completely new approaches and alternatives for women that are important to conquer suppression (Arndt 2002:31-35).

The heterogeneity of African feminism stands out in the various different names that were devised by many writers and scholars. For example Catherine Obianuju Acholonu cites "motherism" as an African alternative to feminism. Motherism denotes motherhood, nature and nurture, while it celebrates purely symbolic roles for women. The particular idea of Woman or Mother emphasized that African women are "the spiritual base of every family, community and nation" (Ancholonu 1995:3) Furthermore, the motherist is "the man or woman committed to the survival of Mother Earth as a hologrammatic entity" (Ancholonu 1995:3). Key concepts are love, tolerance, service, and mutual cooperation of the sexes.

Another alternative to feminism is "(African) womanism", which is a social theory rooted in the racial and gender-based oppression of black women. However, varying interpretations exist on what the term womanist means and multiple efforts are made to provide a concise and all-encompassing definition, but these have been little successful. The ambiguity within the theory allows for its continuous expansion, but is also considered its greatest weakness. One key element of womanism is its social change perspective based upon everyday problems and experiences of black women and other minority women. Alice Walker (1983) first used the term "womanist" in her work *In Search of our*

*Mother's Gardens: Womanist Prose*, in which she explains that the term womanist is derived from the southern folk expression "acting womanish". In her belief a womanist is a woman who loves another woman, sexually and/or non-sexually, a woman who appreciates and prefers women's culture. According to Walker (1983) womanism is instinctively pro-humankind. Therefore, the focus should not be put on gender inequality, but rather on race and class-based oppression. She sees womanism as the solution to the survival of the black race.

Another proponent of womanism is Chikwenye Okonjo Ogunyemi, who published an article called *Womanism: The Dynamics of the Contemporary Black Female Novel in English* in 1985. In it, she describes that the womanist vision is used to answer the question of how to share power among the races and between the sexes. She developed her interpretation of the term independently of Alice Walker's definition, but there are several overlaps between the two. However, Ogunyemi dismisses the possibility of reconciliation between white feminists and black feminists on the grounds of the intractability of racism.

Molara Ogundipe-Leslie, has yet another alternative to feminism, which she calls "stiwanism", which stands for Social Transformation in Africa Including Women. She argues this vision in her work *Re-creating Ourselves: African Women & Critical Transformations*, which was published in 1994. Other examples of African feminist theories are: "negrofeminism" by Obioma Nnaemeka" and "African feminism" by Akachi Adimora-Ezeigbo and many others.

These alternatives do not only arise from heterogeneity, but also from a frustration with the label "feminism", which often only reflects to white feminism and the term "Third World Women". Mohanty (1991) asserts in her work *Third World Women and The Politics of Feminism* that western feminists write about third world women as a composite, singular construction that is arbitrary and limiting. They presuppose that these women are "an already constituted, coherent group with identical interests and desires, regardless of class, ethnic or racial location" (Mohanty 1991:53). This is not a contextualized analysis about what it means to be a woman, nor does it explain why and how women take in marginalized positions in certain societies. Secondly, western feminists give quantifications, without paying attention to local differences (Mohanty 1991:51-77). For example, "80 per cent of the population wears a hijab". And thirdly, western feminists have a binary vision about power. Third world women are depicted in these writings as victims of masculine control and of traditional culture without incorporating information about historical context and culturally differences. This, of course, creates a dynamic where western feminism is the norm against which the

situation in the third world is evaluated (Mohanty 1991:51-77). Therefore, Mohanty's primary goal is to acknowledge these women their agency and voice within feminist discourse. Arndt (2002:43) adds that by using their own alternatives, African women rebuke western feminism and their paternalistic, west-centrist point of view. In this way, they confuse the existing rigid paradigms.

According to Susan Arndt (2002: 31-35), three main currents can be distinguished in African feminist literature: reformist, transformative and radical. With transformative African feminist literature being the dominant current. However, the borders between the currents are blurred and they are heterogeneous. Reformist African feminist literature is characterized by individual, patriarchal attitudes, norms and conventions, which discriminate women and hinder their self-realisation. Reformists want to negotiate with the patriarchal society to find a new direction for women, but accept the fundamental patriarchal orientation of society as a given fact. Therefore they treat men in a liberal way. Patriarchal discrimination is rarely combined with criticism on other mechanisms of oppression. Arndt (2002:33) suggests "To My Children's Children" by Sindiwe Magona as an example of reformist literature.

In transformative African feminist literature, men are more sharply criticized. Overall it is also more complex than in reformist literature, e.g. the requirements imposed to men are more fundamental and extensive. They believe in the possibility for men to transform and change their way of thinking. This kind of literature views men not only as accomplices, but also as products of patriarchal thinking patterns. In this way, men are seen as potential allies in a battle against these forms of discrimination. In contrast with reformist literature, other mechanisms of oppression are taken into account as well (Arndt 2002:34).

Radical African feminist literature goes a step further by considering men as the inevitable and principled source of discrimination against and maltreatment of women. Men are in nature, or because of socialisation, hopelessly sexist and often immoral. This literature is marked by tragedy and violence. As a consequence, the products of radical literature lack perspective and are very pessimistic. At best, there is some kind of "sisterhood" or solidarity between women as a possible source of comfort or as a vague anchor of hope. Again, other mechanisms of oppression are present. Both transformative and radical literatures provide an essential and fundamental criticism on patriarchal social structures, but there are crucial differences between the two. These differences "manifest themselves in the concrete negotiation of men and women, with regard to the question of whether the criticised gender structures are considered

surmountable and whether the criticism is articulated in a differentiated way” (Arndt 2002:34). These various forms of African feminist literature show us that they are flexible enough to be taken into account and provide a forum for different perceptions and visions of an (new) existence between men and women.

#### 1.4 Women in South African History

Since it was difficult to find academic works that specifically focus on women and gender in South African history, I tried to find this information in a few general works on South African history, namely the ones of Leonard Thompson (1990) and Robert Ross (2008). These will mainly be used to cover the period from the fifteenth century until apartheid era. However, for the current situation of women in South Africa, I will focus on the work of Sheila Meintjes, who has written articles about gender-based violence and women’s citizenship in South Africa.

By using the indexes of the works of Thompson (1990) and Ross (2008), I was able to look for the pages where women were specifically mentioned. Unfortunately, it appeared that women were only mentioned on a small number of pages. In the best case a section was dedicated to it, in the worst only a sentence or two. Therefore, I cannot pretend to give a complete history of women in South Africa. However, by comparing, I was able to summarize when and in what context women’s roles appear in (early) South African history.

Zezeza (2009) points to the same difficulty of finding academic works on women in African history. She looked at different types of histories, including general histories, regional histories, thematic histories, all written by prominent historians of Africa, both African and Africanist and all showed the same tendencies. None of the writers were women and some of them did not even mention women in their indexes. She even claims that: “the few that discuss women in slightly more detail still betray androcentric biased” (Zezeza 2009:16). A reason for this, according to her, and one that I have already mentioned above, is that compared with the history of other parts of the world, the writing of history of Africa is a recent development (Zezeza 2009:21).

In the early days of South African history, five hundred years ago, a sharp division could be made between the sexes. There were two separate spheres of production. On the one hand, women formed the bulk of agricultural labour, household tasks, pitting and basketry, and taking care of the children. On the other hand, pastoral activities were reserved as male tasks. Women were excluded from these pastoral activities and, thus, implicitly from political power.

Women's work was physically harder, and more continuous than that of the men (Ross 2008:12-16).

The two spheres of production were linked to each other through the institutions of bride wealth. This was the key institution around which the societies of the region were organised at the level of the family. The women moved from her own family to that of her husband and in return, the husband would transfer cattle to her family to compensate the loss of labour and productive potential. Sometimes, this would only be partial until the wife demonstrated her fertility by having a child. If it were proven she could not bear children, her life would be very hard. Also, her family would be expected to provide a sister or niece to perform her reproductive tasks and she might be cast off into poverty as her ability to labour diminished. A woman stayed member of her husband's family even after he died. If this were the case, one of his brothers would take her over, which is also referred to as levirate marriage. However, the children would still be considered the legal heirs of her dead husband. Divorce was possible, but very rare and difficult since bride wealth had to be returned. A situation the male relatives of the women wanted to avoid (Ross 2008:12-16).

It is clear that family membership was essentially patrilineal during that time period. In some places it was also preferable that a man should marry a cross cousin. By doing this, bride wealth could stay within the family. Especially in royal families this was very common. For example, a man would marry one of his distant patrilineal relatives to exclude her kin from the succession. Regardless of the type of marriage, women were always supposed to be subordinate to men. As a result of this subordination, women themselves had little say in the choice of their partner. Marriage was seen as the alliance between two families and children were brought up in such a way that the gender norms were imprinted from a very young age. When the children reached puberty, both sexes underwent initiation to allow them to reach full adulthood (Ross 2008:12-16).

Thompson adds to this by claiming that most of this continued in the pre-colonial era. Cattle care and ownership still were a male monopoly, while women did most of the agricultural work and were responsible for the children. For a woman the daily routine was hard, but women helped each other as a group. Men would only assist their wives when there was heavy work to be done. Also marriages remained major social and economic events. Complex negotiations between the kin of the bride and the kin of the bridegroom preceded a marriage. Only wealthy men especially chiefs, could afford it to be polygynous (Thompson 1990:19-29). In this sense, the bride wealth system had political connotations as the number of

wives had a direct relation to the size of the cattle herd. As a result, most problems addressed to the chief had to do with women or cattle (Ross 2008:15). We can conclude that in this time period, men had economic power over women and society was very hierarchal.

A following period presents itself with the arrival of people from the Netherlands in the Cape mid seventeenth century. The Dutch came to the Cape as settlers along with slaves who came from diverse linguistic, religious and social backgrounds. There were always more male slaves than female slaves. Furthermore, no women who came from the Netherlands were on the company payroll, except for a handful of midwives. Women were always a minority among the free population (in this case predominantly white), but they had exceptional opportunities for marriage and remarriage if they outlived their first husband. These women could compile property, since they fell under the prevailing Roman-Dutch law. According to this law a wife was the legal owner of half the combined state (Thompson 1990:43).

This stood in sharp contrast with the female slaves, who lived in humiliating circumstances under the company. They were, inter alia, encouraged to prostitute themselves to sailors and were made to work alongside men on the most gruesome tasks. The relationships between the free population and the slaves were characterized by paternalism, which is “an ideology that structured and legitimized subordination and exploitation and was expressed in a blend of affection and coercion” (Thompson 1990:43).

Throughout the Dutch Cape Colony period a few marriages between European men and freed slave women existed, but above all there was a great deal of extramarital sexual activity between white men and slave women. Children born out of these extramarital liaisons were slaves as well upon birth. Many of these children who were female became the mistresses or, in some cases, the freed legal wives of members of the bourgeoisie. As a result the black population lightened and the white population darkened. In this same period the national convention prescribed that only men were to be allowed to vote. However, plans were made to facilitate the enfranchisement of white women as a way of diluting the blacks (Thompson 1990:35-51).

In the late eighteenth century, the British defeated the Dutch. The British reigned until 1910 and this period is referred to as a period of diamonds, gold and British imperialism. It was characterised by the immigration of black men from the countryside to the city to work in mining towns or on white farms. They would work there for several months at a time, leaving their wives with greatly extended

responsibilities for the household economy. The conditions in the compounds where the male immigrants lived were quite different from the living situations they were accustomed to. They had to live together under tight discipline without any women for the duration of their contracts, which could vary from six months to a year (Thompson 1990:111-124). This situation continued in the next time period.

The segregation era is marked from 1910 to 1948. Women in the villages still assumed the full burden of maintaining the domestic economy, bringing up the children and fulfilling some of the responsibilities of household heads, which were previously reserved to men (Thompson 1990:156-186). White women, on the other hand, were widespread employed in the manufacturing business at low wages. These women became the targets of sharp competition between the socialist labour unions and burgeoning Afrikaner nationalism (Ross 2008:116).

In the mining towns, men were still housed in single-sex compounds where no women were allowed. The conditions were appalling, especially since they lived together with 3000 to 6000 men in a compound. As a result, 'mine marriages' arose. The sexual authority of adult men over women was recreated in the all-male compounds by the redefinition of adolescent boys as females. These boys would be shaved and well dressed, they simulated breasts and were receptive and submissive in bed. These 'marriages' would only last for a short period and could supplement the boys' income (Ross 2008:103). With their wages, these young men were acting independently of their seniors. For the first time, they could buy cattle for their own bride wealth and form their own associations and establish their own homesteads. Of course, this led to tension between the generations (Thompson 1990:156-186).

After a while, some women decided to come to the towns in search for their husbands and/or sons or they would flee from an oppressive marriage believing better opportunities would arise in the city. They started working in domestic service or controlled the brewing of sorghum beer. Especially the latter was a risky business, since the authorities hoped to increase both their control over male labourers and the sales of municipal beer halls. In 1929, this attempt at control called forth a series of major demonstrations by women. Many of whom were dressed as male Zulu warriors. The women were angry not only at the government, but equally at their menfolk for wasting their earnings on beer and not providing for the family. Relations between the sexes became more complicated. Women in the countryside, for example, had no authority over their husbands within the pre-colonial society, thus they had no legitimated power to

bring them back or to claim a portion of their earnings, while women in the city became more empowered (Ross 2008:108).

Some of the men would fall for a town woman, who would trap the man, relieve him of his money and alienate him from his home. Such women took on many of the attributes of a witch in the mythology of the countryside. But men, as well, would doubt the faithfulness of the wife they had left behind (Ross 2008:100-102). From the end of the nineteenth century onwards, many adult men complained of how women no longer respected them, and how they had gone to town to live immoral lives (Ross 2008:108-109).

The parliamentary election on 26 May 1948 represented a turning point in the country's history and initiated a new time period, known as the Apartheid Era, which lasted from 1948 until 1994. In the Apartheid Era, African women became more prominent in entertaining activities, which used to be a male practice. Examples of such entertaining activities are *izibongo* or praise poems and *lifela* or sung poetry. Migrants used these to describe their longing for the rural life, the train rides, which took them to the mines and the shares of town women they had. Some women began to take up this rather male genre. Especially in the *shebeens*, singing became a big part of the entertainment. The message, however, did not express submissive femininity, but rather aggressive individualistic entrepreneurship. Another form of recreation provided by women was sex. This situation was not ideal, but the income of brewing and sale of beer and prostitution allowed women independence from men (Thompson 1990:209-228). Women keeping such *shebeens* were known as *shebeen queens*. By the mid-1990s, they were so popular that *shebeens* could be seen as an integral and important part of South African culture (Ross 2008:157-170).

Also on the political level, an evolution can be discovered. During colonialism, the colonial government itself chose the traditional leaders. A codified system of customary law was imposed on these traditional communities, which had an effect on women. African women were put into positions of formal inferiority to men. However, white, Indian and 'coloured' women were not part of this legal system, since they fell under the 'western' legal system. Only exception was Muslim women, who were regulated by sharia law (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes 1998:6).

Things started to change during the Apartheid Era. Even though the ANC and its allies in the Congress movement were all male-dominated organisations, Lilian Ngoyi and other women had already formed the Federation of South African Women during apartheid. The Federation organised protests against the decision of the government to extend the pass laws to African women. Following the



demonstrations, the police arrested 2000 African women for refusing to accept passes. Despite their efforts, the government stood by its decision and from 1961 onwards African women were obliged by law to carry passes (Thompson 1990:209:228).

This was not the only form of political organisation that arose. South African women have been central to the struggles against apartheid for decades, both independently of and alongside men. Especially by the 1980s, the resistance began to manifest itself more openly with mass strikes and protests against local administrations and also began increase in frequency. The trade unions played an important role in this. In these unions, women started to express their concerns around the conditions of women workers and about the lack of women in leadership (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes 1998:7).

Also in the townships, women emerged as powerful political forces at a community level. The formation of the United Women's Organisation and the Natal Organisation of Women were important factors in this. They allowed women to organise alongside, as well as inside, the male-dominated union and civic organisations. However, women's organisations were weakened by the foundation of the United Democratic Front, since their leaders emerged into the national structures. Furthermore, the UDF focus on national and international issues rather than local ones, limited women's participation (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes 1998:7-8).

This involvement of women in the struggles and debates of the 1980s laid the groundwork for strong women's leadership, which demonstrated its capacities in the 1990s. A range of conferences, which focused on women and gender issues, were held in the early 1990s (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes 1998:8). These conferences raised the awareness that women should be represented in the first democratic government and eventually led to the formation of the Women's National Coalition in 1992 (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes 1998:9).

During the negotiations for the new government, women's organisations and representatives in political parties made sure women would have some gains. At least two effective results ensued. On the one hand, the Constitution guaranteed the equality for women. On the other hand, on an institutional level it was ensured that gender issues would be addressed by government as well as by the private sector (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes 1998:9).

In spite of these achievements, South Africa is still characterised by huge gender inequalities and even by gender-based violence. Gender-based violence is

experienced differently for men and women. For men, their role in society is traditionally seen as protectors of the family, while women reflected the honour of the family. The body is an important signifier in this difference, since the attacks upon male and female bodies has different effects on each of them. Let us take as example the violent attack of rape. When a man is raped by another man, his masculinity is undermined and he is feminised as a victim. The rape of a woman, on the other hand, does not necessarily undermine her femininity in the same way. For men, the rape of their wives or daughters is a dishonour to the family (Meintjes 2009:110-111).

Rape became so widespread that women can expect to be violated, on average, twice in their lifetimes. It became “endemic in a society where young men had both cultural expectations of manliness and restricted opportunities to express it” (Ross 2008:215). As a result AIDS is omnipresent in contemporary South Africa. HIV/Aids has had an immense impact on the position of women. They need access to health care, information, counselling, social security and protection from various forms of discrimination, not only for already infected women, but rather for women in general (Meerkotter 2010:157).

Women’s subordinate position not only increases their vulnerability, but creates a climate where gender-based violence, and by extension HIV/Aids will have a devastating impact on every violated/infected and affected person’s ability to participate in formal decision-making processes (Meerkotter 2010:170).

To fully understand the way that victims experienced violent attacks would “enable a fuller understanding of the status and roles accorded to men and women” (Meintjes 2009:111). It would help us understand why victims often keep silent about their own experience. Many testimonies of women survivors only focus on what happened to their loved ones and of the pain of their loss. Seldom they spoke about the abuse that they themselves experienced (Meintjes 2009:111).

From a global view, gender-based violence is caused by various reasons. Abuse is caused by an interplay of personal, situational, and sociocultural factors, which are all situated in the social environment (Heise, Ellsberg & Gottmoeller 2002:7). At the individual level, for example, a history of child abuse or witnessing domestic violence, having an absent or rejecting father and a frequent use of alcohol can be factors. At the level of the family, it is shown that male control of wealth and being the head of the household and marital conflict are strong influences. At yet a higher level, that of the community, women’s isolation and lack of social support are predictors of gender-based violence, together with male

peer groups that minimize and legitimize men's violence. Also, some societal studies around the world have found that "violence against women is most common where gender roles are rigidly defined and enforced and where the concept of masculinity is linked to toughness, male honour, or dominance" (Heise, Ellsberg & Gottmoeller 2002:8). These are of course just a glimpse of possible factors that cause gender-based violence.

Although violence can have direct health consequences, being bruised and hurt by the attack for example, it can also increase women's risk of future ill health. HIV/Aids infection, which I already discussed above, is one example, but also unwanted pregnancies can present themselves. Also mentally, gender-based violence has consequences, with the most common example being depression. As a result, victims may resort to eating disorders or substance abuse as coping mechanisms (Heise, Ellsberg & Gottmoeller 2002:8-9).

## 2. Methodology

This chapter is divided into two sections. In the first part of this chapter, the theoretical methods are discussed. Firstly, by exploring how autobiographies can be used for research purposes and, secondly, by looking at the advantages of computational analysis and elaborate on the different ways by which the corpus query program WordSmith Tools can be used. The second part of this chapter focuses more on the practical side of my methodology. In this section a more personal account of my fieldwork is given, which I obtained during the months August and September of 2014 at the University of the Western Cape in Bellville, South Africa.

### 2.1 Theoretical: autobiographies and computational analysis

#### 2.1.1 Use of autobiographies

The autobiography is a popular genre that is written and read often. In recent decades much has been written about the autobiography as genre. However, there is no consensus on what an autobiography exactly is. Roughly, it is interpreted as a story of one's life written by the person himself. Philippe Lejeune goes a step further by defining the autobiography more detailed as follows:

*“Récit rétrospectif en prose qu’une personne réelle fait de sa propre existence, lorsqu’elle met l’accent sur sa vie individuelle, en particulier sur l’histoire de sa personnalité.” (1975:14)*

When translated it goes as follows: “The autobiography is a retrospective narration in prose being told by a real person about his/her own life, with a focus on his/her personal life, especially on the history of his/her personality.” A few elements stand out in this definition. First, there is a certain form of language, more specifically a narration in prose. Secondly, the topic is an individual life, a history of one's personality. A third element is the situation of the author: the identity of the author is the same as the identity of the narrator, same with the identity of the main character. Finally, the narrator has a retrospective perspective on the narration. These elements are unequally binding (Lejeune 1975:14).

Pascal (1960:20) complements this definition by pointing out that the autobiography is not just a mere description of one's life, but an interpretation from a certain viewpoint: “be it a social or political position, literary or artistic accomplishment, or philosophical outlook”. An autobiography is more than a

chronological list of the events in the author's life. The author gives a specific meaning to his life by writing from the knowledge of the outcome, which gives the idea of life as a coherent whole.

Writing of history experienced from an own perspective on reality, with the own person and his/her evolution as reference point, is ancient. For example think of *Confessiones* of Saint Augustine of Hippo that dates back to 354 – 430 C.E. or the life memoir of the pagan rhetoric Libanius *Oration I* of the same time period (Boone 2011:4-10). Also in later centuries well-known life histories were published. Two of the greatest autobiographies of the Renaissance were *Vita* by the goldsmith Benvenuto Cellini and *De vita propria* by Gerolamo Cardano, both published mid-16<sup>th</sup> century. The earliest known autobiography in English is *Book of Margery* written by the woman in the 15<sup>th</sup> century, but it was not published until 1936. Such writings are rather seen as ego documents, i.e. documents where an ego intentionally or unintentionally reveals or hides itself, than they are seen as autobiographies.

The autobiography as genre did not exist until the eighteenth century. William Taylor first used the term itself in 1797 in the English periodical *Monthly Review*, where he suggested it as a hybrid term. The word 'autobiography' and the genre originated in the period of the *Sturm und Drang*. A time when literature went public, i.e. became more important in public life (Jongeneel 1989:9-27). "The ideal of individuality develops gradually in the course of the eighteenth century" (Jongeneel 1989:23). This was characterized by a fracture with former manners of documenting the life, such as memoirs, which puts emphasis on the public role of the author rather than on the private life (Gusdorf 1975:963).

Autobiographies and memoirs are sometimes used as synonyms, but are clearly not the same. While they both have a retrospective perspective on the own life, there is a difference in how they reflect this life. The autobiography emphasizes the evolution of the author and the formation of his personality, in opposition to the memoir, which focuses more on the public role of the author (Jongeneel 1989:9-12). For this reason, a lot of memoirs were written by politicians or military leaders as way to record and publish an account of their public exploits. Famous examples are the memoirs of Julius Caesar, *Commentarii de Bello Gallico* and *Commentarii de Bello Civili* (Gusdorf 1975:963). In other words, we can conclude that in an autobiography the outside world is embedded in the own life, as in a memoir there exists an opposite relationship between the own life and the outside life. In a true

autobiography, the inner life of the observer has to outweigh the list of events that have affected one's life. Also, the memoir only describes one part of the life of the author, while the autobiography takes the whole life into account (Jongeneel 1989:9-12).

A more intimate form of autobiography, which explored the subject's emotion, characterized the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This form of autobiography followed the trend of Romanticism, in compliance with the *Sturm und Drang* movement. Great example for most authors was Jean-Jacques Rousseau's *Confessions*. For example Stendhal's *The Life of Henry Brulard* and *Memoirs of and Egotist* of the 1830s was inspired by Rousseau.

With the Gutenberg revolution, cheap newspapers and cheap printing began to develop, alongside the rise of education and modern concepts of fame and celebrities. It became the expectation that those living in the public eye should write about themselves. As a result, autobiographic writing no longer existed for the happy few. Not only writers such as Charles Dickens and Anthony Trollope, but also politicians, philosophers, churchmen, entertainers, etc. wrote down their life histories. Examples are the works of Henry Brooks Adams, John Stuart Mill and Cardinal Newman.

However, the genre of the autobiography boomed even more in the 20<sup>th</sup> and 21<sup>st</sup> centuries, especially scandalous memoirs written by so-called 'ghostwriters'<sup>1</sup> were popular. Subjects of these memoirs and autobiographies ranged from professional athletes and media celebrities to politicians and the royal family, but they were typically works of fiction. Not surprisingly, the genre of the fictional autobiography also gained some popularity. It signifies novels about a fictional character written as though the character were writing their own autobiography (Buckley 1984).

Now more about the origin of the autobiography, for many years the autobiography was seen as a genre of European origin. Even more, it was thought that the autobiography was inherent to the western culture. Gusdorf writes the follows:

*"It would seem that autobiography is not to be found outside our cultural area; one would say that it expresses a concern peculiar to Western man, a concern that has been of good use in his systematic conquest of the universe and that he has communicated to men of other cultures;*

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<sup>1</sup> A ghostwriter is a person who writes under someone else's name, at his request. The publication will appear as if it were the client who wrote it.

*but those men will thereby have been annexed by a sort of intellectual colonizing to a mentality that was not their own.” (1975:957-994)*

This last sentence implies that people from other cultures only wrote autobiographies when they were influenced or even indoctrinated by a mentality that isn't inherent to their own. Pascal (1960:22) follows this line of thinking by saying that members of Eastern civilisations who have written autobiographies, have taken over a European tradition. Furthermore, Pascal (1960:31) believes that early writings could never be autobiographical because they didn't reflect on the personality or subjective self of the author.

According to this line of thinking, autobiographical writing is culturally determined. However, already in early centuries, autobiographical works of cultural diversity were found. In Islamic society the first autobiographical work dates back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century and was written by Abdallah ibn Buluggin, the last, Zirid, ruler of the Taifa of Granada. It was called *Al-Tibyan an al-haditha al-kaina bi-dawlat Bani Ziri fi Gharnata*, which translates as “An Exposition of the Downfall of the Zirid Dynasty in Granada”. The Zirids were of North African, more specifically Berber, descent (Reynolds, 2001). Another example is found in late 15<sup>th</sup>, mid 16<sup>th</sup> century South Asia. Zāhir ud-Dīn Mohammad Bābur, the founder of the Mughal dynasty of South Asia kept a journal called *Bāburnāma*, which is Persian for “Letters of Babur” (Wu, 1990). Not only men wrote down their memoirs, but women as well. An example is found in 15<sup>th</sup> century Spain, where the Spanish noblewoman Leonor Lopéz de Córdoba wrote *Memorias* in Castilian.

The reason for the belief that the autobiography originated in the Western World is partly given by Jongeneel. She declares that an individual doesn't detach himself/herself in cultures of societies where a rigid social context exists and family ties are powerful. Most likely, this will also not happen in societies where taboos are a central part of life. To be able to write an autobiography, the individual has to detach himself/herself (Jongeneel 1989:18). With the advent of Christianity, the care of the individual soul becomes much stronger. The ideal of individuality develops gradually in the course of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Subtle differences between individuals are a matter of great value. This marks the beginning of the autobiography as genre. Recognition of the individuality is the most historiated form of the “I”. She needs the autobiography to represent herself (Jongeneel 1989:23-24). It is remarkable that this paternalistic standpoint hasn't been challenged for a long

time, but it does explain why very little research can be found about autobiographical work in other parts of the world.

There are different motivations for people to write an autobiography: a feeling of powerlessness, a means for self-reflection, a search for self-improvement or sympathy, giving a testimony of events, etc. In the case of the authors I examine in this paper, it is noticeable that apartheid plays a great role in their testimonies. A testimony, according to J. Starobinski (1980:78), is written as a response to a life-changing event or an identity crisis. The writing of an autobiography often has a therapeutic effect: it liberates certain thoughts and feelings. It isn't only liberating for the author, but for the reader as well who recognizes those thoughts and feelings and as a result reflects about his/her own life. For instance it was very important for other South African women to read about the roles other women played during apartheid and the era thereafter. Thus, writing an autobiography is in fact an attempt of the author to define a certain feeling of identity, to define his/her position towards others, to acknowledge his/her cultural, social and political background (Schipper 1991:17).

It is now clear what an autobiography is and how it differentiates itself from other forms of autobiographical writings, such as memoirs, and at this stage I want to dwell on some formal aspects of the autobiography. It is obvious that a genre always evolves with history. The time-bound agreements between author and audience change, hence also the function of the autobiography for the audience. For a long time, the autobiography was a means for the author to tell his version of the truth. From the twentieth century on, however, it becomes a means to find the truth (Schipper 1991:15). Also, the authors of autobiographies changed over the years. According to Lejeune (1975:9), from 1918 onwards, autobiographies are not only stories of 'important' people anymore, but also stories of the common man, as I already demonstrated above.

Philippe Lejeune (1975) has tried to define the relationship between the author and the reader in what he calls "*le pacte autobiographique*", the autobiographic pact. It is an agreement between the author and his reader, the basis on which a work can be understood as an autobiography. The author declares that the told events are really part of his/her own life; the story is about the person on the cover page, and looking back on his/her life as a development of his personality. Thus, the name of the author is the same as the name of the narrator and the main character. The pact is based on confidence. The reader



expects that the topic of the story is about the life and personality of the author himself.

According to Lejeune (1975:11-46) the genre of the autobiography is both a way of writing as a way of reading. The role of the reader cannot be underestimated and is important when interpreting the autobiography. In this way, I have to be aware of my own interpretation of the autobiographies that will be analysed in this paper.

The presence of the autobiographic pact is noticeable from the cover page. The author must indicate that his/her work is an autobiography by means of a subtitle or by referring to it in the story. The author presents the pact to the reader, who adjusts his/her reading position (Lejeune 1975:11-46).

The identity of the narrator and the main character in the autobiography is marked by the use of the first person. Genette speaks of an autodiegetic narration (Lejeune, 1975:15). Subject and object of the narration is the author who wants to get to know himself/herself, and simultaneously presents himself/herself to others by addressing the reader directly. The author, however, can make the choice not to write from the first person to keep a distance. However, when an autobiography is written in the second or third person, problems with the identity formation arise, so it is very rare. Lejeune (1975:18) presents the possibilities as follows:

Personne grammaticale Identité	JE	TU	IL
Narrateur = personnage principale	Autobiographie classique (autodiégétique)	Autobiographie à la deuxième personne	Autobiographie à la troisième personne
Narrateur ≠ personnage principal	Biographie à la première personne (récit de témoin) (homodiégétique)	Biographie adressée au modèle	Biographie classique (hétérodiégétique)

In this schedule we see that Lejeune makes a distinction between an autobiography and a biography. For a long time, the autobiography was seen a variant of the biography. However, there is a big distinction between both as seen above. An autobiography is a life story told by the person himself/herself.

The narrator and main character are the same. On the contrary, in a biography the narrator and main character are not the same. In this case the biographer tries to provide the reader with the most accurate and complete life story possible of the person in question. In an autobiography, the writer has the choice to select only those elements that are relevant for the story he/she wants to tell (De Kuyper 1996, Lejeune 1975:36).

Philippe Lejeune also points out the 'paradox of the literary autobiography': an autobiography is both a truthful account and a literary form of art. The author wants to tell the truth, but also wants to make literature. Lejeune highlights that the position of the reader towards the autobiography is constantly shifting, but always exposed to the autobiographic pact. The reader expects that an autobiography is different from fiction, however every autobiography includes both 'Dichtung' and 'Wahrheit'. The boundary between fiction and autobiography may sometimes be sparse:

*"L'autobiographie est une autre forme qui, par une série de transitions insensibles, rejoint le roman. La plupart des autobiographies sont inspirées par une impulsion créatrice, et par conséquent imaginative, qui pousse l'écrivain à ne retenir, des événements et des expériences de sa vie, que ceux qui peuvent entrer dans la constructions d'un modèle structure."* (Lejeune 1975:331)

The autobiography resembles the novel in certain aspects. Most autobiographies are inspired by a creative impulse, and are therefore imaginative. In fact, the autobiographic pact is a minimum demand that the genre has to meet in order to distinguish it from fiction. The autobiographic pact, however, does not have the same function in all texts: in some cases it has a dominant position, but in other cases it corresponds to a second specification in relation to a different expectation (Lejeune 1975:337-338).

As already argued a few times above, the intention of the author is to pursue the truth. As such, in an autobiography no characters or events are made up. However, in theoretical works about autobiographical writing, observations are made that it is impossible to discover the truth. Even if the author has the intention to tell the truth, we can never reach absolute certainty about the truth of a story. An autobiography is always selective. This selection takes place on two levels: the facts are filtered through the memories of the author, and the author selects these facts by what he/she thinks is worth mentioning. Of course such selections are subjective. According to P. De Wispelaere (1996:5-12) the autobiographical reality does not correspond with the reality outside.

The truth is unattainable, because the author uses his memory as a means to achieve knowledge. Memories are never reproductions, but interpretations as such. There exists no objective truth of the past, as everything exists in relation to our own lives and is affected by the present. The memory constantly produces distortions and falsifications. The past isn't a known fact, but changes its form under influence of the present. Objectively important facts can fade this way, while meaningless details are kept in the memory. The reconstruction of events is, thus, always partly false by effect of what we want to remember and what we unconsciously have banned from the memory (De Wispelaere 1996:5-12)

Boone (2011:4-10) also warns against possibilities of self-deception, narcissism and the selective operation of the memory, i.e. functional forgetting. The solution that is provided by Boone in reference to narcissism, is to detect causes of deformation by examining the environment from which the author stems, with what prejudices he/she writes, when he/she writes (distance in time to the facts) and what purposes he/she pursues. For this reason, I will be giving a short biography for each writer with specific attention to the above matters.

It is clear that memories and the truth aren't the same, but even memories and stories aren't the same. Different stories can develop from the same memories. Furthermore, the autobiography is essentially a view in the past, told from the knowledge of the ending. Thus, the facts are filtered through retrospective interpretation. A way to know the truth is, according to Pascal (1960), the "involuntary self-disclosure" of the author. This is the representation of the personality that develops through style, composition and language use rather than through objective registration of the truth.

The main question that remains is whether autobiographies, or literature in general, are usable to examine society. Nowhere is the relationship between life and literary genres clearer than in the autobiography. With the development of the autobiography as genre, changes in society and changes in lifestyles are noticeable (Jongeneel 1989:27). So why wouldn't it be possible to read those changes in autobiographies themselves? The results of this research will have to show. Some authors seem to be positive about the use of literature as a reflection of society. Jongeneel (1989:202) proves it is possible in her work "Over de Autobiografie" (translates as "About the Autobiography") with three different case studies. Also Barber (1987) shows in her paper on popular arts in Africa, that literature is a way of looking at things.

In this paper it is demonstrated that art isn't a transparent representation of reality, but it does articulate attitudes and reflections because art is by definition metaphorical, which is an invitation for interpretation. In this regard, autobiographies can be used as a mirror to society.

### 2.1.2 Computational analysis vs. thick analysis

Using procedures from corpus linguistics to analyse literature seems to be a hot topic nowadays. Workshops on computational linguistics for literatures are being held and also researchers such as Biber (2011) and Mahlberg (2013) point out the importance of corpus analysis for literary texts. However, it is still considered a new branch as Mahlberg states: "Future developments in corpus stylistics will have to explore a variety of corpus resources (...) in order to relate textual patterns to a range of literature-specific questions" (2013:6).

For this research I have chosen to work with WordSmith Tools, i.e. a corpus query program that can be used in three main ways. I already used this program in another paper where I specifically examined if such tools could be used to analyse literature, so I am familiar with its different possibilities. There are three tools that can be used: the WordList tool, the KeyWords tool and the Concord tool.

With the WordList tool you can list the words in your text or texts in an alphabetical and/or frequency order. The KeyWords tool is an aid to find the outstanding words in your text. Keywords are those words whose frequency is unusually high in comparison to some norm. The norm here is the British National Corpus (BNC), a reference corpus, provided to me by professor de Schryver. The statistics panel of the WordList tool reveals that the BNC consists of 99 465 296 tokens (running words) and 512 588 types (distinct words). Finally, the Concord tool is used to find all instances where a word or phrase occurs. This is especially interesting if you want to find out all the examples of a word or phrase in their different contexts. To use it you specifically search for a word or phrase and the Concord tool will search all the text files you have chosen and gives you all the information about collocates of the search node, dispersion plots showing where the search word came from in each file, cluster analysis showing repeated clusters of words or phrases, etc. (WordSmith Tools 6, 2015).

Since I want to discover feminist and gender themes in the four selected autobiographies, I also use some aspects of thematic analysis. Thematic analysis is a fundamental method used in qualitative research where it is

possible to identify, analyse and report themes within data. The purpose of those themes is to organise the content of the data and display it in a summarizing manner. In a qualitative analysis, the significance takes a key role, with the purpose of understanding the content and complexity of significances, rather than the frequency (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Smith, 1995). However, I want to do both by combining the quantitative aspect of the collocates of the ConcordTool and the qualitative aspect that is revealed in the concordance lines of the ConcordTool.

The combining of quantitative and qualitative results is one of the main targets of my research. Therefore, the emphasis is put on WordSmith Tools, because this program can give both results. A great advantage of thematic analysis is the flexibility, since this qualitative, analytical method can be used in relation to different theoretical and epistemological approaches. Despite this theoretical freedom, it is important to define the theoretical position of the thematic analysis since it determines how the data will be interpreted during the analysis (Braun & Clark, 2006). In my case, gender, women's roles and feminism take a central position, with main question being how the feminist themes of motherhood, sisterhood and power and gender are reflected in the particular autobiographies.

In a thematic analysis, six phases can be distinguished. Firstly, in the 'data familiarisation', the verbal data need to be written out. Reason for this, is that thematic analysis is mostly used to analyse field notes and interviews and these data needs to be written out in digital format. However, since I am using autobiographies, I already had my data in written form. Only thing necessary was to digitalise them by scanning them in. Afterwards, the scanned autobiographies underwent Optical Character Recognition (OCR) using OmniPage Pro 18. An English spellchecker was used during the OCRing, and the highlighted uncertainties were checked, to ensure a near-perfect reproduction of the original text. In this first phase it is also necessary to get familiar with the data. I achieved this by close reading the autobiographies multiple times.

The next five phases of thematic analysis consist of the generation of the initial codes, the search for themes, reviewing those themes, naming and defining of themes and finally putting together a report (Braun & Clarke, 2006). According to Braun and Clarke (2006) there are two approaches within the initial coding: an approach where themes are assigned with a particular theory in mind, or an approach where themes are deducted from the data itself in an

inductive manner. As I already defined the theories of motherhood, sisterhood and power and gender during my fieldwork, these will be my guidelines. Thematic analysis isn't a linear process, but rather a recursive one, which requires going back and forth through the different stage (Smith, 1995). It is a process that develops time and shouldn't be done hastily. Because this process is very time-consuming, most researchers use a computational program to reduce the time frame and to make the data more transparent. However, analysing the data in my case still covered a time period of six months.

Most researchers use Weft QDA, a computer program for the analysis of textual data such as interview transcripts, field notes, and other documents, as an aid to organize them. However, since I am more familiar with WordSmith Tools, I decided to use this, rather than learning how to work with a different program. Also, by using WordSmith Tools, I had the feeling it was easier to go through the different stages of thematic analysis. However, since I wanted to use this particular program, a few more things had to be done after the scanning and OCRing of the autobiographies.

Firstly, wordlists were made for each book in isolation using the WordList tool. The biggest autobiography is *Call Me Woman* by Ellen Kuzwayo and also counts most tokens, specifically 115 090 and 9 130 types. Sindiwe Magona's first autobiography *To My Children's Children* is the smallest work with 66 024 tokens and 8 246 types. Her second autobiography, *Forced to Grow*, counts 77 868 tokens and 8 751 types. Lastly, *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination* by Pregs Govender counts 76 832 tokens and 8 610 types.

Secondly, the keywords needed to be found by using those wordlists and the wordlists derived from the reference corpus (BNC). Without changing the standard parameters of the KeyWords tool, thus keeping a minimum occurrence of three and a probability of only one in a million that a keyword is not a keyword (Taljard & de Schryver 2002:52). The autobiography of Ellen Kuzwayo is the most extensive in keywords, with an absolute maximum, according to the of WordSmith Tools, of 500; the autobiographies of Sindiwe Magona count respectively 287 keywords and 262 keywords, the latter being the smallest number found in this research; and lastly, the autobiography of Pregs Govender counts 444 keywords.

As soon as the keywords were found they were put in an excel file where they were tagged. This means that each keyword was given a category/tag and sub-category/sub-tag. At first it was necessary to over-tag them to see which

keywords could best be put together. Almost every autobiography was characterised by the same categories, which were: content, function, FW (foreign words), PropNoun (proper noun), tense and WSAE (White South African English). Especially the categories content, foreign words, proper nouns and white South African English appeared to be relevant for this research. For the category content, different sub-categories were selected upon further analysing. However, the categories foreign words, proper nouns and white South African English were not divided into sub-categories, since they were usually not that extensive. Therefore, each keyword in these categories was checked to see if further analysis was necessary.

Finally, the selected keywords were searched for using the Concord tool. By using this Concord tool it was possible to look for collocates, patterns, clusters and concordance lines. Especially the latter one was interesting to discover in which contexts they occurred and which contexts were gender related. Those findings are discussed in each of the 'Results' sections. Thereafter, I will compare these results to the different theories that were defined for each autobiography in the chapter "Discussion".

I believe that using WordSmith Tools will allow me to find nuances, contexts, and subtleties. In this way, this shows parallels with "thick analysis", a notion introduced in the field of anthropology by Clifford Geertz in the early 1970s. According to Heather Love:

*"In elaborating this method, Geertz drew on a distinction between thin and thick description originally made by ordinary language philosopher Gilbert Ryle in the late 1960s. For Ryle, thin description was an unadorned, first-order account of behaviour, one that could be recorded just as well by a camera as by a human agent. Thick description, by contrast, added many layers of human significance, including attributions on intention, emotion, cognition, and depth, as well as cultural context and display – all those affective and aesthetic qualities that literary critics look for in texts."* (2013:401-402)

She goes further by adding, that in borrowing these notions from Ryle to use in the field of ethnography, Geertz made semiotics central to social sciences. By doing this, Geertz suggested literary analysis as a model for reading culture (Love 2013:402). Geertz view cultural events the same way literary critics view literary texts: "Whether written or spoken, real or imagined, all narratives can be more effectively analysed utilizing methods which stress the significance of subtlety, nuance and context within a give time and space" (Abbott 2004:119).

Those subtleties, nuances and contexts can, as already stated, found by using the Concord tool of WordSmith Tools.

## 2.2 Practical: fieldwork

During the months August and September of 2014, I conducted my fieldwork at the University of the Western Cape in Bellville, Cape Town, South Africa. Since it was impractical to stay in a room on campus, I lived with a host family in that same area. From the very first day Henry and Linda Botha made me feel incredibly welcome. On weekends, for example, Henry and Linda would take me to different places. We would go hiking (Lion's Head and Table Mountain), we took a drive to Cape of Good Hope, and I even joined them at family gatherings and dinners. When attending such family gatherings, British influence was evident, as most of the food during those gatherings resembled a British Afternoon Tea with scones, cakes, tea, etc. Even though, I let the family members know I could understand a bit of Afrikaans, the family members would always use English when talking to me, but would talk Afrikaans to each other. Something Henry and Linda also did in the beginning, but after a while we would try to have little conversations in Afrikaans or switched between English and Afrikaans.

Many of the conversations I had with Linda were about how she and her family lived, being coloured, during the Apartheid Era. She would take me to some beaches and point out that they weren't allowed to set foot on these beaches. I also remember, one day we were walking around in the city of Cape Town when she wanted to show me the District Six Museum. We entered and were both walking around, looking at different things when I turned around to ask her a question about a certain object and saw the tears in her eyes. We later talked about that moment and she, again, shared her memories with me.

However, when I told Linda I wanted to visit Robben Island, she told me she didn't want to accompany me. She had already been on Robben Island a couple of years before and the place gave her cold chills. It was then I realised that apartheid still affected people's lives until this day and that I, being an outsider and being privileged as a white person, could never fully comprehend how it felt for black and coloured people to live under such circumstances. I still went to Robben Island, alone, because I really wanted to learn more about South African history. At that time, I also felt comfortable enough to wander around by myself in the city of Cape Town as well.

When walking through the different streets, the many poor people I saw took me aback. Never have I seen that many people looking through trashcans to find



food, even little children of maybe six years old. Again, I would share my thoughts with Henry and Linda and they told me about *bergies*. *Bergies* is an Afrikaans slang word referring to homeless people who would retreat to the mountains (in Afrikaans mountain translates as *berg*) at night. Nowadays, the term became more general, referring to all homeless people and beggars. Wanting to know more about *bergies* I went to some shelters and even conducted some interviews with *bergies* I've met along the streets. Most striking was that all the *bergies* I have met, were either black or coloured people. Linda confirmed to me that although there exist some homeless white people in that area it is very exceptional.

I conducted my fieldwork at the University of the Western Cape in Bellville, Cape Town. The UWC was originally a university created for coloured people in Bellville. Other universities in or nearby Cape Town are the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch. The first was originated for English speaking whites and the latter a university for Afrikaans speaking whites. This segregation still reflects in terms of ethnicity. Although not as strict, the majority of students at UWC are still black and coloured people. Since I never visited the University of Cape Town I cannot speak for this, but I did visit the University of Stellenbosch, which is a very posh school, predominantly existing out of white students. The first time I set foot on the campus of UWC, I found it remarkable how heavily secured it was. It was completely enclosed with fences and there were armed guards at every entrance and exit. In addition, there were also security guards patrolling on campus. Nevertheless, during my first week, a student died nearby the student residences. Later, I've heard it was an accident following an out of control party.

After some initial problems with the administration office, I could finally start my fieldwork after a week of waiting and walking from one building to the other. My fieldwork was located at the Department of Woman and Gender Studies under the lead of professor Desiree Lewis, who was also my supervisor at the time. Even though I use the term fieldwork here, my visit at the Department of Woman and Gender Studies, wasn't a fieldwork in the classical meaning of the word. In the broad sense I did my research in the field, but it didn't include observing and conducting interviews while living in a village and participating in their community.

The main goal of this fieldwork was to achieve some knowledge about gender and women's studies in South Africa. For this purpose, I tried to participate in many of the activities at the department. Even though I did not attend any colleges, because I did not get permission to do this, I did attend presentations of

the masters' students at the department, group meetings, discussion groups, etc. By joining these presentations and discussion groups, I got an idea of the broad field in which gender research was done. A short overview of the different research topics of the masters' students are: the consequences sexual abuse, women in sports, how women are represented at the departments of exact sciences at the UWC, the differences between men and women in substance abuse, etc.

With some of these masters' students I built up a close relationship. Their assistance and advice helped me a great deal. Especially the stimulating and deep conversations I shared with Renee Titus, Zulfa Abrahams, Dawn Bosman and Monique van Vuuren helped in the realisation of my fieldwork. With Renee Titus and Dawn Bosman, I also shared an office, which meant we talked almost on a daily basis. They kept reminding me that it was necessary to express my motivations to do this research and almost obliged me to write a rationale. It was eventually this rationale I used to give a presentation of my own at the end of my fieldwork.

At the Department of Women and Gender Studies it showed they are clearly inspired by some Western feminists such as Simone de Beauvoir and Adrienne Rich, but they are also very much aware of their own history as an influence on gender patterns. As a result, this fieldwork became very important to me as it helped me a great deal with figuring out the details of my research.

During one-to-one meetings with professor Desiree Lewis, she helped me determining whether to use autobiographies or fiction, which authors to use and later also helped me establishing the different theories that will be used as a guideline for each autobiography separately: motherhood, sisterhood and power and gender. My own results, using WordSmith Tools, will be embedded in these theories, so for this reason the different theories are discussed in the chapters of each autobiography separately.

Professor Lewis handed me a starting point for each autobiography, not only by pointing out these theories, but also by referring to several authors I would need to explore these theories, such as Amanda Gouws, Shareen Hertel, Meg Samuelson, Judith Lütge-Coullie and M.J. Daymond. She already did some research herself regarding autobiographical work of South African women and also on the authors Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender, so I trusted her expertise when it came to the different theories that could be linked to the different autobiographies. Without her knowledge of literary and popular culture, global feminist knowledge and politics and postcolonial writings and

culture, I would not have been able to define my research methods. Our endless one-to-one conversations were very inspirational and, more importantly, motivational.

Even though my fieldwork was only a preliminary research, it was very valuable. Alongside the fact that I came into contact with the theories of motherhood, sisterhood and power and gender and received a glimpse of how research was done at the department, it was also a self-reflective fieldwork. One of the first days of my fieldwork, a professor anthropology, asked me if I was familiar with analysing literature. I told her I had done my bachelors paper on South African literature and that I used the works of Olive Schreiner, André P. Brink and Nadine Gordimer. The first thing she said to me was: "Why are you only using white South African authors?" I was baffled. It had never occurred to me this was the case and I certainly didn't do it on purpose. It did make me aware that I am privileged as a white person and on that very moment I decided I needed to use black and coloured voices this time.

### 3. “Call Me Woman” by Ellen Kuzwayo

#### 3.1 Short biography<sup>2</sup>

The reason I include a short biography of each author is two-parted. Firstly, it is important to examine the environment from which the author stems, with what prejudices he/she writes, when he/she writes (distance in time to the facts) and what purposes he/she pursues in order to detect causes of deformation such as self-deception, narcissism and the selective operation of the memory (Boone 2011:4-10). Secondly, I emphasized the heterogeneity of African feminism in an earlier section, which means I should take regional, social, religious, etc. background into account to counteract generalisations (Arndt 2002:31-35).

Nnoseng Ellen Kate “Ma K” Kuzwayo was born on 29 June 1914 as an only daughter of Philip Serasengwe and Emma Mutsi Merafe. She was born into a wealthy family of landowners and traders. Two years after her birth her parents divorced and Ellen was brought up on her grandparent’s farm at Thaba Patchoa. She lived there together with her mother, aunts and cousins. Her mother eventually remarried and Abel Tsimatima became her stepfather. They continued living on the farm until 1927. That year Ellen went to live with her mother’s youngest sister, Blanche, in Thaba’Nchu. This way she was able to attend St Paul’s School, where she passed standards 5 and 6.

In 1930 Ellen went to a boarding school, St Francis’ College in Natal. That same year her mother died. She continued studying and three years later she graduated as a lower primary school teacher. Also, her stepfather married her aunt Blanche. In 1935, she graduated as a higher primary school teacher and a year later she started at Lovedale College. That time, she visited her father in Johannesburg for the first time since the divorce. She continued seeing her father and started her first teaching job. However, after a nervous breakdown, she returned to her stepfather and aunt Blanche.

She eventually started teaching again in 1938, but things at home went worse. Her aunt Blanche forced her to leave, so she moved in with her father in Johannesburg. This didn’t last and shortly afterward she moved to Heilbron to live with her aunt Elizabeth. She remained there until 1940, the year she met Ernest Moloto whom she married a year later. During their marriage they lived together in Rustenburg where she gave birth to 2 sons. In 1942, Everington Matshwene was born, followed two years later by her second son, Justice Bakone. In 1946, Ellen

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<sup>2</sup> This section is based on information found at the websites of Rhodes University and Encyclopædia Britannica and on her autobiography *Call Me Woman*.

became seriously ill due to a miscarriage. As a result, her marriage started to fall apart, a time when she endured intense unhappiness and emotional abuse. She temporarily moved in with her mother-in-law in Legkraal. Afterwards, she fled to Johannesburg to live with her father again, leaving her two sons behind. In 1947, she divorced her husband.

Professionally things went better as she became Secretary of the Youth League of the ANC. The following seven years, she taught at Orlando East, first living with her father and later with an uncle. She fell in love again and married Godfrey Kuzwayo in 1950. The couple lived together in Kliptown, where she gave birth to her third son, Godfrey Jr. in 1951. From 1953 until 1955 she became trained as a social worker at the Jan Hofmeyr School of Social Work. Fellow students of hers were Winnie Mandela and Pumla Finca. In 1956, she got her first post as a social worker for the Johannesburg City Council. Two years later, she was reunited with her eldest son. He came to live with her, following the divorce of his father with his second wife.

In 1961, Ellen goes abroad for the first time, visiting London. From 1964 to 1976 she became General Secretary of YWCA (Young Women's Church Association) Transvaal region. 1964 was also the year when her second son came to live with her, illegally. A year later, her husband died. In 1969, Ellen went to New York as representative of the YWCA congress. Seven years later, in 1976, she accepted a post at the School of Social Work at the University of Witwatersrand. Following the anti-apartheid rioting in Soweto, she was appointed a member of Committee of 10, i.e. the unofficial community-based group that succeeded the Soweto Urban Bantu Council. This Council pressured the government to introduce land-ownership reforms to benefit the black community.

For her membership in the Committee of 10, she was detained by the government for five months at Johannesburg Fort. She was released March 1978 without having been charged. That year she was appointed as consultant to the Zamani Soweto Sisters Council, which is an umbrella body of Soweto women's self-help groups. A year later, she was appointed Chairwoman of the Maggie Magaba Trust and another year later she was appointed as Treasurer of A re Godiseng Chelete Basadi and awarded a diploma in Advanced Social Work Practice. In 1984, Ellen was appointed first President of the Black Consumer Union.

Her autobiography, *Call Me Women*, was written in 1985, and won the South Africa's leading CNA Literary Prize. She was the first black writer to win this prize. Her second book of short stories, *Sit Down and Listen*, was written in 1990. She was elected to the National Assembly as a member of the ANC for the first post-

apartheid South African Parliament in 1994. Five years later she retired and was given an Order of Meritorious Service by Nelson Mandela. It is clear Ellen Kuzwayo was one of the many prominent women's rights activists and politicians in South Africa. She died on the 19th of April 2006 at the age of 91 from complications of diabetes.

### 3.2 Motherhood vs. Feminism

The reason professor Lewis and I selected the theory of motherhood to analyse Ellen Kuzwayo's autobiography, is because it seems that motherhood is almost always pushed forward as a central theme in reviews of *Call Me Woman*. Examples can be found in the reviews of Wells (1986), Lewis (1992), Phelps Dietche (1995) and Garritano (1997). Generally, however, most scholars do not explore the theory behind motherhood any further. Thus, in this section an overview will be given of how motherhood is proposed in these theories.

Firstly, a short elaboration will be given about motherism and the differences between African women and Western women in relation to motherhood. Secondly, the link between motherhood and citizenship will be displayed and it will be demonstrated how the notion of motherhood was used by activist groupings in South Africa to address women and unite them. Also, the differences between motherhood as an institution and motherhood as experience will be given and how motherhood is connected with notions of victimhood. Finally, this section will be concluded with some of the critics regarding motherhood and motherism.

In the section 'Background', I already gave the example motherism as an African alternative to Western feminism. Motherism denotes motherhood, nature and nurture, while celebrating symbolic roles for women. It emphasizes that African women are "the spiritual base of every family, community and nation" (Acholonu 1995:3). Key concepts in this movement are love, tolerance, service and mutual cooperation of the sexes. The main advocate of this theory is Catherine Obianuju Acholonu who published her thoughts in 1995 in a work called *Motherism, The Afrocentric Alternative to Feminism*.

Even though not every scholar uses the term motherism, some academics do explain the importance of motherhood in their works. Historically speaking, motherhood and family represented different experiences and social practises to Western and African women. While African women find empowerment in their children and families, western women view giving birth to many children as both oppressive and restrictive (Oyěwùmí 2005:265-267). Furthermore, Western

women, and especially feminists, perceive mothering as a complicit to patriarchal submission and therefore anti-feminist. (Oyěwùmí 2005:400). However, African women precisely use their status as mothers as a way to challenge the demands their cultures, and to an extent patriarchy, places on them (Oyěwùmí 2005:265-267).

The role of motherhood often appears to be linked to politics and more specifically to the notion of citizenship. This is not surprising, since “only women as mothers can reproduce the next generation of citizens” (Fester 2010:199). As a result, motherhood has been viewed as a platform of action in African contexts. It is a platform around which women become mobilized to improve their material conditions (Fester 2010:199). This did not go without a struggle. Citizenship has always been constructed according to male norms. And in turn, these norms constructed women as inferior inhabitants of the private sphere, while men were associated with the rule of law and justice of the public sphere. According to this, men had total freedom, while women had to be subordinate. Even though, women were excluded from citizenship, they had a certain political obligation through their capacity for motherhood. Therefore, motherhood became a political status and a means through which women could be incorporated into the political order. However, this same motherhood did not make them equal citizens (Gouws 1999:55).

There is a need for different perceptions around the concept of motherhood. A clear distinction can be made between motherhood as an institution, with patriarchy constructing the institution, and motherhood as experience (Nnaemeka 1997:5; Larrier 1997:192). The feminist arguments of the 1970s and 1980s against motherhood, however, are only based on the institution of motherhood. According to these arguments freedom can be achieved when the oppressive construct, in this case motherhood, is evicted by its members, and thereby annulled. By claiming that motherhood is oppressive, the concept is indirectly linked to victimhood (Nnaemeka 1997:4-6).

Huma Ibrahim (1997:148) distinguishes three varieties of victimhood linked to the concept of motherhood. Firstly, victimhood can be connected to a woman's sexuality, as it is separate from motherhood; secondly, it can be connected to gender as it is integral to motherhood; and lastly, victimhood can be related to the dialogic clash between a woman and her society. These three categories are embedded in the existing structural hierarchy of class and race within feminist discourse. In this discourse, the idea or status of ‘victims’ has become a generic idea suggesting a specific ideology incorporated entirely in white feminist and

colonialist discourse. It is also the ideology of colonialism, alongside the victim's response to the treatment which victimizes her and the process of internalizing this treatment, that are the biggest problems connected to the concept of victimhood (Ibrahim 1997:149).

This, however, does not take into account motherhood as an experience. African women writers even emphasize on delinking motherhood and victimhood by telling their personal histories (Nnaemeka 1997:4-6). It is in these personal stories of African women writers in particular, and African literature in general, that the issues in feminism are recast. These issues not only include concepts of victimhood and motherhood, but other issues as well, such as voice, agency, subjectivity, sisterhood, etc. (Nnaemeka 1997:1).

According to Larrier (1997:192), especially African autobiographies aim to set the record straight by documenting history for future generations, a history that previously has been distorted by the West. In these histories gender issues are addressed since women's autobiographies are structured by relationships with family and loved ones. Not surprisingly, not only the role of motherhood appears to be important, but also the love of the grandparents, especially the grandmother, is often perceived and defined as "the depository and matrix of the memory of the family, the social group, and the community" (Ward 1997:114). She, the grandmother, is seen as the archetype of the mother role, who possesses both positive knowledge through her wisdom, and negative knowledge in the form of sorcery (Ward 1997:115).

To return to the emphasis on activism and mobilization linked with motherhood, the South African contexts seems to be an interesting case, since it is a context where historically women have mobilized and organized as mothers (Fester 2010:199). It is from this link between motherhood and political movements and the notion of citizenship that the question of political identity arose for these women. Kaplan even claims that the term motherism stems from the many women's political movements globally at various historical junctures (Fester 2010:200).

Few examples of political movements that speak to motherhood in their campaigns in twentieth century South Africa can be given. A first example is the UWO (United Women's Organisation) campaign against the rise of bread prices, which would stress that women's voices needed to be heard in defence of "our children's health and future" (UWO pamphlet of 1985, cited in Fester 2010:206). Fester argues that this "illustrates how the political (public funding) links to a



personal position (motherhood), which challenges a political situation (government's legitimacy)" (2010:206).

Another example is found within the ANCWL (African National Congress Women's League), where Gertrude Shope, president of the ANCWL in the 90s, stated in a speech that there is a need for women to come together regardless of colour to look at the country's situation and respond to it as women and mothers. By adding mothers at the end of her statement, she assumes that motherhood lies at the core of women's identity, shaping their political choices (Walker 1995:418).

A last example I want to point out here, is that of FSAW (Federation of South African Women), which already existed in the 1950s, and focused on women's domestic role as wife, and more often, mother. This was continually being stressed in their campaigns (Walker 1995:420). Fester (2010:211) agrees with this and adds that common slogans used in organisations like FSAW, and later Rape Crisis and Black Sash, still argued that mothers need to unite for the good of their children and the future of South Africa. However, this is not entirely surprising, since the majority of the members of such organisations considered themselves united by their common motherhood (Fester 2010:204).

Some critics argue that within this framework of political movements the emphasis on motherhood is characterized as a patriarchal manoeuvre to limit and control women. The distinguishing between 'women' and 'mothers' is seen as particularly regressive (Walker 1995:420). However, this again, can be seen as paying too much attention to discourse or to motherhood as an institution and not enough to the versatile and complex meanings mothers themselves attach to their experience. By looking at the work of South African women's writers, we can see how their experiences might shape their identities and political behaviour (Walker 1995:423). Something I want to achieve by analysing autobiographies.

Although the above already gives us some ideas about motherhood and motherism in Africa, still a lot is unknown as is pointed out by Walker. Most striking is the absence of an explicit definition of motherhood, and by extension motherism, in most if not all literature. It appears that motherhood is such a familiar concept, both as an institution and experience, that it does not need a rigorous definition. According to Walker (1995:424) this is problematic for the South African context where women are not only as mothers, but also as workers, citizens, and political activists devalued and subordinated in relation to men. Of course we can assume that these different roles overlap, but a clear demarcation would make it easier to analyse these different roles.

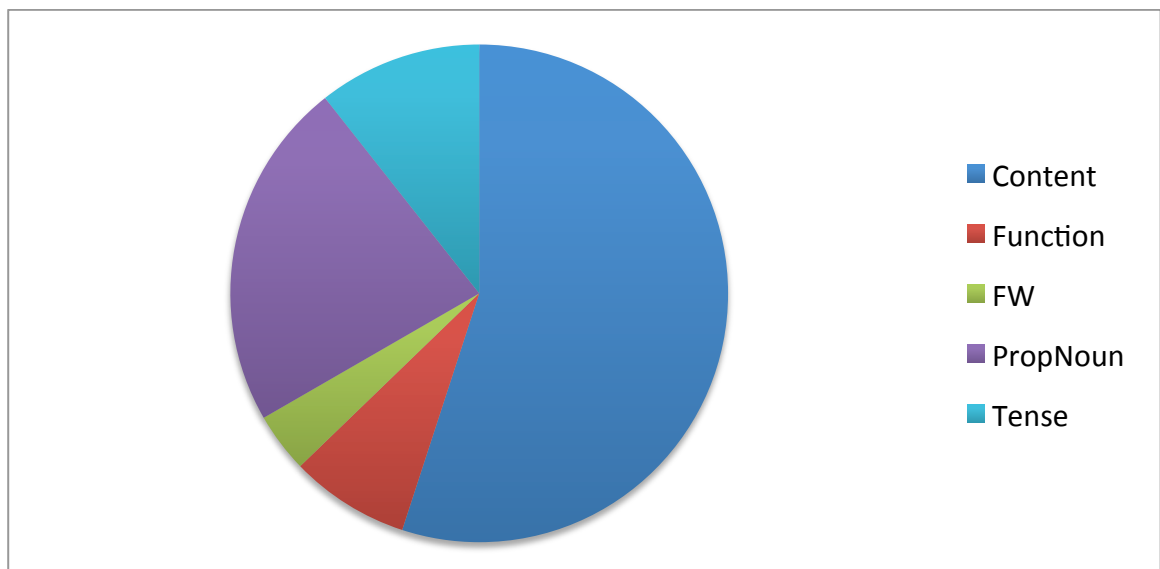
Apparently, there are also some issues found with the theory of motherism. Gouws argues that even though motherism formed a basis for women's solidarity in South Africa:

*Values of nurturing and care being derived from maternal politics have not been incorporated into the new citizenship for women in South Africa. Furthermore, 'motherism' is not enough to sustain a political identity. Through using motherhood as political status, the private sphere is re-inscribed into citizenship. (1999:58)*

Walker (1995:420) even goes a step further by claiming that motherism is not feminism and states that women's rights have to be distinguished from mother's rights, with only the former being the legitimate object of feminism.

### 3.3 Results

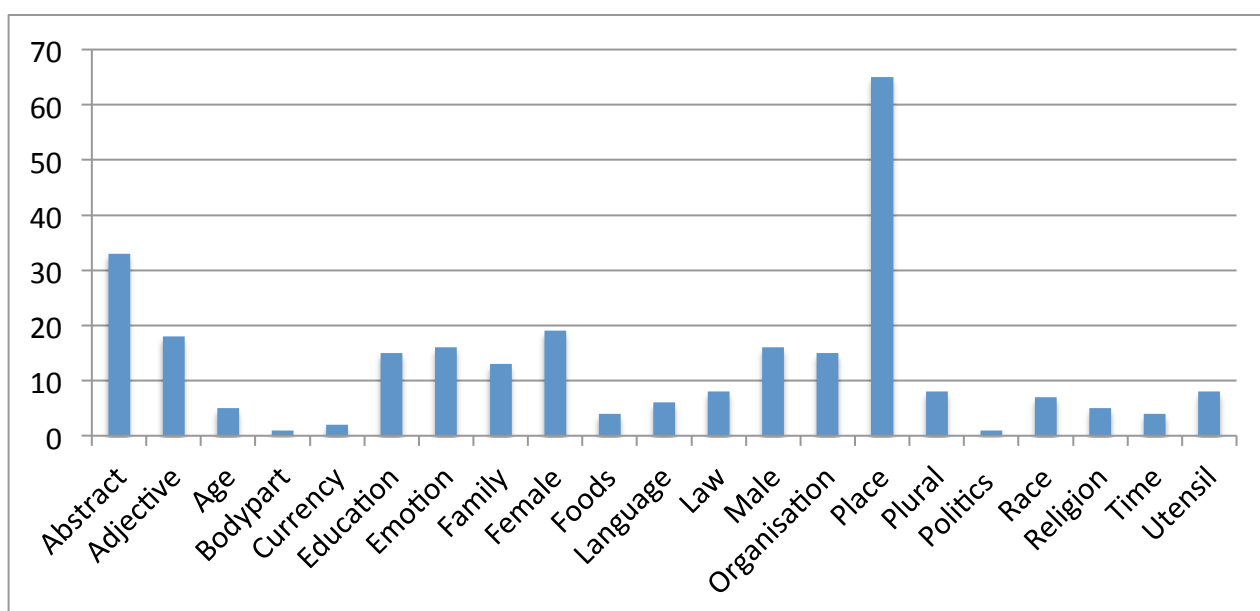
To give the most comprehensive analysis possible of Ellen Kuzwayo's autobiography, and the other autobiographies for that matter, I want to give an overview of all outstanding keywords rather than limiting my results to those keywords related to the different theories for each autobiography, which is motherhood in this case.



**Figure 1: Keyword categories Kuzwayo**

Ellen Kuzwayo's autobiography was the most extensive in keywords, with an absolute maximum (according to the settings of WordSmith Tools) of 500 keywords. These keywords were categorized in different tags, and sub-tags. As already indicated in the chapter 'Methodology', this categorisation was necessary to decide which keywords need to be observed in greater detail.

The different tags for *Call Me Woman* are: content, function, FW (foreign words), PropNoun (proper noun), tense and WSAE (White South African English) (see figure 1). For this purpose only the keywords that are located in the tags content, FW, PropNoun and WSAE will be analysed. The last three tags weren't divided in sub-tags for various reasons. The foreign words and the white South African English group only contained a small number of keywords, so by going through them one by one, a few keywords were selected for further analysis with WordSmith Tools. For the proper nouns, it was impossible at first sight to indicate which proper nouns referred to male names, female names, organisational names or surnames. Therefore, each proper noun was searched for separately in the text.



**Figure 2: Content Subcategories Kuzwayo**

Firstly, the tag 'content' will be analysed, which consisted out of 269 keywords of the total amount of 500. For this tag twenty-one sub-tags were made. These include: abstract, adjective, age, body part, currency, education, emotion, family, female, foods, language, law, male, organisation, place, plural, politics, race, religion, time and utensil (see figure 2). Negligible sub-tags, these count ten keywords, which is an equivalent of four per cent of the total of 269, or less, are: age, body part, currency, foods, language, law, plural, politics, race, religion, time and utensil. After looking at the different keywords in these sub-tags, I have decided not to analyse any of these any further.

The sub-tag 'place' counts sixty-five keywords, and is by far, with 24,16 per cent, the largest sub-tag under the tag 'content'. However, because this sub-tag was

very extensive, it was impossible to look into all these different keywords. Since I've already pointed out in the biography of Ellen Kuzwayo that she studied at different schools, lived with different family members, worked in different places and went abroad for career purposes, this could be the explanation of the high number of keywords in this sub-tag.

When looking at the ratio female – male, it is noticeable that the numbers are quite similar. The sub-tag 'female' counts nineteen keywords, while the sub-tag 'male' counts sixteen keywords. The sub-tag 'female' exists out of the keywords: women, girls, aunt, mother, skokian, mothers, women's, woman, heroines, Ms, sister, sisters, mama, mother's, Mrs, daughters, womanhood, womenfolk and maternal.

Immediately, it is noticeable that there is a cluster of woman and derivatives: women, women's, woman, womanhood, and womenfolk. From the WordSmith Tools results it was very clear that women play an important role in *Call Me Woman*. 'Women' appears no less than 398 times, while 'women's' and 'woman' appear respectively fifty-nine and ninety-six times. Collocates for these keywords show that they are mostly preceded by different ethnicities, with black as the most common ethnicity. Other ethnicities mentioned are African and white. Another remarkable finding is the mentioning of religion, with references to Christianity and church. These seem to occur in the context of women organising themselves. Other words that confirm this are: organisation, organisations and club. Furthermore, the keyword 'women' is in two instances followed by leader, which of course suggests women in leadership positions and the keyword 'woman' occurs in a sentence preceded by the words "politically active". The keywords 'womanhood' and 'womenfolk' appear fewer times, respectively six and five times. Remarkable is that the latter, 'womenfolk', is a specific reference to women living in the villages and rural areas.

In the sub-tag 'female', there are also some words which are related to family members: aunt, mother, mothers, sister, sisters, mama, mother's, daughters, and maternal. In fact, almost half of the keywords in this sub-tag, nine of the nineteen, are family ties. Especially the role of mother seems to be very striking. Collocates of these keywords show that these not only refer to her own mother. The keyword 'mother', for example, occurs 130 times and is only thirteen times preceded by my. Interesting is that one of the concordance lines occurring with the keyword 'mothers', refers to "fulfil their roles as wives and mothers". We must immediately ask ourselves what these particular roles are?

In those same concordance lines it is shown that Kuzwayo refers to mothers who have emerged as heroines and to the Mothers' Union, which is probably an organisation for mothers to organise themselves. The keyword 'mother's' occurs when referring to her aunt (mother's sister) or the declining health of her mother, which eventually led to her death.

'Mama', is clearly a word used to express respect for elder women, as it is mostly followed by different names in the concordance lines. The keywords 'aunt' and 'sister', in contrast, are predominantly references to family members. 'Aunt' refers to her maternal aunts Blanche and Elizabeth, with whom she lived at different stages of her life. 'Sister' is sixteen times preceded by my, but knowing she was the only child born out of her parents marriage, it is clear she has a half sister, which is also confirmed by the patterns. However, 'sister' also refers to nursing sisters. The same result is shown at the collocates of the keywords 'sisters'. Besides nursing, sisters is also preceded by Soweto and Zamani and ten times followed by council.

Other outstanding words are in the sub-tag 'female' are heroines and skokian. The keyword 'heroines' is interesting since it is used in the female form, instead of the male form 'heroes'. Even though it only occurs sixteen times, it is striking that is mostly linked to minors and mothers. 'Skokian' occurs thirteen times and is five times followed by queens and four times by queen, indicating the two are almost always linked together. It is shown in the concordance lines that 'skokian queens' is another name for 'shebeen queens', which are women who illegally sell liquor. However, in those same concordance lines it is shown that Kuzwayo finds these women to be self-proficient and very successful in their business, even if they were generally seen as immoral and undesirable members of the community. 'Skokian' is a reference to the notoriously strong home-brewed liquor. Later, 'skokian queens' was changed to the more 'respectful' title of 'shebeen queen'.

Keywords in the sub-tag 'male' are: son, Dr, father, sons, husband, menfolk, boys, grandfather, husbands, worker, grandfather's, son's, men, father's, policemen and migrant. Just as in the sub-tag 'female', family ties seems to be important. Nine words of the sixteen, which is more than half, are family-related: son, father, sons, husband, grandfather, husbands, grandfather's, son's, father's. It is not surprising that son, sons and son's frequently show up in Ellen Kuzwayo's autobiography, respectively one hundred, fifty and fourteen times, since she has three sons of her own. In the collocates of these keywords it is demonstrated that they are preceded at least half of the times by my and also the clusters for these keywords confirm the emphasis on my son(s). In the concordance lines of 'sons', it is

evidenced that one of the chapters of her autobiography is called “To see my sons grow up”. We already know from the biography that she was forced to abandon her children and flee her emotionally abusive husband, so not surprisingly she lived in fear never to see her children again. However, the concordance also show they eventually reunited. The concordance lines also show one of her sons was banned to Makifeng, probably as a result of political activities in which he was involved.

Her father also seemed to have played an important role in her life, especially after her mother died. Of the 119 times, father is forty-three times preceded by my, but also twenty-six times preceded by step, referring to her stepfather Abel. The concordance lines of the keyword ‘father’s’ prove she had a good relationship with her father and was grateful she could live with him for a while. In contrast to the relationship with the other family members on father’s side, which remained awkward. She never met them before she searched for her father when she was already an adult. In result, she was always treated as a stranger.

Also, the relationship with her stepfather was quite good, since she states that she holds him in high esteem even after his death. However, it is suggested that his marriage with her aunt Blanche changed their relationship. The keywords ‘grandfather’ and ‘grandfather’s’ occur fewer times, respectively twenty and ten times. Reason for this is that her maternal grandfather was only part of her life when she was living at their farm as a child. Interestingly, in the concordance lines it is demonstrated her grandfather, Jeremiah Mokolo, was very active in the political life of his community and was qualified as a teacher, teaching both black and white children in the same classroom.

Since Ellen Kuzwayo has been married two times, it is also no surprise that ‘husband’ shows up as keyword. In regard to her ex-husband, the following can be found in the concordance lines: “the humiliation and insults from my ex-husband” and also “protect me from any abuse by my husband when I went to see my sons, which confirms that her marriage had been emotionally abusive. Her second marriage seems to have been a lot better, as indicated by the following sentence found in the concordance lines: ‘I can never thank my late husband, G.R. enough.’ In those same concordance lines it is also shown that her second husband already had a daughter by his first marriage, which made her a stepmother as well.

The keyword ‘husbands’ has no reference at all to her husbands, but is rather used in the context of women moving from the villages to the city in search for their husbands. The patterns and the concordance lines confirm this. A context of

migrating to sell labour is obvious in following examples: “fathers, sons, brothers, uncles and husbands had left to sell their labour”, “death of their husbands in the mines”, “their husbands appallingly low wages”, women were “bitter and torn by the absence of their husbands”, and “some came in search for their husbands, but never found them”.

In comparison with the sub-tag ‘female’, there are less keywords relating to man and derivatives since only men and menfolk are mentioned as keywords in this sub-tag. The keyword ‘men’ is found ninety-three times, which is a huge difference with the female opponent ‘women’ with a occurrence of 398 times. Similar to the female opponent, ‘men’ is preceded by references to ethnicity. It also occurs fifteen times in a cluster with women. ‘Menfolk’ only appears ten times and is in half of these instances preceded by their. In the patterns “side by side with their menfolk” is found. In the concordance lines it is shown that women and men must unite in the struggle, but unclear which struggle this is. Most likely it is a reference to an anti-apartheid struggle, since there is also a concordance line which goes as follows: “they work together and with their menfolk on issues of national importance”. Another interesting sentence in the concordance lines is: “a new kind of equality with their menfolk, at work, at home”, which could refer to gender equality.

There are also a few keywords in the sub-tag ‘male’ that are work-related, such as the title Dr, worker, policemen, and in a sense migrant. The latter one can be assumed work-related, since most migrants in South Africa are migrating from the rural areas to the city to work in the mining industry and on farms. These work-related references cannot be found in the sub-tag ‘female’. I will not discuss all results, but I do want to highlight the keyword ‘Dr’, since it appears I misplaced this keyword in the sub-tag ‘male’. It appears that, according to the concordance lines, Ellen Kuzwayo has included lists at the end of her autobiography. One of these, is a list of “South African Black Women Medical Doctors Qualified from 1947 until 1981”. The other is a list with “African Black Women Lawyers”. It seems I was prejudiced myself by assuming Dr is always a reference to a male doctor. When looking at those concordance lines that are part of the autobiography itself, and not the list, thirty of the ninety-eight instances remain. Eighteen concordance lines refer to a male doctor, and nine to a female doctor. The other concordance lines cannot be specified. We can assume, that in her life she had more encounters with male doctors than with female ones. Perhaps, including such lists is her way of raising awareness.

As already been demonstrated in the sub-tags 'female' and 'male', family ties seem to be very important. This shows as well in the sub-tag 'family', where following keywords occur: home, family, homestead, children, families, neighbourhood, marriage, parents, birth, household, divorce, grandparents, and cousins. The importance of family life is also reflected in the high numbers for the keywords 'home' and 'family', respectively 266 times and 193 times. The clusters for the keyword 'home' show: "my home", "a home of my own", and "my new home", indicating a longing for a safe place.

Interesting as well in the sub-tag 'family', is that both marriage and divorce show up, as one unites two families and the other separates two families. 'Marriage' occurs forty-seven times, but the concordance lines demonstrate a marriage is not always happy with the sentence: "the tyranny of a bad marriage", which probably refers to her first marriage. She also points out her first marriage started to fall apart after a miscarriage. In contrast, the keyword 'divorce' occurs fewer times, seventeen times to be precise. The concordance lines show that she refers a few times to her own divorce and the divorce of her parents. With reference to the latter she describes how she suffered and felt a victim of her parents' divorce. However, she also points out divorce rates in Soweto, divorce courts and unsettling divorce proceedings, suggesting a need for change.

The keyword 'children' also occurs quite a lot with 161 times. She refers to her own children by using my, but also to ethnicity by using black and white. Education also seems to be important since the patterns show "school children". When looking at the keyword 'parents', it also demonstrates some interesting concordance lines. For example it is highlighted that black parents suffered and that they had no financial means to leave their children with a babysit when they had to go to work, so they had to leave their children home and hoped for the best. It is also suggested that parents preferred to educate boys, instead of girls.

With fifteen keywords, the sub-tag 'education' is prominent as well. Words in this sub-tag are: detention, school, university, students, college, education, teacher, seminary, classmates, teachers, headmaster, teaching, detentions, schoolwork and teachings. The prominence of 'education' as sub-tag could be explained by the fact she was trained as a teacher herself and perhaps also by the influence of Bantu Education on African schooling. The keywords 'detention' and 'detentions' seem to have been miscategorised, since all concordance lines refer to detention(s) in jail, rather than detention(s) in school. Those same concordance lines also demonstrate that Ellen Kuzwayo herself has been in jail under detention, and that many being detained didn't survive these detentions with the



most prominent example being Steve Biko. It is also suggested that a lot of women and even young girls were placed in detention under various “sections”.

The significance of education is also demonstrated in the high numbers of the keywords ‘school’ and ‘university’, which respectively occur 198 times and 106 times. Many of the concordance lines that occur with ‘school’ are references to her work as a teacher, but also to the Jan Hofmeyr School where she studied to become a social worker. The high number of the keyword ‘university’ is derived from the lists of black women medical doctors and lawyers at the end of the autobiography, as Ellen Kuzwayo lists where these women studied. However, it is also indicated her son studied at a university where he and other blacks suffered and were intimidated.

The keyword ‘education’ itself occurs ninety-eight times and is ten times preceded by Bantu, two times by black and five times by native, which probably all refer to Bantu education. The concordance lines show that Bantu Education was hated, resulting in protests, boycotts, marches, etc. ‘Education’ is also five times preceded by sex, suggesting it was needed to educate teenagers about sex.

With regard to the keywords ‘teacher’, ‘teachers’, and ‘teaching’, most of the instances refer to herself being a teacher and differences and/or similarities between black and white teachers, and, to a lesser extent, male and female teachers. When looking at the keyword ‘teachings’, other results are found. It is preceded three times by Christian and once by modern, which appears to contradict each other. However, in the concordance lines it is shown that Christian and modern are used together and aren’t necessarily opponents. There are also some instances referring to teachings she received from her mother, which suggests her mother was a role model to her.

The sub-tag ‘emotion’ counts sixteen keywords. These are: joy, courage, helpless, feelings, hunger, trust, frustration, excitement, sufferings, anger, concern, vain, disgust, bitterness, shock, and humiliation. A clear distinction can be made between, on the one hand, rather positive feelings such as joy, courage, trust, and excitement, and negative feelings on the other, such as helpless, hunger, frustration, sufferings, anger, concern, vain, disgust, bitterness, shock, and humiliation. There are at least twice as many negative feelings than positive, eleven versus four. This raises questions about the living conditions of black women. However, it is impossible to look into all these different emotions, therefore they won’t be analysed any further.

A last prominent sub-tag is 'organisation'. This includes fifteen keywords, being: YWCA, community, communities, members, association, NCAW, office, organisation, foundation, leadership, organisations, SASO, programme, NEAD, and UCM. Firstly, I want to give a list of the abbreviations and what they stand for.

- YWCA = Young Women's Christian Association
- NCAW = National Council of African Women
- SASO = South African Students Organisation
- NEAD = Non-European Affairs Department
- UCM = University Christian Movement

Most of these organisations only occur a few times, with a minimum occurrence of three times and a maximum of five times. The only exception is YCWA, which occurs fifty-six times. It is suggested in the concordance lines, and in the biography, Ellen herself was a member of this organisation, which explains why it is prominent as a keyword. The keyword 'leadership' occurs twenty-seven times, with women to be found four times in L3-position (the third word to the left of the keyword). The concordance lines show some instances of women in leadership roles, for example Minah Soga.

For the last two sub-tags 'adjective', and 'abstract', only a few keywords are selected according to their importance for gender-related themes. For the sub-tag 'adjective', I have selected three keywords out of the eighteen, being: rural, urban and racial. For the sub-tag 'abstract', nine keywords out of the thirty-three were selected. These are: struggle, journey, achievements, duties, belongings, strength, chores, roles and dispossession.

Of the selected keywords in the sub-tag 'adjective', 'rural' seemed to be the most interesting, since women appeared in the collocates, but men did not. This suggests that women are more seen in this context, as they were the ones that stayed behind in the villages, while their husbands migrated to the cities to work in the mines. However, in the concordance lines it is demonstrated that women did not want to stay in the rural areas without their husbands and started migrating to the cities as well. When they did stay in the rural areas the changes that came with the migration of their menfolk "fell on the shoulder of the women in the rural communities". Another outstanding concordance line is one referring to "traditional rural mothers in dress". We could ask ourselves why Ellen Kuzwayo refers to mothers instead of women? Is it used as a sign of respect? Both the keywords 'urban' and 'racial' show up in context of racial segregation and the struggles that came with it.

These racial struggles are also shown in some of the keywords in the sub-tag 'abstract'. Especially with the keyword 'struggle', where she refers to "endless struggle", "fruitless struggle", "long struggle", "their struggle to survival", "unending struggle against these callous laws", etc. All these negative contexts give little hope for a better future. With the keyword 'achievements', 'women' is found three times in R3-position (third word to the right of the keyword). When looking at the concordance lines referring to women it is demonstrated that Ellen Kuzwayo highlights the achievements of black women: "the educational achievements of those women", "remarkable achievements of black women", "the achievements of black women today". Including lists of black women medical doctors and lawyers at the end of her autobiography also propagates this belief. The keyword 'strength' is found thirty-three times and is eleven times preceded by our, suggesting some kind of solidarity or togetherness. Courage is found two times in L2-position (second word to the left of the keyword) and two times in R2-position (second word to the right of the keyword), suggesting that both, courage and strength, accompanies each other. This is also suggested in the clusters by "finding our strength".

After analysing the tag 'content', it is time to return to the tags 'FW' (foreign words), 'WSAE' (white South African English) and 'PropNoun' (proper noun). There are only nineteen keywords found in the tag 'foreign words' and by looking each one up in the text or in a dictionary<sup>3</sup>, seven keywords remained for further analysis. These are: *lebollo*, *nkosi*, *mma*, *lobola*, *basadi*, *kwashiorkor* and *khu*.

*Lebollo* is the traditional school of circumcision or initiation, for boys as well as girls among the Basotho. As a keyword it only occurs eight times. In the concordance lines it is only referred to as a practice among girls, something they have to accept as part of their lives. However, it is also indicated that educated Christian people do not agree with this practice. Knowing that Ellen Kuzwayo was born into a wealthy, Christian family we can assume she never underwent *lebollo*.

*Nkosi* is a title meaning 'king', similar to the titles *kgosi* and *morena*. However, with the arrival of the white men in South Africa, these titles were reduced to *Chief*, a rather offensive title for these 'kings'. *Nkosi* occurs eight times as well and is mostly found in a cluster "*Nkosi sikelel'i Afrika*", which is a proverb meaning "God bless Africa".

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<sup>3</sup> I used the website <https://glosbe.com/>, since it is a multi-lingual dictionary that has many languages incorporated

*Mma* translates both as ‘mother’, as well as ‘madam’ according to a Setswana dictionary<sup>4</sup>. It occurs seven times in *Call Me Woman* and is both used as a formal way for addressing a woman, and to refer to a mother. According to the concordance lines it is the word her son cried out after seeing her for the first times in years.

*Lobola* translates as bride wealth and is used in a few languages such as Zulu, Swazi, Xhosa and northern and southern Ndebele. It is shown in the concordance lines that another name for this practice is *bogadi* and is mostly given in the form of cattle. It is also shown to be receiving ridicule and spite from other race groups. Used as a way to bond two families together, “nobody carried the responsibility of paying lobola as an individual”, it is now denigrated into a commercial transaction.

*Basadi* is the Tswana word for women and occurs three times. In Kuzwayo’s autobiography it is always used in a pattern: “*a re godiseng chelate basadi*”, which translates as “Let us invest money, women”. The concordance lines indicate that it is also the name of a study group or organisation.

*Kwashiorkor* is a type of social disease linked to poverty; more specifically it is a malnutrition disease, which affects mostly children. It occurs three times and the concordance lines confirm it is a malnutrition disease, which mostly occurs along with other diseases.

*Khu* is an expression; something that is shouted out by women to warn one another of the arrival of the police, especially among women who run illegal beer practices. It is only used once in *Call Me Woman* when she refers to a memory of women warning each other for the police by shouting out “*khu khu khu*”.

The tag ‘white South African English’ counts the least keywords. Only nine keywords are found, which is an equivalent of 1,81 per cent. However, some of these keywords can be quite interesting for the purpose of this research. Four words are selected: *shebeen*, *kaffir*, *shebeens* and *boer*.

A *shebeen*, the plural *shebeens*, is an illicit ‘bar’ where alcoholic beverages were sold without a license. In South Africa these were mostly located in the townships and operated by women. These women also brewed the alcoholic beverages themselves. ‘*Shebeen*’ occurs eight times and is used in a pattern with queen and queens, which of course is a female addressing. ‘*Shebeens*’ is found three times and strangely collocates with children. However, looking at the concordance lines, it is clear that *shebeens* are something people want to protect their children from.

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<sup>4</sup> <https://glosbe.com/tn/en/mma>

Parents want to protect their children from ending up running *shebeens*, suggesting this profession is considered to be an inferior occupation. Those same concordance lines also show that men frequently spent their hard earned money in those illicit bars.

*Kaffir* is an Afrikaans expression for a black person. It is found four times and is clearly an epithet. It is used as a derogatory name in both “kaffir beer” and “put the kaffir in his place”. The latter insinuates that a black person should take in a submissive position towards a white person.

*Boer* can be translated as farmer, but is also an indication for an Afrikaner, or white person. In the concordance lines, it is shown to be used only as an equivalent of Afrikaner in this autobiography. It is linked to power, rule and hate. In the concordance lines it is indicated that the Boer hated the blacks and treated them accordingly. However, the Boer was preferred over the hypocritical English people.

After the tag ‘content’, which counts 269 words, the tag ‘proper noun’ counts the most keywords with 111 words. This is equivalent of 22,33 per cent. Almost half of these words turned out to be surnames. It is accustomed in South Africa that when a woman marries a man, she takes over his surname. However, in her autobiography, Ellen Kuzwayo often mentions the woman’s maiden name as well. A few keywords, more specifically eight, were references to names of colleges, seminars, hospitals, etc. The others could be divided in female names and male names. I do not intend to examine these names in greater detail, but I do think it is quite interesting to mention that thirty-six of these names were female names, and only fourteen turned out to be male names. This indicates that Ellen Kuzwayo mainly speaks of fellow women who have had an impact on her life.

## 4. “To My Children’s Children” and “Forced to Grow” by Sindiwe Magona

### 4.1 Short biography<sup>5</sup>

Sindiwe Magona was born in the village of Gungululu in rural Eastern Cape, formerly known as Transkei, on 27 August 1943. This was before the end of the Second World War, when South Africa was still a British colony. Therefore, she was a South African citizen at birth. She was the second of eight children, of whom seven survived to adulthood. She was the eldest of five daughters. It is custom among the amaXhosa for the eldest child or the elder children of a marriage to live with one or the other set of grandparents. Thus, she grew up at the farm of her maternal grandparents.

At the age of five, she moved with her parents to Cape Town. In primary school, she received the Catholic name Cynthia. Having completed three years of high school, and even going to boarding school, she began training as a primary school teacher at St. Matthew’s Teacher Training College in 1960. At that time, such a course still existed for Africans only. It was during her training to become a teacher she met Luthando, the father of her children. By 1962, she completed the training and was working as a teacher. Shortly after starting her first teaching job, Sindiwe discovered she was pregnant with her first child. This brought some problems, since she was still not married to Luthando at the time. With some pressure of her family a *lobola* (bride wealth) price was set, which Luthando could pay off at a later time. Something he never did. Thembeka was born in January of 1963. The Department of Bantu Education was very strict and did not recognize traditional alliances. Therefore, she was not married in their eyes and punished by unemployment as a teacher for at least two years.

Being without a job for a while, she had no choice but to work as a domestic servant, which she did for four years. During those years she gave birth to two more children, Thokozile and Sandile. By the age of 23, she already had three children. When she was pregnant of the youngest, Sandile, she lost her job as a domestic servant by the hands of her husband Luthando. Furthermore, he left her shortly afterwards and never supported her or their children financially. No longer able to work in domestic service, she hit rock bottom. She first tried to sell *dagga*, marijuana. However, this brought to many risks with it, so she turned to cleaning and selling sheep heads, which is considered to be a delicacy.

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<sup>5</sup> This section is based on information found at the websites of [www.sahistory.org.za](http://www.sahistory.org.za) and [www.kwela.com](http://www.kwela.com) and on both her autobiographies *To My Children’s Children* and *Forced To Grow*

After those horrible years, Sindiwe climbed her way up. With the help of a friend, she started working as a teacher again and earned her secondary and undergraduate education by correspondence. In 1981, she even won a scholarship to study for a Master's Degree in Social Work at Columbia University in the United States of America. This meant she had to leave her children behind in South Africa at a time when Bantu Education was under fire and most schools were closed. However, she carried on, knowing her children would also benefit from her education.

On completion of her Master's Degree, she successfully applied for a position at the United Nations. Until 1994, she presented UN radio programmes about the UN's role in ending Apartheid. She then worked at the UN's Public Information Department until 2003, the year she retired and returned to Cape Town. But even after her retirement, she continues to write literary works, initiate writer's conferences, lead women's rights advocacy groups and write children's educational books.

Sindiwe Magona remains an accomplished motivational speaker, author, poet, playwright and storyteller in South Africa. She can be described as a prolific author after publishing nine books, among them her life story that she wrote in two parts. This resulted in two separate works. *To My Children's Children* is the first part and was published in 1990. It focuses on the first years of her life and narrates the hard life she lived until she hit rock bottom. The second part, *Forced to Grow*, was published a few years later, in the post-apartheid era, and focuses on her 're-birth'. It tells the story of how her life changed for the better. It is immediately clear that *Forced to Grow* is much more positive than *To My Children's Children*.

Sindiwe Magona is also recognised for her work in women's issues, the plight of children and the fight against apartheid and racism. She is the founder and Executive Director of South Africa 2033 and was one of the founding members of the Women's Peace Movement in 1976.

#### 4.2 Sisterhood in Feminist Theory

In this section the theme of sisterhood within feminist theory is explored. Firstly, its historical and cultural roots are given, followed by an overview of its key objectives with specific attention to politics and interracial friendships. Afterwards, the conditions that are needed for sisterhood to succeed are displayed. Audre Lorde's theory of difference plays an important role in this. The notion of

sisterhood within feminist theory seems to be accompanied with some big issues. The most relevant ones are given at the end of this section.

The term sisterhood in itself is a kinship term, suggesting family ties, unconditional love and loyalty. It has a much more established history within black cultures than within white society (Oyěwùmí 2003:5; Monteith 2000:5). In the United States especially, slavery can be seen as the beginning of the use of 'sister' and 'brother' among blacks as a way to connect with the continent, and family, they left behind (Oyěwùmí 2003:8). The term 'sisterhood', on the other hand, dates back to the African-American Civil Rights Movement, that is situated from 1954 until 1968, and the second-wave feminism of the 60s and 70s. Sisterhood was predominantly used by white activists, who learned to call both black and white women their sisters (Monteith 2000:5). The feminist movement sought to forge solidarity through symbols of commonality, oppression, and sisterhood (Oyěwùmí 2005:51-52).

Furthermore, within women's movements all over the United States, sisterhood has become a powerful emotional bond. It brings warmth and affinity into the political lives, which is normally reserved to the private sphere. It is no surprise sisterhood was used in these movements, since the word sisterhood "pretends a homogeneity of experience that is difficult to prove or to imagine" (Monteith 2000:36). The need for unity that is required in particular movements is often equal to the need for homogeneity (Monteith 2000:36-37). However, this only captures the historical roots of sisterhood. Culturally seen, sisterhood developed as a necessary means for women to escape male control through gender exclusivity and symbolized this by common victimhood and shared oppression (Oyěwùmí 2003:8). In conclusion, it appears that most theories have in common that sisterhood is linked with women's activism and has shared oppression, common victimization, community interests and political activism as key elements (Oyěwùmí 2003:3-4).

Even though, sisterhood originated from a specific culture of women's activism in the United States, its intended application is trans-global and this belief became a political matter. Race appeared to be the first border to cross before sisterhood was able to go global (Oyěwùmí 2003:5-6; Oyěwùmí 2005:51-52). Not surprisingly sisterhood is often linked with, or even used as a synonym for interracial friendships. In many writings and representations of interracial friendship, the point of departure is social consciousness (Monteith 2000:2). These interracial friendships "work microhistorically to expose the context in which



friendship may be seen as transgressive, trespassing the borders of what is socially expected or countenanced” (Monteith 2000:2-3).

If friends share the same backgrounds, they will be more reluctant to challenge each other to obtain radical transformation (Monteith 2000:5). However, when two friends do not share the same backgrounds, which is usually the case when stemming from different ethnicities, stories will be shared that orders them to think differently and place their own experiences into new perspectives. Sisterhood is not a mere abstraction that all women can claim on the premise of commonality of sex. It can only flourish through hard work (Oyěwùmí 2005:62-64). Building a sisterly relation is not an easy task and can't be achieved automatically (Oyěwùmí 2003:258). “True sisterhood is a political act, a commonality rooted in knowledge, understanding, and mutual respect” (Oyěwùmí 2005:64) and is, consequently, a lifetime process of commitment.

The sharing of stories among women is also what Audre Lorde highlights as the importance of difference. We have to let women voice their experiences in order to bridge the differences between women of different races (Lorde 1984:40-44). According to her we have to “pay attention to those voices we have been taught to distrust, that we articulate what they teach us, that we act upon what we know” (Lorde 1984:11). Only when we learn to recognize the notion of difference as enriching our lives rather than threatening to the self, we are able to transcend racism and sexism (Lorde 1984:45).

However, sisterhood has some limitations. We have to ask ourselves if it really includes every woman equally (Oyěwùmí 2003:3). Especially when we use the term interracial friendship over sisterhood. Friendship is not an institutional relationship with rules particularizing what the duties and rights of friends are. Of course, there are expectations between friends, but is this enough (Oyěwùmí 2003:17-18)? We all know the saying “blood is thicker than water”. If we are unequal “sisters”, we firstly have to address that inequality before we can presume sisterhood will survive (Oyěwùmí 2003:265).

This inequality within sisterhood is also addressed by Monteith (2000:21-26), who states that many scholars are tempted to only focus on the symmetry in black and white women's lives and completely ignore the differences. Of course, this is imbedded in the word sisterhood itself that pretends a homogeneity of experience, as already stated above. Mtintso (2003:569) calls this “false sisterhood”, as women are no homogenous group.

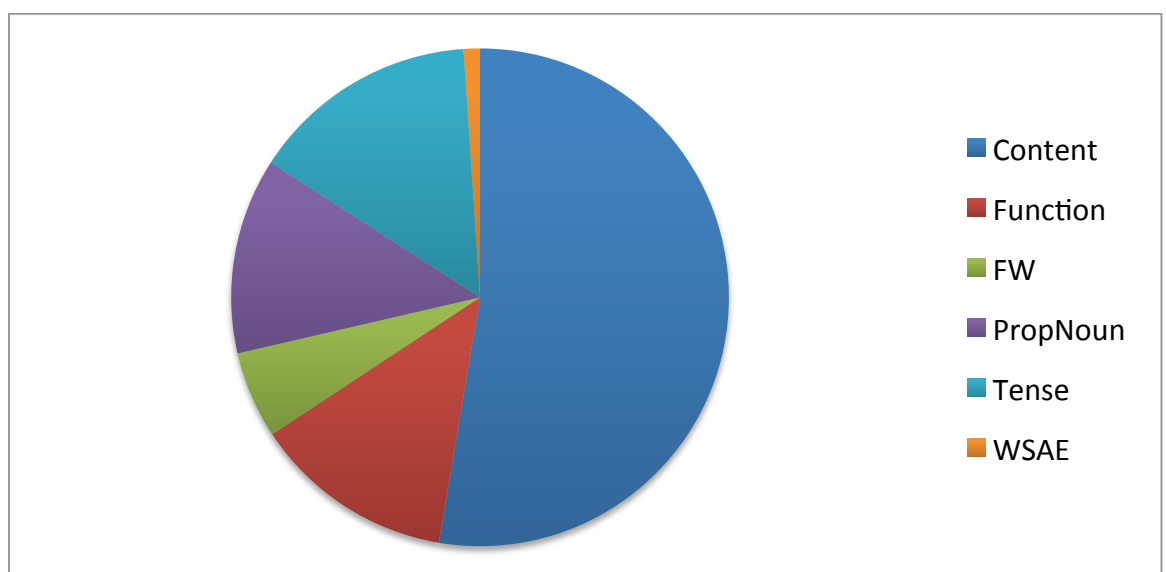
Mtintso argues that the generalization that women are equal and all have been dominated by men is nonsense, since women “cannot be subsumed into a unique and singular category called “woman”, nor can there be universal interests that all women represent all the time” (2003:572). Nonetheless, we have to recognize that South Africa is a male-dominated society and there is a need for representation of women in all decision-making spheres (Mtintso 2003:570).

The fundamental problem in all this is that patriarchy intersects with other forms of oppression and discrimination. We need to focus on more than just the gender-aspect, and include class and race into the discussion as well (Mtintso 2003:571). For example, white people in South Africa had access to resources and therefore tend to be relatively rich, while black people were denied this access and continue to be poor (Mtintso 2003:572). This makes it difficult to understand that sisterhood can cross racial boundaries (Mtintso 2003:573).

Mtintso (2003:574-575) further adds that sometimes sisterhood is falsely considered to be stronger than political party interests. It is true that the most difficult task to tackle the male-dominated society is to construct a unity between women, but she does not think that the concept of sisterhood is the answer to this problem. She rather proposes that gender activism from all angles should be strong and work together with Parliament, and by extent with political parties. There should be no dichotomy between the two, but rather they should be seen as “interdependent and complementing each other” (Mtintso 2003:577).

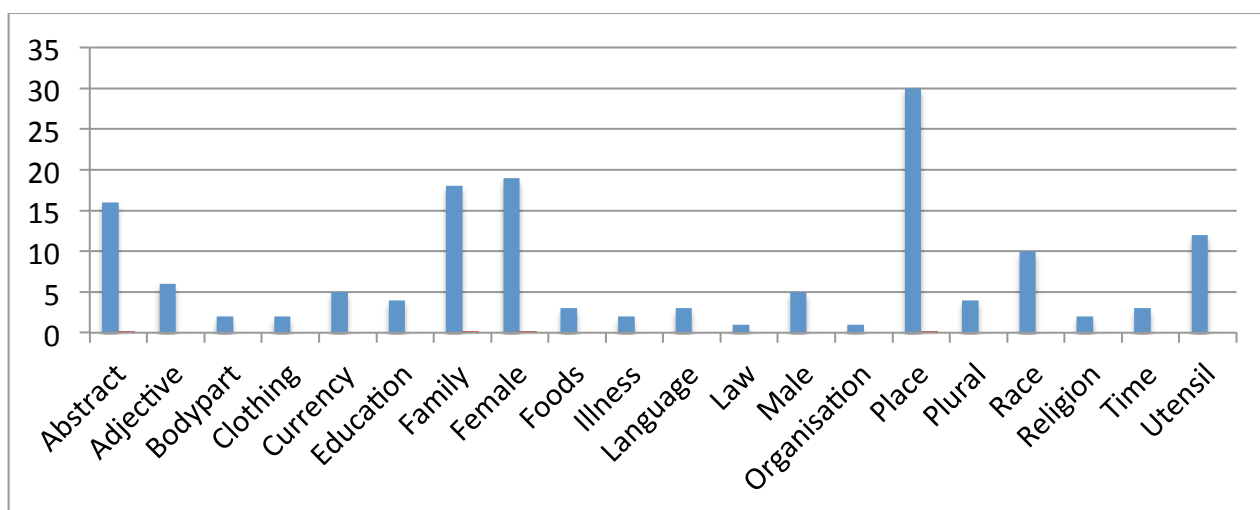
#### 4.3 Results

##### 4.3.1 To My Children’s Children



**Figure 3: Keyword categories Magona 1**

*To My Children's Children* is a relatively small work and existed out of 286 keywords. These keywords were divided into different tags and sub-tags. The tags are exactly the same as those defined in Ellen Kuzwayo's *Call Me Woman*. These are: content, function, FW (foreign words), PropNoun (proper noun), tense and WSAE (white South African English) (see figure 3). For this purpose only the keywords situated in the tags 'content', 'FW' and 'PropNoun' will be analysed. The last two tags weren't divided into sub-tags for reasons similar to those in the analysis of *Call Me Woman*. The tag 'foreign words' was so small, it was sufficient enough to go through every keyword separately and decide which ones needed further analysis. The proper nouns, on the other hand, were searched for in the text to indicate which proper nouns referred to male names, female names, organisational names or surnames. It may be noticeable that the tag 'white South African English' is not taken into consideration, in contrast to the work of Ellen Kuzwayo. Reason for this, is that there were only three words categorised as white South African English: *mealies*, *mealie* and *rondavels*. I have reason to believe that these keywords will not contribute to the research domain.



**Figure 4: Content Subcategories Magona 1**

The tag 'content' counts 149 keywords and was divided into twenty sub-tags. These are: abstract, adjective, body part, clothing, currency, education, family, female, foods, illness, language, law, male, organisation, place, plural, race, religion, time and utensil (see figure 4). In contrast to the different tags, there is no complete overlap with the sub-tags of *Call Me Woman*. This, of course, is to be expected, since every autobiography has its uniqueness and highlights different subjects. However, the most prominent ones seem to be similar, such as 'female', 'male', 'family', and 'education'. Again, some sub-tags are negligible, but since this work consists out of far less keywords, the

parameters were lowered to those sub-tags that existed out of five keywords or less. This is equivalent to four per cent of the total keywords in the tag 'content'. The negligible keywords are: body part, clothing, currency, education, foods, illness, language, law, male, organisation, plural, religion and time. Nonetheless, some of these will be taken into consideration. The sub-tag 'male' for example, will be analysed in order to compare it to the findings of the sub-tag 'female'. Also, the sub-tags 'education' and 'foods' seem to have some interesting keywords.

The sub-tag 'place' is by far the most extensive one with thirty keywords. This equates to no less than 20,27 per cent. Similar to Ellen Kuzwayo's experience Sindiwe Magona moved a lot throughout her life, went to different schools and even studied abroad, as is shown in the section 'biography'. Therefore, it is no surprise a lot of places show up as keywords. However, again, because of the extensiveness, no keyword in this sub-tag will be analysed any further.

When looking at the ratio female – male, a great difference is noticeable. The sub-tag 'female' counts almost fourfold of what is found in the sub-tag 'male'. In hard numbers this makes nineteen keywords versus five keywords. Reason for this is uncertain. In the sub-tag 'female', following keywords can be found: mother, medem, maid, aunt, madams, madam, m'em, maids, mama, woman, grandmother, me'm, mother's, women, medems, girl, girls, maid's, and womanhood.

The first thing that stands out is that almost half of these words are work-related. Moreover, they can be located in the domain of domestic service. A clear hierarchy is noticeable with 'madam' and all its derivatives on the one hand, and 'maid' on the other hand. When looking at the WordSmith Tools results, it is immediately clear this hierarchy is based on racial differences. Madams are always white, while maids are always black. It is also clear from the concordance lines that these madams felt superior to their maids. For example, the concordance lines of the keyword 'madam' show that some of these madams had the need to show their superiority by madam-ing themselves. Also, the collocates of the keyword 'medem' show that maids had to answer their madams accordingly: "yes, medem". It is suggested in the concordance lines of the keyword 'madams' that "madams play games and are infallible" and that they are "stingy and insult their maids". Furthermore, madams didn't trust their maids, as they thought that maids steal foods and drinks. They took precautions by letting their maids live in a small building behind the house, not allowing them to eat their meals in the same house.

Making the smallest mistake could lead to dismissal, and since the contract between a madam and her maid is a verbal one, the latter could not do anything about it. The results of the keywords 'maid', 'maids', and 'maid's' confirm this.

In the sub-tag 'female', also some family ties are found: mother, aunt, mama, mother's, and grandmother. The keyword 'mother' occurs 110 times, but is only fifteen times preceded by my. However, the keyword 'mama' which occurs thirteen times, almost always refers to her own mother, indicating she most likely called her mother mama most of the times. The concordance lines even show her mother called her own mother and mother-in-law mama as well. It is demonstrated in the concordance lines of the keyword 'mother's', she looked up to her mother, whom she thinks is generous and had great respect.

Returning to the keyword 'mother', it is also a few times preceded by working, suggesting some mothers have no option to stay home and take care of the children. Her own situation is an example of this: "in my body beat the heart of a mother whose own were left untended". The keywords 'aunt' and 'grandmother' are references to her own relatives, specifically her aunts Leginah and Dathini, her grandmothers MaMkwayi and MaXolo, whom she called Makhulu, and her great-grandmother Nophuthukezi.

Interestingly though, among these family ties in the sub-tag 'female', sister(s) is nowhere to be found. However, I did an additional search for these words using the Concord Tool. 'Sister' is found fifteen times and in two of the instances there is a reference to unrelated sisters: "My sister, 'we' are moving", and "You know, my sister, you have time to waste." The plural 'sister' is found nine times, and here as well three instances refer to unrelated sisters: "wield over their darker sisters", "veteran domestic servant, says 'My sisters, that old stingy so-and-so..." and "So I take the rags, my sisters, let her wrap them and..." All these instances refer to some kind of unity between women.

'Woman', 'women' and 'womanhood' are the only references to the general notion of the female subject, but are quite extensive. 'Woman' and 'women' occur respectively fifty-four and sixty-three times. Both are often preceded by a reference to ethnicity, such as African, white and black. However, there are also some references to specific clans, such as the Gxarha clan, Zizi clan and MamTolo clan. The latter is also her family's clan. By referring to these different clans, we can assume that these traditional divisions still play an important role in her life. The concordance lines for the keyword 'women' are quite revealing. It demonstrates that (black) South African women suffer and

are not only undermined by white women, but also by their men. On the one hand, white women are cruel, do not know what they want and exploit their maids, while on the other hand, women have a lower status than men. However, when their men left to work in the mines, women had to run the households by themselves. It is also shown that black women were prejudiced about white women. They believed that *abelungu* women (white women) all play games on their husbands.

The keyword 'womanhood' only occurs five times, but is also quite disclosing. It is suggested from the concordance lines that there are some ideals for women to behave. Sindiwe Magona claims she attained womanhood by taking a lover, as she wanted to affirm, protect and enhance her womanhood and guarantee her fertility.

Following keywords are found in the sub-tag 'male': father, husband, father's, witchdoctor, and brother. Almost all, except witchdoctor, are references to family ties. This is quite different from the sub-tag 'female'. It is especially remarkable that 'sister' as a keyword was nowhere to be found in the sub-tag 'female', but 'brother' does show up in the sub-tag 'male'. However, when looking at the results for the keyword 'brother', it is demonstrated that a lot of these instances refer to her older brother, Jongilizwe. There are no instances referring to some kind of brotherhood between men.

The keywords 'father' and 'husband' are quite extensive, with respectively an occurrence of one hundred times and sixty-five times. Most of the instances are references to her relationship with her father and her husband. The relationship with her father was good, although he did beat her when she did something wrong. It is suggested this was still socially acceptable at that time. The relationship with her husband was more troubled. Especially because he left her when she was pregnant with their third child. He told her he would return, but never did and he never supported his wife or children in any way as is proven by the concordance lines. The keyword 'father's' occurs thirty-four times and mostly refers to paternal family members. The keyword is followed three times by side, one time by child and one time by father.

'Witchdoctor' is also a very fascinating keyword. Not only can it be considered a profession, but it is also rooted in a traditional sphere, which stands in sharp contrast with the profession of maid, which originated in the modernity of the urban cities. As a keyword it occurs six times in *To My Children's Children*. The concordance lines show another name for witchdoctor is *Igqirha* and can be both a male and a female profession. Witchdoctors work very traditional

and natural with herbs, charms and incisions. Her parents also consulted a witchdoctor at times to remove bad energies, which stands in sharp contrast with their Christian belief.

'Family' is another prominent sub-tag with eighteen keywords. Keywords herein are: children, children's, child, home, parents, neighbors, family, neighbor, baby, servant, childhood, servants, relatives, clan, siblings, pregnant, families and birth. I have decided to put the keywords 'servant' and 'servants' in the sub-tag 'family', since it is not clear whether these refer to women or men and presumably refer to both. Also, most servants have a sleep-in job and are in that sense part of the family, even though they are badly treated and have to take in an inferior position. Furthermore, they are the ones that keep the household running and, in the case of maids, raise the children. The keywords 'servant' and 'servants' occur respectively twenty-three and twenty times. In most cases, they are preceded by domestic, which refers to a maid. The concordance lines of these keywords once again show the life of a domestic servant wasn't easy. Servants had to be submissive, their madams believed they had no brains and they were not paid enough. It is also suggested these women had their own quarters, behind the house, where they had to sleep.

A lot of the keywords in the sub-tag 'family' refer to infants, such as children, children's, child, baby, and childhood. The keyword 'children' is by far the most extensive one, with an occurrence of 245 times. This is followed by the keyword 'children's', which occurs ninety-five times. This is no coincidence, since the autobiography's title is *To My Children's Children*. The patterns and clusters of both keywords confirm this. However, there is one outstanding concordance line I want to point out here. Apparently children's names are very important in African society, since adults are addressed by their children's names.

The keyword 'child' also often occurs with eighty-six times. Eleven of these instances refer to her own children and four of these instances refer to her brother's child, but there are also some references to ethnicity, such as "African child" and "white child". The clusters of this keyword also show "as a child", which suggests some of the keywords refer to her memories being a child. These memories are also apparent at the concordance lines of the keyword 'childhood', since half of these instances refer to "my childhood".

'Baby' occurs forty-three times and is used in different contexts. Overall these are quite positive instances, such as "the magic of holding a baby", "to each

mother, her baby is perfection” and “the baby tenderly against her breast”, but there are also instances that deal with the grief of a mother, such as “a mother’s eyes, stream the tears her baby would never shed”. There are also some lines referring to the birth of her children, who were born through C-section. This is also shown at the results of the keyword ‘birth’. The results of this keyword demonstrate it was not easy for her to have children, especially financially. Another, remarkable finding with the keyword ‘birth’, is that the government imposed birth control for blacks, but not for whites. This, of course, resulted into repulsion by blacks. When looking at the keyword ‘pregnant’, we can assume she was not happy about her pregnancies, since she states she was feeling betrayed by her own body. However, this doesn’t mean she didn’t love her children once they were born.

I’ve already pointed out to the importance of clan names with the keywords ‘woman’ and ‘women’, so not surprisingly ‘clan’ also shows up as a keyword. It occurs only nine times, but is quite revealing. It is demonstrated in the concordance lines that marrying could be prohibited when sharing the same clan name. Also, the clan as a whole has some ideas about what a good wife is and how she needs to behave herself, suggesting a rigid division between men’s and women’s roles in society.

Another important sub-tag is ‘race’. Ten words are found in this sub-tag: African, colored, white, color, Bantu, Africans, whites, Afrikaner, black and kaffir. Based on this, we can divide these into three sections: African, Bantu, Africans, black and kaffir can all be put together; a second group would be colored and color; and the last group would include white, whites and Afrikaner.

‘White’ is the most extensive one of these keywords, with an occurrence of 116 times, followed by ‘African’ and ‘black’ with an occurrence of respectively seventy-eight times and fifty-three times. All these keywords show up in very different contexts. Interesting contexts are for example the fact that possession of liquor by an African was forbidden by law and that every African from the age of sixteen was obliged to carry a pass. Also, education for children differed from R480 for a white child and R28 for an African child. Furthermore, white teachers were paid better than black teachers. Most African workers don’t even have insurance. This is only a glimpse of the different contexts given in the concordance lines, but it is clear that South African government at the time thought whites were superior over Africans, which reflects in very divergent areas.



The concordance lines for the keywords 'colored' and 'color' even show that most white families preferred a colored maid instead of a black one. Following slogan was very common: "white best, colored next, and black worst". This is no surprise since blacks were also insulted by being called kaffir, as is shown at the results of the keyword 'kaffir'. The fact that colored people were considered to be better than blacks, explains why colored people had their own residential areas, separated from black people.

The sub-tag 'utensil' counts thirteen words: bus, stove, rags, Frum, pot, napkins, dolls, kerosene, eraser, lashes, netball, books, and layette. These are all widely different kinds of utensils. There are household utensils such as stove, Frum, pot, napkins and kerosene. These keywords don't occur that many times, with a maximum occurrence of 15 times. It is suggested from the concordance lines that she lived in a traditional household (forced upon them by having to live in the townships), with food being cooked on the stove, a shopping list that consisted out of mealie-rice, bread, flour, candles, kerosene, matches, soap and Vaseline and napkins that were used instead of diapers for babies. These concordance lines also suggest that she had a period of financial difficulty. She only had half-a-dozen napkins and a few pieces of clothing to welcome her third child and she even had to mislead her children and her younger siblings at times when there was no food. She would boil water on the stove, letting the children think there was food in it, until they were so tired of waiting they fell asleep.

There are also utensils used by children in school or to play. Examples are dolls, eraser, netball and books. Again, these keywords don't occur a lot. However, some interesting things can be found. It is indicated that not every family had financial resources to get all the school supplies for their children. As a consequence, children who had supplies risked being robbed by other children. The concordance lines also show a lack of books was endemic in African schools, suggesting that white schools always had enough supplies for their pupils.

There is even a means of transport found: bus. The keyword 'bus' occurs forty times. In the concordance lines it is indicated that she never saw a bus or car before she moved from the rural areas to the city. It is also shown that a woman should not wait by herself for the bus or walk alone to the bus stop. If possible a man, who is a relative or friend, accompanies the woman. However, at moments she didn't even have the money to take the bus and had to loan the bus fare from neighbours or friends.

Six keywords are found in the sub-tag 'adjective' and sixteen in the sub-tag 'abstract'. For the purpose of this research, I only selected a few keywords, based on how interesting they seemed for this research purpose. For the sub-tag 'adjective', the selected keywords are 'domestic', 'beuniformed', and 'bereaved'. For the sub-tag 'abstract', five keywords were selected. These are 'chores', 'job', 'tales', 'souls' and 'chars'. The results for the sub-tag 'adjective' were not that great as the keywords 'beuniformed' and 'bereaved' were quite uninformative. The keyword 'domestic', on the other hand, showed more results, but all were instances referring to domestic servants and domestic workers. These contexts are already explored with the keywords 'maid', 'maids', 'maid's', 'servant' and 'servants', so won't be repeated.

The keywords 'chores' and 'tales' show up in a traditional setting, as it is indicated that in the rural areas chores are divided equally among all members in the household and tales were told at night around the fire. There were different kinds of tales, such as *iintsomi*, which are the fairy tales of the amaXhosa. It is indicated that traditionally storytellers, who could be male or female, told these tales. However, this tradition is dying. 'Soul' as a keyword, is in some instances also used in a traditional setting. In these cases soul refers to the souls of the dead, who still are among us.

'Job' occurs in most instances as a reference to her job as a teacher. It is indicated her children wanted her to have a job that gives her nice things to bring home, like the mothers of other children instead of being a teacher. A job she would later have to return to unwillingly, i.e. domestic service. However, this job as a domestic servant kept her away from her children, since most domestic servants had a sleep-in job. She later tried a sleep-out job, before eventually going back to being a teacher again. The keyword 'chars' refers to a job somewhat in the lines of being a housemaid, nanny and cook. Though, it is far less secure, since you never knew beforehand when you would be working on what day, as you were not attached to one family only.

As already stated above, there are a few negligible sub-tags that will be taken into consideration. I have already discussed the sub-tag 'male', when discussing the sub-tag 'female', but there are two other sub-tags that will be analysed as well. These sub-tags are 'education' and 'foods'. The keywords found in the sub-tag 'education' are 'school', 'teacher', 'teaching', and 'teachers'. Some of the concordance lines refer to her own experiences as a teacher, but also some references to the differences between black and white teachers, and even between male and female teachers. I've already stated a

few times that black teachers did not earn the same amount as white teachers, but now it is also indicated that women teachers had to spent more money on appropriate clothing than men. There was an unwritten rule that female teachers had to wear proper clothing such as high-heeled shoes, stockings, nice blouses and skirts. Most of these things had to be bought new, since most black women did not own such clothing.

There are only two keywords categorised as 'foods'. These keywords are 'liquor' and 'sheep'. Even though these words occur only a few times, respectively eleven and sixteen times, they are quite revealing. The keyword 'liquor' is followed a few times by raid and raids and the concordance lines demonstrate that the police frequently held liquor raids. Possession of liquor by Africans was forbidden by law and for this reason liquor was sold illegally by shebeen queens. These women let colored men go to the liquor stores for them or produced their own alcoholic beverages.

'Sheep' is followed five times by heads and two times by head. The concordance lines indicate that sheep were ritual slaughtered when a lobola was offered and accepted, but most lines refer to her selling sheep heads as a delicacy. When she was financially bankrupt, she saw no other option than to buy five heads at the butcher for forty cents each, cleaning and boiling them, and sell them at a profit. She did this for a while, but they were so poor she had to use the gravy that was left of cleaning and preparing the sheep heads to make dinner. This points out how hard her life has been, before she could build it up again.

After analysing the tag 'content', it is time to return to the tags 'foreign words', and 'proper noun'. Sixteen keywords are found in the tag 'foreign words', which is only 5,65 per cent of the total keywords. By looking each one up in the text or in a dictionary<sup>6</sup>, four keywords remained for further analysis. These are: *abelungu*, *lobola*, *tata* and *dab'obawo*.

*Abelungu* is the Xhosa word for the collective 'white people'. This keyword occurs thirteen times and the concordance lines show that it is accompanied with prejudices and myths. Examples are that *abelungu* have no hearts, that they are funny, that they are not real people and that they have eyes colored like those of cats.

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<sup>6</sup> I used the website <https://glosbe.com/>, since it is a multi-lingual dictionary with many languages incorporated.

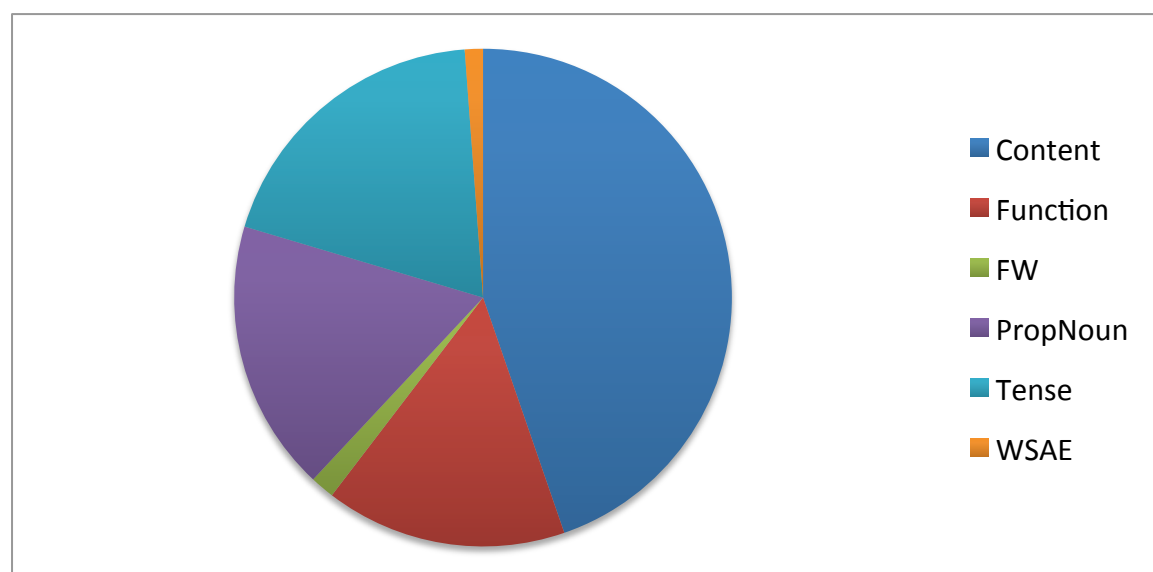
*Lobola* is the dowry paid to a bride's family to secure a wedding. This is done among certain Bantu peoples of South Africa and is not only found among the amaXhosa. The concordance lines refer to her own situation, as it is shown that her husband agreed to pay the lobola price at a future date, but he never accomplished this. Furthermore, she got pregnant without being married or paid lobola for her, which is a huge disgrace.

*Tata* is the male opponent of mama and only occurs eight times as a keyword. All these instances refer to her own father, whom she calls *tata*.

*Dab'obawo* (*Udade Bobawo*) is the Xhosa word for aunt on father's side (or my father's sister). It only occurs three times, but it is indicated that Dab'obawo is used to refer to a woman, Mrs Kobi. It is unclear whether she really is a sister of her father or an aunt of her father.

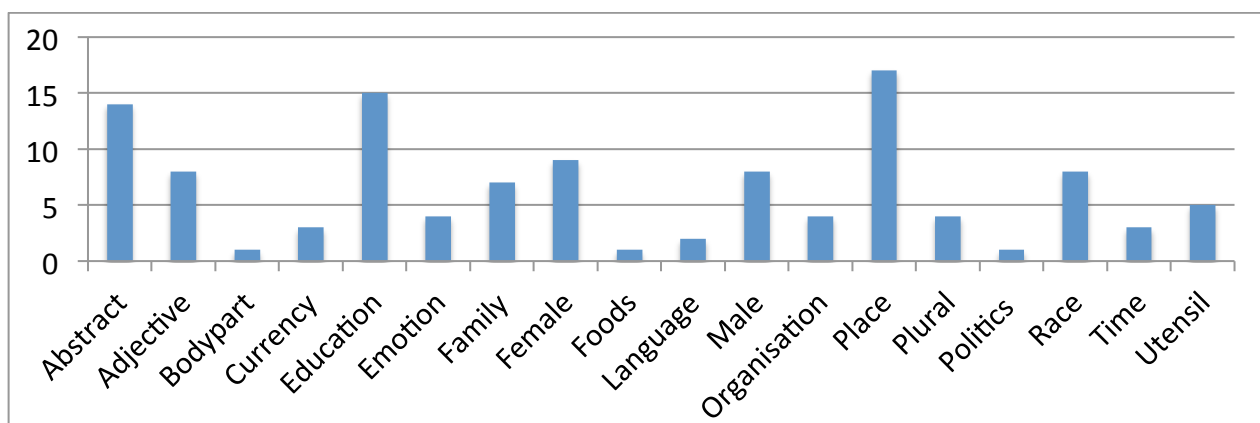
The tag 'PropNoun' includes thirty-six keywords, which is equivalent of 12,72 per cent. Half of these proper nouns, seventeen to be precise, appear to be female names. Another ten of these names are references to male names. Since these numbers are close to each other, it isn't possible to draw any conclusion based on this. However, I do not intend to examine these names in greater detail, since a few of them, such as the names of her sons, ex-husband, and her aunt already appeared at the results above. We can assume that these people are also the most important people in her life.

#### 4.3.2 Forced to Grow



**Figure 5: Keyword categories Magona 2**

The second part of Sindiwe Magona's autobiography *Forced to Grow* counts a total of 261 keywords, which is the smallest number in contrast to the other examined autobiographies. Almost half of these keywords are found in the tag content, 114 to be exact or 44,71 per cent. Equal to the already examined autobiographies above, the constituted tags are: content, function, FW (foreign words), PropNoun (proper noun), tense and WSAE (White South African English) (see figure 5). For this purpose only the keywords that are found in the tags 'content', 'FW', 'PropNoun' and 'WSAE' will be analysed. The last three tags weren't divided into sub-tags for various reasons. The foreign words and the white South African English group only contained a small number of keywords, so by going through them one by one, only a few keywords were selected for further analysis with WordSmith Tools. For the proper nouns, it was impossible at first sight to indicate which proper nouns referred to male names, female names, organisational names or surnames. Therefore, each proper noun was searched for separately in the text. These tags will be discussed after analysing the tag 'content'. This method is the same as the one used for *Call Me Woman* and *To My Children's Children*. This of course for obvious reasons, as it ensures coherence.



**Figure 6: Content Subcategories Magona 2**

The tag 'content' is divided into eighteen sub-tags, which is less than the sub-tags constituted in the other works. But since this work is much smaller, it is evident it counts fewer sub-tags. Many of the sub-tags divided here, are similar to those found in the other autobiographies. For *Forced To Grow* the sub-tags under 'content' are: abstract, adjective, body part, currency, education, emotion, family, female, foods, language, male, organisation, place, plural, politics, race, time and utensil (see figure 6). Again, there are some negligible sub-tags, which are sub-tags existing out of four keywords or less, which is an equivalent to four per cent maximum. Negligible sub-tags are body part, currency, emotion, foods, language, organisation, plural, politics

and time. Some of the keywords in these sub-tags, such as keywords found in the sub-tags 'foods', 'emotion', 'organisation' and 'politics', will nevertheless be analysed, as I believe some of these keywords will contribute to the research field of this thesis.

Consistent with the findings of the other autobiographies, 'place' is the most extensive sub-tag under the tag 'content.' It counts seventeen keywords, which equates with 14,91 per cent. Similar to what I have described above, I believe that this is a reflection of the many moves, different schools and studies abroad in Sindiwe Magona's life.

The ratio 'female' versus 'male' is more or less 1:1, which is a huge difference in relation to the first part of Sindiwe Magona's autobiography. In this first part the sub-tag 'female' counted almost fourfold of the keywords found in the sub-tag 'male'. Here, however, the sub-tag 'female' only counts nine keywords and the sub-tag 'male' a total of eight keywords. Keywords found in the sub-tag 'female' are mother, women, woman, mother's, mothers, mistress, sisters, ma'm and women's.

Almost half of these keywords are family ties: mother, mother's, mothers and sisters. The keyword 'mother' is quite extensive, with an occurrence of 119 times. The concordance lines for this keyword are very divergent. In some instances she refers to the burden of being a mother, such as carrying a sick child or even the dead body of a child. In other cases she wonders if she has been a good mother for her children, as she was not always around and felt she was more a father to them, than a caring mother. She sometimes even thought she did not set a good example for her daughters, but she had great help of her own mother.

It is demonstrated in the concordance lines her mother was learning to become a witchdoctor, something she didn't approve of at first. She considered it humiliating to have a mother being trained as a witchdoctor, but later on she became proud of her mother doing something she wanted for herself. The keywords 'mother's' and 'mother' occur nineteen times each. The concordance lines of these keywords show that her mother was ill at one point. It is also shown that she was afraid her daughters would become preteen mothers, because she was an *idikazi*, a single mother. Interesting, *idikazi* derives from *makazi*, which translates as mother's sister. 'Sisters' as a keyword occurs thirteen times. Most instances refer to her own sisters, but there are also two concordance lines referring to sisters as a unity between

women: “Our sisters in CWC” and “with the lives of her dark-skinned sisters than most whites...”

There are also some keywords referring to women in general: ‘women’, ‘woman’ and ‘women’s’. ‘Women’ and ‘woman’ occur respectively one 143 times and seventy-five times. References to ethnicity, such as African, white, black, colored and Indian mostly precede these two keywords. The concordance lines are very diverse, ranging from instances referring to incest, rape and abuse from men, from government, from other women, from family, etc. to instances referring to feminists and women’s organisations. The latter are clear examples of women striking back. Also the keyword ‘women’s’ mostly refers to women’s organisations as it is followed six times out of nineteen times by movement, three times by groups and one time by unions.

In the concordance lines of the keyword ‘woman’, the word *idikazi* shows up again. It is suggested these women have questionable characters and are not suited to raise children. It is even suggested that there is no greater sin for a woman to commit than having children. These concordance lines also indicate that a black woman can’t just befriend a white woman, or even a coloured woman, as this is considered to be weird. A black woman should always know her place. However, it is hinted that women do help each other out when needed.

Two work-related keywords are found in the sub-tag ‘female’: ‘ma’m’ and ‘mistress’. In contrast to work-related keywords found in the sub-tag ‘female’ in *To My Children’s Children*, the ones found here occur far fewer times, respectively three and twelve times. But instead of referring to the white women she worked for as a domestic servant, these instances refer to herself being addressed with ma’m or mistress, indicating her position in society changed. She is no longer seen as a poor woman, but as a woman with status.

The sub-tag ‘male’ exists out of the keywords witchdoctor, husband, witchdoctors, master’s, breadwinner, husbandless, man, and migrant. There are very few family ties compared to the sub-tag ‘female’, since only the keyword ‘husband’ could be considered a family tie. However, at the same time the transitory aspect of this ‘status’ is shown by the keyword ‘husbandless’. We can conclude that the family ties found in the sub-tag ‘female’ are biological and imperishable, while the keyword ‘husband’ is more transparent as a marriage can be annulled.

'Husband' occurs forty-seven times and is preceded by my almost half of the time. The concordance lines indicate that married women cannot be breadwinners themselves, since this is reserved for their husbands. It is even suggested that women without husbands are worthless and that a husband can forbid his wife to do things, such as studying. This indicates a clear hierarchy between husband and wife. However, in her case, her husband walked out on her and she knows some women who are in the exact same position. This corresponds to men who don't take care of their families. The fact that she repeats that many times her husband left her must mean this had a great impact on her life. We could even assume that she wouldn't accomplish all the things she did, such as studying, going abroad, and getting better jobs, if she remained married to her husband.

Other remarkable keywords found in the sub-tag 'male' are 'witchdoctor', 'witchdoctors' and 'breadwinner'. They are especially noteworthy because there is no hundred per cent guarantee that these words only refer to men. The keyword 'witchdoctor' also showed up in *To My Children's Children*, where it referred both to a male and a female profession. It was also demonstrated that her parents consulted a witchdoctor themselves. In *Forced To Grow* 'witchdoctor' and 'witchdoctors' occur respectively ten and four times. The concordance of these keywords mainly referred to her mother studying to become a witchdoctor, a traditional healer. However, this doesn't mean her mother chose between tradition and modernity, but that both can coexist. It is even demonstrated that witchdoctors are very disciplined and live by a code of conduct. The keyword 'breadwinner' only occurs six times and confirms that it is generally accepted that men are breadwinners and not women. However, it indicates Sindiwe had no choice but being the breadwinner in her household after her husband left her.

The last two keywords of the sub-tag 'male' I want to discuss are 'man' and 'migrant'. 'Man' occurs more times than its female opponent 'woman', eighty-seven times to be precise. However, 'men' is no keyword, while 'women' does show up as a keyword and occurs 143 times. Similar to the results found with these female opponents, 'man' is mostly preceded by references to ethnicity. 'Migrant' occurs six times as a keyword, and refers to labourers who migrated from the villages to the city to find work in the mines.

Another sub-tag is 'family'. Seven keywords were found in this sub-tag: children, townships, township, child, town, family and parents. Some of these are references to family members such as children, child and parents, but



others are references to places such as township, township and town. Family seems to be very important since it occurs sixty-three times as a keyword. 'Children' is a very extensive keyword and occurs 220 times. It is preceded forty times by my, five times by own and six times by our, but it is also a few times preceded by references to ethnicity. A few clusters show up, which are: "my children's children", "to my children's", "for the children", "of my children", and "my children and". The first two could be referring to the first part of her autobiography *To My Children's Children*.

The keywords 'township' and 'townships' mainly refer to her experiences living in a township. It is suggested that life in the townships had its own rules or code and that it wasn't always safe to wander around. There is one concordance line referring to "those township kaffirs", and indicates that the white government have put black together in townships so they didn't had to deal with them in everyday society, in public spaces and didn't had to have them as neighbours.

After the sub-tag 'place', the sub-tag 'education' is the second in line with most keywords, more specifically fifteen. These keywords are matric, students, school, teachers, teaching, teacher, student, matriculant, internship, exams, education, principal, examinations, certificate, and school. Since this sub-tag counts this many keywords, we can assume that education is of great importance to Sindiwe Magona. As is clear from first sight, some of these keywords can be taken together in clusters, since they are derivatives from each other. This leads to the following clusters: matric and matriculant; students and student; teachers, teaching and teacher; school and schools; and lastly, exams and examinations.

The concordance lines of these keywords show Sindiwe started studying at a later age, by correspondence, while she was already working as a teacher. Most of her co-workers already completed matric, which probably motivated her to enrol as well. At that time blacks were becoming more discontent with Bantu education, which resulted in protesting and riots and eventually even to the closing of (some) schools. Because of this, her children no longer could get an education. However, that didn't stop her to move to the United States on a scholarship in order to obtain a master's degree in social work. These same concordance lines also show that unmarried women teachers enjoyed preferential hiring over married women, probably because they are the only breadwinners in their households.

Another interesting keyword in the sub-tag 'education' is 'internship'. It only occurs six times, but in the concordance lines her perseverance is, once again, shown. While studying full-time in the United States, she was also serving an internship three days a week and working a part-time job. However she was very lucky, as she was one of the few students who could do a paid internship.

The sub-tag 'race' in *Forced to Grow* is quite similar to the sub-tag 'race' in *To My Children's Children*. Here as well, a distinction can be made between three groups according to ethnicity. The first group consists out of African, Bantu, Africans, black and kaffir; the second one out of coloured; and the last one contains the keywords white and whites. This brings a total of eight keywords in this particular sub-tag.

The keyword 'African' is the most extensive one with an occurrence of 146 times, followed by 'white', which occurs 141 times. With the first, following eight clusters are found: "of the African", "of African women", "the African townships", "of South African", "in South African", "council of African", "national council of" and "in the African". With the keyword 'white' only one cluster shows up: "white South Africa".

The remaining keywords, Bantu, Africans, whites, black and coloured also appear quite often, with an average of fifty times. These concordance lines demonstrate the hardships of being classified as Bantu or black, since they are equated with dogs, they are forbidden to do or possess certain things, aren't allowed to the same places as whites, etc. Especially black women "were the worst oppressed of all South Africans". It is even stated that all black women struggled. However, Sindiwe proved it was possible to befriend whites, even it was considered a risky business. Not only for the black woman in question, but also for the white woman as she could be seen as a traitor and a "kaffirlover". These white women are the true "verligte whites", the ones who could see through the blackness of the skin and know that are all the same. There is even a reference to "black sister".

The keyword 'coloured' demonstrates that after Bantu education started to crumble, not only black students were joining the riots, but coloured students as well. Even if coloured people had some privileges over black people, such as not being obliged to carry a pass, they were still humiliated. They did not earn the same salaries as whites and some people classified coloured, weren't coloured people. Furthermore, much like the black was called kaffir, a

coloured person was called Hottentot. These terms were always used in a racist manner.

In the sub-tag 'utensil' five keywords are found: bunny, passport, van, pass, and phone. Especially the keywords passport, van and pass are outstanding, as they are all, in one way or another, related to travelling. Furthermore, pass has a legal reference as well, with only blacks being obligated to carry a pass with them. It is clear from the concordance lines that travelling as a black woman, or generally as a black person, isn't evident. When she needed a passport to travel abroad with a white female friend, she had to make lots of phone calls in order to obtain it, while the application for a passport for her friend was just a mere formality. Furthermore, it is indicated no country in the world recognised a passport of the Transkei. The keyword 'pass' demonstrates that every black person from the age of sixteen was obliged to keep their pass with them at all times. This pass reflected whether you were permitted to be in a certain area or not. It is no surprise this limited their freedom of movement.

The results of the keyword 'bunny' indicate I have misplaced this keyword. At first sight, it seemed this was a reference to a stuffed animal or a pet, but Bunny appears to be a man with whom Sindiwe had a relationship after separating from her husband. Clearly, I should have put Bunny in the tag 'PropNoun', instead of the tag 'content', sub-tag 'utensil'. It is demonstrated in the concordance lines that she loved this man and felt loved by him, but he cheated on her. Again, a man whom she loved betrayed her.

The sub-tag 'abstract' counts fourteen keywords: job, life, ginger, correspondence, lives, realisation, boycotts, destitution, autobiography, soul, way, information, riots, and informer. For this purpose, only some keywords will be further looked into. These are: job, boycotts, destitution, autobiography, riots and informer. These keywords all occur only a few times. The maximum occurrence is fifteen times and the minimum occurrence five times. 'Boycotts' and 'riots' both refer to the students' dismay with Bantu education and it is even suggested the government fuelled the riots. The concordance lines for the keyword 'informer' show that some people in her neighbourhood and in the township she lived thought she was an informer by befriending whites. This again confirms that friendship between a white woman and a black woman wasn't without risks.

The keywords 'destitution' and 'autobiography' are not that revealing. The word 'autobiography' doesn't seem to be part of the text of the autobiography

itself and the keyword 'destitution' only shows Sindiwe herself was confronted with destitution, something we already know from *To My Children's Children*.

In contrast to the sub-tag 'adjective' in the first part of Sindiwe Magona's autobiography, I have decided that none of the keywords in the sub-tag 'adjective' found here were interesting enough to look into.

Out of the negligible sub-tags, four were selected for further analysis. These are the sub-tags 'emotion', 'foods', 'organisation', and 'politics'. Out of these four sub-tags, seven keywords were selected. For the sub-tag 'emotion', these are 'fear', 'deliberateness', 'pain' and 'chagrined'. In the sub-tag 'foods' only 'liquor' showed up as a keyword. Finally, for the sub-tags 'organisation' and 'politics', respectively 'IIE' and 'apartheid' were selected.

The keywords selected from the sub-tag 'emotion' all show different contexts. With 'fear' it is demonstrated that fear can be a motivation to succeed, but fear can also lead to fear of fear and drive you crazy. The keywords 'deliberateness' and 'chagrined' refer to personal experiences of Sindiwe. The first is a reference to a man or perhaps different men, whom she met in her life and who had an air of deliberateness, something she admires. 'Chagrined', on the other hand, is an emotion she became familiar with when she lost her job because of her pregnancy and when she discovered some of her white friends lacked humaneness. The keyword 'pain' shows up in a more general context of women and black people, who suffer tremendously. However, it is also indicated she discovered whites can experience pain as well.

The keyword 'liquor', again, refers to women selling beer as an illegal practice. These women risked being arrested, which would leave the children all alone. It is even suggested Sindiwe herself sold liquor for a little while when she was jobless. Something she didn't continue to do, as she feared of losing her children.

'IIE' is short for International Institute of Education, which was the organisation in charge of the scholarship programme she used to study abroad. However, it is hinted she didn't had the best experiences with this institute.

'Apartheid' occurs only seventeen times. The concordance lines of this keyword indicate all South African women were against apartheid, as apartheid and patriarchy often conspired to degrade women at various levels. It is also suggested apartheid was an awful system to live under as a woman.

Not surprisingly, people wanted apartheid to be dismantled. Not one good thing is said about apartheid in these concordance lines.

After analysing the tag 'content', it is time to return to the tags 'FW', 'WSAE' and 'PropNoun'. In comparison with the other autobiographies, the tags 'foreign words' and 'white South African English' exist out of very little keywords, respectively four (1,57%) and three (1,18%) keywords. There were two keywords selected out of the tag 'foreign words': *idikazi* and *dagga*. And only one keyword was chosen out of the tag 'white South African English': *shebeen*.

*Idikazi* is a words used to describe an unmarried female or a woman who is husbandless, but who often does have children. As a keyword '*idikazi*' occurs six times. From the concordance lines it is clear that children raised by *idikazi* are subject to certain stereotypes. It is believed these children won't make it, will be raised as criminals, have higher chances of becoming preteen parents, etc.

*Dagga* is another word for marijuana and occurs five times as a keyword. In two of these instances the word is followed by pedlar, which is someone who trades in narcotics. *Dagga* is also known under the euphemism 'tobacco'. It is demonstrated in the concordance lines she traded marijuana for a while, when she was in financial difficulties.

For *shebeen* I will use the same description I have used earlier when analysing *Call Me Woman* by Ellen Kuzwayo. A *shebeen* is an illicit 'bar' where alcoholic beverages were sold without a license. In South Africa these were mostly located in the townships and operated by women. These women also brewed the alcoholic beverages themselves. In *Forced To Grow*, it occurs five times. In three of these instances *shebeen* is followed by queen, confirming it is a profession practised by women. The concordance lines of this keyword indicate it isn't an easy job, as their customers not always paid their bills. Also, *shebeen* queen is often used as a form of insult, suggesting it isn't socially accepted and rather seen as a marginal profession.

After the tag 'content' and the tag 'tense', the tag 'proper noun' is third in line containing most keywords. It exists out of forty-five keywords, which is equivalent of 17,65 per cent. No less than sixteen names, turned out to be female names, while there were only six male names to be found. However, it is quite interesting to note that of the surnames, nine of them referred to a Mr X, while only four referred to a Mrs X. I do not intend to examine these names

in greater detail, as I believe the most important ones did already show up in the results of the other keywords, but I do want to raise the question as why men are more often addressed with the formal Mr, than women with Mrs? Perhaps this indicates that men occupy higher positions than females, which results in a more formal addressing.

## 5. “Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination” by Preggs Govender

### 5.1 Short biography<sup>7</sup>

Pregaluxmi – Preggs – Govender was born 15 February 1960 in Cato Manor, Durban. Her father is the celebrated playwright Ronnie Govender who won the 1997 Commonwealth Writer’s Prize for his book *At the Edge and other Cato Manor Stories*. Preggs was the middle child and only daughter of three children. Her brother’s names are Daya and Pat. The family moved a couple of times during her childhood, but they always lived in very small buildings.

After completing her middle school, she attended Durban Indian Girls High School in 1974. The basis of her activism against apartheid was founded in this high school. Already in her first year she joined the first pupils’ representative council and was the youngest member elected onto the council. During those years in high school, she also joined some debate teams. After matriculating from high school, she enrolled for an engineering degree at the University of Durban-Westville (UDW). However, before the year was out, she got the chance of changing her subject to journalism. She really wanted to study this subject, but her mother did not approve. As a result she dropped out and took up part-time work doing market research. Eventually, in 1977, she picked up where she had left and began studying towards a BA degree with English and history majors, psychology, philosophy and a non-degree course in art.

During her university years, Preggs met Jayendra, whom she later married in a traditional marriage in the Cato Manor temple. Jayendra and Preggs have two children together, a daughter, Parusha, and a son, Yashodan. They divorced after some years, when Jayendra confessed to having affairs since her second pregnancy. During the first years of their marriage, in the early 80s, she returned to UDW as a postgraduate student and teacher in the English Department. At UDW, she was also elected to chair the labour committee of the Community Service Unit. The task of members of this labour committee was to organise workers on campus.

Shortly after this, she joined the trade union movement, which she served from 1987 until 1992. She was National Educator of GAWU, the Garment and Allied

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<sup>7</sup>This section is based on information found at the websites of [www.sahrc.org.za](http://www.sahrc.org.za) and [www.literarytoerism.co.za](http://www.literarytoerism.co.za) and on her autobiography *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination*

Worker's Union, before heading South Africa's first Workers College. She also served on the executive structures of Cosatu's (Congress of South African Trade Union) National Gender Committee and the UDF (United Democratic Front)-affiliated Natal Organisation on Women. Preg's also managed the Women's National Coalition, which mobilised rural and urban women to impact on South Africa's Constitution.

In the months before the elections to parliament, she worked in the national Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) office in Cosatu, where she integrated women's concerns into the RDP. Finally, in 1994 she was elected to the National Assembly in South Africa's first democratic election, as an ANC member. In that same year, during the budget debates, she initiated South Africa's gender budgeting and steered its impact on the '98/'99 National Budget. During that time, she was also tasked with editing South Africa's Country Report to Beijing. Two years later, in 1996, she was elected Chairperson of Parliament's Committee on Women. The Committee ensured that eighty per cent of its legislative priorities were enacted by 1999. During the Mbeki era, the Committee on Women held public hearings on the gendered impact of HIV/Aids. After being the only MP to register opposition to the arms deal in the Defence Budget Vote, she resigned in 2002.

After those years in parliament, she became Chairperson of the Independent Panel Review of Parliament and was a member of the global Panel on Human Dignity, which reflects her human rights activism. In light of her work, Preg's Govender won several accolades and honours, which include honorary doctorates in Law and Philosophy, the first Ruth First Fellowship and the Fulbright New Century Scholarship for the Global Empowerment of Women. As well as being a recipient of the International Association for Women's Rights in Developments (AWID) Inspiration Award which recognises an individual whose initiative, leadership, and unrelenting commitment have made a significant impact in advancing gender equality and social justice around the world.

Furthermore, she has authored many papers and articles and contributed to several publications. One of these publications is her own autobiography: *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination*. This work traces her origins from the poverty she experienced as a child at the hands of apartheid, her role as a mother and wife, and being an outspoken activist against HIV and Aids and a determined advocate of women's rights. It is a story of a woman who has triumphed in a political and social climate that undermined South African Indian women and chronicles her fight against racism, prejudice and gender inequality.



In November 2008, a year after publishing her autobiography, Parliament voted unanimously for her appointment as SAHRC (South African Human Rights Commission) Commissioner by President Motlanthe. She began her term in January 2009 and was appointed Deputy Chairperson in October. She leads the SAHRC programmes on Basic Services, CEDAW (Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women) and PAIA (Promotion of Access to Information Act).

## 5.2 Power and Gender

As already apparent from the biography, politics play a very important role in Pregs Govender's life. She has been a member in parliament for eight years, but even before those years and after her resignation from parliament, she was connected to politics in various ways. She paid specific attention to gender and women's rights in politics. Not surprisingly, the theory chosen to embed my results using WordSmith Tools is the interaction that exists between power and gender.

A lot has been written about power and gender already. Authors that focus on sub-Saharan Africa are Herbert (1993), Crehan (1997) and Kaplan (1997). For this section, however, I have focused on the concept of citizenship within this theory, as was recommended to me by professor Desiree Lewis, my supervisor at the University of the Western Cape. Reason for this, is that the emphasis on citizenship has opened up new ways for thinking about women's political participation (Hassim 2010:57). I found some prominent authors that wrote about the subject in South Africa, such as Meintjes (1995), Manicom (2010), Hassim (2010), and McEwan (2010). Last three authors are brought together in an important work on citizenship in South Africa, called *(Un)thinking Citizenship: Feminist Debates in Contemporary South Africa* edited by Amanda Gouws.

Citizenship in South Africa "has always been a politically charged and contested notion" (McEwan 2010:177). Even though it claims to be a gender-neutral concept, it is in fact deeply gendered, as will be demonstrated throughout this section (McEwan 2010:178). The subject of citizenship was already brought up a couple of times. For example, in the theory of motherhood, the notion of citizenship appeared, which was no surprise as women are seen as the providers of the next generation of citizens. As a result, motherhood became a political status, since women had a political obligation through their capacity for reproduction. However, this did not make them equal citizens (Gouws 1999:55).

According to Meintjes (1995:2) especially black women were considered to be secondary citizens and were denied certain rights. For other women, being 'coloured', Indian or white, their position and power were defined in terms of a strong domestic ideology. 'Women' as a political category is ambiguous, expressing simultaneously an agency-based, rights-bearing subject and a subject of nationality, but is mostly only approached as a nationalist subject (Manicom 2010:23-24).

Feminists have sought solutions to tackle this essentialist perception of women as nurturers of the nation, but their solutions are very divided. On the one hand, some feminists prefer a universal, but gender-neutral form of citizenship, while others take the opposite view. They argue that sex, class, ethnicity, age and religion need to be taken into account to develop a real equality within the notion of citizenship (Meintjes 1995:6). This idea is also represented by Manicom (2010:27) who argues that women have multiple identities along these lines of race, class, ethnicity, region, religion, sexuality, generation, etc., and they should be treated accordingly. The danger of a universal, gender-neutral form of citizenship is that if it does not address certain issues, it will continue to be centred around the male subject (Meintjes 1995:7).

It is already clear that constructs of women-as-citizens can be based on women's ability as community carers, but there are other available cultural repertoires as well on which women-as-citizens can be based, such as women as activists. Although colonialism, segregation and apartheid created a racially exclusive citizenship, "with a second tier of citizenship reflecting the exclusions based on ethnicity and gender" (Meintjes 1995:3), this does not mean black women are mere victims of a system of oppression and subordination. On the contrary, they were actively involved in the struggles and movements, which created better conditions for them from the 1980s onwards (Meintjes 1995:4). Manicom (2010:32-33) describes this as "citizenship of participation", which is central to South African women's struggles for effective gender equality.

Their involvement in a series of actions that asserted various social and human rights claims has also been called a form of 'cultural citizenship'. It means a reordering and restructuring of politics itself, but one that is in line with their own life experiences (Meintjes 1995:4). Women's sexuality is a stark symbol in this. For example, during the Dobsonville Women's Squatter protest, women took off their clothes when the police arrived. By doing this, women denounced how their citizenship is based on their reproductive role. Furthermore, nakedness is

generally perceived as a symbol of madness, but also reveals their vulnerability (Meintjes 1995:4-5).

Nevertheless, there are a couple of issues asserted to the notion of 'citizenship'. Especially in South Africa, which has a past of race, gender and class discrimination it is important to define constructions of gender difference that have existed in the past. A first construction derives from the Western tradition, which created a secondary citizenship for women based on their private role. The second construction derives from the legitimization of African customary law. This law actually defined women as minors, which made them subject to the authority of their fathers and husbands, senior brothers, and even their own sons (Meintjes 1995:7).

Another problem is that, even though most scholars do take into account the differences between men and women, they often neglect the differences between women themselves, particularly those of race (Meintjes 1995:8). The South African context is faced with the problem of multiple legal and cultural systems and has no choice but to acknowledge diversity. Women are not a homogeneous group, as is already stated a couple of times above, and their lives are influenced by different class, race and gender experiences. This is the context in which equality and rights should be addressed (Meintjes 1995:10; Manicom 2010:28).

However, the most fundamental problem in all this is androcentrism, which can only be solved by "adopting a theory which recognizes gender difference and challenges legal equality theory with its accompanying paradigms, such as sameness of treatment, that any progress will be made in altering the status quo" (Meintjes 1995:6). Furthermore, the universal implications of a notion of women's citizenship not only lie in the huge power differentials and an unequal realisation of citizenship amongst South African women, but also in the different discursive constructs of women as citizens that intersect with political and theoretical debates (Manicom 2010:28-29). According to McEwan (2010:178) this can be solved when exploring the interconnections between the definitions of gendered citizenship on a national/governmental level and understandings of the notion on local level.

Meintjes (1995:8) gives two possible ways of evolving women into equal citizens. Firstly, mechanisms have to be provided for women to be properly represented in public life, for example a gender quota system, women's empowerment programmes, voter education, gender training, etc. (Manicom 2010:33). Secondly, public/private dichotomy and relationships, which form the basis of the legal system, have to be rethought. For example, customary law would have to be

substantively reformed. Ideally, this would lead to altered conventional roles and responsibilities, in a way that parenting, household and employment would not be bound by gender convention, but by individual preference (Meintjes 1995:8).

Of course, main question is how this diversity of women's claims need to be addressed, since citizenship as an idea transcends these very differences and emphasizes shared rights and obligations. It is on this level that the relationship between citizenship rights and effective democracy becomes relevant. Even if we agree that women's rights are non-existent and only human rights need to be taken into account, women are very often the ones being deprived of their human rights because of the ways in which they are subordinated, not only in marriage, but also in religion and cultural practices. This, of course, prevents women of rejoicing their rights as equal citizens (Meintjes 1995:10).

Also, women's rights are often not specified, which causes that specific exclusions of women from universal rights remain invisible (Manicom 2010:36). For human rights to have meaning on women's diversities, their different needs have to be recognized. Important in this is to identify what prevents women from sharing human rights equally with men (Meintjes 1995:13). Also, citizenship must include more than formal political rights. We must acknowledge that universal inclusion does not exist, because in reality citizenship is based on power (McEwan 2010:177)

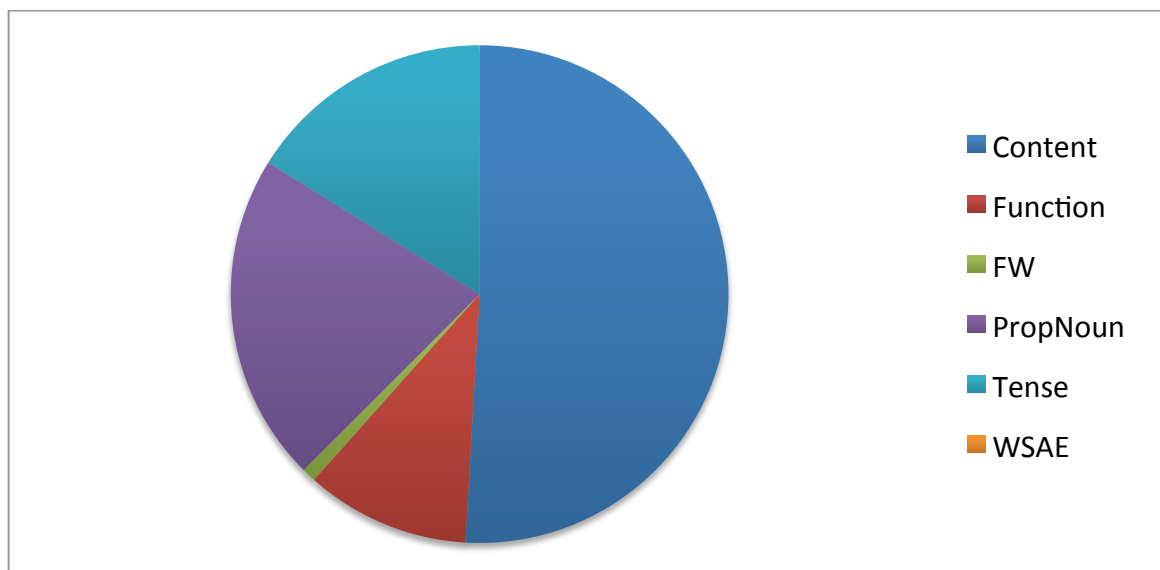
No doubt, the different women's organisations on governmental level have played an important role in denouncing this. It was already pointed out in the first chapter of this paper that South African women have been central to the struggles against apartheid for decades and one of their main concerns was the lack of women in leadership. Through the formation of the United Women's Organisation and the Natal Organisation of Women, women were able to organise themselves alongside and inside male-dominated union and civic organisations (Baden, Hassim & Meintjes 1998:7). It was their involvement in the struggles and debates of the 1980s that were the basis for women's leadership from the 1990s onwards (Bade, Hassim & Meintjes 1998:8).

One of the biggest achievements was the Women's Charter, which played an important role in the quest for women's inclusion as equal citizens (Manicom 2010:21). The women who were claiming citizenship in this Charter in the first democratic elections were being produced as specifically gendered citizens in that very process (Manicom 2010:24). Furthermore, the Women's Charter had an enormous symbolic and ideological value, since women's contemporary demands were placed within an organisational and historical context of the Freedom

Charter and the Women's Charter of the 1950s (Hassim 2010:61). Eventually, after a fieldwork of three months across the country that focussed on group discussions with women, five key themes were identified. These themes were: women's legal status; women's access to land, resources and water; violence against women; health; and work (Hassim 2010:61-63). The Charter reflected the diversity of needs among women as well as the specificity of women's needs as opposed to men (Hassim 2010:67).

However, we can ask ourselves if this is enough? Simply creating women as equal citizens before the law will not resolve the problem of transformation, even though it is a step towards the right direction (Meintjes 1995:10-11). Again, we must acknowledge that citizenship is based on power and who possesses this power (McEwan 2010:177). We have to be aware that we will probably never be able to build a complete democratic society and empowered citizenship for all (Meintjes 1995:13).

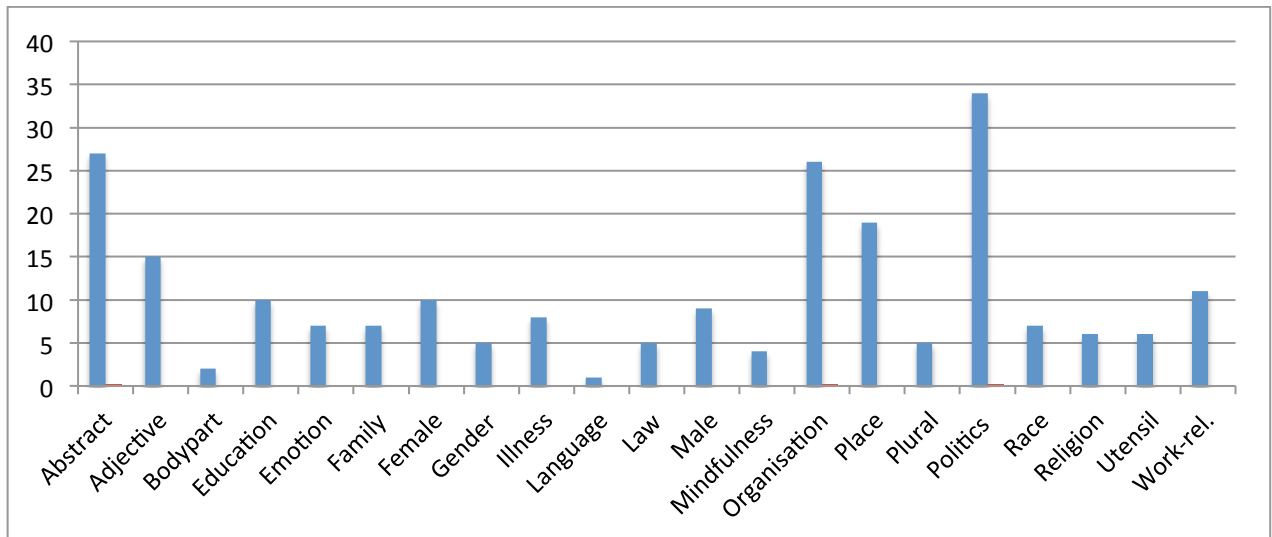
### 5.3 Results



**Figure 7: Keyword categories Govender**

Pregs Govender's autobiography was quite extensive in keywords with a total of 444. These keywords were categorised in different tags, similar to those of the other autobiographies. The different tags for *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination* are: content, function, FW (foreign words), PropNoun (proper noun) and tense (see figure 7). In this autobiography the tag 'WSAE' (white South African English) did not occur. For this purpose only the keywords that are located in the tags 'content', 'FW' and 'PropNoun' will be analysed. The last two tags, again, were not divided into sub-tags. The foreign words only contained a small number of keywords. By going through them one by one, a selection could be

made for further analysis. For the proper nouns, it was impossible at first sight to indicate which names referred to men, women, organisational names or surnames. Therefore, as done with the other autobiographies, each proper noun was searched for separately in the text. The results of the tags 'FW' and 'PropNoun' will be discussed after the analysis of the tag 'content'.



**Figure 8: Content Subcategories Govender**

The tag 'content' existed out of 224 keywords, which is little more than half of the total amount of keywords. For this tag, twenty-one sub-tags were made. These sub-tags are: abstract, adjective, body part, education, emotion, family, female, gender, illness, language, law, male, mindfulness, organisation, place, plural, politics, race, religion, utensil and work-rel. (work related) (see figure 8). At first sight, it was immediately clear that this autobiography is completely different from the other autobiographies. For this reason, all sub-tags are taken into account, regardless of how small or big they are. For each sub-tag, the decision had to be made whether it was worth a further analysis, since analysing all 224 keywords would be too extensive for this research.

Noteworthy, but not surprisingly, the sub-tag 'politics' is the most extensive sub-tag with thirty-four keywords, which equates with 15,18 per cent. This stands in sharp contrast with the other three autobiographies where the sub-tag 'place' was always characterised with the highest amount of keywords. Words in the sub-tag 'politics' are: ANC, apartheid, caucus, comrade, power, parliament, comrades, apartheid's, coalition, RDP, MPs, ANC's, parliament's, minister, leadership, debate, campaign, coalition's, leaders, president, IFP, chair, UDF, political, MP, mandate, assembly, NIC, cabinet, codesa, politics, delegation, NP and parliamentary.

Firstly, I want to give a list of the abbreviations of political parties and what they stand for.

- ANC = African National Congress
- IFP = Inkatha Freedom Party
- UDF = United Democratic Front
- NIC = Natal Indian Congress
- NP = National Party

Other abbreviations with political reference are:

- MP = Member of Parliament
- Codesa = Convention for a Democratic South Africa
- RDP = Reconstruction and Development Programme

Codesa was launched as a negotiating forum in 1991. These negotiations took place between the governing National Party and the African National Congress, and various other political organisations. All parties were committed to a peaceful process of negotiation, which resulted in South Africa's first non-racial election, which was won by the African National Congress (sahistory s.d.).

RDP, on the other hand, is a reference to a South African socio-economic policy framework implemented by the ANC government under lead of Nelson Mandela in 1994. It sought to mobilise all South Africans and the country's resources towards "the final elimination of apartheid and the establishment of a democratic, non-racial and non-sexist future". The RDP's five major policy programmes are outlined in The White Paper on the Reconstruction and Development Programme, which was published in 1995 (sahistory s.d.)

It is clear all these aforementioned keywords are connected to the government. This also applies to following keywords: apartheid, caucus, parliament, apartheid's, coalition, MPs, parliament's, minister, debate, coalition's, president, chair, mandate, assembly, cabinet, delegation, political, politics and parliamentary. But there are also some of the keywords found in the sub-tag 'politics' that could have a broader meaning or have a link with something besides politics. These keywords are: comrade, power, comrades, leadership, campaign, and leaders.

When looking at the results found with these keywords, it is evident Pregs Govender was very involved with women's rights. 'Women' as a word shows up multiple times in connection to different keywords. These are some examples found in the different collocates of these keywords: of the 152 times 'ANC' occurs,

it is nine times followed by women and 5 times by women's; 'caucus' is preceded three times by women's; 'comrade' is followed two times by woman; women's is found two times in L1-position (first word to the left of the keyword) and three times in L2-position (second word to the left of the keyword) with 'coalition'; 'MP's' is preceded four times by women; women's is found five times in L2-position with 'campaign'; 'leaders' is five times preceded by women, etc.

Also the concordance lines are quite interesting regarding women. For example, with the keyword 'politics' it is demonstrated that "women can no longer run from politics", while the keywords 'debate' and 'chair' refer to her own work within women politics: it is demonstrated she not only debated about women's rights, but she also was chair of the Committee on Women. She also points out her support for the Women's Charter as she really believes women benefitted from it, as is shown at the concordance lines of the keyword 'coalition's'.

Pregs especially points to the influence of HIV/Aids in the protection of women, as is not only indicated by the concordance lines with the keyword 'debate', but also with the keywords 'parliament's', 'chair', 'mandate' and 'cabinet'. Alongside 'women', she points out to gender and feminism as well a couple of times. Gender shows up in the collocates of the keywords 'power' and 'chair', while she refers to feminism in the concordance lines of the keyword 'comrades' with "feminist comrades" and in the concordance lines of 'politics' where she states that there exists "a problem of race politics within the feminist movement". But she not only focuses on women to make a change, at the concordance lines of the keyword 'campaign', it is also demonstrated she supported a campaign to mobilize men in relation to female-controlled prevention methods.

Some of the keywords in the sub-tag 'politics' show her resistance against apartheid as well. With the keywords 'apartheid' and 'apartheid's' it is indicated she joined the struggle against apartheid, that it is a cruel system of which people are terrified. Especially non-whites were endorsed, as they were detained by security police, evicted from their homes and violated in all kinds of ways. Furthermore, she claims apartheid's rulers abuse their power.

From the biography I have given above, it is clear Pregs Govender was invested in different kind of organisations, so not surprisingly, the sub-tag 'organisation' is quite extensive as well. It counts a total of twenty-six keywords, which are: committee, Cosatu, GAWU, union, Fedsaw, workshop, GAWU's, Actwusa, Sactwu, cabal, committee's, activist, Actwusa's, organisations, Cosatu's, organisation, FOSA, activists, movement, TAC, GWIU, activism, committees, workshops, union's and unionists.



Again, I want to give a list of the abbreviations and what they stand for.

- Cosatu = Congress of South African Trade Unions
- GAWU = Garment and Allied Worker's Union
- Fedsaw = Federation of South African Women
- Actwusa = Amalgated Clothing and Textile Worker's Union
- Sactwu = South African Clothing and Textile Worker's Union
- Cabal = cabal is not an abbreviation of an organisation, but refers to a small group of older, mostly NIC (Natal Indian Congress) comrades who regarded themselves, and who were recognised, as the internal voice of the ANC; even though they have a clear political linkage, they are mostly seen as an activist group
- FOSA = Friends of the Sick Association
- TAC = Treatment Action Campaign, which is a HIV/Aids activist organisation
- GWIU = Garment Worker's Industrial Union

In regard with the gender and feminist aspect of this research, I could only select a few of these organisations upon further analysis. Four remained of this list: Fedsaw, cabal, FOSA and TAC. However, this does not mean the other organisations were not interesting enough, especially since Pregs worked with some of them. All these keywords did not occur that many times, with a maximum occurrence of ten. However, they did show some interesting results. It is suggested in the concordance lines of 'Fedsaw' that Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela, was somehow associated with the organisation. Both the keywords 'FOSA' and 'TAC' seem to be connected with the struggle against HIV/Aids. It is even suggested in the concordance lines that TAC organised a march and demonstrations to raise awareness for the issue. On the other hand, the keyword 'cabal' is linked to the NIC, but is not a political organisation as such. They merely are the gatekeepers of activists of the Indian community. However, it is also suggested not everyone was in favour of the cabal. They had a controlling position that perhaps sometimes went too far.

Other keywords of the sub-tag 'organisation' that will be analysed are: organisation, organisations, activist, activists, movement, and activism. Similar to the findings of the sub-tag 'politics', women take in a prominent place. 'Organisation' occurs thirty-five times and is preceded three times by women's; 'organisations' occurs thirty times and is preceded six times by women's; and lastly, 'movement' occurs forty-two times and is thirteen times preceded by women's. Furthermore, 'movement' is even preceded by feminist three times.

Feminist also shows up with the keywords 'activist' and 'activists'. These keywords, 'activist' and 'activists' confirm her engagement in activist groupings. Her engagement in activism already started from a young age, starting in college, but continued until a later stage when she was already a mother of two children. It is indicated in the concordance lines of the keyword 'activism' that her interests ranged from community activism to political activism, with her being a member of an anti-apartheid movement. Pregs explains herself she was "drawn to women's organisations"; again suggesting she felt a deep connection to it.

In the concordance lines of the keyword 'activists', however, it is shown that in these activist groups, women were perceived as mindless activists, while only men were considered to be true activist intellectuals. This suggests that even within activist groupings, which should be progressive in nature, discrimination was still present. On the contrary, Pregs thinks of women's organisations more fondly, explaining they are progressive, strong and independent. She refers a couple of times to the Natal Organisation of Women, suggesting she was a member of this organisation.

The fact that both the sub-tag 'politics' and the sub-tag 'organisation' are far more extensive than the same sub-tags in the other autobiographies, tells us that Pregs Govender is enormously politically engaged and, as a result, leads a very social life being a member of many organisations and unions.

Although, the sub-tag 'place' does not contain the highest number of keywords as with the other autobiographies, it still counts nineteen keywords. Therefore, it would be improper to state that Pregs Govender, in contrast to Ellen Kuzwayo or Sindiwe Magona, has moved less in her life or that she has seen fewer places. But we can, with caution, assume that in Pregs' personal story, the bigger social picture is of more importance, a picture where politics takes in a prominent position. This would explain the many references to politics in all its forms, as it influenced her life tremendously.

The ratio female – male is more or less 1:1, with respectively counting ten and nine keywords. These sub-tags are remarkably low in reference to the total of keywords, counting only for 4,46 per cent and 4,02 per cent of the total amount of keywords found in the tag 'content'. Furthermore, these sub-tags are also remarkably low in reference to the autobiographies of Ellen Kuzwayo and Sindiwe Magona.

Keywords located in the sub-tag 'female' are: women, women's, ma, girls, mother, woman, ma's, sisterhood, aunty and secretary. Some of these keywords refer to

family ties: ma, mother, ma's, which are all synonyms of each other, and aunty. Sisterhood could also be referring to a biological tie between women, but it is very likely this could be a reference to an alliance between (non-related) women instead.

The keywords 'ma', 'mother' and 'ma's' refer in most of the instances to her own mother, whom she called ma. It is indicated in the concordance lines of these keywords that her mother was not always easy on her, suggesting they had a troubled relationship. Her mother had a best friend, referred to as Aunty Julie. 'Aunty' occurs eight times and seven of these instances refer to Aunty Julie. It is not clear whether they were really related, but she seems to have been very important to her mother. Aunty Julie was a divorced woman with one daughter, and later died of a heart attack.

As suspected, 'sisterhood' refers in all six instances to alliances between non-related women. It occurs two times in a cluster with solidarity and two times in a cluster with power: "sisterhood and solidarity", "power and sisterhood". The concordance lines demonstrate Preggs describes the notion of sisterhood as a vague idealism. However, she is not completely anti-sisterhood, as she believes it can be translated into practical solidarity.

There are also some keywords referring to the more general notion of women. These keywords are: 'women', 'women's' and 'woman'. 'Women' has a record occurrence of 419 times and also 'women's' occurs 162 times. Since it is impossible to discuss all of these results, I will give a small overview of the most remarkable findings.

'Women' is preceded fourteen times by against; 'girls' is found seventeen times in R2-position (second word to the right of the keyword); 'women' is preceded seven times by poor; and nine times preceded by ANC; violence is found eleven times in L2-position (second word to the left of the keyword); also some references to ethnicity: twelve times preceded by African, eight times by white, six times by black and three times by Indian; lastly, it is preceded six times by insubordinate. 'Women's' is followed thirty-four times by budget, ten times by rights, thirteen times by movement, nine times by issues and seven times by charter; it is preceded five times by ANC, six times by international, four times by national and four times by conference; also, 'women's' is followed three times by voices, two times by empowerment and two times by vaginas.

Of course, it is not possible to give all concordance lines, but some of these refer to how women's bodies are used in war: "pushed into women's vaginas and

women's breasts were smashed"; "women's legs were strung up"; and "Christian and Islamic groups. Women's bodies were once again the battleground with every authoritarian power attempting to assert control".

Another outstanding keyword in the sub-tag 'female' is 'secretary', as it is not clear whether this word only refers to women. In *Love and Courage* it occurs thirty-five times. Nineteen times it is preceded by general and three times by deputy. GAWU and Actwusa, keywords located in the sub-tag 'organisation', show up as well in the collocates. The concordance lines don't give away much information, but it is clear that both men and women are mentioned here in reference to secretary.

Keywords found in the sub-tag 'male' are: dad, commissar, spearman, patriarchal, patriarchy, father, father's, dad's and Mr. Similar to the sub-tag 'female', some of these keywords are references to family ties. Especially the role of father is important, as can be concluded from following keywords: dad, father, father's and dad's. The majority of these instances refer to her own father. It is noticeable she speaks more of her father than about her mother and in a more beloved way. He was the one to encourage her to dream wild and who she looked up to. Not surprisingly, her father was an activist himself with many activist friends, so she followed his footsteps. However, it is also demonstrated her father was not invincible. He already lost an eye as a child and at a later age he got tuberculosis. Furthermore, he seemed to have been cheating on her mother by having an affair. About this affair she says ironically that it was no big deal, since he was a man who was able to make such choices, suggesting women can't make the same choices men can.

Pregs Govender also refers to a court case against a father who raped his daughters. I needed to look at the full text to fully comprehend the context, but it seems that the judge in charge stated that the father's sexual deviancy was limited to his own family. So because no outsiders were at risk of being raped by this man, he got a lesser penalty. Of course, this left a deep impression on her, as it is completely ridiculous to assume that rape within the family is less severe than rape outside it. Remarkable is that in neither the sub-tag 'female' nor the sub-tag 'male' there is any mentioning of children, son nor daughter appear as keywords.

Job-related keywords in the sub-tag 'male' are 'commissar' and 'spearman'. The latter seems to be some sort of reference to a huntsman, but when looking at the results, it is clear I completely misjudged this keyword. It only occurs five times, and in all these instances it is followed by road, suggesting it rather is a reference to place, and should therefore be categorised in the sub-tag 'place'.

On the other hand, the keyword 'commissar' occurs nine times. I suspected that the concordance lines would refer to a police commissar of some sort, but it appears that these lines refer to a particular man in her life. The man in question, Ahmed, appointed himself her commissar, indicating he wanted her to be subordinate. It is clear she did not want to have anything to do with him as he made her life difficult. All of this took place in the ANC's underground or perhaps even within the cabal.

Other outstanding keywords in the sub-tag 'male' are patriarchal and patriarchy. Both of these words mostly refer to society as a whole. 'Patriarchal' occurs eight times and is two times followed by mindset. Also, capitalist is found two times in R2-position (second word to the right of the keyword). 'Patriarchy' is found six times and is two times preceded by against. In the concordance lines of these keywords it is shown Pregs links patriarchy with apartheid, and even with capitalism. She suggests women have to unite themselves against these systems. Pregs also believes progressive gender policies are still patriarchal in practice, as women are often underrepresented in big events. At one point she even refers to feminist sisters. To be thorough, I also looked for the words 'matriarchal' and 'matriarchy' in the text, but these words could not be found.

The sub-tag 'family' consists out of seven keywords: children, child, home, parenting, baby, childhood and pregnant. Similar to the other autobiographies the keyword 'children' has a high occurrence, with 116 times. While she refers to her own children a couple of times, there are some concordance lines that point out to the violence and sexual exploitation of both women and children, which could lead to HIV/Aids. The problem of HIV/Aids is addressed a couple of times. It also occurs at the results of the keywords 'child', 'baby' and 'pregnant'. 'Child' is also eight of the sixty-four instances followed by rape, suggesting it is a big problem in South Africa. She goes against the policy of the government that did not want to distribute ARV medicines. Especially since these medicines could save babies' lives when provided to pregnant women. Pregnant women did not have an easy life in South Africa as they could lose their jobs just for being pregnant. During attacks pregnant women were sometimes even disembowelled.

For the very first time a separate sub-tag could be made for keywords with an obvious gender reference. In this sub-tag gender five keywords are located: gender, rape, feminist, feminists, and abortion. The keyword 'gender' is most common, with an occurrence of sixty-seven times. One cluster stood out with this keyword: "gender based violence". But gender is also seven times followed by equality, suggesting it is something she strived for. It is shown in the results of the

keywords 'feminist' and 'feminists', that she was interested in feminist literature and she even speaks of "feminist sisters" and "femocrats", which are feminist bureaucrats. Pregs Govender is the only one out of the three writers who openly describes herself as a feminist.

The keyword 'rape' occurs forty-three times. It is followed eight times by survivors and preceded eight times by child. In the concordance lines it is demonstrated that South Africa had the highest rate of (reported) rape in the world. Especially child rape seems to have been a very big problem in South Africa at one point. She shares some horrible stories, such as the raping of a baby and fathers raping their own children. However, the government did nothing about it according to Pregs. Furthermore, some government parties opposed to providing ARVs, medicine against HIV/Aids, to rape survivors. Also, many rape survivors did not report the rape.

'Abortion' has an occurrence of twelve times and most outstanding words in the collocates are women, divorce, anti, free and legal. The concordance lines show abortion was illegal under apartheid. Many women had no resource to legal abortion and suffered serious damage as a result. When the nationalist government finally legalised abortion, it was only under limited circumstances, meaning only privileged white women could benefit from this right.

Since the sub-tags 'education' and 'race' played a prominent role in the autobiographies of Ellen Kuzwayo and Sindiwe Magona, they will be analysed for this autobiography as well. The sub-tag 'education' counts ten keywords: UDW, matric, school, teacher, class, educator, PRC, student, campus and principal. UDW is short for the University of Durban-Westville and PRC stands for Pupil's Representative Council. Pregs Govender worked as a teacher herself, just like Ellen Kuzwayo and Sindiwe Magona, but in a different context. While Ellen and Sindiwe were trained as teachers in specific schools for this purpose and mainly taught primary and secondary pupils, Pregs worked as a teacher at the English Department at the University of Durban-Westville (UDW) while she was a postgraduate student. The concordance lines of 'UDW' confirm this and also show her involvement in women's issues deepened at UDW.

Her activist engagement is again demonstrated in the results of a few keywords in this sub-tag, such as 'PRC', 'student' and 'principal'. In the concordance lines of the latter it is shown she got in problems from time to time for being involved in activist events in her school.

In the sub-tag 'race' seven keywords are located: African, Indian, Africans, white, Indians, Afrikaner and British. In *Call Me Woman*, *To My Children's Children* and *Forced to Grow* 'Indian' never showed up as a keyword, they merely referred to coloured people, which could include Indians as well. However, Pregs Govender being an Indian woman herself, it is obvious 'Indian' shows up as a keyword in this autobiography. Again, three separate groups can be distinguished: one group consists out of white, Afrikaner and British; secondly Indian and Indians can be placed together; and the last group contains African and African. 'African', 'Indian' and 'white' all occur more or less in the same amount, with an average of sixty-one times. All three are followed and preceded by some similar words, with women and workers being the most outstanding words. In the concordance lines of the keyword 'Indians', Pregs also refers to a unity between Indians and Africans.

For the sub-tags 'abstract', 'adjective', 'body part', 'illness', and 'law' only a few keywords were selected out of each of them, because it would be too extensive to explore all. For the sub-tag 'abstract', the selected keywords are: violence, poverty, Ubuntu, insubordination, choices and voices. For 'adjective', these are: insubordinate, powerful, generic and retroviral. The keyword 'vaginas' was chosen for the sub-tag 'body part', and 'hearings' for the sub-tag 'law'. Finally, for the sub-tag 'illness', chosen keywords are: HIV, aids, ARVs and ARV. The latter already showed up a few times in the concordance lines of other keywords, but I have never declared what it stands for: ARV is short for anti-retroviral drugs, and is used in the management of HIV/Aids.

Of the keywords selected for the sub-tag 'abstract', 'violence' is the most extensive one, with an occurrence of fifty-one times. Two clusters show up: "violence against women", which has a frequency of eleven times and "gender based violence", which occurs eight times. In the collocates also the words poverty, act and domestic show up. We can assume domestic violence is also an example of violence against women.

Other keywords specifically referring to women are the keywords 'poverty', 'choices' and 'voices'. The collocates of the keyword 'poverty' also show the words aids, violence, HIV and gender alongside women. The keywords 'choices' and 'voices' both occur thirteen times each. Women are only mentioned a few times in the results, but it is made clear women's voices, and by extend choices, should be heard and respected.

The keyword 'insubordination' only occurs six times, but has one remarkable concordance line, which states "patriarchs would not tolerate insubordination". We can only assume that this insubordination refers to women.

'Ubuntu' did not show much information, as it only occurs five times. It is suggested in the concordance lines that especially Africans belief in Ubuntu: "I am because you are." and "Your child is my child." Both these lines imply unity and solidarity among Africans.

In the sub-tag 'adjective', 'insubordinate' was the most extensive keyword with an occurrence of sixteen times. It is followed six times by women and four times by woman. The concordance lines demonstrate she was considered to be an insubordinate woman herself and was threatened because of it. It is suggested some man wanted to eliminate her for being insubordinate. 'Powerful' mostly occurs in reference to powerful men who abuse their power. In the collocates movement and woman only show up once out of thirty-four times.

The keywords 'generic' and 'retroviral' both show up in a context of treatment against HIV/Aids. In the collocates of 'generic' the words ARVs, medicines and medicine show up. It is suggested in the concordance lines of both keywords she was pro ARV medicine, but some government parties showed resistance, as they did not want to produce or provide it to patients.

Only one keyword was selected out of each sub-tag for the sub-tags 'body part' and 'law', respectively 'vaginas' and 'hearings'. 'Vaginas' only occurred three times and is two times preceded by women's. The concordance lines of this keyword demonstrate women's bodies were used in warfare. In the militarised state women's vaginas and breasts were targeted by pushing rats into their vaginas and smashing their breasts. Also, security guards searched inside their vaginas. This indicates women were objectified and humiliated in the worst possible way.

The keyword 'hearings' occurs thirty-two times and is used in different contexts, as is demonstrated in the concordance lines. These different hearings dealt with HIV/Aids, violence against women, child rape, poverty, etc.

It is no surprise HIV and Aids are keywords themselves, since they have shown up many times in the results of various other keywords analysed here. For this reason, I will not discuss them more detailed. However, I do want to point out their frequency. 'HIV' has an occurrence of 121 times, while 'aids' occurs 135 times. Of



course, in most instances, ninety-nine times to be exact, they occur together in a cluster.

Other keywords selected for this sub-tag are 'ARV's' and 'ARV', medicines used to treat HIV/Aids. Again, these keywords show up at the results of other keywords, so won't be analysed any further. They occur eleven times each.

This leaves us with seven sub-tags, which won't be analysed any further. These are: work-rel., emotion, language, mindfulness, plural, religion and utensil. However, this does not mean there aren't any interesting keywords to be found in these sub-tags, but I needed to make choices since this autobiography was very extensive in keywords. Also, the keywords of these sub-tags can be found in the appendices at the end of this paper, where I included all KeyWord Lists.

After analysing the tag 'content', it is time to return to the tags 'FW' and 'PropNoun'. In reference to the total amount of keywords and in comparison with the other autobiographies analysed here, the tag 'foreign words' counts very little keywords. Only four keywords are located in this tag, which is equivalent of 0,91 per cent. Therefore, only one keyword is selected: *thatha*, meaning grandfather.

As a keyword, *thatha* occurs twelve times. Most of the instances refer to her grandfather, whom she considered to be warm and gentle. He didn't drink alcohol, unlike his sons. Furthermore, he was a member of a trade union, which again refers to a kind of activism. It really appears that activism was of great importance in their family. Her grandfather also did not accept that he, as a "lower race", should be insubordinate and let nobody mess around with him. He died when she still was a child.

The tag 'proper noun' is more extensive, with ninety-four keywords, which equates with 21,36 per cent. Of these keywords thirty of them were references to female names, while thirty-five of them referred to male names. Thus the ratio is more or less 1:1, which is similar to the ratio found with the sub-tags 'female' and 'male' under the tag 'content'. Also, when looking at the different surnames, no significant differences show up. Of the twenty-six surnames, seven referred to a woman and eleven referred to a man. For this reason, no conclusions can be drawn for this particular tag.

## 6. Discussion

In this chapter the results I have obtained using WordSmith Tools will be embedded in the different theories for each autobiography. In the first part of this chapter, I will start by discussing the results of *Call Me Woman* in relation to the theory of motherhood and motherism, followed by the results of *To My Children's Children* and *Forced to Grow* in relation to the notion of sisterhood, to end with the results of *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination* in relation to power and gender, and more specifically, the notion of citizenship. In the second part, I will look at how these different theories may share similarities and how this reflects in the results, but also what the differences and similarities are between the three autobiographies.

As I already stated above, motherhood is almost always pushed forward as a central theme in reviews of *Call Me Woman*. I want to highlight some of the statements that have been made in such reviews. For example Garritano (1997) states that in *Call Me Woman* “the image of the strong black woman is subsumed by the gender ideology of its subtexts, a set of restrictive conventions about motherhood that shapes Kuzwayo’s experience and her interpretation of experience” (1997:59). She further adds that in this sense womanhood is equated with motherhood and that it is only by abandoning her womanhood, and by extension motherhood, and embracing manhood, a woman can reach recognition (Garritano 1997:59). On the other hand, Phelps Dietche (1995) encourages how Kuzwayo in her autobiography reflects on the lives of black mothers by pointing out their strength, but also their struggles. This re-writing of motherhood seems to initiate a subversion of paternal hierarchies (Lewis 1992:38).

Even though this may be true, these scholars never embedded their assumptions in the theory behind motherhood. The basis principle of this theory is that African women are “the spiritual base of every family, community and nation” (Acholonu 1995:3). In this theory African women tried to delink motherhood from victimhood and use their status as mothers to challenge the demands patriarchy places on them. However this does not take into account differences between white mothers and black mothers in South Africa. As is clear from Ellen Kuzwayo’s autobiography, black mothers suffered more as they had no financial means to leave their children with a babysit when they had to go to work. Furthermore, many African women were domestic servants, which meant they had to take care of white people’s children, while they had no time to raise their own.

Also, Ellen Kuzwayo dealt with some experiences that left a huge impact on her role as a mother. It is demonstrated that her ex-husband humiliated and insulted her

tremendously, which eventually led to her leaving him. However, to do this, she also had to leave her two sons behind. She lived in a constant fear she would never see her children again. Furthermore, her mother died when she was still a teenager. It is suggested her mother was a role model to her, so her death must have had a great influence on her life and on her future role as a mother. All that time she had had no contact with her father and her stepfather remarried her aunt Blanche. It is also demonstrated her second husband had already a daughter from a previous marriage, which made her a stepmother. Again, this must have influenced her role as a mother, since she had to balance how to act with her biological sons versus her stepdaughter.

Like Phelps Dietche (1995) points out, Kuzwayo does pay homage to black mothers' strength. Furthermore, she refers to them as women who have emerged as heroines. It is interesting that Kuzwayo uses heroines in the feminine form, instead of the male form heroes. Also, as indicated in the results, the notion mother is used in a respective manner. For example 'mama' is used to express respect for older women, which clearly confirms the status of mother as the key focus of every family, community and nation. But also the Tswana word 'mma', which translates both as mother and madam, is used in both ways by Ellen Kuzwayo.

Another, remarkable finding is that Kuzwayo pays her respect to shebeen queens, which are, according to her, women that are self-proficient and successful in their business, even if they are generally perceived as immoral and undesirable members of the community. Also, at the end of her autobiography, Ellen Kuzwayo has incorporated two lists, one referring to "South African Black Women Medical Doctors Qualified from 1947 until 1981" and the other listing "African Black Women Lawyers". It seems that including these lists is her way of raising awareness and highlighting the achievements of black women.

A last thing I want mention here is Ellen Kuzwayo's tendency of referring to mothers in a "traditional" matter. For example, with the keyword 'mother' it is indicated that women have to "fulfil their roles as wives as mothers". Also, she refers to "traditional rural mothers in dress". We could ask ourselves why she refers specifically to mothers, instead of women in general.

To conclude, Ellen Kuzwayo's autobiography gives a good insight into motherhood as an experience, instead of motherhood as an institution. As I pointed out in the chapter of Ellen Kuzwayo, there has already been too much focus on motherhood as an institution, with patriarchy constructing the institution, than on motherhood as an experience. It is by analysing personal histories, such as the ones find in autobiographies that issues in feminism are recast (Nnaemeka 1997:4-6). Also, we

can see how their experiences might shape their identities and political behaviour (Walker 1995:423).

In feminist movements, solidarity was forged through symbols of commonality, oppression and sisterhood (Oyěwùmí 2005:51-52). This sisterhood developed as a necessary means for women to escape male control through gender exclusivity and symbolized this by common victimhood and shared oppression (Oyěwùmí 2003:8). Sisterhood is often linked with, or even used as a synonym for interracial friendships. Within these friendships stories are shared, which orders them to think differently and place their own experiences into new perspectives. As will be demonstrated, Sindiwe Magona had a few interracial friendships of her own.

It is shown that during Apartheid Era, it was not easy for women of different ethnicities to build up friendships with each other. For example, a common slogan during that time was: “white best, colored next, and black worst”. Some white women really believed they were superior over blacks, especially the white women she worked under as a domestic servant. Also, it is indicated that the white government put blacks together in townships, so they did not have to deal with them in everyday society, which meant they did not have to see them in public spaces and did not risked having them as neighbours. Of course, this segregation politics made it difficult for friendships to cross the racial barriers.

Remarkable, however, is that Sindiwe Magona only starts to mention her interracial friendships in *Forced to Grow*, the second part of her autobiography, while *To My Children's Children* mainly focuses on her work as a domestic servant. In the latter, she doesn't speak highly of white women or her 'madams' as she calls them. On the contrary, she points out how there is no trust between a white woman and her maid. Her feelings towards white women started to change when she started working as a teacher again, after four years working in domestic service. She became the Xhosa teacher in a white school, which is very rare for an African woman.

Even though, she had some white female friends, it is indicated this was not without risk. Since this was not socially acceptable, these women had to be prepared being insulted. For example, Sindiwe Magona herself was seen as an informer, who betrayed her own people by befriending whites. And also white women could be seen as traitors and were sometimes called names, such as 'kaffirlover'.

That these interracial friendships made her and her white friend(s) question their own experiences is made clear by one particular anecdote. She and a female white friend both needed a passport to travel abroad together. For her friend the application was just a mere formality, since she obtained her passport in a couple of days. For

Sindiwe, however, it was a real struggle. She had to make lots of phone calls and answer endless questions, such as what the nature of her trip was and what she would be telling to people she met during her trip about living in South Africa. It was only when her friend interfered a day before they would be leaving, she finally obtained her passport. Furthermore, she had to travel with a passport of the Transkei, which no other country in the world recognised. In the same context of travelling, it is indicated how every black person from the age of sixteen was obliged to keep a pass with them at all times. This pass reflected whether you were permitted to be in a certain area or not, which limited their freedom of movement. A freedom their white friends did have.

It is also demonstrated she sometimes was chagrined by the lack of humaneness of some of her white friends, which is probably due to her friends not being able to relate to her experiences. This reflects one of the critics towards the notion of sisterhood, namely that not all women are included equally. In the end, her white friends do not have obligations towards her, as friendship is not an institutional relationship with rules particularizing what the duties and rights of friends are (Oyěwùmí 2003:17-18).

I already pointed out that Sindiwe Magona only started to refer to her interracial friendships in the second part of her autobiography, *Forced to Grow*. Not surprisingly, this also reflects in the results of the keyword 'sisters'. While 'sisters' as a keyword does not occur in *To My Children's Children*, it does occur thirteen times in *Forced to Grow*. In two of these instances, Magona refers to sisters as a unity between women: "Our sisters in CWC" and "with the lives of her dark-skinned sisters than most whites..."

Even though it was my intention to link Sindiwe Magona's autobiographies only to the notion of sisterhood, there are also a couple of references to be found regarding motherhood. This is not really a surprise, as there is no sisterhood without motherhood in many African societies (Oyěwùmí 2003:13), on which I will elaborate more in the second part of this chapter. It is indicated in her autobiographies that Sindiwe feared she had not been a good mother to her children. Furthermore, she continues to emphasize that she was more a father to them, than a caring mother. It seems that she links the notion of fatherhood to being the breadwinner and being a strict parent.

Other references to motherhood of some sort are her claims of attaining womanhood by taking a lover as it enhanced her womanhood through fertility and her reference to children's names in African society. It is demonstrated that adults are addressed by their children's names. A last reference to motherhood is that 'mama' is used as sign

of respect in African society. Similar to Ellen Kuzwayo's experience, 'mama' is used to both address the own mother and an elderly woman.

Lewis (2008:154) states that Govender's complex analysis of power, gender and patriarchy is important, as she refuses the simplistic idea that patriarchy is a system in which men oppress women. Accordingly, Govender "explores the way in which social behavior and political action come to be pervasively gendered, with masculine and repressive behavior and codes often being assumed by women and men determined to protect their privileges and power" (Lewis 2008:154). Professor Lewis recommended to mainly focus on the notion of citizenship, since theories on power and gender have a broad research field, which would make it too extensive. Also, citizenship in South Africa "has always been a politically charged and contested notion" (McEwan 2010:177), with a deeply gendered nature.

In all this, 'citizenship of participation' (Manicom 2010:32-33) or 'cultural citizenship' (Meintjes 1995:4) played an important role. It refers to women of all races being actively involved in the struggles and movements, which created better conditions for them. Also, it is a way of reordering and restructuring of politics itself, but one that is in line with their own life experiences (Manicom 2010:32-33; Meintjes 1995:4). Pregs Govender's activist nature perfectly fits in this line of thinking.

The extensiveness of the sub-tags 'politics' and 'organisation', immediately made it clear that Pregs Govender is enormously political engaged and leads a very social life being a member of many organisations and unions. Especially women's organisations and women's rights were close to her heart. For example, she points out her involvement with the Women's Charter, which is also reflected in the theory on citizenship as being one of the biggest achievements in the quest for women's inclusion as equal citizens. It is claimed by Hassim (2010:67) that the Charter reflected the diversity of needs among women as well as the specificity of women's needs as opposed to men.

Her own life's experiences made her aware of these women's issues. Her own father, who was an important role model to her, appeared to be cheating on her mother by having an affair. She states that in society, this was perceived as no big deal, since a man was able to make such choices. Another memory she has, is one of Ahmed. At one point in her life, Ahmed appointed himself her commissar, meaning he wanted her to be subordinate towards him. It was made clear she did not agree upon this and as a result, he wanted her eliminated because of it.

Pregs' involvement in women's issues already deepened when she was a student at UDW. In her autobiography, she addresses different issues that are all related to

women's rights, or lack of rights. For example, she reflects on how in the nationalist government abortion became legalised, but only under limited circumstances. In practice, this meant that only privileged white women could benefit from this right. Another example is her involvement in different hearings, dealing with subjects such as HIV/Aids, violence against women, child rape, poverty, etc., as she really wanted to ensure women's rights. She was especially committed to the problematic of HIV/Aids, when she was a Member of Parliament. She did not agree with the government's policy of not providing ARV medicines to patients.

With the keyword 'gender', it is suggested she really strived for gender equality, as gender-based discrimination and violence was still omnipresent in contemporary South Africa. I already pointed out the endemic problem of gender-based violence in chapter one of this paper, but Pregs even takes it a step further. She suggests that gender-based discrimination is even present in activists' groupings, which are generally perceived to be progressive in nature. In many of these groupings women are seen as mindless activists, while only men are considered to be true activist intellectuals. She even believes progressive gender policies are still patriarchal in practice, as women are often underrepresented in big events.

Govender links patriarchy with apartheid and capitalism and suggests that women have to unite themselves against these systems. She even refers to sisterhood as a means in this, since it can be translated into practical solidarity. It is quite interesting that sisterhood as a keyword shows up as a keyword in *Love and Courage*, but was not found in *To My Children's Children* and *Forced to Grow*. However, this does not mean she is against a coalition with men. On the contrary, it is demonstrated she supported a campaign in which men were mobilized to join in female-controlled prevention methods.

Lastly, it is suggested Pregs Govender is not likely to be optimistic of a universal gender-neutral definition of citizenship. As is already demonstrated by these examples, women's issues are too important to her to be neglected. Furthermore, she also points out that there is a problem of race politics within the feminist movement, which indicates she agrees on the fact that sex, class, ethnicity, age, religion, etc. should be acknowledged within the notion of citizenship, as some feminists argue (Meintjes 1995:6).

Now it is clear how the autobiographies relate to the different theories, it is time to discuss some of the differences and similarities between the authors. As is made clear through the results of the different autobiographies, Pregs Govender seemed to be much more outspoken in her complaints against apartheid than Ellen Kuzwayo and Sindiwe Magona were. Kuzwayo and Magona also addressed apartheid as an

evil system, but did this more cautiously and less frequent. Of course, writing at a time when it is less difficult for South African women to “betray” society, Govender is able to reflect on dynamics more, than was possible for writers like Kuzwayo and Magona (Lewis 2008:151-152). Furthermore, Govender is much more familiar with political dynamics, being a politician and member of different political organisations herself.

Pregs Govender is also more explicit in her autobiography when speaking about women’s issues, gender politics and feminism. I already stated above that we could assume that in Pregs’ personal story, the bigger social picture is of more importance. In this way she addresses society as a whole, while Ellen and Sindiwe are more focussed on their own personal evolution. However, this does not mean both women do not deal with women’s issues at all, since their own life stories are examples of it. In this way the autobiographies of Kuzwayo and Magona truly reflect on the importance of women’s individual’s experiences. They address issues related to women and gender equality in a more subtle way. Furthermore, race takes in a more prominent role for them.

Pregs Govender may be the only one to describe herself as a feminist, but the other authors also show feminist tendencies. In a small interview through e-mail correspondence, I asked Sindiwe Magona if she considered herself to be a feminist. She stated the following:

*Feminist: I have been called that and I do not object to that label. However, my own definition of who I am is that I am a humanist. I do not believe in any form of exclusion, including that which would target those who, in one way or another, exclude me. However, the focus of my writing seems to be women and their lives ... lives which, of course, include their children and the fathers of those children - husbands or lovers. (Received January 28, 2016)*

In above statements, I always placed Pregs Govender against both Ellen Kuzwayo and Sindiwe Magona. However, this does not mean there are no differences between the last two themselves, but it is remarkable that two of the theories I have used to embed my results, are two models of female solidarity deriving from family ties. On the one hand, female solidarity based on motherhood as demonstrated within *Call Me Woman*, and on the other hand, solidarity based on the bond between sisters, as shown within *To My Children’s Children* and *Forced to Grow* and as I already stated there is no sisterhood without motherhood (Oyěwùmí 2003:5-6).

Interesting as well, is that all authors have in common that they divorced their first husband, while having children from that marriage, but their situations are completely



different. In Ellen's case she had to leave her children behind, while Sindiwe had to raise her children alone and Pregs needed to try and find a balance co-parenting with her ex-husband. Magona clearly suggests in her autobiographies that without her divorce she would not have accomplished as many achievements as she did now. Her ex-husband always had a tendency of forbidding her to do things as a way of controlling her, so by divorcing him, she could finally become the woman she wanted to be. I think this also applies to Ellen Kuzwayo and Pregs Govender.

## 7. Conclusions

This thesis deals with the feminist themes of motherhood, sisterhood and power and gender within the autobiographical work of Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender. These women published their autobiographical work during a period from apartheid, 1985 for Ellen Kuzwayo's work, to post-apartheid, 2007 for Pregs Govender's work. Sindiwe Magona published her two-part autobiography in the years of 1990 and 1992, which is situated at the centre of the transitioning period.

By starting to give a background on women, gender and feminism in Africa, and more specifically South Africa, I really tried to capture how this tradition has always taken a Western perspective and acted within a framework of Eurocentric gender ideology (Korieh 2009:1). I demonstrated, inter alia, how research about gender in Africa was during the 20<sup>th</sup> century and what we already know about women's roles in South African history. As was made clear, it was not easy to find academic works that specifically focus on women and gender in South African history, so I had to deduct this information from more general works on South African history.

In the second chapter of this thesis, I elaborated on how autobiographies can be used for research purposes and, furthermore, how computational analysis can be used as an interesting means of analysing literature. Even though, this has not been done very often yet, it certainly has its advantages. By specifically using WordSmith Tools for this purpose, I have demonstrated how both quantitative and qualitative research can be combined. Of course, I used in a very specific way by only focusing on those keywords that were interesting for this research domain, but it has various other possibilities as a tool. For example in my bachelor's paper, I discussed that in literary analysis, it can be used as a way of enhancing the own interpretations, because it is a quite neutral way of examining.

In the following chapters, the autobiographical works of Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender stood central. I included a short biography for each author for two reasons. I have highlighted how it is important to examine the environment from which the author stems, with what prejudices he/she writes, when he/she writes (distance in time to the facts) and what purposes he/she pursues in order to detect causes of deformation such as self-deception, narcissism and the selective operation of the memory (Boone 2011:4-10). A second reason is that the heterogeneity of African feminism must be taken into account. Accordingly, regional, social, religious, etc. backgrounds need to be addressed in order to counteract generalisations (Arndt 2002:31-35).

Secondly, I have discussed in these chapters how each autobiography would be embedded in a different theory. For *Call Me Woman*, I selected the theory of motherhood and motherism, because it seemed that motherhood is always pushed forward as a central theme in reviews of the autobiography. However, generally most scholars do not elaborate on the theory behind this notion. For the autobiographies of Sindiwe Magona, *To My Children's Children* and *Forced to Grow*, the theme of sisterhood within feminist theory was explored. As is demonstrated, Sindiwe Magona interacted in some interracial friendships with both coloured and white women, which made her autobiographies the ideal foundation to explore the notion of sisterhood. Finally, Pregs Govender's autobiography, *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination*, was embedded within a theory of power and gender, since she has been a Member of Parliament herself and paid specific attention to gender and women's rights within politics. I decided to focus on the concept of citizenship, as this was recommended to me by professor Lewis, my supervisor at the University of the Western Cape. Reason for this, is that the emphasis on citizenship has opened up new ways for thinking about women's political participation (Hassim 2010:57).

I have ended these chapters with discussing the results of WordSmith Tools in great detail. To give the most comprehensive analysis possible of these autobiographies, I gave an overview of all outstanding keywords, rather than limiting my results to those keywords related to the different theories. For this reason, I also started analysing my results before reading into the different theories, so that I would not be prejudiced by the theories already and not fell into the trap of making my results fit into these theories.

From the discussion, however, it is made clear that for each theory, examples are found in the respective autobiography. In this sense I have shown that the feminist themes of motherhood, sisterhood and power and gender are reflected in the autobiographies of Ellen Kuzwayo, Sindiwe Magona and Pregs Govender. I really tried to link some of the examples found in the autobiographies to specific ideas in the theories. For example, Ellen Kuzwayo's addressing of mothers in a traditional manner reflects on how the mother in African societies, is the key focus of every family, community and nation. She pays homage to those black mothers by referring to them as heroines. Furthermore, she demonstrates how in South African society black mothers suffered more than white mothers, as they had no financial means to leave their children with a babysit, while they had to go work as a domestic servant, raising white children, instead of their own.

In Sindiwe Magona's autobiographies it is proven how interracial friendships challenge women from different backgrounds to place own experiences into new

perspectives. It is remarkable that Magona only started to mention her having white female friends in *Forced to Grow*, while in *To My Children's Children* she highlights the distrust between white women and their black and coloured maids. Of course, in this autobiography her own experiences as a domestic servant stood central, which did not leave her with good memories, while in the second part of her life story, she experienced growth as a person and her feelings towards whites started to change. Sindiwe's experiences also reflect on one of the critics towards the notion of sisterhood, namely that not all women are included equally. She stated that at times she felt chagrined by some of her white friends' lack of humaneness, which was probably due to her friends not being able to relate. In the end, her white friends have no obligations towards her, as friendship is not an institutional relationship with rules particularizing what the duties and rights of friends are (Oyěwùmí 2003:17-18).

Also Pregs Govender's own life experiences made her aware of women's issues. Especially women's organisations and women's rights were close to her heart. She was, for example, involved in the Women's Charter, which was also reflected in the theory on citizenship as being one of the biggest achievements in the quest for women's inclusion as equal citizens. It is claimed by Hassim (2010:67) that the Charter reflected the diversity of needs among women as well as the specificity of women's needs as opposed to men.

I stated in the introduction of this thesis that I also wanted to explore if there was a trend or evolution to be found within these themes, and by extent within the autobiographies. I do not believe this is the case, as many of the theories seem to be overlapping. For example the theory of motherhood can be linked to both sisterhood and citizenship and also Pregs Govender refers to sisterhood in politics as reflecting a practical solidarity between women.

Of course, Pregs Govender can be considered to be more brave in her statements regarding the governments' issues, but she wrote in a time when it was less difficult for South African women to "betray" society. In this sense, Govender was more able to reflect on society's dynamics more, than was possible for writers like Kuzwayo and Magona (Lewis 2008:151-152).

It is clear that every author, and every woman for that matter, has her own experiences, which reflect on society. Even though, there are some similarities to be found within these life's stories, there are also a lot of differences and these should be acknowledged, as women are no homogeneous group. By analysing the autobiographical work of these women, I have already brought forward three different voices.

As Barber (1987) already stated art, or more specifically literature, is not a transparent representation of reality, but it does articulate attitudes and reflections, because art is by definition metaphorical, which is an invitation to interpretation. In this regard, I have used these specific autobiographies as mirrors to gender politics in South African society. It is by analysing these personal histories that issues in feminism are can be recast (Nnaemeka 1997:4-6).

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## Appendices

### KeyWord Lists

#### 1. *Call Me Woman* by Ellen Kuzwayo

N	Keyword	Freq.	%
1	MY	1563,00	1,36
2	SOWETO	229,00	0,20
3	I	2428,00	2,11
4	BLACK	444,00	0,39
5	ME	766,00	0,67
6	JOHANNESBURG	128,00	0,11
7	WOMEN	398,00	0,35
8	THABA'NCHU	62,00	0,05
9	YWCA	56,00	0,05
10	COMMUNITY	248,00	0,22
11	NATAL	70,00	0,06
12	AFRICA	141,00	0,12
13	WAS	1798,00	1,56
14	LOVEDALE	38,00	0,03
15	KUZWAYO	36,00	0,03
16	ELLEN	74,00	0,06
17	SAULSPOORT	34,00	0,03
18	VERY	442,00	0,38
19	THEIR	700,00	0,61
20	SOUTH	183,00	0,16
21	HOME	266,00	0,23
22	TRANSVAAL	44,00	0,04
23	PIMVILLE	28,00	0,02
24	DETENTION	60,00	0,05
25	GIRLS	121,00	0,11
26	BAKONE	27,00	0,02
27	MOLOTO	27,00	0,02
28	WERE	769,00	0,67
29	AFRICAN	87,00	0,08
30	FAMILY	193,00	0,17
31	SCHOOL	198,00	0,17
32	WITWATERSRAND	24,00	0,02
33	MAFIKENG	20,00	0,02
34	MERAPE	19,00	0,02
35	AS	1225,00	1,06
36	MYSELF	104,00	0,09
37	AUNT	59,00	0,05
38	FORT	45,00	0,04
39	COMMUNITIES	68,00	0,06
40	THABA	17,00	0,01
41	SON	100,00	0,09
42	MOTHER	130,00	0,11
43	MAGABA	16,00	0,01
44	HELPERS	32,00	0,03
45	DR	98,00	0,09
46	BLACKS	45,00	0,04
47	MAKGOTHI	15,00	0,01
48	FATHER	119,00	0,10
49	UNIVERSITY	106,00	0,09
50	ZAMANI	14,00	0,01
51	HARE	31,00	0,03
52	HOMESTEAD	20,00	0,02

53	RUSTENBURG	18,00	0,02
54	ORLANDO	25,00	0,02
55	DAY	207,00	0,18
56	THESE	331,00	0,29
57	LEGKRAAL	13,00	0,01
58	MASHALABA	13,00	0,01
59	SKOKIAN	13,00	0,01
60	BANTU	19,00	0,02
61	THIS	853,00	0,74
62	PROC	18,00	0,02
63	MOTHERS	50,00	0,04
64	MEMBERS	134,00	0,12
65	CHILDREN	161,00	0,14
66	WOMEN'S	59,00	0,05
67	PILANE	12,00	0,01
68	INANDA	12,00	0,01
69	YOUTH	59,00	0,05
70	SONS	50,00	0,04
71	WOLPERT	13,00	0,01
72	LIFE	185,00	0,16
73	STUDENTS	89,00	0,08
74	PATCHOA	11,00	
75	ZOUTPANSBERG	11,00	
76	VALDEZIA	11,00	
77	LIQUOR	27,00	0,02
78	ASSOCIATION	78,00	0,07
79	BIKO	13,00	0,01
80	SOME	382,00	0,33
81	HAD	760,00	0,66
82	PHYLLIS	21,00	0,02
83	SETSWANA	11,00	
84	XAKANA	10,00	
85	KLIPTOWN	10,00	
86	KUZWAYO'S	10,00	
87	THENJIWE	10,00	
88	STRUGGLE	49,00	0,04
89	HER	588,00	0,51
90	WHO	415,00	0,36
91	OUR	247,00	0,21
92	RAND	17,00	0,01
93	CLUBS	45,00	0,04
94	LIVED	61,00	0,05
95	JOY	40,00	0,03
96	WOMAN	96,00	0,08
97	MOROKA	9,00	
98	HEROINES	16,00	0,01
99	BLANCHE	26,00	0,02
100	YOUNG	122,00	0,11
101	MS	33,00	0,03
102	COUNTRY	112,00	0,10
103	AFRIKAANS	12,00	0,01
104	ACCEPTED	60,00	0,05
105	DETAINED	24,00	0,02
106	FARM	53,00	0,05
107	MIND	107,00	0,09
108	YEARS	227,00	0,20
109	COLLEGE	63,00	0,05
110	SHARED	46,00	0,04
111	HEILBRON	11,00	
112	FAMILIES	57,00	0,05

113	MARIANNHILL	8,00	
114	TSIMATSIMA	8,00	
115	LEBOLLO	8,00	
116	AND	3616,00	3,14
117	HOMES	49,00	0,04
118	TOWNSHIP	18,00	0,02
119	BECAME	92,00	0,08
120	WHITE	95,00	0,08
121	IN	2743,00	2,38
122	NKOSI	8,00	
123	MINORS	15,00	0,01
124	CAPE	24,00	0,02
125	ARRIVAL	37,00	0,03
126	HUSBAND	58,00	0,05
127	RECEIVED	68,00	0,06
128	SELF	38,00	0,03
129	EDUCATION	98,00	0,09
130	JEREMIAH	14,00	0,01
131	CHOLOFELO	7,00	
132	MANTHATA	7,00	
133	NOMZAMO	7,00	
134	SEROKE	7,00	
135	VUYELWA	7,00	
136	TEACHER	52,00	0,05
137	ATTIRE	13,00	0,01
138	ZULULAND	9,00	
139	GREAT	138,00	0,12
140	SHEBEEN	8,00	
141	GORDIMER	8,00	
142	DUBE	8,00	
143	WINNIE	16,00	0,01
144	BIRTHRIGHT	12,00	0,01
145	GAVE	85,00	0,07
146	MISSIONARIES	15,00	0,01
147	APARTHEID	16,00	0,01
148	SEMINARY	11,00	
149	NEIGHBOURHOOD	24,00	0,02
150	BASOTHO	7,00	
151	HOFMEYR	8,00	
152	MENFOLK	10,00	
153	NCHU	6,00	
154	MATHABO	6,00	
155	MAGDELINE	6,00	
156	MOTENA	6,00	
157	SIKELEL	6,00	
158	TSIAMELO	6,00	
159	NTSIME	6,00	
160	MKHOZI	6,00	
161	MAXEKE	6,00	
162	MINAH	6,00	
163	EPEINETTE	6,00	
164	THOSE	204,00	0,18
165	MMA	7,00	
166	MARRIAGE	47,00	0,04
167	BOYS	47,00	0,04
168	JOURNEY	37,00	0,03
169	INVOLVEMENT	35,00	0,03
170	COURAGE	26,00	0,02
171	SISTER	43,00	0,04
172	BANNING	16,00	0,01

173	FRIENDS	64,00	0,06
174	MOTLANA	6,00	
175	TO	3489,00	3,03
176	PARTICIPATED	16,00	0,01
177	PRETORIA	11,00	
178	SISULU	10,00	
179	REALISED	36,00	0,03
180	SISTERS	25,00	0,02
181	PEOPLE	246,00	0,21
182	LEGISLATION	43,00	0,04
183	LAWS	36,00	0,03
184	DEBRA	8,00	
185	NEVER	140,00	0,12
186	WHEN	387,00	0,34
187	ROAD	89,00	0,08
188	OTHERS	91,00	0,08
189	LOBOLA	6,00	
190	MID	23,00	0,02
191	RURAL	40,00	0,03
192	POTS	19,00	0,02
193	ALBERTINA	8,00	
194	TRANSKEI	9,00	
195	MAMA	15,00	0,01
196	CHURCH	73,00	0,06
197	BORN	45,00	0,04
198	TLHAPANE	5,00	
199	MAKOLOI	5,00	
200	MANYE	5,00	
201	SIBUSISIWE	5,00	
202	PHOKENG	5,00	
203	BRANDFORT	5,00	
204	PUMLA	5,00	
205	SEGOGOANE	5,00	
206	NCAW	5,00	
207	SOPHIATOWN	5,00	
208	SOGA	5,00	
209	NDABEZITHA	5,00	
210	COMPELLED	17,00	0,01
211	DURBAN	10,00	
212	HELPLESS	17,00	0,01
213	POLICE	87,00	0,08
214	GRANDFATHER	20,00	0,02
215	CHRISTIAN	40,00	0,03
216	ACHIEVEMENTS	21,00	0,02
217	RANDS	6,00	
218	AFRIKA	7,00	
219	CLASSMATES	10,00	
220	HUSBANDS	18,00	0,02
221	DETAINEES	12,00	0,01
222	WORKER	29,00	0,03
223	DUTIES	30,00	0,03
224	N	47,00	0,04
225	STEVE'S	10,00	
226	WENTZEL	5,00	
227	DOBSONVILLE	5,00	
228	MISSION	25,00	0,02
229	HURT	31,00	0,03
230	TEACHERS	51,00	0,04
231	THEY	608,00	0,53
232	UNFOLDING	11,00	

233	URBAN	34,00	0,03
234	ENDED	39,00	0,03
235	AFRIKANER	8,00	
236	WHILST	35,00	0,03
237	ROOMED	6,00	
238	MOTHER'S	26,00	0,02
239	GRANDFATHER'S	10,00	
240	MANY	189,00	0,16
241	NADINE	8,00	
242	HEADMASTER	17,00	0,01
243	DURING	113,00	0,10
244	TIME	289,00	0,25
245	STEP	42,00	0,04
246	WITH	980,00	0,85
247	GODFREY	10,00	
248	PORRIDGE	11,00	
249	LIVE	61,00	0,05
250	SAW	78,00	0,07
251	PHIRI	5,00	
252	FEELINGS	32,00	0,03
253	SON'S	14,00	0,01
254	INFLUX	12,00	0,01
255	ELLEN'S	8,00	
256	MRS	69,00	0,06
257	LEFT	114,00	0,10
258	CHERISHED	11,00	
259	HLOMUKA	4,00	
260	PHARASE	4,00	
261	KHWELA	4,00	
262	PILANESBERG	4,00	
263	MATSHWENE	4,00	
264	DINEO	4,00	
265	TSHIAMELO	4,00	
266	NOLUTHANDO	4,00	
267	MOTLALEPULE	4,00	
268	MUTSI	4,00	
269	MZAIDUME	4,00	
270	MONTSISI	4,00	
271	THARI	4,00	
272	SETLOGELO	4,00	
273	UMBUMBULU	4,00	
274	MOKGATA	4,00	
275	BAKONE'S	4,00	
276	SEREKEGO	4,00	
277	HEALDTOWN	4,00	
278	BOJALOA	4,00	
279	XUMA	4,00	
280	ENTOKOZWENI	4,00	
281	SEROLONG	4,00	
282	TEACHING	42,00	0,04
283	VISIT	50,00	0,04
284	FINCA	5,00	
285	MET	53,00	0,05
286	PARENTS	58,00	0,05
287	GROUP	104,00	0,09
288	BEER	25,00	0,02
289	IMPRISONMENT	18,00	0,02
290	FINALLY	50,00	0,04
291	FELT	78,00	0,07
292	BIRTH	31,00	0,03

293	OFFICE	75,00	0,07
294	BREWERS	12,00	0,01
295	BELONGINGS	11,00	
296	SHE	523,00	0,45
297	WITHOUT	111,00	0,10
298	EVERINGTON	5,00	
299	CHORES	10,00	
300	ADAMS	15,00	0,01
301	FROM	658,00	0,57
302	STARTED	58,00	0,05
303	PRISON	33,00	0,03
304	ORGANISATION	38,00	0,03
305	EXPERIENCES	25,00	0,02
306	POTTERS	8,00	
307	BESSIE	9,00	
308	RORKES	4,00	
309	THRESHING	8,00	
310	SESOTHO	5,00	
311	FIRST	230,00	0,20
312	FOUNDATION	25,00	0,02
313	MEN	93,00	0,08
314	RACIAL	17,00	0,01
315	SURROUNDINGS	16,00	0,01
316	MANDELA	12,00	0,01
317	ELIZABETH	24,00	0,02
318	VISITS	23,00	0,02
319	CITIES	27,00	0,02
320	OPPORTUNITY	42,00	0,04
321	HUNGER	15,00	0,01
322	PIETERSBURG	4,00	
323	XHOSA	5,00	
324	INSTITUTIONALISED	8,00	
325	RESIDENTS	24,00	0,02
326	MARRIED	41,00	0,04
327	PUZZLED	15,00	0,01
328	LONGING	13,00	0,01
329	NATIVE	21,00	0,02
330	TOWNSHIPS	9,00	
331	CAMPS	15,00	0,01
332	THEM	294,00	0,26
333	CAME	107,00	0,09
334	YOUNGEST	15,00	0,01
335	RONDAVEL	4,00	
336	JEREMIAH'S	4,00	
337	EFFORT	35,00	0,03
338	CONTRIBUTION	29,00	0,03
339	BLOEMFONTEIN	5,00	
340	TRUST	40,00	0,03
341	LATRINE	6,00	
342	LEADERSHIP	27,00	0,02
343	CHALLENGING	15,00	0,01
344	STRENGTH	33,00	0,03
345	NON	15,00	0,01
346	EMOTIONALLY	12,00	0,01
347	FAREWELL	12,00	0,01
348	LIVING	52,00	0,05
349	HOUSEHOLD	24,00	0,02
350	ANN	17,00	0,01
351	KOM	5,00	
352	FRUSTRATION	15,00	0,01



353	KINGWILLIAMSTOWN	3,00	
354	SEQHAQHABOLA	3,00	
355	EVATON	3,00	
356	MASEKO	3,00	
357	DIPOLATENG	3,00	
358	VEREENIGING	3,00	
359	CHIAWELO	3,00	
360	CHELETE	3,00	
361	MATSHOBA	3,00	
362	PETENI	3,00	
363	MASISI	3,00	
364	PHAKATHI	3,00	
365	PHIDELIA	3,00	
366	PITYANA	3,00	
367	NGOZWANE	3,00	
368	MOTENA'S	3,00	
369	MADIKOE	3,00	
370	TSHOELI	3,00	
371	NNOSEN	3,00	
372	SILINGA	3,00	
373	MTHINTSO	3,00	
374	TRICHARDT	3,00	
375	MOTHO	3,00	
376	GODISENG	3,00	
377	NAKENE	3,00	
378	MOLOTLEGI	3,00	
379	OFENTSE	3,00	
380	MANOTSHE	3,00	
381	TWEESPRUIT	3,00	
382	MLAMLANKUNZI	3,00	
383	MONARE	3,00	
384	BASADI	3,00	
385	SERASENGWE	3,00	
386	UNCALLED	5,00	
387	ORGANISATIONS	27,00	0,02
388	BROUGHT	59,00	0,05
389	UTENSILS	7,00	
390	HORIZONS	10,00	
391	AT	768,00	0,67
392	DID	178,00	0,15
393	VAAL	4,00	
394	SHAKEN	12,00	0,01
395	MEANINGFUL	13,00	0,01
396	DETENTIONS	5,00	
397	EXCITEMENT	19,00	0,02
398	LONG	121,00	0,11
399	ELDEST	13,00	0,01
400	MARIA	17,00	0,01
401	LIVES	39,00	0,03
402	MORAL	27,00	0,02
403	JUR	4,00	
404	EXCELLED	7,00	
405	DIVORCE	17,00	0,01
406	DAUGHTERS	17,00	0,01
407	EMOTIONAL	22,00	0,02
408	WORK	172,00	0,15
409	SUFFERINGS	7,00	
410	ENDLESS	15,00	0,01
411	SITUATION	50,00	0,04
412	GASTRO	4,00	

413	SCHOOLWORK	5,00	
414	NORAH	5,00	
415	ALL	436,00	0,38
416	BLANKETS	10,00	
417	ANGER	22,00	0,02
418	ZULU	6,00	
419	KAFFIR	4,00	
420	CLUB	49,00	0,04
421	EFFORTS	27,00	0,02
422	BANNED	16,00	0,01
423	CLAY	15,00	0,01
424	DEEP	38,00	0,03
425	GRANDPARENTS	10,00	
426	DLAMINI	4,00	
427	VELD	4,00	
428	SASO	3,00	
429	MOCHUDI	3,00	
430	BUNGA	3,00	
431	MOLETSANE	3,00	
432	ATTENDED	21,00	0,02
433	LOVING	14,00	0,01
434	RETURN	52,00	0,05
435	BERTHA	7,00	
436	BREWING	10,00	
437	CORRUGATED	7,00	
438	US	155,00	0,13
439	APPALLINGLY	6,00	
440	REASSURED	9,00	
441	SEBOKENG	4,00	
442	ARRIVED	33,00	0,03
443	CONCERN	37,00	0,03
444	SHEBEENS	3,00	
445	JABAVU	3,00	
446	STEGMAN	3,00	
447	MEALIE	3,00	
448	KUMALO	3,00	
449	TEACHINGS	7,00	
450	VAIN	11,00	
451	DISGUST	10,00	
452	ABOUT	314,00	0,27
453	MEANING	32,00	0,03
454	BOTSWANA	7,00	
455	PROGRAMME	54,00	0,05
456	MAGGIE	17,00	0,01
457	WOMANHOOD	6,00	
458	ADDITION	36,00	0,03
459	AMIDST	9,00	
460	ROLES	18,00	0,02
461	PROFICIENT	6,00	
462	QUALIFIED	18,00	0,02
463	WOMENFOLK	5,00	
464	MEAL	22,00	0,02
465	THEMSELVES	61,00	0,05
466	BITTERNESS	10,00	
467	TSHABALALA	3,00	
468	BARAGWANATH	3,00	
469	FATHER'S	19,00	0,02
470	POLICEMAN	15,00	0,01
471	SHOCK	22,00	0,02
472	PLIGHT	10,00	

473	METHODIST	9,00	
474	MATERNAL	10,00	
475	LESOTHO	6,00	
476	PERSON	61,00	0,05
477	VALUES	30,00	0,03
478	DISPOSSESSION	4,00	
479	STRANGER	13,00	0,01
480	BOER	6,00	
481	COUSINS	10,00	
482	KWASHIORKOR	3,00	
483	KHU	3,00	
484	NEAD	3,00	
485	EARNED	15,00	0,01
486	ROBBEN	4,00	
487	COMPOSED	15,00	0,01
488	ILLICIT	7,00	
489	WALKED	32,00	0,03
490	HUMILIATION	9,00	
491	PASSPORT	10,00	
492	OUTSTANDING	18,00	0,02
493	MEAGRE	8,00	
494	HARDSHIPS	6,00	
495	UCM	3,00	
496	GUMEDE	3,00	
497	MIGRANT	7,00	
498	MONTHS	62,00	0,05
499	HARSH	13,00	0,01
500	CIVIC	11,00	

## 2. *To My Children's Children* by Sindiwe Magona

N	Keyword	Freq.	%
1	MY	863,00	1,31
2	I	1700,00	2,57
3	SINDIWE	108,00	0,16
4	MAGONA	99,00	0,15
5	ME	485,00	0,73
6	HAD	879,00	1,33
7	CHILDREN	245,00	0,37
8	CHILDREN'S	95,00	0,14
9	JONGI	32,00	0,05
10	DATHINI	29,00	0,04
11	CAPE	60,00	0,09
12	SCHOOL	171,00	0,26
13	AFRICAN	78,00	0,12
14	WAS	1050,00	1,59
15	GUGULETU	23,00	0,03
16	COLORED	23,00	0,03
17	WHITE	116,00	0,18
18	MOTHER	110,00	0,17
19	BLAAUVLEI	17,00	0,03
20	LUTHANDO	17,00	0,03
21	WOULD	385,00	0,58
22	NYANGA	18,00	0,03
23	COLOR	25,00	0,04
24	MEDEM	16,00	0,02
25	FATHER	100,00	0,15
26	OUR	214,00	0,32
27	NOT	573,00	0,87
28	DAY	161,00	0,24
29	XHOSA	17,00	0,03
30	WERE	439,00	0,66
31	ABELUNGU	13,00	0,02
32	PAPOROKOULUS	13,00	0,02
33	HUSBAND	65,00	0,10
34	CHILD	86,00	0,13
35	HOME	132,00	0,20
36	WE	405,00	0,61
37	THEMBEKA	11,00	0,02
38	MAGONA'S	11,00	0,02
39	NYEH	11,00	0,02
40	PARENTS	74,00	0,11
41	NEIGHBORS	13,00	0,02
42	FAMILY	100,00	0,15
43	KOORN	10,00	0,02
44	AMAXHOSA	9,00	0,01
45	SINDI	9,00	0,01
46	TEACHER	49,00	0,07
47	RAND	15,00	0,02
48	FATHER'S	34,00	0,05
49	BUS	40,00	0,06
50	MAID	22,00	0,03
51	THOKOZILE	8,00	0,01
52	QASHI	8,00	0,01
53	MYSELF	54,00	0,08
54	DID	162,00	0,25
55	AUNT	30,00	0,05
56	BANTU	12,00	0,02
57	CHORES	16,00	0,02

58	SHACKS	12,00	0,02
59	AFRICA	43,00	0,07
60	NEVER	114,00	0,17
61	US	146,00	0,22
62	MADAMS	9,00	0,01
63	EVEN	153,00	0,23
64	LIVED	43,00	0,07
65	WHO	260,00	0,39
66	NEIGHBOR	9,00	0,01
67	BABY	43,00	0,07
68	INTERLINK	10,00	0,02
69	KOORNS	7,00	0,01
70	GUNGULULU	7,00	0,01
71	HER	361,00	0,55
72	LEARNT	26,00	0,04
73	TOWN	59,00	0,09
74	DOMESTIC	39,00	0,06
75	TOWNSHIPS	14,00	0,02
76	SERVANT	23,00	0,03
77	ASTORIA	10,00	0,02
78	MEALIES	7,00	0,01
79	LOBOLA	7,00	0,01
80	MADAM	18,00	0,03
81	AFRICANS	16,00	0,02
82	JONGI'S	6,00	
83	M'EM	6,00	
84	ANTANA	6,00	
85	BHUTI	6,00	
86	RANDS	7,00	0,01
87	KNEW	65,00	0,10
88	GROOTE	6,00	
89	MAIDS	12,00	0,02
90	LAYETTE	7,00	0,01
91	LANGA	6,00	
92	HOUSE	95,00	0,14
93	SOUTH	61,00	0,09
94	SPOILERS	7,00	0,01
95	LITTLE	110,00	0,17
96	SCHUUR	6,00	
97	TOLO	6,00	
98	CYNTHIA	11,00	0,02
99	CHILDHOOD	23,00	0,03
100	ZWELITSHA	5,00	
101	MAXOLO	5,00	
102	MILNERTON	5,00	
103	STOVE	14,00	0,02
104	WHITES	16,00	0,02
105	WORKED	43,00	0,07
106	TATA	8,00	0,01
107	MAMA	13,00	0,02
108	WOMAN	54,00	0,08
109	WITCHDOCTOR	6,00	
110	MONEY	75,00	0,11
111	MBULELO	5,00	
112	GARLAND	11,00	0,02
113	CAME	84,00	0,13
114	MINE	29,00	0,04
115	SHE	343,00	0,52
116	PRIMUS	7,00	0,01
117	GRANDMOTHER	15,00	0,02

118	CENTS	10,00	0,02
119	INCISIONS	6,00	
120	PRAYER	18,00	0,03
121	EYES	60,00	0,09
122	JOB	53,00	0,08
123	VACATION	10,00	0,02
124	TEACHING	33,00	0,05
125	SCRUBBING	9,00	0,01
126	WORE	20,00	0,03
127	IINTSOMI	4,00	
128	SONDLO	4,00	
129	MAKHULU	4,00	
130	NKQO	4,00	
131	LUTHANDO'S	4,00	
132	ORANJEZICHT	4,00	
133	INTERLINKBOOKS	4,00	
134	SANDILE	4,00	
135	SISI	4,00	
136	MAMKWAYI	4,00	
137	ME'M	4,00	
138	SERVANTS	20,00	0,03
139	AFRIKANER	7,00	0,01
140	SIS	8,00	0,01
141	NO	254,00	0,38
142	RAGS	10,00	0,02
143	LOVING	15,00	0,02
144	BLACK	53,00	0,08
145	FRUM	4,00	
146	FAVORED	5,00	
147	KAFFIR	5,00	
148	LIQUOR	11,00	0,02
149	FARE	13,00	0,02
150	VELD	5,00	
151	RELATIVES	18,00	0,03
152	MOTHER'S	19,00	0,03
153	MEALIE	4,00	
154	THOSE	120,00	0,18
155	WOMEN	63,00	0,10
156	SHACK	7,00	0,01
157	MIND	55,00	0,08
158	TALES	13,00	0,02
159	DRESS	22,00	0,03
160	TAUGHT	20,00	0,03
161	JOHANNESBURG	9,00	0,01
162	ELDEST	12,00	0,02
163	AFRIKAANS	5,00	
164	POT	15,00	0,02
165	CLAN	9,00	0,01
166	BEHAVIOR	6,00	
167	HONOR	6,00	
168	MABIJA	3,00	
169	NQAPHELA	3,00	
170	BEUNIFORMED	3,00	
171	DAD'OBOWO	3,00	
172	YHUU	3,00	
173	SHWEHN	3,00	
174	SIZIWE	3,00	
175	LEGINAH	3,00	
176	VONGOTHWANE	3,00	
177	DONGAS	3,00	

178	MEDEMS	3,00	
179	MNTAKABHUTI	3,00	
180	MATSHANGISA	3,00	
181	THEMBEKA'S	3,00	
182	DLANGAMANDLA	3,00	
183	NDIKHULE	3,00	
184	SIBLINGS	8,00	0,01
185	LONG	84,00	0,13
186	IRONING	8,00	0,01
187	SMELL	18,00	0,03
188	UMTATA	4,00	
189	FILLED	21,00	0,03
190	CLAREMONT	5,00	
191	HOSPITAL	36,00	0,05
192	COPS	8,00	0,01
193	TRAVELING	4,00	
194	AWAY	74,00	0,11
195	NIGHT	59,00	0,09
196	NAPKINS	6,00	
197	HOMESTEAD	5,00	
198	SHEEP	16,00	0,02
199	COULD	163,00	0,25
200	LABORER	3,00	
201	KOBI	3,00	
202	RONDAVELS	3,00	
203	OR	350,00	0,53
204	SLEEP	24,00	0,04
205	DOLLS	8,00	0,01
206	KEROSENE	5,00	
207	MARKING	11,00	0,02
208	MORNING	41,00	0,06
209	RETREAT	11,00	0,02
210	SIMONSTOWN	3,00	
211	BROTHER	24,00	0,04
212	TOWNSHIP	7,00	0,01
213	SELF	17,00	0,03
214	FOOD	39,00	0,06
215	ADULTHOOD	7,00	0,01
216	GIRLS	26,00	0,04
217	ERASER	4,00	
218	LABORERS	3,00	
219	EAT	23,00	0,03
220	BESIDES	14,00	0,02
221	GIRL	32,00	0,05
222	LOCATION	17,00	0,03
223	PREGNANT	13,00	0,02
224	TEACHERS	29,00	0,04
225	LEARN	24,00	0,04
226	SOULS	9,00	0,01
227	COOK	16,00	0,02
228	VILLAGE	28,00	0,04
229	CLOTHES	22,00	0,03
230	LASHES	7,00	0,01
231	PLAYMATES	4,00	
232	CHURCH	39,00	0,06
233	ONE	278,00	0,42
234	BLESSED	9,00	0,01
235	MATTHEW'S	6,00	
236	NETBALL	5,00	
237	MAID'S	4,00	

238	LEFT	66,00	0,10
239	JAIL	10,00	0,02
240	WASH	13,00	0,02
241	ANOTHER	79,00	0,12
242	WOMANHOOD	5,00	
243	STRANGERS	9,00	0,01
244	DEED	8,00	0,01
245	WHAT	223,00	0,34
246	LIVING	33,00	0,05
247	FAMILIES	23,00	0,03
248	GUESS	14,00	0,02
249	NY	5,00	
250	BIRTH	18,00	0,03
251	SO'S	5,00	
252	WHATEVER	29,00	0,04
253	WASHING	13,00	0,02
254	GOLDBERG	6,00	
255	BEREAVED	6,00	
256	PEOPLE	130,00	0,20
257	BOOKS	29,00	0,04
258	GROWN	16,00	0,02
259	FONTANELLE	3,00	
260	CHARS	3,00	
261	HAVING	53,00	0,08
262	SOON	37,00	0,06
263	GREW	16,00	0,02
264	PER	9,00	0,01
265	I'M	12,00	0,02
266	NUMBER	7,00	0,01
267	PARTY	3,00	
268	BUT	202,00	0,31
269	WILL	94,00	0,14
270	OF	1756,00	2,66
271	SAID	62,00	0,09
272	ITS	45,00	0,07
273	HAS	88,00	0,13
274	THAT'S	5,00	
275	HIS	157,00	0,24
276	IT	431,00	0,65
277	HE	249,00	0,38
278	CAN	57,00	0,09
279	ARE	171,00	0,26
280	MAY	20,00	0,03
281	IN	986,00	1,49
282	YOU	217,00	0,33
283	THE	3428,00	5,19
284	IS	397,00	0,60
285	WHICH	90,00	0,14
286	IT'S	4,00	
287	#	306,00	0,46



### 3. *Forced to Grow* by Sindiwe Magona

N	Keyword	Freq.	%
1	I	2588,00	3,32
2	MY	1085,00	1,39
3	ME	779,00	1,00
4	HAD	1122,00	1,44
5	AFRICAN	146,00	0,19
6	FEZEKA	41,00	0,05
7	SACHED	41,00	0,05
8	SINDIWE	40,00	0,05
9	MYSELF	151,00	0,19
10	BANTU	48,00	0,06
11	WAS	1365,00	1,75
12	GUGULETU	37,00	0,05
13	MATRIC	38,00	0,05
14	STUDENTS	146,00	0,19
15	SCHOOL	209,00	0,27
16	XHOSA	37,00	0,05
17	CHILDREN	220,00	0,28
18	LANGA	33,00	0,04
19	CAPE	66,00	0,08
20	AFRICANS	57,00	0,07
21	MAGONA	25,00	0,03
22	SOUTH	144,00	0,18
23	WOULD	474,00	0,61
24	WHITE	141,00	0,18
25	AFRICA	87,00	0,11
26	TOWNSHIPS	36,00	0,05
27	MOTHER	119,00	0,15
28	RAND	28,00	0,04
29	NOT	672,00	0,86
30	SANDILE	18,00	0,02
31	WOMEN	143,00	0,18
32	WERE	522,00	0,67
33	THEMBEKA	17,00	0,02
34	CWC	18,00	0,02
35	MOSHESH	16,00	0,02
36	WHITES	37,00	0,05
37	THANDI	15,00	0,02
38	MAGONA'S	15,00	0,02
39	JOB	105,00	0,13
40	UNISA	14,00	0,02
41	KNEW	107,00	0,14
42	NYANGA	15,00	0,02
43	TOWNSHIP	26,00	0,03
44	ERLIN	13,00	0,02
45	SINDI	12,00	0,02
46	NGAMBU	12,00	0,02
47	TROLLOP	15,00	0,02
48	WE	456,00	0,59
49	DAY	152,00	0,20
50	EVEN	191,00	0,25
51	SIS	17,00	0,02
52	PEOPLE	224,00	0,29
53	TABANE	9,00	0,01
54	SISI	9,00	0,01
55	SIPOYO	9,00	0,01
56	DID	188,00	0,24
57	PB	18,00	0,02

58	WITCHDOCTOR	10,00	0,01
59	TEACHERS	58,00	0,07
60	WOMAN	75,00	0,10
61	JONGI	8,00	0,01
62	THEMBANI	8,00	0,01
63	SIBOMA	8,00	0,01
64	AM	85,00	0,11
65	AFRIKAANS	11,00	0,01
66	TEACHING	50,00	0,06
67	BLACK	80,00	0,10
68	COULD	240,00	0,31
69	APARTHEID	17,00	0,02
70	CHILD	71,00	0,09
71	COLOURED	28,00	0,04
72	HUSBAND	47,00	0,06
73	KUKU	7,00	
74	OUR	167,00	0,21
75	LEFT	104,00	0,13
76	MADLAMINI	6,00	
77	IDIKAZI	6,00	
78	HERSCHEL	9,00	0,01
79	PASSPORT	17,00	0,02
80	RR	11,00	0,01
81	COUNTRY	75,00	0,10
82	LIFE	112,00	0,14
83	INTERLINK	8,00	0,01
84	NEVER	110,00	0,14
85	TEACHER	39,00	0,05
86	STUDENT	36,00	0,05
87	MINE	33,00	0,04
88	MALUSI	5,00	
89	MDANTSANE	5,00	
90	MATRICULANT	5,00	
91	NOZIPHO	5,00	
92	DAGGA	5,00	
93	QUNTA	5,00	
94	INXAXHEBA	5,00	
95	NOMALANGA	5,00	
96	NOMAMA	5,00	
97	CLAREMONT	8,00	0,01
98	INTERNSHIP	6,00	
99	EXAMS	15,00	0,02
100	FRIENDS	50,00	0,06
101	I'D	57,00	0,07
102	CAME	95,00	0,12
103	THAT	1071,00	1,38
104	TOWN	53,00	0,07
105	LIVED	36,00	0,05
106	ZUBEIDA	5,00	
107	TROLLOP'S	5,00	
108	HURT	27,00	0,03
109	EDUCATION	66,00	0,08
110	YOUNG	75,00	0,10
111	PRINCIPAL	28,00	0,04
112	RIOTS	15,00	0,02
113	VAN	26,00	0,03
114	COLUMBIA	12,00	0,02
115	LEARNT	20,00	0,03
116	WHO	257,00	0,33
117	EXAMINATIONS	17,00	0,02

118	SEGREGATED	10,00	0,01
119	HOW	154,00	0,20
120	FEAR	36,00	0,05
121	COME	117,00	0,15
122	NOTHING	72,00	0,09
123	US	132,00	0,17
124	SHEBEEN	5,00	
125	MNANDI	4,00	
126	NTENETYA	4,00	
127	NDUNGANE	4,00	
128	NGAMBU'S	4,00	
129	NOZIGANEKO	4,00	
130	LUTHANDO	4,00	
131	BEYI	4,00	
132	DAMELIN	4,00	
133	LAGUNYA	4,00	
134	WHAT	286,00	0,37
135	PASS	32,00	0,04
136	GELDARD	5,00	
137	BRONX	7,00	
138	TOLD	75,00	0,10
139	TEACH	20,00	0,03
140	WITCHDOCTORS	4,00	
141	ANCESTORS	13,00	0,02
142	SELF	22,00	0,03
143	LIVING	44,00	0,06
144	LINDY	6,00	
145	NEEDED	44,00	0,06
146	KLOP	4,00	
147	GINGER	11,00	0,01
148	PRETORIA	7,00	
149	TRANSKEI	6,00	
150	NO	278,00	0,36
151	MOTHER'S	19,00	0,02
152	LOVING	14,00	0,02
153	DELIBERATENESS	4,00	
154	MOTHERS	19,00	0,02
155	SMUTS	5,00	
156	CORRESPONDENCE	14,00	0,02
157	MASTER'S	9,00	0,01
158	ROZANI	3,00	
159	MAWETHU	3,00	
160	THOKOZILE	3,00	
161	YHO	3,00	
162	BLOUVLEI	3,00	
163	MTETWA	3,00	
164	GUNGULULU	3,00	
165	MISTRESS	12,00	0,02
166	IIE	4,00	
167	LIVES	32,00	0,04
168	HELPED	27,00	0,03
169	BREADWINNER	6,00	
170	KAFFIR	4,00	
171	REALISATION	10,00	0,01
172	SOMEONE	42,00	0,05
173	PHONE	27,00	0,03
174	THOSE	126,00	0,16
175	CERTIFICATE	17,00	0,02
176	BOYCOTTS	5,00	
177	THEY	407,00	0,52

178	WAT	5,00	
179	CLASSIFIED	12,00	0,02
180	YEAR	105,00	0,13
181	FAMILY	63,00	0,08
182	LIQUOR	9,00	0,01
183	BUNNY	8,00	0,01
184	EYES	55,00	0,07
185	BOARDING	9,00	0,01
186	Y	20,00	0,03
187	DESTITUTION	5,00	
188	OVERWHELMED	9,00	0,01
189	BECAME	47,00	0,06
190	AUTOBIOGRAPHY	8,00	0,01
191	MOREOVER	19,00	0,02
192	BELLVILLE	3,00	
193	HUSBANDLESS	3,00	
194	MAN	87,00	0,11
195	MET	35,00	0,04
196	RENT	17,00	0,02
197	SALARIES	10,00	0,01
198	REMINDED	14,00	0,02
199	PARENTS	38,00	0,05
200	ENOUGH	58,00	0,07
201	LEAVING	28,00	0,04
202	AWAY	78,00	0,10
203	WHEN	243,00	0,31
204	SISTERS	13,00	0,02
205	OTHERS	53,00	0,07
206	FORCED	25,00	0,03
207	WENT	75,00	0,10
208	STUDYING	14,00	0,02
209	ONE'S	19,00	0,02
210	KNOWING	19,00	0,02
211	PRAYED	8,00	0,01
212	SOUL	15,00	0,02
213	ISBN	5,00	
214	SECONDARY	19,00	0,02
215	GAVE	45,00	0,06
216	TAUGHT	17,00	0,02
217	TIME	187,00	0,24
218	MA'M	3,00	
219	PAIN	23,00	0,03
220	SAW	49,00	0,06
221	BUSY	19,00	0,02
222	THEMSELVES	46,00	0,06
223	INFORMER	5,00	
224	PRIMUS	4,00	
225	DOING	52,00	0,07
226	WAY	127,00	0,16
227	WHY	76,00	0,10
228	LONG	84,00	0,11
229	THEIR	280,00	0,36
230	CHAGRINED	3,00	
231	SCHOOLS	35,00	0,04
232	COULDN'T	36,00	0,05
233	FELT	49,00	0,06
234	WOMEN'S	19,00	0,02
235	MIGRANT	6,00	
236	PRIMARY	26,00	0,03
237	GENERAL	6,00	

238	PUBLIC	6,00	
239	YOU'RE	5,00	
240	OF	2111,00	2,71
241	INFORMATION	4,00	
242	OH	15,00	0,02
243	IN	1289,00	1,66
244	LOCAL	4,00	
245	PER	6,00	
246	AND	1743,00	2,24
247	HIS	199,00	0,26
248	ON	405,00	0,52
249	BE	352,00	0,45
250	YOU	308,00	0,40
251	THAT'S	6,00	
252	HE	290,00	0,37
253	CAN	61,00	0,08
254	MAY	22,00	0,03
255	WILL	71,00	0,09
256	HAS	59,00	0,08
257	IT'S	8,00	0,01
258	WHICH	106,00	0,14
259	THE	3926,00	5,04
260	ARE	133,00	0,17
261	IS	391,00	0,50
262	#	456,00	0,59

#### 4. *Love and Courage: A Story of Insubordination* by Pregs Govender

N	Keyword	Freq.	%
1	MY	835,00	1,09
2	WOMEN	419,00	0,55
3	I	1692,00	2,20
4	ANC	152,00	0,20
5	WOMEN'S	162,00	0,21
6	OUR	440,00	0,57
7	HIV	121,00	0,16
8	APARTHEID	87,00	0,11
9	AIDS	135,00	0,18
10	PARUSHA	48,00	0,06
11	YASHODAN	42,00	0,05
12	DAYA	45,00	0,06
13	PREGS	35,00	0,05
14	ME	400,00	0,52
15	HAD	789,00	1,03
16	WAS	1300,00	1,69
17	NJE	28,00	0,04
18	DURBAN	39,00	0,05
19	MBEKI	31,00	0,04
20	GENDER	67,00	0,09
21	CAUCUS	37,00	0,05
22	COMRADE	43,00	0,06
23	SOUTH	148,00	0,19
24	CAPE	53,00	0,07
25	AFRICA	88,00	0,11
26	POWER	153,00	0,20
27	FRENE	21,00	0,03
28	YUSUF	30,00	0,04
29	WHO	397,00	0,52
30	PARLIAMENT	89,00	0,12
31	COMRADES	37,00	0,05
32	WE	525,00	0,68
33	COMMITTEE	110,00	0,14
34	COSATU	23,00	0,03
35	APARTHEID'S	19,00	0,02
36	AFRICAN	63,00	0,08
37	COALITION	52,00	0,07
38	GAWU	16,00	0,02
39	JAYENDRA	16,00	0,02
40	HEARINGS	32,00	0,04
41	BUDGET	73,00	0,10
42	RDP	19,00	0,02
43	INDIAN	56,00	0,07
44	SAIEN	15,00	0,02
45	LEARNT	45,00	0,06
46	WERE	488,00	0,64
47	GOVENDER	14,00	0,02
48	RAPE	43,00	0,06
49	US	202,00	0,26
50	INSUBORDINATE	16,00	0,02
51	MPS	44,00	0,06
52	MA	39,00	0,05
53	WORKERS	80,00	0,10
54	DURBAN'S	13,00	0,02
55	UDW	12,00	0,02
56	THATHA	12,00	0,02
57	AYA	13,00	0,02

58	AHMED	26,00	0,03
59	VIOLENCE	51,00	0,07
60	ANC'S	18,00	0,02
61	SARI	16,00	0,02
62	ARVS	11,00	0,01
63	ARV	11,00	0,01
64	POVERTY	39,00	0,05
65	MBEKI'S	10,00	0,01
66	MADIBA	10,00	0,01
67	PARLIAMENT'S	19,00	0,02
68	MINISTER	87,00	0,11
69	UNION	75,00	0,10
70	AFRICA'S	22,00	0,03
71	LOVE	85,00	0,11
72	GWALA	11,00	0,01
73	AFRIKAANS	13,00	0,02
74	LEADERSHIP	43,00	0,06
75	AFRICANS	22,00	0,03
76	CHILDREN	116,00	0,15
77	FEDSAW	9,00	0,01
78	MADIBA'S	9,00	0,01
79	PAHAD	9,00	0,01
80	ANTI	20,00	0,03
81	ARMS	58,00	0,08
82	WORKSHOP	30,00	0,04
83	ROBBEN	12,00	0,02
84	SANNA	9,00	0,01
85	YOGA	17,00	0,02
86	YUSUF'S	9,00	0,01
87	JOOSAB'S	8,00	0,01
88	GAWU'S	8,00	0,01
89	ACTWUSA	8,00	0,01
90	WANTED	78,00	0,10
91	DAD	41,00	0,05
92	ZUMA	8,00	0,01
93	DEBATE	45,00	0,06
94	MEETING	72,00	0,09
95	DEAL	65,00	0,08
96	CAMPAIGN	49,00	0,06
97	PAT	27,00	0,04
98	COURAGE	27,00	0,04
99	DAYA'S	7,00	
100	PHOZO	7,00	
101	PARUSHA'S	7,00	
102	GINWALA	7,00	
103	SACTWU	7,00	
104	CABAL	10,00	0,01
105	NEEDED	61,00	0,08
106	NAIDOO	8,00	0,01
107	KUMI	8,00	0,01
108	BEGAN	72,00	0,09
109	LECHESA	7,00	
110	COALITION'S	9,00	0,01
111	MYSELF	52,00	0,07
112	MATRIC	8,00	0,01
113	NATAL	13,00	0,02
114	COMMISSAR	9,00	0,01
115	SCHOOL	91,00	0,12
116	COMMITTEE'S	17,00	0,02
117	LOVED	33,00	0,04

118	FEMINIST	23,00	0,03
119	ANTHONY'S	11,00	0,01
120	THENJIWE	6,00	
121	HAMBA	6,00	
122	KGALEMA	6,00	
123	MANDELA	16,00	0,02
124	TEACHER	41,00	0,05
125	LEADERS	39,00	0,05
126	GIRLS	43,00	0,06
127	MOTHER	66,00	0,09
128	KAHLE	6,00	
129	CHILD	64,00	0,08
130	HOME	107,00	0,14
131	AGAINST	113,00	0,15
132	BEIJING	15,00	0,02
133	WOMAN	62,00	0,08
134	PRESIDENT	54,00	0,07
135	SWAMI	7,00	
136	PRIORITIES	22,00	0,03
137	ACTIVIST	13,00	0,02
138	DID	156,00	0,20
139	IFP	6,00	
140	JOHANNESBURG	13,00	0,02
141	KNEW	66,00	0,09
142	CHAIR	36,00	0,05
143	JANKI	5,00	
144	THOKO	5,00	
145	BUDLENDER	5,00	
146	KAMALAM	5,00	
147	UBUNTU	5,00	
148	ACTWUSA'S	5,00	
149	PREGALUXMI	5,00	
150	JAYENDRA'S	5,00	
151	ESSOP	5,00	
152	WORKED	46,00	0,06
153	REPORT	70,00	0,09
154	ORGANISATIONS	30,00	0,04
155	WHITE	64,00	0,08
156	AND	2409,00	3,14
157	PARENTING	11,00	0,01
158	STEWARDS	14,00	0,02
159	DANCED	15,00	0,02
160	INDIANS	17,00	0,02
161	POWERFUL	34,00	0,04
162	NATIONAL	83,00	0,11
163	CLASS	54,00	0,07
164	COSATU'S	5,00	
165	SHIREEN	5,00	
166	SASTRI	5,00	
167	INSPIRED	20,00	0,03
168	UDF	11,00	0,01
169	DESPITE	47,00	0,06
170	SPEAK	37,00	0,05
171	ORGANISATION	35,00	0,05
172	SISULU	8,00	0,01
173	SHARED	28,00	0,04
174	NOT	484,00	0,63
175	HINDU	12,00	0,02
176	EVERYONE	41,00	0,05
177	SPEECH	33,00	0,04



178	MET	44,00	0,06
179	CONFERENCE	37,00	0,05
180	INDIA	25,00	0,03
181	AFFORDABLE	11,00	0,01
182	KARLIND	4,00	
183	NKOSAZANA	4,00	
184	NJE'S	4,00	
185	NJENGABANTU	4,00	
186	PRANI	4,00	
187	FOSA	4,00	
188	NOZIZWE	4,00	
189	MADLALA	4,00	
190	DEEPAWALI	4,00	
191	MANYANOS	4,00	
192	AYA'S	4,00	
193	MSIMANG	4,00	
194	WOULD	287,00	0,37
195	INSISTED	22,00	0,03
196	AFRIKANER	7,00	
197	REFUSED	29,00	0,04
198	INSTEAD	44,00	0,06
199	PODIUM	8,00	0,01
200	OFFICE	60,00	0,08
201	ACTIVISTS	14,00	0,02
202	MOVEMENT	42,00	0,05
203	WHOM	41,00	0,05
204	MA'S	7,00	
205	SELF	23,00	0,03
206	SILENCE	27,00	0,04
207	ISSUES	40,00	0,05
208	POLITICAL	67,00	0,09
209	TAUGHT	23,00	0,03
210	BABY	32,00	0,04
211	LIVES	36,00	0,05
212	BUDGETS	15,00	0,02
213	WALKED	33,00	0,04
214	SITHOLE	5,00	
215	TOWNSHIPS	9,00	0,01
216	DIAKONIA	4,00	
217	DADI	4,00	
218	NECKLACING	4,00	
219	NKOSI	4,00	
220	LAUGHED	24,00	0,03
221	SISTERHOOD	6,00	
222	NOW'S	7,00	
223	WHILE	97,00	0,13
224	JACANA	5,00	
225	ARGUED	28,00	0,04
226	INSUBORDINATION	6,00	
227	SOLDIERS	21,00	0,03
228	ATTENDED	21,00	0,03
229	MP	21,00	0,03
230	POOR	42,00	0,05
231	RIGHTS	39,00	0,05
232	RESPECTED	14,00	0,02
233	RESPECT	34,00	0,04
234	WALLY	8,00	0,01
235	SHAKTI	4,00	
236	YOUSSOU	4,00	
237	TSHABALALA	4,00	

238	EDUCATOR	6,00	
239	UNITE	10,00	0,01
240	PREJUDICE	14,00	0,02
241	ROSINA	5,00	
242	MANDATE	11,00	0,01
243	FEAR	32,00	0,04
244	CLARITY	13,00	0,02
245	TAC	6,00	
246	FEMINISTS	12,00	0,02
247	MEDITATION	10,00	0,01
248	BEFORE	128,00	0,17
249	TO	2314,00	3,01
250	ASSEMBLY	24,00	0,03
251	GLOBALISATION	5,00	
252	CATO	6,00	
253	FACTORY	22,00	0,03
254	SURVIVORS	11,00	0,01
255	SPEARMAN	5,00	
256	CASTE	8,00	0,01
257	AUNTY	8,00	0,01
258	AS	661,00	0,86
259	TALKED	21,00	0,03
260	SATHS	3,00	
261	SAIEN'S	3,00	
262	FRENE'S	3,00	
263	MOLEKETI	3,00	
264	MOODLEY	3,00	
265	MSANE	3,00	
266	BALEKA	3,00	
267	YASHODAN'S	3,00	
268	LINDIWE	3,00	
269	LUTHULI	3,00	
270	GWIU	3,00	
271	ROYEPPEN	3,00	
272	NIC	6,00	
273	WOKE	13,00	0,02
274	HINDUS	7,00	
275	PRC	5,00	
276	MUSLIM	12,00	0,02
277	THABO	4,00	
278	TRADE	47,00	0,06
279	PATRIARCHAL	8,00	0,01
280	MEDICINES	10,00	0,01
281	WHIP	11,00	0,01
282	MEETINGS	23,00	0,03
283	HELPED	27,00	0,04
284	CABINET	25,00	0,03
285	ADDRESS	26,00	0,03
286	LIONEL	8,00	0,01
287	HOGAN	7,00	
288	CHILDHOOD	17,00	0,02
289	SUMMONED	11,00	0,01
290	WHEN	249,00	0,32
291	LAUGHING	16,00	0,02
292	TRICAMERAL	4,00	
293	SAT	33,00	0,04
294	DEBBIE	9,00	0,01
295	TOILETS	9,00	0,01
296	PHARMACEUTICAL	9,00	0,01
297	PATRIARCHY	6,00	

298	ASKED	61,00	0,08
299	INVITED	20,00	0,03
300	ABORTION	12,00	0,02
301	MEDIA	27,00	0,04
302	ACTIVISM	6,00	
303	BANU	3,00	
304	RADHA	3,00	
305	KESSIE	3,00	
306	NON	12,00	0,02
307	TREATMENT	34,00	0,04
308	DROVE	18,00	0,02
309	BECAME	48,00	0,06
310	PAUL	31,00	0,04
311	CODESA	5,00	
312	COURAGEOUS	8,00	0,01
313	ORGANISED	19,00	0,02
314	SHOCKED	14,00	0,02
315	POOREST	9,00	0,01
316	FORTUNATELY	13,00	0,02
317	ALEC	10,00	0,01
318	COMMITTEES	16,00	0,02
319	THEIR	288,00	0,37
320	OFFSETS	5,00	
321	ERWIN	5,00	
322	STUDENT	25,00	0,03
323	ONTO	23,00	0,03
324	CUSTOMARY	10,00	0,01
325	LANGA	3,00	
326	SAGS	4,00	
327	GENERIC	9,00	0,01
328	BATONS	5,00	
329	FATHER	44,00	0,06
330	WORKSHOPS	12,00	0,02
331	CHOICES	13,00	0,02
332	CREATIVE	15,00	0,02
333	CAMPUS	9,00	0,01
334	MACROECONOMIC	7,00	
335	POLITICS	25,00	0,03
336	FELT	52,00	0,07
337	TALAQ	3,00	
338	N'DOUR	3,00	
339	GONIWE	3,00	
340	GUS	6,00	
341	FINALLY	33,00	0,04
342	OURSELVES	19,00	0,02
343	TRANSFORM	10,00	0,01
344	AFTERWARDS	19,00	0,02
345	DELEGATION	12,00	0,02
346	GREED	8,00	0,01
347	DEEPENED	7,00	
348	FISHBOWL	3,00	
349	NATAL'S	3,00	
350	ANGRY	18,00	0,02
351	SCRUTINISED	6,00	
352	SEEMED	46,00	0,06
353	FATHER'S	16,00	0,02
354	WATCHED	22,00	0,03
355	FACTORIES	12,00	0,02
356	CHALLENGE	23,00	0,03
357	COMMITMENT	21,00	0,03

358	RETROVIRAL	4,00	
359	POEM	14,00	0,02
360	UNION'S	8,00	0,01
361	ORDINATED	3,00	
362	MANTO	3,00	
363	FEROZA	3,00	
364	CONVENED	7,00	
365	GURU	6,00	
366	FRIENDS	35,00	0,05
367	MEDITATED	4,00	
368	RAMAPHOSA	4,00	
369	PRISCILLA	4,00	
370	BRAZIL'S	6,00	
371	FOXCROFT	3,00	
372	DAD'S	9,00	0,01
373	PRINCIPAL	19,00	0,02
374	GANGSTERS	5,00	
375	PREGNANT	13,00	0,02
376	INTELLIGENCE	16,00	0,02
377	VAGINAS	3,00	
378	TRIED	34,00	0,04
379	SANG	10,00	0,01
380	LISTENED	13,00	0,02
381	ALLEY	8,00	0,01
382	SEGREGATED	6,00	
383	SECRETARY	35,00	0,05
384	WROTE	27,00	0,04
385	FILLED	19,00	0,02
386	NP	5,00	
387	CHATSWORTH	4,00	
388	DEEPLY	16,00	0,02
389	DAY	87,00	0,11
390	VOICES	13,00	0,02
391	PRIORITISE	4,00	
392	MEDICINE	14,00	0,02
393	YUH	3,00	
394	UNIONISTS	9,00	0,01
395	INCLUDING	46,00	0,06
396	YOUNG	56,00	0,07
397	SPARKS	7,00	
398	PARLIAMENTARY	17,00	0,02
399	CONFUSION	14,00	0,02
400	LAWS	18,00	0,02
401	MINDSET	3,00	
402	QUITE	6,00	
403	LOCAL	8,00	0,01
404	BRITISH	4,00	
405	DON'T	30,00	0,04
406	BUT	244,00	0,32
407	DOES	9,00	0,01
408	ANY	44,00	0,06
409	LESS	4,00	
410	COMPANY	3,00	
411	WELL	53,00	0,07
412	THEN	59,00	0,08
413	HERE	14,00	0,02
414	THAN	52,00	0,07
415	SEE	35,00	0,05
416	THREE	17,00	0,02
417	SAID	75,00	0,10

418	RIGHT	21,00	0,03
419	THINK	20,00	0,03
420	SO	99,00	0,13
421	OF	2031,00	2,64
422	GOT	18,00	0,02
423	I'M	8,00	0,01
424	YES	6,00	
425	MIGHT	5,00	
426	A	1370,00	1,78
427	THAT'S	6,00	
428	IT	504,00	0,66
429	MR	4,00	
430	OR	149,00	0,19
431	OH	3,00	
432	IF	75,00	0,10
433	MAY	17,00	0,02
434	IT'S	15,00	0,02
435	MORE	48,00	0,06
436	HAVE	165,00	0,21
437	WILL	57,00	0,07
438	CAN	35,00	0,05
439	BE	248,00	0,32
440	HAS	43,00	0,06
441	YOU	204,00	0,27
442	ARE	134,00	0,17
443	IS	220,00	0,29
444	#	351,00	0,46