

labour process, which the operation of the productive forces under conditions imposed by definite production relations makes necessary. It is a division of functions - for example, under capitalism in a factory there may be technicians, labourers, machine operators and managers.

None of these divisions is completely distinct from each other and we agreed with Edholm, Harris and Young that the sexual division of labour straddles all three of these categories. It seems that whether a particular example of a division of labour amounts to a social division of labour, a division of social labour or a technical division of labour, depends on the nature of existing relations of production, their historical development, the nature of ideological discourses and the state. Thus in some societies the sexual division of labour may amount to no more than a technical division of labour with no preferential access to surplus, juridical rights or ideological supremacy attached. In other societies the sexual division of labour, while appearing as a technical division of labour relegating women to tasks of childcare, agricultural and domestic work, is also a social division of labour preventing women from owning or inheriting property and denying them legal status individuals.

In a general analysis of any economic activity the nature of the sexual division of labour would have to be examined. This would entail an examination of the areas of 'production' termed biological reproduction and reproduction of the labour force, and an enquiry into whether these spheres of 'production' contain elements of a technical or a social division of labour. This construction dissolves the problem of the relation of 'production' and 'reproduction' for both terms are covered by looking at production in a more careful and systematic way. The term 'reproduction' can usefully be retained at the most general level for application to the reproduction of the whole social formation in its economic, ideological and political forms.

With regard to the study of South African history it is crucial to look at the sexual division of labour in different modes of production with some of the following questions in mind. How rigid was the sexual division of labour in pre-conquest states; how far was this modified by mercantile capital and colonialism, and what changes were wrought through the imposition of imperial rule? Why were women and children not incorporated as wage labourers in the early period of industrial capitalism in South Africa as had occurred during the initial phase of the industrial revolution in Britain? What role did a restructuring of the sexual division of labour play in the emergence of the migrant labour system?

Do the preservation of the reserves and the reliance on migrant labour derive as much from a transformed sexual division of labour as from the more often cited emergence of the capitalist mode of production and capital's 'need' for cheap labour? How does the commercialisation of agriculture affect the sexual division of labour in the reserves? Have there been struggles over the sexual division of labour and does this illuminate women's attachment to mission stations in the 19th century and women's organisations in the 20th century? Many of these questions are beginning to be researched and interesting empirical work has been published. A rigorous analysis of the sexual division of labour and its periodisation can further clarify the problems these studies expose.

BIBLIOGRAPHY1. GENERAL

- Alexander, S. (1976) 'Women's Work in Nineteenth Century London: a Study of the Years 1820-50' in Mitchell, J. and Oakley, A. (eds.) The Rights and Wrongs of Women (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1976)
- Using detailed material on manufacturing industry in London, argues that capitalism seized household/family as economic unit, and utilised/sustained sexual division of labour therein as production progressively subordinated to exchange and socialised outside the home. Concerned with the structure of the labour market. Includes discussion of Marxist concept of division of labour in manufacture.
- Barrett, M. Women's Oppression Today: problems in Marxist feminist analysis (London, Verso, 1980)
- Powerful political and theoretical intervention into current debates in Marxism and socialist feminism. Lucid arguments on the relations between sexual practise, gender identity and procreation; cultural production and gender; sex, class and education; the sexual division of labour; the 'family' and the state. Does not see women's oppression as independent of capitalism nor as taking place at the level of ideology. Argues that household organisation and ideology of familialism are central dimensions of women's oppression today. Rejects absolute autonomy of ideology (discourse theory), functional fit between gender and capitalism, and the form of materialism which displaces labour/capital contradiction from its centrality to capitalism. Gender ideology is deeply embedded within capitalist division of labour. Strongly recommended.
- Bryceson, D.F. & Mbilinyi, M. (1978) 'The changing role of Tanzanian women in production: from peasants to proletarians', mimeo, Dar-es-Salaam.
- Broad & ambitious attempt to examine the division of labour (defined as including allocation & control of means of production & product of labour, as well as sex specific designation of productive activity) across historical period of pre-capitalism to present day. Argues sexual division of labour precondition for surplus appropriation in tributary mode of production; examines contradictory aspects of intensification of labour under colonial cash crop production; and sexual division of labour in migrant & fully proletarianized wage labour force.
- Burman, S (ed),
- Draper, P. (1975), 'Kung Women: Contrasts in sexual egalitarianism in foraging and and sedentary contexts', in Reiter, R. Towards an Anthropology of Women
- Interesting study of changing sexual division of labour, includes labour process, control over products, childcare. Concludes sexual division of labour less rigid than thought in foraging societies, women higher status.
- Edholm, F., Harris, O. & Young, K, (1977) 'Conceptualising women', Critique of Anthropology, Nos. 9&10.
- Important article which breaks down and 'problematizes' concepts of 'reproduction' and 'sexual division of labour'. Recognises ideological force of gender categories drawing us to 'universals', which must be resisted with development of historical & cross-cultural perspective.

Gardiner, J. (1977) 'Women in the labour process and class structure' in A.Hunt (ed.) Class and Class Structure (London, Lawrence and Wishart).

Argues Marxist concept of class in CMP must accommodate divisions and sub-divisions within class. Women have a dual class position, since both directly part of the wage-labour force, and dependent on male through family unit. Political implications of potentially divergent interests within family and sexual division of labour; women's subordination, divisions within working class & subordination of working class as a whole.

Molyneux, M. (1977), 'Androcentrism in Marxist Anthropology' in Critique of Anthropology Nos. 9&10

Critique of Terray's work and debates by Godelier, Rey, Meillassoux arising from it. Convincing demonstration of 'suppression' of relations between men & women in entire discussion. Argues that if sexual division of labour considered, concepts of class, exploitation as developed in this theory are threatened. Concludes women are not subordinated, as Engels argued, because marginalised from production; rather 'they are subordinated in order that they remain central to it'.

Reiter, R (ed) Towards an Anthropology of Women (New York, Monthly Review, 1975)

Rubin, G (1975) 'The traffic in women: notes on the "political economy" of sex' in R.Reiter (ed.).

An interesting use of the work of Levi-Strauss, Freud and Lacan to suggest that the ultimate locus of women's oppression may be the traffic in women (the most basic gift) rather than the traffic in commodities; sex oppression is not just the reflex of economic forces. Sees psychoanalysis as a feminist theory manque for describing how infants are transformed into girls and boys, but not questioning why the female personality is characterised by 'masochism, self-hatred and passivity'. Calls for analysis of evolution of sexual exchange, e.g. implication of cross-cousin marriages.

Young, K. (1978) 'Modes of appropriation and the sexual division of labour: a case study from Caxaca, Mexico' in Kuhn, A. & Wolpe, A. (eds.) Feminism and Materialism (London, Kegan Paul)

Considers the differing effects of the intervention of merchant and productive capital on women's 'productive & reproductive' roles in period 1870-1950. Suggestive although mechanistic analysis.

## 2. ENGELS

Brown, B. (1978) 'Natural and social division of labour: Engels and the domestic labour debate', MF, No. 1.

Incisive critique of Engels (and subsequent) concept of 'natural' division of labour within the production/property unit of the 'family'. Points to contradictions here which threaten Engel's notion of social division of labour (emergence of classes) and primitive communist society; and which gives rise to notion that household/family under capitalism is nucleus of class society and trans-historical site of group of activities called 'domestic labour'. Difficult but worth reading.

Delmar, R. (1976) 'Looking again at Engel's Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State' in A. Oakley and J. Mitchell (eds.) The Rights and Wrongs of Women (Harmondsworth, Penguin)

Provides a useful summary of Engels. Considers some areas where modern feminism has enlarged on Engels and makes a critical study of

women in the Chinese revolution & the influence of Engels on the revolutionary arguments of feminists.

Engels, F. The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State (London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1972)

Standard edition. Contains a good introduction on the intellectual background & historical setting of the work paying particular attention to what Engels drew from the anthropologist, Morgan. Also some interesting comments on the implications of the work for an analysis of women's oppression.

Sachs, K. (1974) 'Engels revisited' in M.A. Rosaldo and L. Lamphere (eds.) Women, Culture and Society, (Stanford)

Very useful article that seeks to apply Engel's theory to 3 pre-capitalist states, comparing the extent of state control & the status of women. Mpondo are one of the societies analysed.

### 3. ANTHROPOLOGISTS

Asad, T. (ed.) Anthropology and the Colonial Encounter (London, Ithaca, 1973)

The most relevant chapters in the South African context discuss the New Left critique of anthropology's empiricism and functionalism; and show how Godfrey Wilson and Malinowski each came to perceive, and see the need to study the contradictions in colonialism itself.

Boserup, E. (1970) Woman's Role in Economic Development (London, Allen and Unwin)

Pioneering study with debatable method and conclusions. From mass of data on ex-colonial world agriculture, generalises two patterns of clustered characteristics: shifting agriculture/female labour predominant in agriculture/high incidence of polygamy/bridewealth = pattern found in Africa; and plough culture/ male labour predominant in agriculture/lower incidence of polygamy/dowry = pattern found in 'Arab, Hindu, Chinese' culture. Colonialist development initiatives in land tenure, new technology entrenched severe productivity gap between sexes and loss of female status.

Hunter, M (1933) 'The effects of contact with Europeans on the status of Pondo women' Africa, Vol. VI

A comparison of the position of African women before and after the coming of Europeans to South Africa. Raises problems of conceptualisation and does not always pursue interconnections, but unusual for its time in focusing on change.

Goody, J. (1976) Production and Reproduction: a comparative study of the domestic domain (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press)

Attempts to correlate aspects of social organisation in different societies and to place them in sequential order. Looks at descent systems, relations of kinship and property, economic role of men and women, the relation of land, class, kin and marriage. Useful for wide survey of literature.

Kuper, A. (1973) Anthropologists and Anthropology: the British School, 1922-1972 (London, Allen Lane)

A stimulating historical overview. Chs. 1-3 most helpful for early British trained anthropologists writing on SA. Contrasts the influential Malinowskian heritage (data accumulation in fieldwork; human focus on individuals and their flesh-and-blood interests; interest in family life, economic activities and magic) with the 'glacial clarity' of Radcliffe-Brown's concern with formal rules and rituals (interest in systems of belief and kinship, both later important to structuralism).

Little, K. (1973) African Women in Towns (London, Cambridge University Press)

An unsatisfactory patchwork of mostly secondary sources, particularly on West and South Africa. Two thirds of the book is about the sexual and marital relationships of African townswomen. A glaring example of over-individualistic portrayal of women as existing primarily in sexual relation to men.

Mayer, P. (2nd ed. 1971) Townsmen or Tribesmen (Cape Town, Oxford University Press)

Renowned portrayal of conservative 'Red' Xhosa in East London, which includes two chapters on migrant women. Shows abiding influence of Malinowskian tradition in its rich detail and interest in individual lives.

#### 4. PATRIARCHY

Alexander, S. & Taylor, B. 'In defence of "Patriarchy"', New Statesman, 1 Feb. 1980

Weak reply to Rowbotham's dismissal of the concept of patriarchy, arguing its primacy in opening up the analysis of gender construction and emphasizing the structural inequality between men and women.

Beechey, V (1979) 'On Patriarchy', Feminist Review, No. 3.

Excellent critique of current theories, which highlights political & theoretical dangers of abandoning analysis of 'production', relations of capital and labour, to Marxist analysis, while feminism appropriates 'reproduction' and 'gender relations'.

Coward, R. (1980) 'On the universality of the Oedipus complex: debates on sexual divisions in psychoanalysis and anthropology', Critique of Anthropology, Vol. 4, No. 15.

Analyses the debate in psychoanalysis/anthropology between Jones (universalism) and Malinowski (culturalism) in the 1920s. Suggests the way out of the impasse between these two positions lies in the methods and objects of structural linguistics. By giving complete autonomy to the means and processes of representation, she denies any provable knowledge of the 'real' world and disqualifies the question of origins.

Eisenstein, Z. and Hartmann, H. (eds.) (1978) Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism (New York, Monthly Review Press)

Hartmann, H. (1979) 'The unhappy marriage of Marxism and Feminism: towards a more progressive union', Capital and Class, No. 8.

Ultimately unsuccessful attempt to reconcile patriarchy with the capitalist mode of production. Marxist categories are 'sex-blind' and create a hierarchy of 'empty places' which are filled through the ideological determinations of gender, race etc.

McDonough, R. and Harrison, R. (1978) 'Patriarchy and relations of production' in Feminism and Materialism (see General section)

Patriarchy as a concept can be historicized as patriarchal relations assume a form dictated by relations of production under capitalism. Seems to retain the dualism of two separate systems but argues women of different classes are subject to different contradictions. Entails a residual notion of patriarchy in effect.

Millet, K. Sexual Politics (London, Sphere, 1971)

Pioneering work in radical feminism, delineating a schematic theory of patriarchy. Contains trenchant critiques of the sexist power relations in Henry Miller, Norman Mailer, Jean Genet and the 'phallic consciousness' of D.H. Lawrence.

Mitchell, J. Psychoanalysis and Feminism (Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1974)

Pioneering work in Marxist feminism recovering Freud's work as an analysis of patriarchal ideology rather than the prescription for one. Mixed reaction to the success of this recovery, but by using an Althusserian theoretical construction of the social formation she reproduces an analytical 'dualism' and fails to reconcile gender and class oppression in a satisfactory way. Crucially locates struggle against sexual oppression in processes of cultural production and ideology.

Rowbotham, S. 'The trouble with "Patriarchy"', New Statesman 21/28 December 1979.

Concise destruction of the adequacy of the concept of patriarchy in analysing the ways in which oppression of women has changed over time.

##### 5. THE DOMESTIC LABOUR DEBATE

Anthias, F. (1980) 'Women and the reserve army of labour: a critique of Veronica Beechey' Capital and Class, No. 10.

Argues generally: more to Marxist theory than modes of production; more to feminist theory than 'relations between men and women', hence sterility of usual dichotomy between capitalism and patriarchy. Argues specifically: dichotomy continues in Beechey, (1977). 'Family' is presupposed outside CMP, but remains static, hollow concept. Rejects parallels between married women in advanced CMP and semi-proletarianised migrants as reserve army of labour. Appears to ignore historical specificity, but very useful critique.

Barrett, M. & McIntosh, M. (1979) 'Christine Delphy; towards a materialist feminism' Feminist Review, No. 1.

Clear critique of Delphy's work. They argue Delphy evades theoretical consequences of Marxist vocabulary she uses. Reject 'domestic mode of production' for housework; criticize D's refusal to analyse construction of femininity in terms of language, culture, sexuality and point to inability of D's theory to make connections between 'home' and labour market.

Barrett, M. & McIntosh, M. 'The "family wage": some problems for socialists and feminists', Capital and Class, No. 11, 1980.

Excellent paper that challenges the myth that the working class has reproduced itself by dependence on a male 'family wage'. It disputes the defence of the 'family wage' by Jane Humphries, a socialist feminist.

Beechey, V (1977) 'Some notes on female wage labour in capitalist production', Capital and Class, No. 3.

Important article deploying strictly Marxist concepts of determination of value and prices of labour-power, which concedes absolute preconditions of analysis as form of family, sexual division of labour, patriarchal ideology. Argues married women serve as a source of cheap labour and reserve army of labour. Analysis founders (see Anthias, 1980) but stimulates.

Cock, J. (1980) 'Domestic servants in the political economy of South Africa' Africa Perspectives (Johannesburg)

Stimulating and adventurous deployment of categories of domestic labour debate and reserve army of labour (following Beechey) for black women's position as domestic servants. White households are thus site of reproduction of relations of domination and subordination. Interesting suggestions of future of 'domestic service' as sector of employment in relation to possibilities of 'socialisation of domestic labour' in CMP.

Conference of Socialist Economists (1977) On the Political Economy of Women CSE Pamphlet No. 2, Stage 1, London.

Two essays. One on domestic labour in general, which argues women's role in home crucial to her subordination under CMP. Excellent discussion of determination of value of labour-power. Second essay considers UK 1930-1970; changing position of women in home & work force; and contribution of the state to this. Argues welfare state premised on perpetuation of women's dependence on men, domestic labour, ideological construction of the family unit.

Conti, A. (1979) 'Capitalist organisation of production through non-capitalist relations: Women in a pilot resettlement in Upper Volta', Review of African Political Economy, Nos. 15 & 16.

Fascinating data on women's labour used to theorise changing sexual division of labour and family structure in context of modern development scheme - devastating indictment of such schemes. Uncritically adopts production/reproduction dichotomy. Extends 'wage labour equivalent' analysis of peasants in relation to capital to women's domestic labour under capital.

Dalla Costa, M & James Selma (1973) The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community (Bristol, Falling Wall Press) See page 34.

Delphy, C. (1977) The Main Enemy (Women's Research and Resources Centre Publication: Exploration in Feminism, No. 3)

Harrison, J. (1973) 'The political economy of housework', Bulletin of the Conference of Socialist Economists, Vol. 3, No. 1.

Kaluzynska, E. (1980) 'Wiping the floor with theory - a survey of writings on housework' Feminist Review, No. 6.

Specifically political contribution arguing domestic labour debate took housework to Marxist theory and produced mystification within women's movement. Provides useful, exceptionally clear summary of the main points of the debate.

Mackintosh, M. (1979) 'Domestic labour and the household' in Burman (ed.) Fit Work for Women

Argues impasse in DLD caused by lack of historical & cross cultural perspective; sexual division of labour in household must be examined. Data from Senegalese village undergoing impact of proletarianization used to demonstrate that the 'rigidity of sexual division of labour in domestic tasks (is) the source of women's greater oppression within the sphere of wage work' in context where only non-commoditised labour is women's work. Must move from 'kinship' problematic in anthropology to 'social relations of domestic production'.

Molyneux, M. (1979) 'Beyond the domestic labour debate' New Left Review No. 116

Comprehensive critique of DLD, which narrowed focus on labour performed in domestic sphere at expense of theorising wider family/household context. Looks at Marxist concepts deployed in debate (modes of production, value of labour-power); tendencies towards functionalism & economism of arguments; displacement of feminist critique of domestic labour and of conflation of homework and childcare.

Smith, P. (1978) 'Domestic labour and Marx's theory of value' in Kuhn and Wolpe (eds) Feminism and Materialism

Orthodox deployment of Marxist value categories demonstrating housework



STATISTICAL INFORMATION.

(Difficulties bees exclusion of B/stans)

Population: 30 m. 1/2 are women  
75% AFRICANS  
10% COLOURED  
3% INDIAN  
12% WHITE

Official  
25m  
- 3m  
900,000  
Approx 5m

Estimates  
28m  
3.2m  
930,000

WOMEN IN BANTUSTANS: In 1968 43%; today nearly 60%

B/stans, however, no longer 'rural areas' - eg, Winterveld, pop 1 m, mini Soweto. Huge degree of urbanisation in B/stans. People up against influx control fence - live in squatter townships & places like Kwa-zulu. Blk townships in small towns have been 'disestablished' - moved to B/stans.

In 1960 30.6% wks living in rural areas down to 19.8% today.

COLOURED WMN: 28% in rural areas, largely in Cape, few in B/stans. Majority urban.

INDIAN: Largely urban, a handful in B/stans.

WHITES: Pop has become urban, 20% in rural areas

48% of Africans are under 20

46.5% coloureds

40% Indians.

Whites are aging pop, abt 29% under 20

Whites live longer than others (health, nutrition, wk)

Life expectancy:

Af	Col	Indian	White	
62	63	65	70	Female
56	53	59	65	Male

9.9% of Whites are over 64

Therefore speaking of extremely young population.

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS: Break-down of extended family  
1985 30% Af household headed by wmn in urban areas  
47% in B/stans  
59% in rural areas of B/stans

Incidence of female-headed households less for Cols, Ind & Ws, but still significant for Cols in towns.

EDUCATION: 30% of Af women have NO education at all  
11% only to Std 1 - ie, 40% are illiterate  
Col wmn, 30% illiterate; 2% White wmn.

Mxch. larger number of girls than boys go to school, but are taken out earlier & few do degrees

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***PUBLISHER:***

*Publisher:* **Historical Papers Research Archive**

*Collection Funder:* **Bernstein family**

*Location:* **Johannesburg**

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