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Title: Women and Squatting: A Winterveld Case Study.

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WOMEN AND SQUATTING: A WINTERVELD CASE STUDYIntroduction:

This paper is an examination of the political economy of Black women in South Africa in terms of a case-study of women in Winterveld. As such it deals with three issues, each of which is vast. These are: (1) Women; (2) Winterveld; (3) The nature of the South African economy at present. Given the confines of a paper such as this it is obviously impossible to deal with all three in full detail. There is thus much in the analysis that will only be referred to in passing and much that is implicit in it will hopefully be explained during discussion.

To explain the position of Black women is a task that is not easy, and that is made more difficult by the fact that the mistakes made in early attempts to analyse the political economy of women were often serious and misleading simply because there was no rigorous and coherent attempt to understand the specificity of the position of women. This led, particularly in the case of Marxist and neo-Marxist research to the practice of 'slotting' women into previously formulated categories and concepts, with the result that the consequent analysis led to no real or increased understanding. One of the clearest examples of this would be the attempts to decide whether housework and household activities do or do not constitute a separate mode of production.

The problems faced by those seeking to provide a materialist analysis of women in South Africa is thus complex: For one has to avoid the errors described above and thus formulate new categories or rework old ones so that they can adequately explain women. At the same time, this analysis must be able to explain the specificity of the position of Black women and of sexual oppression without diminishing the primacy of class exploitation and relations of production ^{and} without ignoring the factor of racial oppression.

In view of this, the concepts of production and reproduction have been chosen as central foci. This is because the issues that their relationship elucidates go some way towards providing a coherent understanding of the specificity of the position of Black women in South Africa.

The paper begins with an analysis of Winterveld itself, and then goes on to analyse the position of women - initially on a general level using comparative material, but moves on to an analysis of the contemporary situation of Winterveld women in terms of the theoretical issues discussed throughout.

The research on which the paper is based largely took the form of interviews with women and men in the Winterveld area over a period of two and a half months in December/January/February 1978-9. The quotations used throughout this paper to illustrate what is said are drawn from transcripts of these interviews.

(A) Winterveld: (1)

This is an area about 35 km outside of Pretoria and inside the 'borders' of Bophutatswana. It is private and freehold land belonging to Black landowners who had

bought it as far back as 1938 from a land speculation company who had divided the Winterveld farm into 5 and 10 morgen plots. The land is zoned for agricultural smallholdings, yet today it has a population of anything between 250 000 and 750 000 people.

Winterveld as a whole comprises an area of about 80 km in diameter. Of this, only the 5 morgen plots, those closest to Mabopane are densely settled. This area, commonly known as Stakaneng - 'close together', 'shantytown', is estimated to have a population density of 185 per hectare. The further away one moves from Mabopane the more sparse settlement becomes. Yet there are very few smallholdings where there are no squatters at all.

It is also probable that once a smallholder has allowed tenants onto his/her land a process has begun that is very difficult to limit. Tenant farming is in many cases more profitable than agriculture, and at times of drought (as at present) there is an added incentive to allow tenants onto the land and to secure a steady cash income. This is of course on a more fundamental level one of the results of the erosion of reserve agriculture.

Squatters pay between R3,00 and R5,00 per month for a plot on which to build. However, should they move into a vacant house, or one that has been built by a landlord, rents will be considerably higher. Houses vary greatly in size - from two to seven rooms; the majority are built of mud or home-made bricks and have zinc roofs. There are also large numbers of tin and wooden shanties.

Apart from the main road running through Winterveld and an extremely efficient bus service (to transport labour) there is no infrastructural development whatsoever. Water is bought from pumps belonging to landlords at 2c for 20 litres, or about 40c for a 200 litre drum. The pit latrines that do exist are often very close to the boreholes rendering high the possibility that water is unfit to drink. There are only 4 doctors in the area, and while there are clinics at Mabopane and Klipgat and a hospital at Ga-Rankuwa, these are often not available to Winterveld residents. Diseases such as dysentery, gastro-enteritis, bilharzia, kwashiorkor, bronchitis and VD that are related to poverty, malnourishment and unhygienic living conditions are common in the area.

Winterveld people describe life in the area in the following terms: "Life is difficult in Winterveld. Food and rent are expensive. There is a shortage of water and the area is polluted because there are no sanitary places. Winterveld is becoming more dirty every year. There are even epidemic diseases." (3) and, "Life here is very bad because people fight with each other. Children of Winterveld are robbers - usually these are those who left school. The landlords are bad because you don't know the exact amount of rent, you just hear rumours that the rent has increased, the price of water is also increased." (4)

From the early 1960's there has been and continues to be a vast influx of 'squatters' into the area who pay rent for land on which to build houses. It is essential to realize that their 'squatter' designation thus derives from the fact that they have moved onto the area without official permission and does not refer to either illegal occupation of land or to impermanence. (The majority of Winterveld families have been in the area for an average of 5 to 10 years.) As shall be explained later, the designation 'squatter' is also an ideological means of legitimizing and maintaining control over a specific section of the labour force viz. the surplus population described above.

The Winterveld population comprises those who (1) have been moved off White farms because of capitalization and mechanisation and the attendant elimination of squatting and labour tenancy. "We left Delmas because we were reluctant to work on the White man's farm. Now the Government evicted us. Now why is the Government inter-

fering in the White man's farm? When we failed to move away immediately the White man sought help from the Government." (5) and, "It is already 16 years that I have been in Winterveld. I came from Witbank-Cullinan. We left as we were told to move where other Africans were residing. We were working at a White man's farm ... workers were evicted and we came to Winterveld. When we were evicted we were told to move to Bantoe plek at Makonyoneng." (6)

(2) Victims of black spot removals - either those who lost their homes when townships around Pretoria with freehold rights (e.g. Lady Selborne, Eastwood) were demolished in the 1960's, or else those moved off missions (e.g. Wallmansthal) and freehold black-owned land. (7) " ... my husband died in a car accident. It's already years since it happened and before we came to Winterveld. It happened at Lady Selborne and before Selborne we stayed at Riverside. We left Riverside because it was demolished by GG (Government) - even Selborne was later demolished." (8).

(3) Those who have moved from urban townships to Winterveld because of lack of accommodation, and endorsement out of urban areas under influx regulations, etc.

(4) Those who have moved nearer to town because of the lack of work and the inability to survive off subsistence agriculture in the interior of the Bophuthatswana 'homeland'.

It was explained above that a large percentage of the Winterveld population comes from White farms. The process of primitive accumulation that led to the generation of an absolute surplus population who moved to the towns, periphery of towns, or 'homelands' bordering industrial areas (as in the case on Winterveld) has meant the creation of a reservoir of cheap unskilled labour serving Pretoria and surrounding areas. Coming from farms they lack the skills or education for higher paid industrial employment - "If factories take stupid people then I will go, but they don't," commented an illiterate Winterveld woman (9). That almost without exception, Winterveld women, if they have jobs, are domestic servants and men are unskilled labourers is testimony to this.

It is also significant to realize that those people who come to Winterveld as victims of black spot removals, as in the case of Walmansthal and Selborne resettlements, generally find that their ability to earn, their living conditions, and quality of life, deteriorate radically as a result of the removals.

Inhabitants have moved there by themselves and have not been settled by officials of the state. The implication of this is that those who are 'squatters' are evading attempts at control. It is this attempt to escape bureaucratic control that the conception of Wintervelders as 'illegal' has its origins.

At this point it is necessary to look at the issue of squatting in more detail. Winterveld people are not, in fact, squatters. They are living on land they rent, and with the consent of the owners of that land. In no way is their occupation illegal. Why then are they referred to as 'squatters'?

Potchefstroom University (10) attempts to define 'squatting' in 'Black homelands'. This is a phenomenon that apparently is not incorporated within any legislation. The 1936 Bantu Trust and Land Act defines squatting on White-owned land only, while the proclamations relating to 'land tenure' in the 'homelands' (R192/67, R188/69) contain no description of squatting. They decide, using the definition of the Bophuthatswana Secretary for Internal Affairs, that squatting occurs:

" ... as gevolg van die vestiging van Bantoe wat van elders afkomstig is en nie volgens wetlike voorskrif geskied het nie, dit onmoontlik is om ordelike beplanning te handhaaf (" ... because of the settlement of Bantu coming from elsewhere and not according to legal prescription, it is impossible to maintain orderly planning." (11)

Winterveld is thus defined as a squatter area primarily because its inhabitants have moved there by themselves and have not been settled by officials of the state.

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With the concepts of 'squatters' and 'illegality' goes that of 'impermanence'. The rationale goes thus: Because they are squatters they are illegal, and because they are illegal they will have to be moved. Once they are only there temporarily, there is no necessity to provide housing or services.

Half a million people who have been settled in one area for an average of 8 years are certainly not temporary dwellers. What then is the material basis of the ideological formulation outlined above, and why should the state and capital only be prepared to help pay for the costs of reproduction of only a section of the working class i.e. why does it provide subsidised housing and services for some and not for others?

In a discussion of squatting, Maré (12) asserts that one element of the South African state's housing policy is that of:

"... providing improved services for a stabilised petty bourgeoisie and part of the workforce (those in permanent employment and with 'skills' related to production under monopoly capitalism)."

And again,

"It is during periods of economic growth that squatter communities grow and during periods of mass unemployment. It is then that the social security considerations predominate and the state apparatuses play their part in controlling these communities and separating the productive from the non-productive."

Until recently the function of Winterveld was:

- (1) To provide unskilled labour;
- (2) To maintain the reserve army of labour for industry;
- (3) To provide 'cheap' labour in that capital did not have to provide services, even indirectly, through the state.

With the mass unemployment that characterises the South African economy at present, and with the vast influx of people to Winterveld, these functions are no longer being served as efficiently as they were. More and more of the Winterveld people are finding once they have lost their jobs they cannot get another at all - this is a direct part of the process referred to above as "separating the productive from the non-productive". Here it is enforced through bureaucratic means to exclude Winterveld residents. As referred to earlier, more and more young people are finding they cannot get work at all. "I have never worked, it is because I am from Winterveld that I don't get jobs. Winterveld people are nothing." remarked a 23 year old Winterveld girl. (13) Other groups, especially women, are finding that their skills, or lack of skills, render them indefinitely redundant.

On one level, the Winterveld community has outlived some of its economic usefulness. The township people - those in Mabopane and Ga-Rankuwa, because of their skills that are still functional to monopoly capitalism - are assured of housing and services. The attempts to reduce the size of a reserve army of labour grown too big to serve the needs of capital, is in this area couched in ethnic terms: the division in the labour force that crudely corresponds to that between township and squatter area to one between skilled and unskilled labour, is overlaid by a Tswana, non-Tswana division. (Only Tswanas qualify for housing in the surrounding townships.) Thus, the attempts of the Bophuthatswana authorities - as the functionaries who have to maintain control of the labour force for the South African state) to move those who have become economically redundant, is perceived as the persecution of non-Tswanas by Man-gope's government.

This is not to say that ethnicity is not a real factor in this situation. Ethnicity as an ideological and political weapon has an autonomy and dynamic of its own. The Bophuthatswana Government, as well as controlling labour, is making a real attempt to get rid of those who make a mockery of its claim to represent the Tswana nation. Thus the Wintervelders, the vast majority of whom are not Tswana by birth, are said to be foreigners living illegally in the independent state of Bophuthatswana. They are said to be taking jobs that should by rights belong to Tswanas, while at the same time they are not paying taxes. ("Winterveld is not suitable for us because they want only Tswanas. Shangaans are not allowed. We have no residential permits and they don't fix our Shangaan references." (13) "The rumours that Mangope is evicting non-Tswanas is disturbing. We become nervous because we have no place to go." (14)

From August 1978, the Bophuthatswana police have been raiding both squatters and landlords in the Winterveld area. The landlords are charged with harbouring illegal tenants, while those tenants with no residential permits are arrested and fined (Residential permits were issued in about 1970 to those who were resettled from black spots and could not find accommodation in either Ga-Rankuwa or Mabopane, and also to some of those who came off White-owned farms.) This is itself interesting, because it implies official recognition of the fact that Winterveld people are residents, who are vulnerable to eviction and intimidation. It would seem possible that while Winterveld was still serving its function of labour reservoir, and while unemployment was not such a problem, the authorities were willing to allow some small measure of recognition to its population. No longer.

Now application by Wintervelders for residence permits are being refused as are those for citizenship, work permits and pensions. The Bophuthatswana authorities are refusing to take bureaucratic responsibility for the area. There is said to be some sort of agreement between South Africa and Bophuthatswana as to who has the responsibility for Winterveld residents. Yet, the terms are not clear. The vacillations that are seen at present are important, for they are a concrete indication of the fact that the attempt to shift the function of social control from the South African state to its 'homeland' functionaries is running into difficulties.

Ultimately, what has happened is that Winterveld has now become too big. Too big for capital who increasingly needs less of its labour and none of the social problems and unrest that go with increasing retrenchment, inflation, recession, etc., too big for the Bophuthatswana Government who is finding the 'gift' handed to it by the South African state larger than it bargained for, and that it may not in fact be able to control the masses whose anger is being turned towards it; finally, it may even be too big for the South African state. After all, half a million people have never before been resettled.

Winterveld is at present in limbo. People do not know whether they will be evicted, whether they will be yet again resettled and why they are being excluded from work, education and medical care. The extreme insecurity that this situation has generated has resulted in some people moving of their own accord. They are trekking to such places as Dennilton, Kwaggasfontein, Hammensdrift - areas set aside by the South African Government for the new Ndebele homeland. ("At present I have no idea where we will go if we move. But with these threats I intend getting to Kwaggasfontein where non-Tswanas will be considered human and it will be easier to live there." (15) Yet, unlike Winterveld, there is no work there. This may in fact be the South African state's 'final solution'. The unemployed in the towns are moved to the homelands - the homeland unemployed to more remote areas in other homelands - areas where they can barely subsist and ultimately die off.

It is in the context of the above that we turn to an analysis of women. Before Winterveld women are examined, it is necessary to situate the position of women in

capitalist society - both in areas of advanced and of peripheral capitalism.

(B) The Political Economy of Women:

1. Advanced Capitalism

Historically, women in advanced capitalist formations serve two main functions: they are the reproducers of labour power and they also constitute an extremely important section of the industrial reserve army. The relationships between these two functions and the way in which their interaction defines the women's role in capitalist society is crucial. The primacy of their reproductive function is the material basis of such ideologies as those that sanctify 'Wives and mothers' and situate a 'woman's place' as being 'in the home'. Why then is this reproductive function so essential? Fee and Gonzales (16) explain it thus:

"With the rise of capitalism, domestic labour disappeared and both the old mode of production and extended peasant families were destroyed. Capitalism initially tore apart the proletarian family by forcing men, women and children into factories for 16 - 24 hour workdays. Thus a drastic separation of domestic production from social production resulted along with the initial destruction of domestic production. But with the realization that such intense exploitation of the whole family was destroying the future generation of labour power, a movement arose on the part of organised religion and the 'enlightened' bourgeoisie concerning the destruction of the home, the sanctity of motherhood and the purity of children which was being undermined by their incorporation into family life."

Once capital realized that its long-term interests lay in the extended and expanded reproduction of labour power, women's prime function became that of reproduction. Yet, not totally so. For capital still had the ability to pull women in and out of production as the pace of capital accumulation demanded. It is here that women's function of industrial reserve army has its origins. Because the reproductive function is deemed prime, employment of women in capitalist production is often seen as temporary and secondary to that in the home. This facilitates the payment of wages below the value of labour power for women; it facilitates their involvement in part-time and piece-work - often intensely exploitative; it lowers job security and the potential for promotion or the gaining of increased skills and training; it also determines the nature of female employment, for when women are involved directly in production, it is often in areas that are in some way supposedly related to women's production in the home, (e.g. service work, canning, textile processing) or else they are involved in the most mechanical and mentally arduous labour (e.g. on assembly lines in the electronics industry.)

In advanced capitalism then, women are the unpaid reproducers of labour power for capital as well as a crucial element of the industrial reserve army. It is this duality which defines the material basis of female exploitation and which, as shall be explained later, determines the roots of female oppression.

What then of women in a peripheral capitalist formation?

2. Peripheral Capitalism

The experience of working women in Latin America shall now be discussed briefly, because of the many similarities to South African women. While not pretending that South Africa and Latin America can in every way be compared to one another, both areas can be characterised as having been subjected to a process of capitalist penetration of accumulation that fundamentally altered and even totally destroyed existing modes of production and that set in motion a specific process of capital accumulation that has as one of its effects the generation of specific forms of

underdevelopment. In both cases the factors of colonialism and imperialism altered in fundamental ways the fate of women, especially working class women.

In Latin America, at least in the areas where some sort of industrial infrastructure was developed, women once they had been freed from the land, were initially drawn into industry in large numbers, albeit at the lowest levels and lowest wages. This can be related to the rapidity with which the initial period of capitalist accumulation got underway. Yet with the constantly recurring periods of crisis which are a feature of the inner logic of capitalism, women began to be pushed out of the industrial labour force and either had to return to the stunted agricultural sector or enter work in service occupations. In the case of Mexico it was the 1907 crisis which hit women the hardest in terms of unemployment. (17) They never recovered their place in production and increasingly came to fulfil a reserve army function; but a reserve army that over time was relegated more and more to the periphery of production. In the case of Brazil, Saffioti(18) provides figures for exactly the same process. She shows how over a 30 year period women formed a declining portion of the economically active population and how their move out of direct economic activity was paralleled by a move from the primary and secondary to tertiary sectors.

There are two distinct but related processes at work here: the first is similar to that described above where capital realized the crucial importance of reproduction and women were pushed out of direct involvement in production so that this reproductive function could be secured. The second process and one that differs from that in the imperialist nations, must be related to the effects of monopoly capitalism and imperialism on the labour force. In the case of Latin America, Deere and Towner (19) show how capitalist penetration does not entirely destroy pre-existing modes of production and how the backward, and in this case, feudal features that are retained, specifically affect women and intensify both their exploitation and their oppression in ways not experienced by women in imperialist countries. Secondly, and related to this, in the peripheral formations, the process of the underdevelopment and in particular the nature of Third World industrialization has meant the generation of a surplus population which cannot be fully absorbed into the economy either as part of those who are employed or as part of the industrial reserve army. It is this phenomenon of structural unemployment and underemployment which affects women most of all. And it is this process of almost permanent exclusion from active economic participation which is one of the main differences between the position of women under advanced capitalism and those in the peripheries. It is at this point that we turn to an analysis of the economic position of Black South African women.

3. South African Women

The primary economic function of Black women in South Africa, as is the case with women in any capitalist formation, is the reproduction of labour power. In South Africa, the exploitation of labour power has always been carried out on the basis of a system of migrant labour which has as one of its fundamental premises, the assumption that the wives and children of migrant labourers remain in the reserves and secure familial subsistence off the land. Thus it is crucial that women perform this reproductive function, not in the centres of capitalist production (as the wives of proletarian men who could then be absorbed into production on one or other level) but in the reserves. The decline in the productive capacity of the reserves, the dependence on remittances, the social incoherence and unstable family life that are a consequence of this have all been described in detail. There is no place to discuss this here, merely to say that for women particularly, reproduction in South Africa is secured under conditions of utmost hardship and misery.

Thus, women in the South African economy, as is the case in much of Africa, find that, "Since women have been virtually excluded from the industrial labour force,

few alternatives to marketing (in South Africa, to domestic service) exist in the urbanizing and industrializing sectors. Women, then find themselves in a commodity economy where their traditional productive role has been devalued, and where they have limited access to the new means of production" (20)

The low level of Black female participation in the industrial sectors of the South African economy is testimony to this. Only 4% of them are involved in production as a percentage of the Black female population, with the majority of them still engaged in agriculture or domestic service. The most astounding figure of all is the 9 million (almost 75%) who are classified as not economically active. (21) Thus reproductive labour performed in the reserves both serves to facilitate the payment of migrants' wages at a rate below the value of labour power, as well as keeping women out of the industrial economy.

In the analysis of Latin America, two processes were delineated which affected the economic position of women. The one was the way in which women were confined to reproductive labour and how this confinement was exacerbated through the retention of backward and often feudal features (because of the incomplete destruction of pre-existing modes of production), thus intensifying female exploitation and oppression. In the case of South Africa, the phenomenon described above would correspond to the nature of the sexual division of labour and the increased burden of work that migrant labour means for women. (This is an issue I have no time to discuss here) (22). The second process was the generation of a surplus population over and above that needed by capital for its reserve army, a feature which gives rise to structural unemployment and underemployment.

The next section will look briefly at the process of the creation of a surplus population. This will then be related to the effects of changing levels of accumulation on employment of Black women, especially with regard to women employed in agriculture and domestic service. Lastly the contemporary position of Winterveld women will be examined in terms of this.

The surplus population takes two forms, absolute and relative. The absolute surplus population is a creation of the process of primitive accumulation and the expropriation of the direct producers from the land (in special circumstances, as with migrant labour, their retention there, but with the progressive devaluation of means of subsistence) (23). The second form, that of the relative surplus population, is a direct creation of capital accumulation and of increases in the organic composition of capital. It is this which is our major concern. Marx explains it thus:

"With the growth of the total capital, its variable constituent or the labour incorporated in it, also does increase, but in a constantly diminishing proportion ... This accelerated relative diminution of the variable constituent that goes along with the accelerated increase of the total capital, and moves more rapidly than this increase, takes the inverse form, at the other pole, of an apparently absolute increase of the labouring population, an increase always moving more rapidly than that of the variable capital or means of employment. But in fact, it is capitalistic accumulation itself that constantly produces, and produces in the direct ratio of its own energy and extent, a relatively redundant population of labourers, i.e. a population of greater extent than suffices for the average needs of the self-expansion of capital, and therefore a surplus population." (24)

In absolute terms then, the numbers of those in employ can rise, but relatively they are a smaller element in the process of production. This 'relative' nature of the creation of a surplus population is a structural feature that cannot be eliminated or absorbed, merely displaced.

This paper argues that in a specific phase of capital accumulation, viz. in the phase of monopoly capital dominance in peripheral formations, a portion of the relative surplus population becomes to the needs of capital, indefinitely superfluous. It is this which Obregon (25) terms the marginalized labour force, and its composition varies according to such factors as which element of capital is dominant, what the degree of capital intensity is, what the labour needs of capital are, and last, but definitely not least, what the conditions of class struggle at a specific conjuncture are. For the industrial reserve army is not a homogeneous group. It serves different functions for capital and in different ways at specific times. As such, it is necessary to locate in terms of such criteria as age, skill, education, health, etc. In terms of such an analysis it would be possible to delineate mining's reserve army as consisting of young healthy men between certain specified ages. The reserve army for industry may be determined on the basis of similar needs. Marginalisation thus, does not refer to an aggregate number of permanently marginalized individuals, but to a marginalized proportion of the labour force whose size and composition varies with changes in the accumulation process.

The debate around the concept of marginalization and the reserve army of labour is a complicated and far-ranging one. Within the limits of this paper it is not possible to discuss it in any detail, only to state and then show how in a situation of peripheral capitalism it is likely that it will be working women who are the last to be absorbed into, and the first to be extruded from production. Thus on a fundamental level, the assumptions relating to women's reproductive functions mean that they can be summarily relegated to the soakpit of the family should the needs of capital so demand.

While Black women have never been involved in manufacturing in large numbers because of the primacy of reproduction (not only of the labour force, but also of migrant labour as the means through which the exploitation of this labour force is facilitated) and because of the structures of the economy they have been involved in both agriculture and domestic service. It is the effects of change in accumulation in agriculture and domestic service, on women that are now discussed.

The elimination of labour tenancies and squatting in capitalist agriculture from the 1960's have been related to changes in the labour processes in this sector and to increasing capitalization and mechanization. One of the most common reasons put forward by farmers as to the necessity of such 'labour rationalization' measures, was their refusal to continue supporting the families of their farm labourers. Information that clarifies the position and activities of Black women on White farmlands is almost non-existent. Yet, on a general level it is possible to state that women were involved in normal reproductive labour, seasonal labour on the farms themselves, cultivation on their own plots (if they were squatters and labour tenants) and finally, domestic service (often unpaid) in farmhouse kitchens. Wives of squatters and labour tenants would also often work as domestic servants or do laundry in nearby towns. Thus it was likely that women living on White farms were economically active in some way.

The demand for 'single' migrants as farm labourers, the unwillingness of farmers to continue to have families of their labourers living on their lands, and the change in the nature of domestic service on White farms - from a rotation system where work was shared over the period of a year between many women, to that of employing a small number of full-time servants, all hit women especially hard.

The move from farms - whether as the victims of 'GG' resettlement, or after having been given a 'trek pass' by farmers, meant that women were placed in an extremely vulnerable position. For, in most cases the only areas to which they could legally go were 'homelands' - areas where, as has been seen, even minimal subsistence is difficult to obtain. The only skills these women possess are those related to agriculture - which is not viable given the state of homeland agriculture; or domestic service - often not available to them as a 'legal' option

because it is increasingly difficult (for reasons that will be made clear shortly) to register themselves as such. It is many of these women and their families who have ended up in areas such as Winterveld, as the following extract shows.

"We arrived here in 1971. I am from the Orange Free State at Roadside and we went to Heidelberg. AT Roadside we worked at the White man's farm. We ploughed and we earned enough money. We left without no reason. AT the farms we were given plots to plough after having worked for four months without salaries. After that we earned ten bags of mealie meal and the men got four rand. I am not working but I want to work, but I don't find work. I have tried to look for work many times but I don't know whether its bad luck or anything. I wanted domestic work, kitchen work or washing. I have a reference book but it is not in good condition - it has no residence stamp. I have never worked since I came to Winterveld. I worked at the Free State and even at Heidelberg I did washing there. At Heidelberg I stayed on plots owned by my brothers. We left there in 1969 because we were suffering and because we earned below the bread-scale. We are also living here in a difficult way and we intend to go home, but we have not enough money. We think if we go home we can live properly." (26)

It should be made clear immediately that once families reach Winterveld, they become to all intents and purposes, proletarian - having nothing to sell but their labour-power. In Winterveld there is no subsistence agricultural production at all. Women, then, unlike the situation on farms, if they are not engaged in wage-labour, are not involved in production at all. Women who cannot find work in domestic service are thus totally dependent on their men for their survival or are obliged to enter the 'informal sector' which to the surprise of some, is not the bustling, profitable sector that it is often supposed to be.

However, before discussing the 'informal sector' and the nature and implications of economic dependence of men, domestic service in South Africa must be examined. Van Onselen (27) has showed that domestic service was originally the prerogative of Black men and it was only once men became absorbed into other sectors of the economy that this was taken over by women.

Domestic service in South Africa can on one level be understood as the commercialization of domestic labour in that it is paid productive labour. In terms of the White woman, its fundamental economic function is to free her for involvement in the service sector, but on a higher level than Black women, as salesworkers, typists, office-workers, etc. It also frees her from 'her domestic duties' and allows her to fulfil her 'consumer' function (shopping, entertainment). Black women then perform domestic labour on a dual level and in a double sense. For not only are they responsible for the reproduction of their own families, but also for the families of the wealthy. Again, in so doing, not only are they reproducing labour power in a material sense, but they are also reproducing the existing relationships of domination and subordination, exploitation and oppression. For nowhere else in the South African social formation can one see so clearly how exploitation is facilitated and intensified by the factors of race and of sex.

Yet domestic service is no longer an expanding sector of employment: while there are no figures available for the 1960's, the figures (28) from 1970 show a constant drop in employment in domestic service. Although it is possible that this drop in employment is due to the current recession and to the fact that in periods of cutback White women are also being pushed out of employment and into 'the home' - thus rendering domestic servants 'a luxury', it also has important long-term implications. Katzman (29) in an analysis of domestic service in America between 1870 and 1920 characterises it as a non-industrial rather than pre-industrial occupation and as such, one that is able to co-exist with the development of capitalism and of a consumer society. However, Katzman shows that with industrialization

No.

Do you want to work?

Yes, but there is no work and too much unemployment. I would work if there was any. So because there is none I clean all day and then I sleep." (32)

The above is not a voluntary situation. Particularly for those with small children and no relatives to care for them, there is no alternative to this boredom.

Given their inability to speak English and Afrikaans well, their illiteracy and what they perceive to be their lack of skills, women generally only look for work as domestics. This is in itself becoming more and more difficult. As was shown earlier, employment opportunities in domestic service are shrinking. But this is not the sole reason. As unemployment becomes more serious, as there is less and less spare money and as Winterveld becomes an excluded labour area the possibilities of even looking for work shrink. Going from door-to-door is the most common means of finding work, but this means that women have to be able to afford the bus-fare to travel to town. As one woman said, "Work? I have not worked for a long time and I don't look now. Nobody wants Winterveld. 30c a time (bus) is too much money to pay to be chased." The awareness that they are bureaucratically excluded from the labour market is also a significant factor in stopping women from even looking for work. This refusal to allow women to be registered, to let them have residence permits - all means of controlling labour, is bitterly resented. "It is difficult for us to find work, because people from Winterveld are not needed in town."

"At the moment there is no life in Winterveld. Instead, there is unemployment for the people who lose their work because of residential permits, which results in high rates of unemployment and to make a living for themselves, the only way is to rob people from work and it results in murdering cases." (33)

One of the most acute perceptions of their structural position was that of the woman quoted below. She said:

"There are lots of people living around here - they differ in characteristics and social life. Some sell at the stalls for different reasons, some work at factories, others in town. Those who are selling at the stores are not in good condition. They sell at the stalls without licences to make a living and their reference books are not fixed. My reference book says that I am a resident of Pretoria, but I haven't got a permit or resident stamps for citizens (of Bophuthatswana - ed.). Previously I had a Winterveld stamp. There are a lot of people having Winterveld stamps, but a lot haven't got and those who have no stamps do not qualify to be registered for employment. In the days before Winterveld was censored we were given residential permits - that was in 1970, so if you came late after 1970 you are not registered. So those who have no permits are those who came after this place was censored and permits were issued out." (34)

The process of exclusion from labour force participation is not a sudden one. It is the forms that it takes and the nature of that process that will now be discussed.

Live-in domestic work is most preferred. Because subsistence is provided at the place of work, women can save as much of their cash wages as possible. Yet in a situation where the extended family has broken down and where no strong community exists, women with children are forced to stay in the home to care for them. In formations such as Britain the presence or absence of day-care centres, creches, etc. can be linked directly to the pace of capital accumulation. The absence of these facilities is related to the need to keep women in the home, but as an industrial reserve army with the potential for incorporation into production. In South Africa a very different situation obtains: unlike advanced capitalist nations the state takes minimal responsibility for reproduction. The provision of

free public schooling, pensions, national health, etc. is largely absent. The need to maintain the cheapness of the labour which is the source of the high rate of profit that characterises South African capitalism means that the working class is responsible for all aspects of its reproduction. This is especially so in a 'squatter' area such as Winterveld, where the labour of its inhabitants is becoming increasingly redundant to capital.

Women thus take on day work - extremely badly paid because of high transport costs involved, or else piece-jobs (laundry and charring); these are said to be better paid, but their temporary nature means that they are characterised by extreme job insecurity. It may well be asked why Winterveld women do not seek work in factories in any large numbers. The low wages that are paid in the border industries around Brits and Rosslyn, coupled with the discipline that is a feature of industrial production, means that women chose to find employ in areas more familiar to them, where the work is not so intense and the wages are similar. Women's own perception of their inability to speak English, and to read and write as eliminating them from any chance of finding work in factories is also a significant reason for their concentration on domestic work. The brake that the necessity to perform productive labour puts on the ability to find work as expressed below are common perceptions of factory work.

"I prefer piece-jobs because I will have days off to care for my family."
(35)

"At present I am not working. It's already three months I am not working. My employers left, they are in Durban. I do domestic work - cleaning, washing and cooking. I do not like kitchen work - we are being underpaid and there is the sales tax and inflation. With the twenty rand they give us it is not enough. I am now doing piece jobs. I prefer it because the salary is enough to manage for your family. But it is also temporary. I want to work but it is difficult to find because you have to move from house to house. I would like to work in a factory but I cannot read and write." (36)

The position of those women who have lost their jobs in the formal sector and cannot find any other will now be examined. Here, the presence or absence of a man as a breadwinner is crucial, for unemployed women can survive if they have a man. If not, the situation of utter desperation into which they fall forces them into 'informal sector' participation.

One of the most common myths associated with the entire issue of squatting is that somehow the poverty that characterises it is mitigated by the ability to live cheaply. This is said to be a result of so-called 'informal sector' activities. Leys (37) defines it thus: The informal sector is seen as a range of activities

"characterised by the ease of entry into the activity concerned, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership, smallness of scale, labour intensiveness and 'adapted technology', skills acquired outside the formal school system and unregulated and competitive markets."

In the article from which this definition is drawn he criticizes the International Labour Organisations report on employment in Kenya which advocates the recognition and 'upgrading of the informal sector'. He criticizes this on the following basis:

"What stand out about the so-called 'informal sector' is that it denotes primarily a system of very intense exploitation of labour, with very low wages and often very long hours, underpinned by the constant pressure for work from the 'reserve army' of job seekers ... (Secondly) the economic activities (and inactivities) it comprises are linked intimately to

the so-called 'formal sector'. What they do is to provide goods and services at a very low price, which makes possible the high profits and wages of the 'formal sector' (i.e. the monopolistic sector)." (38)

It is this which is termed by Obregon (39) the marginal pole of the economy. He characterises it in similar terms to Leys as the sector of the economy characterised by increasing diversification, low levels of productivity and which enables the working class to reproduce itself through the sale and purchase of poor quality commodities.

The existence of the 'informal sector' supposedly means that squatters are able to obtain such necessities as food, clothing and housing for less than they cost in the 'formal sector'. This is not so at all. Squatting is an expensive business. The lack of services means that those who have a monopoly over scarce resources such as water, land and building materials are able to cash in on the vulnerable position that people are in. Water in Winterveld is usually sold at 2c for 20 litres - far more than in any township or 'white' suburb. Furthermore, the lack of facilities in areas such as this, includes the lack of shops so that those that do exist are thus able to charge far higher prices than would be normal in town - for instance, soap and cleaning materials cost almost double in Winterveld.

The high cost of transport - particularly if one does not have a weekly bus or train ticket - means that most people cannot make the journey to town to buy food cheaply. The only alternative is to buy at roadside stalls. Here, prices are low, but quality is poor. The stallholders are almost without exception women, and often women who are the sole supporters of their families. The poverty that characterises an occupation such as this is described by one seller. She is a widow, the sole supporter of her mother-in-law, her own three children and three orphans. Because she has no pass, the only means of making money available to her, is to sell fruit.

"We buy these peaches from the market and sell them to make a living. We are selling them at 2c each and at a profit of R2,00, after having bought the stuff for R1,00. This profit is earned after two days. (This gives her an income of R30,00 per month.) At times we have nothing to eat. At times then, when I have old porridge I mix it with water and I give this to the children so that they have something in their stomachs." (40)

The vegetables and fruit that these women sell are usually the 'leftovers' from the Pretoria market. The fact that they have to be fetched by truck means that their capital outlay is high. The poor quality of the produce means they have to sell at low prices. This situation is compounded by the inability to obtain trader's licences. The refusal to grant them is not simply a function of bureaucratic pig-headedness, but is a deliberate means of ensuring the continued vulnerability and insecurity and poverty of a great number of people.

For Winterveld women the low wages they receive, in part because they are women; the limited employment opportunities available to them; their responsibility for reproductive labour as well as numerous other factors, means they are dependent on men to support them. Winterveld women are well aware of the poverty that life without a man - whether a husband, a father or a brother, can mean. In this sense men become an economic necessity - a provider of money, while women are relegated to the status of domestic labourers, who turn that money into use-values for reproduction. It is this sexual division of labour and the implications of it for the oppression of women that will now be discussed.

This paper has until now, dealt in the main with the nature of the exploitation of Black women. The issue of women's oppression is far more complex. All that

shall be discussed here is the material basis. Throughout, the material basis of the exploitation of women has been explained in terms of the primacy of their reproductive role and the way in which their involvement in production is predicated on it. The roots of female oppression are also to be located in the reproductive sphere. For reproductive labour is privatised and domestic as opposed to social and collective. It is this division which shall now be explored for it has important effects on the lives of women.

As was said earlier, the exclusion of these women from the labour market as well as the fact that they are proletarian women shuts them away from access to either the means of production or of subsistence. This has to be distinguished from:

"... a group of male wage-labourers who do not own the means of production but ... to the extent that they are involved in social production of the resources of society, their work is social rather than private. The result of this exclusion of women from access to the major means of production, in the context of stratification, means that they are unequal to the men of their class." (41)

The result of this inequality is the almost total dependence by women on men and the need to ensure that one has a male provider. Dependence on men for survival has myriad implications: In the first place women are powerless to determine their own destinies - they have to do what they are told, accept what they are given, without complaint.

In a situation such as this, women are not in a position to demand from their men money with which to reproduce the household. They must accept however little they are given, and this without question. In Winterveld it is common to find women who starve themselves to feed their husbands and children because they have so little money. This is of course in many cases related to the fact that men have no more to give, but not always. Women tell with extreme bitterness that they do not know how much their husbands earn. For this is a crucial factor maintaining their powerlessness. Secondly, the extremely exploitative conditions in which men are forced to labour is, because of their lack of political power and their exclusion from collective bargaining often beyond their control. This is especially so at present in view of high levels of unemployment. It is thus women who bear the brunt of the frustration and aggression that their husbands are powerless to express within the workplace. In Winterveld wife and child-bearing is as common as rape. Sexual aggression is in a situation such as this a more or less immutable fact of life. Women seem to accept it with resignation and although they may express their resentment and hurt to their friends, there is no way in which they can safely do so to their men.

At this point the implications of the nuclear family structure that is found in Winterveld must be discussed. The first point that must be made is that the nuclear family is the family form most suited to the needs of capitalism because it is essentially a reproductive rather than productive (as under non-capitalist and feudal formations) unit. As such, it embodies the division of labour that capitalism demands. The abolition of the extended family that its development implies, is also a means of maintaining women in the home to fulfil their reserve army and reproductive functions, and thus significantly curbs their independence.

"The nuclear family curbs the independence of women especially when it occurs without the development of alternative methods of sharing domestic responsibilities and childcare. Traditional kinship patterns were such that a woman and child were less dependent on a particular man; responsibility for individuals was vested in the lineage ..." (42)

The majority of Winterveld families are nuclear families, although it is common to find grandparents (usually the husband's mother) living with the family. The

constant resettlements which many of these people have experienced means that it is not often that relatives live near each other. It is possibly this feature which may explain the marked absence of any non-monetary redistributive economy in the area, for it is rare that women will say that they and their neighbours help each other with baby-sitting, washing, borrowing or lending of money. It would seem that in Winterveld the fear and insecurity that characterize life, especially in view of the threats of eviction, has in many cases led to the creation of a 'cut-throat' mentality. Women do not trust, speak to or help neighbours - "friends destroy marriages" is a typical response to questions related to the nature of social interaction. What this situation in fact means, is that the isolation that defines the life of 'housewives' in any western countries is in a situation such as this, total. The private character of women's domestic labour is here reinforced by social isolation.

This, seen in conjunction with the inability of many women to read, write or speak either English or Afrikaans, effectively excludes them from any social interaction, or from any wider understanding of the forces that shape their lives.

In the case of Winterveld there is a high degree of acceptance by women of these ideologies that rationalise and justify their oppression. When asked, women say that a woman's place is in the home - this is so, whether they work or not, for they then perceive work merely as a means of 'helping' their husbands, and as such temporary, rather than it being their right. In such statements the degree to which the reserve army function of women and their reproductive function, has been internalised in ideological terms, is made explicit. The numerous times that men will not allow their wives to work, because they say her place is in the home, is in its turn an indication of how working men through their acceptance of the dominant, (capitalist) ideology, are facilitating the oppression of their women. This is also rationalised in terms of a distorted perception as to the nature of women's role in tribal society. This is particularly prevalent amongst older men.

"What do you think about your husband's opinion that a woman's place is in the kitchen?

I respond to every word my husband utters.

Would you like to work?

No, because my husband says I must look after our house.

Won't you have more money if both of you work?

Husband: "I am a man and the only one that works."

Wife: "I have never worked for a White man, only for my parents and my husband."

Husband: "A man must maintain his family by working and my wife must look after the children when I am at work. She must give me water to wash and refresh myself and must make beer for me to drink at weekends."

(43)

"What is a woman's place?

A woman's place is to cook and clean.

What is a man's place?

A man's place is to rule women and make money. A man has brains and he has his own work.

Who built this house?

Our whole family - we all made the bricks and helped with the plastering.

So then woman and man can do the same work?

No! Woman takes the bottom place. When the man goes up the stepladder we stand beneath and he tells us what to do, for a woman is a perpetual sufferer in using the brains." (44)

The above situation has crucial political implications. In advanced capitalist societies women are also primarily the reproducers of labour power, but they

fulfil this function on the basis of wages that are set at the value of labour power. In South Africa, as has been reiterated time and again, wages are set at a rate below the value of labour power, because of the assumptions underlying migrancy as a form of exploitation of labour power. At present, high levels of unemployment and the over-large industrial reserve army is a further factor facilitating this. This means that for women who are immediately responsible for reproduction, it is essential that their men keep their jobs. In an important sense this is a brake on working class militancy. For White men who are not directly responsible for reproduction and whose involvement in social production means that they can involve themselves in collective worker action, women cannot. The isolation that is imposed on women because of their place in the capitalist division of labour renders them in certain senses extremely conservative.

In advanced capitalism the separation of domestic and social labour is rigid - yet it is not total, for women can participate in collective labour at some point. Not so here. In this situation reproductive labour is the central element and focal point of women's lives. For even when they labour, they are once again performing reproductive work, for minimal wages and under even more intensely oppressive and exploitative conditions; for the majority of them are domestic servants. The conservatism that this privatised labour engenders is one of the most subtle forms of control of the working class yet devised. Men's exploitation in the workplace, their exclusion from access to any form of power - political or economic, and the high degree of control they experience is in a sense mediated through their wives and families; for it is they who actively stop men from challenging and resisting this situation, because of the threat that it poses to immediate reproduction. In turn, the lack of control that men have to influence their lives and their labour and the conditions of that labour is in many instances impossible to express directly. Once again it is mediated through the family.

The last issue to be discussed in this paper is the nature of the difference, if any, of the oppression of Black women in South Africa, compared with oppression of women under advanced capitalism. The question that is thus being posed is one of the specificity of Black women's oppression in South Africa.

The analysis of women's oppression that has been detailed here is a simple one. It rests mainly on the distinction between private and social labour that is a feature of capitalist society and explains the situation of Winterveld women in these terms. The kinds of issues that define analysis of female oppression elsewhere - those relating to sexual oppression, rather than sexual aggression; to male chauvinism as a phenomenon with a dynamic of its own; to the entire welter of issues relating to discrimination against women in terms of divorce-law, abortion-law, etc., have not been touched on. In an important sense it is the exclusion of these issues from the analysis that in some way moves one towards a definition of the specificity of the oppression of Black women in South Africa, and Winterveld women in particular.

For oppression of Black women here is inextricably linked to a historically specific form of exploitation of labour power - that of migrant labour. It is this which at the most fundamental level explains the intensity of the oppression and exploitation experienced by these women. It could be argued that this is only so in the case of women living in the 'homelands' and that urban women, especially those with Section 10 Rights are in exactly the same position as working women elsewhere. In the case of Section 10 women this might well become true over time. For, as shown earlier with the advent of monopoly capitalism, some sort of division of the labour force seems to be instituted. As Mare (45) shows, this relates to the needs of monopoly capitalism for a stabilised, educated, controlled work force. However, Section 10 women are a tiny minority of all women, and whose

'rights' are in the process of being threatened by renewed attempts at balkanisation of South Africa, attempts which try to deprive them of their South African citizenship and rights, and thus take on a 'migrant' status.

Why is it then that migrant labour is defined as the basis of and the prime factor in facilitating and enforcing oppression and exploitation of women?

This is because it is the central feature of an intensely repressive system of political and economic control. In capitalism as was explained throughout, the family is an economic unit serving to reproduce labour power for capital. It is women who perform this function. In South Africa, however, the family as an economic unit is a divided family - for it is based on the assumption that women will perform reproductive labour 'elsewhere'. (Migrant labour is central, whether families are united (as in the case of Winterveld) or divided, for it is the assumptions by capital relating to it, rather than the de facto situation, that are crucial.)

As such, women occupy a central and indeed pivotal position within the system of repressive labour control. As long as they can be kept out of urban areas, out of 'White' South Africa, or as long as they are in it only as migrant domestic workers, the foundations of the system still stand secure. Yet, not only do Black women perform reproductive labour 'elsewhere' - they do so in situations of extreme poverty, of social incoherence and fragmentation. The isolation of Winterveld women, their conservatism, their mistrust of one another, their individualism is a direct consequence of the fact that they perform reproductive labour in a situation where reproduction is not assured. They also do so as the most neglected (in terms of education, health, etc.) section of the working class. As their labour becomes increasingly redundant, capital feels increasingly less obligated to subsidise their reproduction in any way. In the present phase of South African capitalism, the system whereby the working class has always secured its own reproduction, is likely to become a system whereby those necessary to the needs of capital will have their costs of reproduction subsidised in some way. (e.g. Urban Foundation housing) The rest will continue to endure the utmost poverty, and perhaps as male unemployment rises, cease even to be able to secure this reproduction.

It is in this sense that one must understand the nature of the challenge posed by the people of Crossroads to the South African state. For in choosing to live together as families, they are challenging the entire basis of cheap labour power in South Africa. It is in this context and with this understanding, that Adamson et al (46) can say:

"The oppression of Black women in South Africa can hardly be ascribed to Black family life - the racist South African regime has all but destroyed it. Far from it being the revolutionary struggle that has torn women from their homes and children, it is South African capital that breaks up families and destroys communities. While any form of durable family life is all but destroyed for Africans, capital in South Africa gives the family as an economic unit a most striking and barbaric form. Nowhere is the privatised nature of domestic work so directly pronounced. Michael Williams has expressed this point particularly well:"

"What the women of the reserves were rearing and maintaining were the labourers themselves, the living repositories of the commodity labour power, the most essential element of productive capital.

South Africa is no exception to the rule that this specific form of concrete labour which is foisted upon women under capitalism will always take

place alongside the process of surplus value extraction, as it is carried out in the direct process of production. Only now ... does this law present itself in its most striking and barbaric form."

"In South Africa today the possibility of family life for the Black population would be a positive advance in the struggle against South African capital because it would mean all-out opposition to the system of the pass laws and segregation into 'homelands'. The struggle for family life in South Africa is inseparable from the struggle against capitalism."

In a situation such as this, before one can speak of equal pay for equal work, one has to speak of the provision of work; before one can speak of reforming divorce law, one has to speak of abolishing the basis of the law which has created this distorted and perverted form of capitalist family.

In essence, the most urgent concerns of Black women are economic - their oppression as women, is experienced as an intensification of their economic exploitation as members of the working class. The chauvinism and aggression of their men, the complaints about the way in which their men have forgotten their responsibilities, are all a consequence of the form of the capitalist division of labour which has been imposed on them. It is only the abolition of this and all its refinements, that can alter their situation in any material sense.

FOOTNOTES:

- (1) This information on Winterveld is drawn from interviews, and press reports in Post and Pretoria News.
- (2) Interview 17 January 1979.
- (3) Interview 11 January 1979.
- (4) Interview 22 February 1979.
- (5) Interview 21 January 1979.
- (6) For an excellent account of these resettlements, see Desmond, C., The Discarded People, Penguin African Library, Harmondsworth, 1971.
- (7) Interview 15 January 1979.
- (8) Interview 20 January 1979.
- (9) Instituut vir Streekbeplanning (Potchefstroom University), Bophuthatswana: Odi en Moretele
- (10) Ibid, p42.
- (11) Mare, G., Further Notes on the Squatter Problem, Control, p37.
- (12) Interview 2 December 1978.
- (13) Interview 28 February 1979.
- (14) Interview 23 January 1979.
- (15) Fee, T., and Gonzalez, R., "Women in Changing Modes of Production", in Latin American Perspective, p41.
- (16) Turner, M., "Monopoly Capitalism and Women's Work", in Latin American Perspective, p92.
- (17) Saffioti, H., "Women, Modes of Production and Social Formations", in Latin American Perspectives, p35.
- (18) Turner, op cit and Deere, C.D., "Changing Social Relations of Production and Peruvian Peasant Women's Work in Latin American Perspectives."
- (19) Mullings, L. in Hafkin and Bay (eds) Women In Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change, p249.
- (20) Department of Statistics, 1970 census.
- (21) See Innes and O'Meara in RAPE 7 for the most useful analysis of this.
- (22) Ibid.
- (23) Marx, K., Capital I, p594.
- (24) Obregon, A.Q., "The Marginal Pole of the Economy and the Marginalised Labour Force", in Economy and Society, Vol. 3, No. 4, 1974.
- (25) Interview 23 January 1979.
- (26) Van Onselen, C., "The Witches of Suburbia: Domestic Service on the Witwatersrand 1870 to 1914", Paper of History Workshop held at the University of the Witwatersrand, January 1978.
- (27) Simkins, C., "African Unemployment in Rural and Urban South Africa", in Simkins and Desmond (eds) South African Unemployment: A Black Picture, Development Studies Research Group and Agency for Industrial Mission 1978, p82.
- (28) Katzman, D., Seven Days A Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America, OUP, New York 1978. See Chapter 3.
- (29) Adamson et al, Women's Oppression Under Capitalism, Revolutionary Communist, p42.
- (30) Department of Statistics 1970 census.
- (31) Interview 16 January 1979.
- (32) Interview 29 February 1979.
- (33) Interview 9 January 1979.
- (34) Interview 27 January 1979.
- (35) Interview 15 January 1979.
- (36) Interview 21 January 1979.
- (37) Leys, C., "Interpreting African Underdevelopment: Reflections on the ILO Report on Employment, Incomes and Equality in Kenya", in African Affairs, Vol. 72, 1973, p425
- (38) Ibid, p426.
- (39) Op cit, Obregon, A.Q.
- (40) Interview 7 January 1979.
- (41) Mullings, L., op cit, p249.

- (42) Ibid, p427.
- (43) Interview 15 January 1979.
- (44) Interview 16 February 1979.
- (45) Mare, G., op cit, Control, p37.
- (46) Adamson, op cit, p4.

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- (4) Fee, T., and Gonzalez, R., "Women in Changing Modes of Production", in Latin American Perspective, Vol. IV, No's 1 and 2, 1977.
- (5) Hafkin, N.S., and Bay, E.G. (eds) Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change, Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1976.
- (6) Innes, D., and O'Meara, D., "Class Formation and Ideology: The Transkei Region," in Review of African Political Economy No. 7, 1976.
- (7) Katzman, D.M., Seven Days A Week: Women and Domestic Service in Industrializing America, Oxford University Press, New York, 1978.
- (8) Latin American Perspectives - Issues 12 and 13, Vols. IV No's 1 and 2. 1977.
- (9) Leys, C., "Interpreting African Underdevelopment: Reflections on the ILO Report on Employment Incomes and Equality in Kenya", in African Affairs, Vol.72.
- (10) Mare, G., "Further Notes on the Squatter Problem" in Control, Development Studies Group Information Publication No. 1. 1979.
- (11) Marx, K., Capital, Vol 1, Lawrence and Wishart, London, 1975.
- (12) Mullings, L., "Women and Economic Change in Africa" in Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change, N.J. Hafkin and E.G. Bay (eds) Stanford University Press, Stanford, California, 1976.
- (13) Obregon A.Q., "The Marginal Pole of the Economy and the Marginalised Labour Force" in Economy and Society, Vol. 3, No. 4. 1974.
- (14) Saffioti, H.I.B., "Women, Modes of Production and Social Formation" in Latin American Perspectives, Issues 12, 13, Vol IV No's 1 and 2. 1977.
- (15) Simkins, C., "African Unemployment in Urban and Rural South Africa", in Simkins and Desmond (eds) South African Unemployment: A Black Picture, Development Studies Research Group and Agency for Industrial Mission, 1978.
- (16) Towner, M., "Monopoly Capitalism and Women's Work" in Latin American Perspectives, Vol. IV, Nos 1 and 2. 1977.
- (17) Van Onselen, C., "The Witches of Suburbia: Domestic Service on the Witwatersrand 1870 to 1914" in History Workshop Paper, 1978.