

GENDER AS A MECHANISM OF SOCIAL CONTROL AMONG BLACK  
WORKERS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN THE DURBAN  
METROPOLITAN AREA

by

DEVINA PERUMAL

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Supervisor : Professor GF Schoombee

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For my Mother  
and in  
Memory of my late father

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## CHAPTER ONE : BACKGROUND AND IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY

### 1. INTRODUCTION

*'It seems to me that we should be interested in the history of both women and men;... Our goal is to understand the significance of the sexes, of gender groups in the historical past. Our goal is to discover the range in sex roles and in sexual symbolism in different societies and periods, to find out what meaning they had and how they functioned to maintain the social order or to promote its change.'*

(Davis, 1975:90)

The emergence in South Africa of a relatively advanced economy and the continued existence of racial segregation and inequality, have increasingly received the attention of world scholars and politicians. In their studies of South Africa, some scholars adopt race relations as their point of departure, and consider racial prejudice or pluralism to be the principal determinant of race relations. Others who reject the notion of race relations *per se* locate racial domination in the context of capitalist relations of production. The result is an explanation of class relations that takes into account the compelling roles of racial domination. Yet class and race do not exhaust the complexity of the South African social formation. Another important dimension is that of culturally defined and socially differentiated gender roles and statuses.

This study attempts to explore the significance of gender relations in the reorganisation of industry and employment. The specific orientation is to draw the link(s) between gender as a control mechanism in the textile industry to the wider framework

of social relations, exposing some of the reasons for its occurrence, and why, from the point of view of sociology, it matters.

In assessing the practical and theoretical significance of these social forces, the researcher attempts a critical evaluation of a host of theoretical schema. Conventional class theory, which pays little attention to gender relations, is for this reason considered to be inadequate, and is replaced by a more comprehensive approach to the analysis of social inequality. Against the traditional view that the position of women in the labour market is determined by their position in the family, the researcher argues for the significance of labour market structures in confining women to a subordinate position in the household. The tension between these social forces which shape gender relations is viewed from a feminist perspective. Such a perspective assumes a distinctive value-orientation: '...to deal with and confront the implication of a recognition and acceptance that a social power-differential based on gender operates in society' (Friedman *et al*, 1986:91).

Extending from the classification of subject areas and methods of empirical research to the construction of models and theory, gender power relations have been largely ignored in mainstream social science. Beteille (1977:21), for example, ignores inequality differentials between men and women and states simply that: '...there are two major manifestations of inequality in contemporary societies,...property, and social class and race'.

More recent work has attempted to justify the neglect of gender relations. Blackburn *et al*, (1979), for example, point to the theoretical significance of the relation between male and female workers in determining the conditions of employment for both groups, and the significance of these conditions for internal structuring of the working class. However, they still exclude women from their sample of manual workers. Their reason for this is due to: '...inadequate resources to study both men and women' (1979:39). Given the significance accorded to gender barriers in their theoretical account of the dynamics of the labour market, their omission of women in the actual sample is inconsistent and inadequately justified.

The broad subject divisions within the social sciences describe different areas of social life that exhibit a focus on or a direction towards, the interests and activities of men in gender-differentiated societies. In this regard, Stewart *et al* (1980:93) make the following comments: 'The debates to which we are addressing ourselves have been primarily concerned with male employment and the data upon which we draw are for men'. This is ironic since they go on to state that the mobility of men, which is their primary concern, is dependant upon the lack of mobility of women, and that gender relations in clerical work are the key to understanding their central concern with the mobility of male clerks.

Many social stratification writers of the 1970's and 1980's have attempted an explicit theoretical justification for leaving gender



relations on the periphery of their work. This is based on the argument that the family, rather than the individual, is the basic unit in social stratification. Parkin (1972:14) argues that:

'...for the great majority of women the allocation of social and economic rewards is determined primarily by their position in their families - and, in particular, that of the malehead.' Similarly, Westergaard *et al*, (1975) also take the family as the unit in stratification theory. They do this by equating social inequality with class inequality and then class inequality as existing between different family units.

Goldthorpe (1983) suggests that the derivation of a woman's class position from that of her husband is not a sign of sexism. Rather it is in recognition of sexual inequality that stratification theory differentiates a woman's position from that of her husband. Goldthorpe contends that sexual inequality suggests that wives are dependant upon their husbands for the determination of their life chances, and that paid employment of wives has little impact on their situation.

When taking the family as the unit of analysis in studies of inequality, many writers conceptually eradicate the inequality that exists between men and women within the family unit. These writers regard gender relations as relevant in so far as they affect class relations. Gender inequality, *per se*, does not appear in their programmes.

A recognition of androcentrism has numerous implications for knowledge in general. Within a society which is hierarchically ordered, the prevailing body of knowledge will reflect the attitudes and desires of the dominant group - and this refers to all hierarchically structured aspects of society, namely, gender, race and class. This occurs because the process of knowledge production depends on who produces it, what methods are used to procure it and the purposes for which it is acquired (Spender, 1981). Spender thus argues that knowledge is socially contrived and is not neutral.

Garnsey (1978) argues that the logic of positivism, which has dominated the construction of knowledge, has served to entrench and reinforce androcentrism. Androcentricity in knowledge has effectively been 'hidden' by this process. Morgan (1981:97) asks this pertinent question: 'How far is the academic discourse a male discourse, sheltering behind such labels as 'rationality', 'scientific' or 'scholarly'?'.

A perusal of most literature studies seems to indicate that historically men have predominantly been the knowledge-producers. Bullough (1974 in Morgan, 1981:98) points out: 'We do not really know whether or how women experienced this passivity since most historical records are written by men.' One consequence of this is that women's 'social presence' within these areas of life is high although their 'sociological visibility' is low. Such a world view focuses attention not only on some areas of social

reality (those which concern men), but also draws away from others (those which concern women). This leads Oakley (1974:27) to conclude that: 'A way of seeing is a way of not seeing.'

This, in turn, has implications for social science research. Using content analysis methodology, Stanley et al, (1983) concluded, after an examination of sociology research articles in major British journals, that substantive work reported in these journals is generally focused on men and boys. That which focuses on women and girls is few in number.

Chetwyn (1987) argues that: '...this generalization leads to women being treated as 'non-men'. Male experience is taken as the norm and female experience is assumed to fall at the other end of a 'bi-polar scale' from that of males.' Bosman (1987:7) suggests that:

*'This leads to females being characterized as under-achievers because males are typified as achievers; females are described as non-aggressive because males are typified as aggressive, and so on.'*

Biases of under-representation, call for an element of self-consciousness in research with respect to androcentrism.

It may be argued that male orientation colours the organisation of the social sciences to the extent that the 'invisibility' of women appears as a structural weakness, rather than as a superficial flaw. It follows that the task of the social sciences lies in the derivation of more appropriate ways of reclassifying subject areas, so that a fundamental re-evaluation of existing theory and

practice is occasioned by the integration of gender into social science. Stanley *et al*, (1983) state that the integration of gender and female experiences is the means of achieving a true science.

Occupation is widely considered to be the basis of social stratification in industrial societies. It is generally taken to be a good indicator of social and economic differences among groups of people. Whilst occupation has often been studied in relation to life-styles, prestige, education and a host of other variables, this has not been extended to gender relations. The implications of this omission have not been fully explored. The researcher points out that gender is a primary social characteristic which affects not only the allocation of people to places in the occupational structure, but also the way in which those occupations crystallize and develop over time.

However, where 'gender studies' have been attempted, gender has been examined in relation to a woman's educational levels, occupational aspirations, age and family status (see Meer, 1983; Pudifin *et al*, 1986). While these individual-level variables are clearly pertinent to the issue of women's participation in the labour force and its implications, their ability to explain the role of gender *per se* is minimal. Indeed, the term 'gender' refers to men and women and to the social processes shaping these identities and the interaction between them. Moreover, if the proposition that male workers play a major role in fostering and sustaining gender segregation has relevance, it follows that the

presence of men must be acknowledged before theory is able to distinguish between male and female labour.

Taking gender into account is evidently not a simple operation. It involves critical examination of all the assumptions outlined above; a self-consciousness on the part of the researcher, and a re-working of the methods and the purposes of research. It is essential to expose entrenched gender attitudes. This study thus straddles two areas - the family and the work arena. By examining both male and female attitudes towards each other in the home and in the workplace, the researcher attempts to gauge male and female workers' perceived stake in the 'gender-mixed' setting. Moreover, from a feminist perspective, the nature of employment must be understood in terms of employee's experiences, i.e., a materialist analysis is required. Such an orientation enables us to understand how workers combine domestic labour and wage labour and therefore how oppression and exploitation influence this process. This evidence strongly suggests a link between a gender division of labour and the subordination of women. An understanding of the gender division of labour in any society requires an examination not only of the jobs that men and women do, but also of the relations under which they do them. Thus the implications of the gender division of labour depend on the social relations of production under which the work is performed.

The significance of this concept of the social relations of production and its importance to an understanding of the division

of labour in society, lies in questioning what the benefits of both male and female work are to capital. If one can show that capitalism, the dominant economic order in most societies, benefits from the economic subordination, then at the least a partial explanation for the existence of such subordination and its perpetuation may be established.

Management may also have a stake in maintaining the gender-segregated labour force. That management should seize upon existing divisions between men and women to its own advantage, is the result of the form of organisation of capital production. In most countries, South Africa being no exception, persistent sex-role socialisation has led to a well-defined division of labour within the family. This has had implications for the kinds of positions employers have found appropriate for workers. Production is organized on a hierarchical and exploitative basis, by a management constantly attempting to increase its level of control of the production process in the face of various forms of worker resistance. The spread of the wage economy thereby brings new forms of the gender division of labour, accompanied by new forms of subordination of women.

Field (1986) infers from his study in the textile industry in the Western Cape, that management adopts sexist stereotypes to define particular categories of work, i.e., 'women's work' and 'men's work', subsequently reinforcing the inferior, low-status position of women in industry.

He further observed that management employs women in positions formerly held by men. The following statement succinctly confirms this view:

*'My own experience is in the textile industry, where I have noticed definite employment patterns when it comes to women. For example, I have seen how men workers have been moved up the scale in some factories, (or they have left to find better jobs), and women have come to replace them'. (1986:18).*

Field (1986) argues that this allows management or capital to qualitatively degrade those positions more broadly, undercutting men's wages. The effect is two-fold - not only is the gender division of labour entrenched, but sexist gender relations are perpetuated as women are perceived as a threat, primarily because they are used as a reservoir of cheap labour. It is of crucial importance here to determine the extent to which links may be established between structural changes in the textile industry and the development of managerial strategies. The division of labour by gender is further conditioned by the power of the State to intervene in the workings of the law of supply and demand in the process of labour procurement. The researcher also attempts to explain the transformation of women's positions in the labour force.

Little or no research has been undertaken to examine gender relations in industry in the Durban Metropolitan area. The present study, with its emphasis on gender discrimination as determined by various facets of the work environment, breaks new

ground in its investigation. Bearing in mind the unique features of Durban's history, pattern of industrial development, racial composition and tradition of political organization, this city may be regarded as unique within the South African context. There are methodological issues raised by focusing the study on Metropolitan Durban. Differences emerge between cities and regions in South Africa and it is therefore difficult to study one area without a national view. Keeping in mind those unique features which distinguish Durban from other South African areas, the researcher argues that many regions have to be studied before informed generalisations can be made about South Africa itself. The issue at stake is whether regional studies best follow national ones, or whether a national picture is built up by considering different regions. The researcher favours the latter approach on the grounds of both the need for a systematic extension of knowledge and the need to make a particular study manageable.

Since the textile industry makes use of typical mass production methods, and is an important source of employment for Black women and men workers, the present study confines its analysis to this industry as a typical example of many struggles between capital and labour.

The rationale for the study may be summarized as follows: the socialisation and life experiences of men and women based on the social construction of gender differ significantly. One cannot assume simply that men's experience is equivalent to women's



experience. Friedman and Wilkes (1986:91) suggest that: 'We

need to ensure that our picture of social reality presents more of the diversity that exists'.

Moreover, double-guarded viewing provides a means for an understanding of the social construction of gender and sexuality in relation to the whole system, including its use as a social control mechanism.

## 2. GOALS OF THE STUDY

The main goals of the study are:

- (i) To establish a theoretical basis and framework suited to the study of gender and its relationship to workplace issues.
- (ii) To provide in general an analysis of labour trends among Black workers in industry in South Africa, and an overview of the textile industry and textile union movement.
- (iii) To ascertain and analyse from the results obtained the degree to which gender is used as a control mechanism in the textile industry.
- (iv) To make relevant recommendations on possible actions which may ameliorate and/or transform problem areas which are identified.

### 3. WORKING HYPOTHESIS

The study will be guided by the following working hypothesis:

Gender is used as a means of maintaining authority positions and higher benefits for men in jobs in the textile industry.

### 4. AN OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROCEDURE

Initially, a literature survey was undertaken to formulate a theoretical basis for analysis of the empirical data. The researcher also consulted with authoritative sources in the field. This involved discussions on an informal basis with personnel of Frametex and the representative union, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa (ACTWUSA). The discussions were informal in nature and were guided by a loosely-structured schedule which was subject to alteration as the interviews proceeded.

The interview schedule (See Appendix A and Appendix B) was decided upon as the most suitable method of data collection. The researcher also undertook to observe the workers in their work environment. The interview schedule was convenient and manageable to administer. The interviews were conducted personally in the Zulu-medium which ensured a good response rate.

A pilot study was conducted as a pre-emptive stage to the main

study. In the pilot study, the interview schedule was pre-tested for shortcomings. On completion of the pilot study, the necessary alterations were made to the interview schedule. The interview schedule was then administered to the main sample which comprised 300 respondents. Systematic random sampling was used in the selection of the respondents.

Chapter Two provides a detailed account of the procedure and techniques used in the gathering and presentation of the data. A statistical analysis of the data with the aid of a computer followed.

## 5. CONCLUSION

This dissertation comprises seven chapters. Chapter Two provides an overview of the research procedure with specific reference to the techniques and statistical measures used in the gathering and analysis of data. Chapter Three undertakes a literature survey from a multidisciplinary approach, in an attempt to identify key theoretical ideas as a basis for the empirical analysis. Chapter Four examines the labour trends of Black workers. Implicit in the analysis is a qualitative comparison of women's experiences in the pre-colonial rural Natal region, with their experiences at the onset of industrialization. Chapter Five provides an overview of the textile industry in South Africa and the representative textile union, Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa (ACTWUSA). A case study is also presented. This explores the labour process in the industry and its implications

for the long-term ventures of the industry and the Union. Chapter Six provides an analysis of the results of the empirical survey and a discussion thereof. Chapter Seven constitutes concluding remarks, recommendations and a summary.

## CHAPTER TWO : PROCEDURES AND TECHNIQUES USED IN THE GATHERING AND PRESENTATION OF THE DATA

### 1. REVIEW OF THE RELEVANT LITERATURE

Before any systematic attempt was made to construct an interview schedule, it was necessary to gain insight into some of the important issues in the field of gender studies. This information was obtained mainly by means of the literature survey. The researcher, in this regard, devoted attention to a critical examination of the various theoretical studies which focus on women and men in employment and the family. This, in turn, resulted in an examination of the way(s) in which occupational roles and domestic identities articulate in the work arena. The review of relevant literature is an imperative stage in the research process, ensuring the formulation of a reliable and valid method of data collection. The researcher attempts to explain the findings of the present study in terms of this review of the theoretical propositions outlined in Chapter Three.

### 2. METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

The research process comprised four stages, viz.,

- 2.1 an experience survey comprising informal interviews with authoritative sources with specific reference to the construction of the interview schedule.
- 2.2 consultation with authoritative sources with specific reference to the production process and layout of the Frametex Mill.

2.3 participant observation.

2.4 the construction and administering of the interview schedule.

2.1. Consultation With Authoritative Sources With Reference To the Interview Schedule

The question of gender manipulation in industry, and especially the way(s) in which feminine and masculine identities become significant in the textile manufacturing industry, assumes a central role in this study. To gain further insight into the significant areas in the field, the literature review was supplemented by a series of unstructured interviews with people who have had extensive experience in the field. This took the form of an experience survey where the reservoir of experience of the Management of Frametex Mill, and the Trade Union officials of the representative union, ACTWUSA, proved to be of much value in helping the researcher gain an awareness of the important influences operating in this area.

The purpose of the experience survey was to suggest the major areas of enquiry which provide criteria of relevance in designing the interview schedule, against which the empirical findings could be verified. The consensus achieved in problem areas was extremely useful in establishing priorities in the programme of research. It was on the basis of this consultation that a relevant method of empirical data collection was developed.

A random sample of the respondents in the experience survey was not practical, but the researcher interviewed people at all levels. Within the management of Frametex this included the personnel manager, two personnel officers and one administrative clerk; within the labour movement, three foremen, two supervisors, two shop-stewards, the general secretary and the regional organiser of the representative union were interviewed. This ensured adequate representation of different views and types of experience.

Based on a set of unstructured open-ended questions, these discussions were designed to encourage a great deal of freedom around various topics (See Appendix C). The discussions were guided around the following areas: operations of the work tasks, hours of work, shift systems, wages, grading systems, management and its policies, supervision, union activities, and a host of work related issues in relation to gender.

A few simple, factual questions introduced each topic; these were followed by the open-ended questions that formed the core discussion for each area. Such interviewing moves away from the inflexibility of formal methods, simultaneously giving the interview a set form and ensuring that all the relevant topics are discussed. These discussions were recorded on tape from which relevant data were transcribed. The use of the tape recorder allowed the researcher freedom to concentrate on the interview.

## 2.2 Consultation with Authoritative Sources with Reference To The Production Process and Layout of Frametex

This set of interviews was designed specifically towards the dynamics of the operations in the textile manufacturing industry with reference to occupational identities by gender. This is also taken into account in the analysis of the data.

It was considered that management also has a stake in maintaining, to its own advantage, a labour force based on divisions between men and women to facilitate the form of capitalism production in the industry. Management was thus interviewed on policy decisions, recruitment, wage structures, job-evaluation, etc. The questions were designed specifically towards gender discrimination. The interview took the form of an informal discussion, guided by a loosely structured guide. (See Appendix D). Chadwick (1984:105) comments that: '...the unstructured format is best suited for exploratory studies and for studies in which detailed information might be needed on more complex and detailed issues'. Trade union officials were also interviewed about their experiences with gender-related issues at the workplace. The role of the trade union with specific orientation toward membership, worker participation, struggles within the workplace, and strategies for change, were also discussed.

## 2.3 Participant Observation

Many researchers experience difficulty in using participant observation as a method of data collection, since it is at times



impossible, impracticable, or time consuming to do so. However, the researcher was fortunate in that she was given the opportunity to use participant observation as a data collection method for the present study.

This involved three days of walking through the mill, accompanied by two shop stewards and the President of the Union, Amon Ntuli. The researcher examined each area of production, taking into account the number of workers, divisions by gender, skill, process, etc., and communicated with the workers. The latter appeared particularly eager and showed a willingness to converse. The researcher assumes that the presence of the union officials as opposed to management on the tour made it easier for the workers to relate to the situation.

Observation offers clear advantages over other methods of data collection. One of the advantages of direct observation of behaviour is that it allows the researcher to record behaviour as it occurs (Selltiz, *et al*, 1976). The researcher gave particular attention to those categories of action determined by the objectives of the study. The researcher also took photographs which helped keep a record of certain events. The importance of such a device is that the data analysis often occurs long after the event of interest has happened. The photographs then become a basic data source.

## 2.4 The Interview Schedule

The interview schedule was chosen as the main instrument of data collection in the empirical study for a number of reasons. The interview schedule is an objective method of collecting data since it contains a standardized set of statements and response categories which is designed in a way that requires respondents to provide the answer of their choice (Moser and Kalton, 1971 in Nair, 1987).

Maccoby and Maccoby (1954 in Chadwick *et al.*, 1984:105) have suggested that: '...the highly structured interview format is best suited for more specific hypothesis testing and the rigorous quantification of results'. Hence, the structured interviews are particularly amenable to statistical analysis. Given that the researcher desired to obtain the same working format of information from all respondents in view of the large sample, the structured format facilitates data handling, manageability and analysis.

Furthermore, Blauner (1960 in Chetty, 1983), asserts that interview schedules are quite straightforward and, in general, are easily understood. Sudman (1976) argues that interview schedules are extremely efficient in terms of providing large amounts of data at relatively low cost in a short period of time. Schoombee and Mantzaris (1986) suggest that the interview schedule appears to be the best method of data collection when compared to the mailed questionnaire, since it ensures a good response rate.

Moreover, a structured interview schedule helps ensure that responses lie within a frame of reference that is relevant to the purpose of the enquiry and in a form that is usable in the analysis.

The interview schedule is divided into two parts. Part One includes Section One, and Part Two covers Sections Two and Three.

Section One comprises questions on socio-economic data. The accumulation of demographic data is important because it structures the work, leisure and life chances of men and women differently. Furthermore, these differences contribute to the systematic inequality between the sexes.

The component questions of Section Two were informative in nature. They were designed to ascertain culturally determined ideologies around gender-specific tasks, setting the cultural background against which male power and authority and women's subservience may be examined in industry. The questions highlighted which aspects of gender relations are patriarchal or reflect male dominance and female subservience.

Section Three consisted of a set of statements designed according to Likert principles, with a summated rating scale being developed. The Likert scale is used because '...(i) it is considered simpler to construct, and (ii) it is likely to be more reliable than a Thurstone scale of the same number of items' (Selltitz, *et al*, 1976:419). They contend that within limits, the

reliability of a scale increases as the number of possible alternative responses is increased; and in this regard the Likert-type scale item permits the expression of several degrees of agreement or disagreement.

Furthermore, the range of responses permitted to an item given in a Likert scale, provides more precise information about the individual's opinion on the issue referred to by the given item. In constructing the rating scale, face validity was ensured since gender relations in the family and the workplace formed the common thread through all the scale items. Content validity was also ensured since the items 'covered the full range of the attitude in a balanced way' (Moser and Kalton, 1971:356). Content validity is based on judgement which was made by the researcher in conjunction with the study supervisor. With regard to overlap in questions, attitudes were approached from many different angles; this explains why a series of questions is needed to measure gender discrimination. In this way consistency checks were made.

The component statements in Section Three probe gender relations in the workplace. The hypothesis raises the question of two areas for exploration. On the one hand, there are structural issues such as the double-shift exploitation, which would not necessarily be found in the consciousness or attitudes of the workers. On the other hand, the researcher attempts to explore the specific dimensions of the problem by looking at the subjective experiences on the factory floor. Statements covering various aspects relating to the manipulation of gender in the factory included

attitudes towards gender inequality in general, marriage, familial relations, specific work-related issues, and working class-consciousness.

The initial item pool was formed by taking statements verbatim from the series of unstructured, tape-recorded interviews with management and union officials. Having assembled the item pool, the next stage was to choose the items to be used in the final scale. Making this selection necessitates careful consideration to ensure that the universe of content is adequately covered and that the items fully cover the attitude dimension. Once the scale was constructed, items that were ambiguous, irrelevant or too extreme were eliminated by inspection. Once these checks proved satisfactory, the scale was administered in the full survey.

Thirty-eight statements were used, of which 16 were positive, 14 negative, and 8 neutral. The 8 neutral statements did not incorporate a gender dimension as they served to measure overall working-class consciousness in the light of a gender-segmented labour force. Workers' perceptions of themselves as workers, as opposed to 'gendered' persons, were probed. The statements were randomised so as to avoid the possibility of a response set.

### 3. LIMITATIONS OF THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

It is common knowledge that problems of validity may arise in the use of standardised forms of research investigation, such as interview schedules, because of the subjectivity-oriented factor

(Mantzaris, 1986). The researcher concurs with Chetty (1983:64) that: 'Despite attempts at objectivity in the construction of scale items, the method of rating remains to a certain extent subjective, because the assessment of attitude position is left to the respondent'.

Moreover, the avoidance of extremes, is a common feature with rating scales. Other errors include leniency which occurs with respondents who dislike being critical; and severity which occurs with respondents who set high standards.

Despite these limitations, the interview schedule proved to be the most suitable method of data collection for the purposes of this study.

#### 4. THE PILOT STUDY

The pilot study is a necessary step in the research process because it reveals shortcomings, problems, and ambiguities at a stage in the research where corrections or adjustments are still possible. Moreover, no previously reported study was available, and the pilot study presented a viable alternative.

The pilot study comprised 12 interviews. The researcher was assisted by the factory management in selecting the respondents. The following criteria were taken into account in this selection: age, gender, religious affiliation, educational level and income. Initially, the respondents appeared hesitant, presumably because



of management's presence. However, they were assured that the survey was in their interests as well as those of management. This encouraging gesture prompted an eagerness to respond which resulted in a 100% response rate in the large-scale study.

The suitability of the method of data collection was also verified during the pilot study. It became clear that interview schedules eliminated the risk of non-response, which most likely would have been high had mail questionnaires been used. To minimize potential problems of communication, the researcher administered the interview in Zulu, thereby ensuring that even the least sophisticated of potential respondents were catered for. A common denominator of comprehensibility was thus ensured, given that a cross-section of respondents were to be interviewed. It took approximately 20-25 minutes to administer each interview schedule. The fixed alternative layout of the questions enhanced the ease with which the interviewer was able to administer the schedule.

##### 5. THE CHOICE OF LOCALE

The Durban Metropolitan Area was chosen as the study area. This choice facilitated the practical implementation of the study within manageable limits. The shaded area of Map I represents the study area. (See Fig. 1).





## 6. SAMPLING PROCEDURE

The selection of the sample involved two stages:

- 6.1 the selection of the factory,
- 6.2 the selection of the respondents.

### 6.1 The Selection of the Factory

Non-probability purposive or judgemental sampling was used to select the factory which was to serve as the population for a systematic random sample of workers. Purposive sampling involves a sampling method which does not embody the feature of randomness. Given the social conflict problems in the industry, it was not possible to conduct the study across the spectrum of textile factories in the entire Durban Metropolitan area. Moreover, the Frametex Mill was chosen in view of the fact that it is the largest textile mill in the southern hemisphere.

The basic assumption behind purposive sampling is that with good judgement and an appropriate strategy one can hand-pick the case(s) to be included in the sample and thus develop samples that are satisfactory in relation to one's needs.

### 6.2 The Selection of the Respondents

A representative sample was selected using systematic random sampling. The sample was chosen from the payroll of the entire

labour force, representing the total population being studied. Moser and Kalton (1971:83) comment that: 'Systematic sampling produces a more even spread of the population list than simple random sampling'. This leads to greater precision.

Each worker was allocated a number and the first case to be drawn was randomly selected. At the time of the study the total labour force complement at Frametex was 2 730 workers, of which 1 525 were male and 1 205 female. A sample size of 300 was decided upon.

According to Backstrom and Hirsch (1963:33) 'a sample size of 267 is sufficient to ensure a  $\pm 6\%$  margin of tolerated error at the 95% confidence level'. This contention is also supported by Arkin and Colton (1964). A total of 300 respondents thus exceeds this limit, but the researcher claims a 6% margin of tolerated error and a 95% confidence level for results emanating from this sample.

Every 10th male and every 8th female was chosen to arrive at a representative sample of 150 men and 150 women. The technique in systematic sampling is to calculate the desired sampling fraction,

where  $k = N/n$

For men :  $k = N/n$

$$= 1525/150$$

$$= 10$$

For women :  $k = N/n$

$$= 1205/150$$

$$= 8$$

Once the sampling fraction was determined, the random selection of the starting point determines the entire sample. A number between

1 and 20 was selected at random and this determined the first sample number. The list from which the sample was selected was arranged at random because a number was allocated to each.

## 7. FIELDWORK

Fieldwork commenced in late November 1987 and was completed by May 1988. The interviews were conducted in the Union office which is located within the Frametex Mill. The research team comprised 7 field-workers including the researcher. All the interviews were conducted in the Zulu medium.

## 8. DATA PROCESSING

The 300 interview schedules were scrutinized for inconsistencies and completeness. All the schedules were found to be accurate, with no clear inconsistencies apparent.

The coding of the data onto data sheets ensued. Each interview schedule was assigned a number and coded according to a coding frame.

Five response categories were used, since it has been suggested that dichotomizing responses into only 'agreed' and 'disagreed' categories has the effect of over-estimating the actual degree of consensus coercing respondents who are in a neutral category towards either alternative (Herzberg *et al*, 1959). Moser and Kalton (1971) maintain that a rating scale with many response

categories is more sensitive and informative than a straight Yes/No choice of answers.

Response categories for Section One and Section Two were expressed in frequencies and percentages. Response categories for the statements in Section Three were coded and weighted as follows:

Positive statements indicating a high level of gender discrimination were scored as follows:

Strongly agree	5
Agree	4
Undecided	3
Disagree	2
Strongly disagree	1

Negative statements indicating a tendency for equality were scored as follows:

Strongly agree	1
Agree	2
Undecided	3
Disagree	4
Strongly disagree	5

The neutral questions were scored in the same manner as the positive ones, namely:

Strongly agree	5
Agree	4
Undecided	3
Disagree	2
Strongly disagree	1

Strong agreement with positive statements and disagreement with negative statements (i.e., high scores) meant that males are in a more privileged position than women, whereas strong agreement with the negative statements and disagreement with the positive statements (i.e., low scores) implied negative attitudes towards male authority and power on the factory floor.

Once the information had been transferred from the schedules to data sheets, the researcher set about the laborious task of keying the data into the computer.

Computer analysis was done using the Statistical Package for Social Sciences (SPSS-PC<sup>+</sup>, 1984). Initially, basic frequency tables and statistics for each of the variables were examined, and thereafter the weighted mean ( $X_w$ ) was calculated for each statement. The variance ( $V$ ) was used as the test of consensus.

### CHAPTER THREE : THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK FOR ANALYSIS

#### 1. INTRODUCTION

*'One of the central tenets of critical approaches to social science is that we should not only understand society (theory), but use such an understanding as a basis for a programme of action (practice) to change society.... Change is only possible through an endless cycle of theory and practice....'*  
(IBG Women's Group, 1984:38)

Attempts at analysing the relations between gender and class have given rise to a number of theoretical schema. This chapter seeks to examine some of the theoretical explanations which have been offered and the problems they present, in an attempt to provide an analytical framework from which one may understand gender relations in the labour process. The discussion is intended not as an even-handed summary of differing points of view, but rather as an examination of some of the theoretical difficulties involved, concentrating on the difficulty of integrating economic analysis and gender into theory.

The social division of labour, a prominent part of most analyses of social stratification, cannot be understood without an understanding of the gender division of labour. It is not merely that an analysis of gender divisions be added to existing literature, rather, that gender inequality be taken into account in its own terms in stratification theory. As such, the focus has been on identifying the particular employment problems faced by

women and men, how they occur, how they are maintained and how they are related to other patterns of social relations. The researcher takes cognisance of the comments made by Kuhn *et al*, (1978) that the need for theory cannot be taken for granted: theory needs to be justified for each specific situation within which and for which it is produced.

A feminist approach includes an interest in questions of gender relations as well as a commitment to work towards a future where social inequality on the grounds of gender will no longer persist. Moreover, feminist themes address the underlying structural reasons for gender variation. It is argued here that a discussion of gender roles should be based on a broad social theory which encompasses all the elements that structure gender experiences.

This chapter is divided into four parts. Part One examines core concepts, an understanding of which is necessary to challenge androcentric tendencies. In Part Two a critical review of existing theories of gender inequality incorporating the work of feminist writers is given. Part Three includes economic analyses on gender discrimination in labour market structures. Part Four examines psycho-social tendencies towards explaining gender relations.

## 2. CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

### 2.1 Gender Relations

Gender relations is a category meant to capture a complex set

of social relations in order to refer to a changing set of historically variable social processes. Through gender relations two types of person are postulated: man and woman, where man and woman are posited as exclusionary categories. The actual content of being a man or woman and the rigidity of the categories themselves are highly variable across cultures and time. Nevertheless, gender relations in so far as people have been able to understand them, have been relations of domination. That is, gender relations have been defined and controlled by one of their interrelated aspects - the man.

The study of gender relations entails at least two levels of analysis, namely:

- (i) gender as a thought construct or category that helps us make sense out of particular social worlds and histories and,
- (ii) gender as a social relation that enters into, and partially constitutes, all other social relations and activities.

An important barrier to a comprehension of gender relations has been the difficulty of understanding the relationship between sex and gender.

## 2.2 Sex and Gender

Probably the major insight of feminism and feminists has been the



distinction between 'sex' and 'gender' (Barrett, 1980; Delphy, 1984; Jaggar, 1983; Rubin, 1975).

Placed in perspective, the following definitions are offered by Friedman *et al*, (1986) :

- (i) Biological sex refers to the bodily characteristics that define males and females. This is constant.
- (ii) Gender refers to the culturally and socially shaped cluster of expectations, attributes and behaviours assigned to a human being by the society into which the child is born.

Gender-role behaviour refers to the behaviour and social practices commonly associated with meanings of femininity and masculinity that are produced by society.

According to Friedman (1987), this theoretical clarification of terms is a significant exercise because it has paved the way to question the 'naturalness' and 'essentialness' of a social hierarchy based on biological distinction.

Rubin (1975:3) has assisted our ability to identify elements of these structures, by identifying a sex/gender system as: 'The set of arrangements by which a society transforms biological sexuality into products of human activity, and in which these transformed needs are satisfied.'

Gender oppression is thus not inevitable, but is the result of society or the special social relations which organize it. De Beauvoir (1974:16) points out: 'One is not born man or woman, but rather becomes one'. Essentially, we are born female and male (biological sexes), but we are socialized woman and man (socially recognized genders).

According to Friedman (1987), the implications of these definitions suggest that:

- (i) a sex/gender system exists, and that the organisation of gender and sexuality must be understood in relation to the entire social system;
- (ii) it is incorrect to collapse into one the meanings of 'sex' and 'gender', which is done only at an ideological level and,
- (iii) in western culture, the power structures involve sexual divisions based on a hierarchy or ranking where women's activity is devalued and women's gender identity becomes the basis for their subordination and must be recognized as social power and not [own emphasis] as the 'natural' order of things.

### 2.3 Gender Division of Labour

The participation of women and men and their status in the work-force, is predicated on the basis of tasks that are considered as

being 'natural' to each gender. This is clearly spelt out by Vogel (1983:142):

*'Biological differences constitute the material precondition for the social construction of gender differences, as well as a direct material factor in the differential position of the sexes in society.'*

#### 2.4 Relations of Patriarchy

The term 'patriarchy' has occupied a central place in feminist thinking over the last few years and has been subject to a variety of interpretations and applications.

Patriarchy is defined by Hartmann (1981) as the unequal relations of domination and subordination which exist between men and women; and which place men in a superior position and women in an inferior position. Through these relations men exercise control over women's labour power. Men maintain this control by excluding women from access to some essential productive resources. Restricting women's sexuality, for example, allows men to control women's labour power for the purposes of serving men in many personal ways in addition to the rearing of children. Rearing children is a crucial task in perpetuating patriarchy as a system. Children are generally reared by women in the home in western society. Women are socially recognized and defined as inferior to men, while men rarely appear in the domestic sphere. Children raised in this way generally learn their places in the gender hierarchy. Other areas of control are procreation, access to land, and employment. Patriarchy thus represents a set of

social relations between men and women which has a material base that rests fundamentally in men's control over women's labour power. Users of the term argue that despite many differences distinguishing the lives of men, they are united in their shared relationship of dominance over women.

Although the mode of production may establish the type and amount of work to be done in industry, it would appear that in South Africa patriarchal hierarchies and race relations determine who [own emphasis] will do the work and how [own emphasis] it will be done. Hartmann (1981) suggests that gender and racial hierarchies determine who fills empty places. Patriarchy is not simply hierarchical organisation, but hierarchy in which particular people fill particular places.

Patriarchy is thus chosen to label the present sex/gender system because it appropriately captures the notions of hierarchy and male dominance.

## 2.5 Social Reproduction and Reproduction of Labour Power

On the subject of reproduction, the theoretical analysis here adopts the formulation of Edholm *et al*, (1977), who distinguish between social reproduction and reproduction of labour power.

Social reproduction entails the reproduction of the conditions of production. That is, a system needs to reproduce the conditions that would perpetuate its own operation. Under capitalism, this

demands a labour/production process that allows capital to continue with a supply of the conditions of labour that will always be available to perpetuate the accumulation process. Some process that meets the ongoing personal needs of the bearers of labour power as human individuals is therefore a condition of social reproduction, as is some process that replaces workers who have died or withdrawn from the active workforce.

Reproduction of labour power includes two aspects: (i) the production of new generations of labour power (children), and (ii) the maintenance of existing labour power (workers).

### 3. MIXED MESSAGES OF GENDER INEQUALITY

Many of the theoretical debates surrounding gender relations within the feminist perspective are based on the following four themes:

- (i) according to whether gender inequality is viewed as being theoretically insignificant;
- (ii) derivative from capitalist relations;
- (iii) an autonomous system of patriarchy; or
- (iv) the consequence of the interaction of systems of patriarchy and capitalism.

The theoretical argument informing this study incorporates two spheres, that of patriarchal relations (household), and that of capitalist relations (workplace), with an emphasis on the mutually

reinforcing dialectical relationship between capitalist class structure and hierarchical gender structure.

### 3.1 Gender Inequality As Being Theoretically Insignificant

The first category includes the writings of mainstream sociologists. Gender inequality appears to be theoretically insignificant for these writers because of their emphasis on class relations and their use of the family as the unit of analysis in stratification. Included in this group are functionalists who characterize gender relations in terms of social roles, which are considered different but 'equal'.

Feminist theory of the family includes two key theoretical concepts. The first of these is the concept of 'socialisation', and the second the concept of 'role'. Within feminist theory of 'the family', women's roles within family life are seen as absolutely crucial to the perpetuation of 'the system' - whether the system is seen to be capitalism or patriarchy.

Women are seen as central in this way because of their two roles: (i) the biological role as childbearers, and (ii) the social role as the family member most responsible for socialisation. Most feminist writers seem to see socialisation as a kind of 'self-fulfilling prophecy': a self-perpetuating system which goes on from generation to generation. The main focus of the feminist concern is not this entire process, but rather that [own emphasis] part of it which is seen to be particularly significant in women's

oppression, viz., gender-role socialisation. What is seen as the 'content' of this process - norms, values, behaviours and so forth - is also seen as a content which derives from the needs of 'the system', i.e., capitalism or patriarchy. Closely connected to this is the idea that the demands and requirements of 'the system' translated through an ideology of family life, constitute reality.

The work of a feminist, Weinreich, and of a non-feminist, Parsons, is examined. Both writers utilize the same basic model of the processes involved in socialisation.

According to Weinreich (1978:16), socialisation '...is concerned with the transmission of behaviours, roles, attributes and beliefs to the next generation and has three key facets'. The first focuses on internalisation through direct proscription, example and expectation. The second emphasises the part played by socialising agents, and the third points out that many aspects of socialisation are particularly concerned with sex roles, which are mainly cultural in origin. The four main aspects of socialisation for Weinreich (1978) are the process of learning, the use of models, identification with same-sex parent and self-socialisation.

A key concept in the Parsonian scheme is that of 'role differentiation'. Parsons (1949) maintains that different roles must exist in the relationship between spouses, and that the development of sex-role identification in childhood mirrors the different roles which exist between a child's parents. The

'instrumental' role involves 'universalistic norms' of various kinds and is concerned with the relationship between the family unit and the outside world. The 'expressive' role involves 'particularistic norms' and is concerned with the host of relationships within the family.

Extrapolating from this analysis, Parsons (1949) applied this functional arrangement to the family. According to him, men are the instrumental or task leaders in the family and women are the family's expressive or emotional leaders. The division of labour within the family, he argues, is based on this 'natural' difference between men and women. That women take care of the family and home, and men work in the labour force, is a 'functional arrangement' for eliminating competition between husbands and wives.

Particularly important is his argument that gender-role segregation is a functional necessity for marital stability in western society. This is so, Parsons maintains, because the marriage relationship is structurally unsupported in an urban industrial society and, as such, is fragile and easily disrupted without protective mechanisms. The major mechanism preventing disruptive competition between husband and wife is gender-role segregation, where the dominant male role is the occupational role and the dominant female role is that of housewife and mother.

Parsons' theory about the economic role of women in the family is developed mainly in terms of certain hypotheses regarding the



causal relationship between husbands' and wives' occupational behaviour. He argues that if marital stability is to be maintained, married women must either avoid work, or work at a 'job' rather than a 'career' that ordinarily does not produce a comparable proportion of the family income. It would seem that status compatibility as opposed to status equality is important in Parsons' analysis.

Since Parsons' definition of class-status is defined in terms of social evaluations, and since gender roles are defined in normative terms, it follows that Parsons' analysis precludes a consideration of economic factors. Moreover, the women's role in the family is portrayed in cultural terms and the question of the economic role of women's domestic labour, which has been emphasized by many feminist writers, is ruled out by a theoretical sleight of hand. In this regard, Bowles *et al* (1983) contend that in academic sociology, the view that female activity in the home is essentially cultural has often been associated with a denial of the proposition that women do in fact constitute a subordinate group at all.

While the structural-functionalist school provides a great deal of valuable information, it tends towards an analysis which has led sociologists to divorce the family from an analysis of the forces and relations of production which comprise class relations in capitalist societies, and to underestimate the importance of both forms of female labour, namely, domestic labour and wage labour. Moreover, the functionalist school does not regard the gender

division of labour as problematic, and therefore requiring explanation. The main result is an analysis of the domestic group as an economic unit and of its relation to the process of production.

### 3.2 Gender Inequality As A Derivative Of Capitalist Relations

The Domestic Labour Debate represents a more sophisticated attempt to derive gender inequality from capital. This is done by attempting to specify the role that housework or 'domestic' labour plays within capitalism. The major premise of the debate is to establish that within Marxist thought domestic labour should be seen as work, and that the relations under which this work is performed are central to an explanation of the oppression and exploitation of women.

One of the central issues in the Domestic Labour Debate has been the relationship between domestic labour and the creation of value and surplus value. The nature of the process which creates value is questioned. The issue is whether all labour which is incorporated into capital produces value, or whether the fact that domestic labour is not exchanged with capital on the market is sufficient to disqualify it.

James *et al* (1973) argue that domestic labour does produce value, because housework is essential to the workings of capitalism and because it is labour which is eventually incorporated into

capital. Davis (1982) also holds that domestic labour creates value because it is eventually incorporated into capital via the husband's labour power.

Gardiner (1975) put forward two propositions in opposition to this standpoint: ...(i) that the lack of market exchange means that it is impossible to ascertain the abstract equivalence of domestic labour; and (ii) that because domestic labour is not exchanged directly with capital, it does not produce value for capital.

According to Marxist theory, the position that domestic labour does not create value/surplus value is in itself no answer to the question of the place of domestic labour in a social formation. The most serious problem with the Domestic Labour Debate is a failure to confront the issue of the interests of men in the perpetuation of domestic labour. Most of these writings conduct very little analysis on gender inequality and are based on a presentation of capitalism, rather than patriarchy, as the problem.

Referring to the South African experience, Yawitch (1984) argues that the essence of women's oppression lies in the fact that they are excluded from social production and relegated to productive activities, while their role in production is structured by their role as reproducers in the family.

Tomson (1984) points to one of the most obvious material-versus-ideological contradictions in South Africa as regards the Black

working-class. When men became the first migrants at the material level, they were paid low wages, while the women actually supported themselves in the reserves. The migrant labour ideology developed on this foundation to justify men's low wages. A corollary of the migrant labour ideology is one which assumes male responsibility for women. Thus, when Black women entered the wage-labour force they were paid even lower wages than men. When the reserve system collapsed and with it the material basis of migrant ideology, the ideology itself remained intact. Although women in the homelands came increasingly to rely on male remittances (that is, the ideology of male responsibility now had become a material reality), there was no corresponding increase in men's wages. Therefore, the interactions among material reality, ideology and gender relations are all important for understanding the form that both capitalism and the oppression of women has taken in South Africa.

Since women are excluded from social production, their economic dependence ensures their subservience. Hence their oppression serves to diffuse their resistance. Furthermore, women bear the brunt of the frustration and aggression that their husbands are powerless to express. This kind of behaviour is an indication of how working men, through their acceptance of the dominant capitalist ideology, facilitate the oppression of women. Yawitch (1984) appears reluctant to admit causality to patriarchal gender relations, which are both ideological and material. Inherent in her argument is the notion that because a particular form of gender oppression is functional to capitalism, it follows that it

is also produced and formed by it. This approach ignores the pre-existing social relations and the capacity for resistance and impact such relations may have had on the forms of both capitalist development and subsequent gender relations. Yawitch absolves men from any responsibility for their actions and implies that an eradication of capitalism is sufficient for improving the position of women. She points out that: 'It is only the abolition of the capitalist division of labour and all its refinements that can alter their [women] material situation in any sense'. (1984:24).

The lack or absence of a distinct conceptualisation of gender relations leads to the formulation of theories which place women's oppression in terms of their place in the production process. This is regarded as a focus on economic relations rather than those of gender. While Yawitch discusses the centrality of migrant labour in arriving at an understanding of Black women's oppression, her argument does not provide for questions surrounding pre-capitalist roles in shaping the system of migrant labour. The researcher does not deny the significance of the part the migrant labour system has played in reinforcing the subordinate position of Black women. But, equally fundamental to this system is a multitude of patriarchal controls. This distinction is significant, for in ignoring it, Yawitch fails to perceive gender relations as an integral part of the social totality.

Vogel (1983) suggests a theoretical framework that posits the role of women in childbearing of material importance in understanding women's position in class society. This is done by perceiving women's oppression in terms of social reproduction and the reproduction of labour power.

Vogel suggests that the family unit is an important starting point for the theoretical analysis of the reproduction of labour power. Vogel's perspective is based on the notion that it is the provision of men by means of subsistence to women during the childbearing period that forms the material basis for women's oppression as opposed to the gender division of labour *per se*. It is important to note that Vogel is referring specifically to women from the subordinate classes who are the bearers of exploitable labour power. The maintenance of women during childbearing is the key concept here. It is only where replacement of labour power occurs under capitalism that the biological differences of women and men are important and need to be understood at the theoretical level of social reproduction.

For Vogel (1983) women's somewhat diminished capacity to participate in the creation of surplus-value during the childbearing period creates a potential contradiction for capital. While women are required as bearers of labour power to create surplus-value, they are also required to replace potential labour power through generational reproduction (which is, of course, also labour). Moreover, the women themselves need to be maintained. That is, women do not assist in creating surplus-value, and whoever (usually men) maintains them will, in fact,

have to take more from the social surplus that would otherwise be appropriated by capital. Therefore, these women do not add to the social surplus; instead, they serve to reduce it.

The second innovation that Vogel draws from is the concept of necessary labour. Necessary labour refers to that work which is absolutely vital to the reproduction of the system as a whole. In capitalist societies a social component of necessary labour (which is inextricably linked with the surplus labour in the production process) and a domestic component of necessary labour (which is performed outside the sphere of capitalist production) may be distinguished. For the reproduction of labour power to take place, both the components of necessary labour are required. That is, wages may enable a worker to purchase commodities, but additional labour, that is, domestic labour, must be performed before they are consumed. Furthermore, many of the labour processes associated with the generational replacement of labour power are carried out as part of domestic labour. Consequently, in capitalist societies, the domestic component of necessary labour becomes dissociated from wage labour where surplus labour is performed.

According to Vogel (1983:104), the realm of necessary labour is determined by two aspects: namely, ' (i) the level of development of the forces of production and, (ii) the organization of the social relations of production'.

The domestic component of necessary labour is thus very large. The forces of production, that is, child-care, health-care and so on, are very underdeveloped, while the social relations are extremely exploitative - labour is unpaid, unshared, private and isolated, and dependency relations are enforced.

Under a system of male supremacy and within a capitalist mode of production, it is evident that women take overwhelming responsibility for the domestic component of necessary labour. A major contradiction between domestic labour and wage labour is evident: as a component of necessary labour, domestic labour (which does not in itself produce a surplus value in any way) potentially reduces the commitment workers can make by performing surplus labour through participation in wage work. Objectively it competes with capitalism's drive for accumulation.

Vogel (1983) considers the differential positioning of men (providers of commodities) and women (who carry the burden of the domestic component) with respect to surplus labour, to have its roots in earlier class societies which are generally accompanied by a system of male supremacy. It is further enhanced by the separation of wage labour from domestic labour which is articulated by the capitalist mode of production.

### 3.3 Gender Inequality As A Derivative of Patriarchy

Writers in this category view patriarchy as an autonomous system of social inequality. In their analyses, the various forms of oppression are seen as interrelated sufficiently to constitute a



system in which women, as a group, are oppressed by men, as a group.

Firestone (1974) suggests that biological reproduction is the basis of women's subordination to men. Adopting the Marxist notion of base and super-structure, Firestone argues that the real base of social organization is reproduction and that all other institutions form the super-structure. Therefore sexuality appears to be the basis of differentiation of the sexes and the oppression of women.

The forms of power that men have over women are seen to be expressed through sexuality. Sexual harrassment at work, rape, pornography and prostitution are quoted as examples. Mackinnon (1982) contends that women are defined in opposition to men who are the expropriators of women's sexuality. Men sexually objectify women and, in so doing, wield power over them.

A major problem with the arguments of Firestone and Mackinnon lies in their tendency towards biological reductionism. The importance of class for gender inequality is not considered. Their inadequate analysis of capitalist relations and their interrelationship with patriarchal relations is a serious omission.

Barrett (1980) has shown the impossibility in principle of constructing an adequate analysis of gender inequality within the patriarchy approach. The 'patriarchy alone' approach is ahistoric

and assumes that relations between men and women are unchanging and universalistic. She suggests that this often slides into biologism which is unacceptable. Moreover, it incorrectly leads to a search for a single cause of women's oppression. Barrett (1980) calls instead for a complex historical analysis which has place for the examination of the reciprocal relations as well as conflicts between men and women.

Likewise, Beechey (1977) takes an ambivalent position on the merits of the concept of patriarchy. Analyses of women's oppression in terms of patriarchy alone are unable to account for variations in the forms this oppression takes. Beechey's position is to see patriarchy in discrete bits in specific institutions within capitalism. She maintains that: 'A satisfactory theory of patriarchy should be historically specific and should explore the forms of patriarchy which exist within particular modes of production ' (1977:80).

It becomes clear that when there is only one explanatory variable there is little basis for explaining variations in the phenomenon under examination. These accounts are thus unable to lead to an adequate understanding of variations either in the form of patriarchy or historical change.

With respect to South Africa, Bozzoli (1983) displaces attention from the contradiction between capital and labour and considers pre-capitalist contradictions and gender struggles which have shaped the process of capitalist exploitation. She analyses

patriarchy as a particular type of female subordination that takes different forms under different historical and social circumstances.

With the main emphasis on the notion of struggle, Bozzoli (1983) argues that the power of the pre-capitalist society and economy lies in its internal relationships and its capacities to resist being absorbed into the industrial working-class, retain access to land, continue to produce and reproduce as well as retain some sort of cultural and social independence. On this basis she suggests that resistance of Black societies to capitalism was based on the capacity of the pre-capitalist societies to impose tasks (of full responsibility and some maintenance) on women and that this was their most potent weapon. Essentially, male domination was the main problem for Black women.

Bozzoli's discussion of patriarchal structuring is viewed in terms of two struggles. The first is that which occurs in the domestic sphere around male/female relations and, the second is that which occurs between the domestic sphere (and its inherent patriarchal control), and the capitalist system.

During the conflict between pre-capitalist societies and capitalism, it was the strength of the former's domestic economy which determined the extent and the form of its survival. The strength in the face of capitalism's demand for labour was based on the patriarchal control over women's labour in the societies. Male-female divisions of labour could be reorganised on the basis

of this control. It is as a function of this control that the extended family in the reserves is able to, and does, fulfil social security functions for the reproduction of the migrant work-force. 'By caring for the very young and the very old and the sick, the reserve families relieve the capitalist sector and the State from the need to expand resources for these necessary functions.

Bozzoli's formulations are significant because they contextualise gender relations within the broader social dynamics. This contradicts Yawitch (1984), for instead of trying to understand women's oppression in terms of class theory, Bozzoli attempts to understand capitalist development through a concern with gender.

#### 3.4 Patriarchy And Capitalism As Being Analytically Independent But Co-Existing

Writings in this category capture the autonomy of patriarchal relations without ignoring the significance of capitalist relations.

Hartmann (1981) presents a powerful analysis of gender inequality in terms of the interrelationship of patriarchy and capitalism. She maintains that most analyses of women's oppression have focused exclusively on women's relation to capitalism, ignoring the independent role of male interest in the oppression of women. Patriarchy and capitalism, whilst analytically independent, should be seen to operate in partnership.

Job segregation by gender and the family wage, Hartmann argues, are important aspects of ways in which patriarchy and capitalism have interacted. She argues that men have organized together to exclude women from much paid work primarily, though not exclusively, by means of the device of job segregation by gender. This serves to lower the wages of women in the jobs that remain open to them and thus to pressurize women into remaining dependent on men within the family. Men demand a family wage which completes this vicious circle, in which women are pushed away from paid work and into unpaid domestic work from which men benefit. Both men and capital are seen to gain from this arrangement.

Hartmann's work is an important advance in the theory of gender inequality because of the recognition of patriarchy and capitalism as two separate structures with mutual effects. However, she overstates the degree of harmony between the two systems, and subsequently pays insufficient attention to the tension and conflict between capitalism and patriarchy.

#### 4. ECONOMIC APPROACHES TO GENDER INEQUALITY

In exploring the status of women, it is useful to examine how economists have explained gender differences within labour market structures. Three approaches are reviewed in this section: viz., (i) The Reserve Army Thesis; (ii) Human Capital Theory and (iii) Labour Market Dualism.

#### 4.1 Industrial Reserve Army Thesis

Beechey (1977) adopts the Marxian notion of a reserve army of labour as a basis for an explanation of women's movements in and out of paid employment. The existence of a reserve army of labour means that in times of expansion there are people whose labour can be drawn upon without offering high wages. Although Marx did not refer to the gender of the members of the Industrial Reserve Army, Beechey contends that married women are a preferred source of industrial reserve army for capital. Married women, she argues, may be paid low wages and be easily dismissed because they are partially supported by their husband's wages. It is the financial relationship with their husbands that differentiates married women from other wage labourers, and which gives rise to women's particular and distinctive position in the labour market. Capital thus maintains the family by placing limits on women's paid employment. The researcher maintains that a review of patriarchal structures is necessary to explain these limits on women's paid employment.

Beechey (1977) also notes the processes whereby employers attempt to utilize women's relatively cheap labour in their strategies of deskilling the labour process. This point is more fully developed by Humphries (1983) and Braverman (1974), who have each argued that there is a tendency for women to enter paid work as capitalism develops and that there is a concomitant decline in male paid labour. Whereas Braverman's emphasis is on both the movement of tasks from the domestic economy to the capitalist

factory and on the newly deskilled nature of the labour processes in which women are engaged, Humphries' focus is on the substitution of women for men within the market economy. Both writers note the interest of capital in the employment of women. Their arguments counteract the suggestion that women constitute a cyclical reserve and are the first to be ejected in times of lower demand for labour.

Both writers, however, lack consideration of the significance of patriarchal organization. Women's employment cannot be understood without a consideration of this important factor.

#### 4.2 Human Capital Theory

Human Capital theory stresses the importance of the quality of labour in determining labour market outcomes, and in particular the role of skills and knowledge of the individual in influencing wages and employment stability. The basic argument is that workers with minimal stocks of human capital have low individual productivity and therefore receive low wages, and experience high job turnover that is commensurate with their human capital investment. More skilled and experienced labour, on the other hand, are the beneficiaries of higher wages and stability in employment.

Human Capital theorists argue that women's primary orientation to their child-rearing role results in their stock of human capital being, in general, lower than men's. The roles of women in the

family affect their stock of human capital in two ways. First, on the assumption that they will be spending more time with the family than on paid work, women will be less inclined to make human capital investments. Their time away from paid work reduces the return on their human capital investments and so they intend to invest less in the first place. Second, when women leave paid work to attend to child-rearing tasks full-time, there is a deterioration of their accumulated stock of human capital. Their skills may become 'rusty' or obsolete, which puts them in a less competitive position when they return to paid work.

In short, Human Capital theory claims that, all things being equal, the economy is indifferent to gender. This perspective thus considers the under-employment of females to be a result of their human capital deficits. Furthermore, if the notion of human capital is broadened to encompass factors such as motivation, on-the-job performance, ability and willingness to migrate, health, and job location information, then even more powerful arguments may be presented to explain female under-employment.

According to Mincer *et al* (1980), females do not expect or intend to work continuously over their lifetime and therefore select employment in occupations where labour force interruptions are not penalized. Therefore, the long-term 'intentions' of women workers provide an explanation for the crowding of females into relatively few female-dominated occupations. Moreover, Blau *et al*, (1976) suggest that crowding of females into gender-specific occupations tends to produce an over-supply of women into these occupations.



The result is a larger supply of female labour for the limited demand in the 'female' occupations, and thus higher under-employment and lower earnings than would be expected if females were evenly distributed across occupations.

Bowles *et al*, (1983) contend that Human Capital theory does not admit to the structural constraints on individual choice. The achievement principle is assumed to operate in full force. This has two consequences. Firstly, any inequality in wage labour is a problem of individual choice. Processes that structure access to education and vocational training are not considered. Secondly, the theory emphasises the quality of labour supply. Thus, changes in the demand for labour and the general nature of the economic structure itself, are not dealt with. Both are crucial factors relating to women's position in wage labour. Human Capital analysis, for example, by emphasising wage differences, introduces differences as an explanatory factor where men and women are employed. Yet, in an analysis of female wage labour, women's concentration in low-status, low-paying jobs is precisely what needs explanation. These structural factors are explicit in an analysis of Labour Market Dualism.

Although Human Capital theorists have made a significant contribution through emphasising differences in the quality of labour, it is found wanting in many respects.

### 4.3 Labour Market Dualism

Dual Labour Market theory addresses the schism between a primary labour market and a secondary labour market. The primary market is characterised by skill specificity in jobs and the importance of training. The secondary market is characterised by an 'undeveloped structure' which tends to have a high turnover, greater absenteeism, and higher rates of lateness (Doeringer *et al*, 1971). There is no static match between workers and jobs, for Dual Labour Market theory suggests that once workers are within the primary or secondary sectors, they tend to develop the employment traits of that sector.

Barron *et al*, (1976) specifically address the relationship between gender divisions and the dual labour market. They list five main attributes likely to identify a source of secondary workers: dispensability; clearly visible social difference; little interest in acquiring training; low interest in wages, and lack of solidarity. They argue that these characteristics differentiate female from male wage labour. It would appear that employers hold the view that women possess these five characteristics of secondary workers. This belief is based on the notion of women's orientation to their domestic situation and socialisation.

Dual Labour Market theory gives a very general account of male and female differences, but it does not address the differences in male and female wage labour within the secondary or primary sector. Beechey (1977) comments that most of the reasons provided

by Barron *et al*, ( 1976) have to do with factors external to the labour market. Much of their argument relies on a description of characteristics that women bring, or are believed by employers to bring, to the labour market. Bowles *et al* (1983) remark that the problem with the analysis of Dual Labour Market theory is related to the absence of an historical dimension which might have focused more attention on actual struggles.

An extension of the Dual Labour Market concept, is the 'Institutional Model' of Blau *et al*, (1976) which attempts to explain occupational segregation and lower pay for women workers. They argue that, within the internal labour market, group treatment of workers is the norm. Clearly, gender could be a basis for such differentiation, due to employers' distaste for hiring women in male occupations, and/or real or perceived quality differences between male and female labour. They stress that decisions regarding initial job assignments by the employer are based largely on group derived probabilities. If the average woman is perceived as imposing higher costs on employers than the average man because of higher turnover and discontinuities in labour force participation resulting from her domestic duties, then, without additional information about individuals, the employer will minimize the risks involved by hiring a man. Since the internal labour market does not allow for flexible wages to compensate for the increased costs, the employer cannot, on average, be said to be discriminating against women if his/her perceptions are correct. However, to the extent that an individual woman does not

conform to this stereotype of her gender, then there will be discrimination against this particular woman.

In addition, the occupational distribution differences between men and women may, to some extent, reflect employer decisions to exclude women from certain entry-level positions and their associated promotion ladders and/or to promote and upgrade women more slowly than men. The structure of the jobs typically open to women is very likely to reflect employer perceptions regarding the average characteristics of female workers. Predominantly female occupations may be characterised by fewer possibilities for promotion and more numerous ports of entry than comparable male jobs.

Contrary to the economic flexibility incentive proposed by Doeringer *et al.*, (1971), Gordon (1972) emphasises the incentive of control over the labour force. He maintains that by encouraging a 'fetish for hierarchy' and status achievement, employers can effectively divide and rule the labour force. The use of racism and sexism aids the divide and rule strategy, pitting groups of workers against one another and hindering the development of working-class consciousness.

#### 4.4 The Radical Labour Market Segmentation Theory

This approach argues that political and economic forces within capitalism have given rise to and perpetuated segmented labour markets. Labour market fragmentation is seen primarily as having

arisen as a consequence of the transition from competitive to monopoly capitalism. Radical Labour Market theorists argue that capital accumulation brought about the progressive homogenization of the labour force. Since a homogeneous workforce facilitates class struggle, capitalists react by creating divisive job hierarchies within their own plants. They devise promotional incentives to give workers a false sense of upward mobility. The radical approach suggests firstly, that gender segregation is one aspect of labour market segmentation inherent in advanced capitalism and secondly, that capitalists have consciously attempted to exacerbate gender divisions.

The researcher argues that the level of women's employment vis-a-vis men's, cannot be understood without analyses of patriarchal as well as capitalist relations and of the articulation of the two. Traditionally, stratification theory has paid little attention to these issues. It has generally focused on males, and has been ambiguous in its concerns with gender. Indeed, economists have made assumptions about gender-differentiated behaviour without taking much account of the processes and the social relations which give rise to it.

##### 5. PSYCHO-SOCIAL PERSPECTIVES

The contributions of two theoretical approaches, (i) Field theories and, (ii) Exchange theories, are reviewed in this section. The following notation system is used: (A) refers to the

actor attempting to change, modify, or control the behaviour of another actor, (B).

### 5.1 Field Theories

Field theorists see (A) as having power by overcoming resistance. Control can be attained by (B) if he/she overcomes not only forces of resistance, but all opposition forces as well. Control refers to the maximum effect (A) could have if he/she actually did use his/her power (Cartwright *et al*, 1968). Thus, power becomes a necessary prerequisite for control.

French *et al*, (1962) provide additional distinctions of power within field theory in an attempt to show how the range of (A)'s power over (B) may vary depending on the particular bases of (A)'s power. They delineate five types of power as follows:

- (i) reward power, based on the ability of (A) to provide rewards for (B);
- (ii) coercive power, based on (A)'s ability to mediate punishments for (B);
- (iii) legitimate power, based on (B)'s belief that (A) has the right to control his behaviour or opinions;
- (iv) referent power, based on (B)'s identification with the powerful one (A); and
- (v) expert power, based on (B)'s perception of superior knowledge and skill in (A).



## 5.2 Exchange Theories

Exchange theories of power provide an economics-type analysis of the interaction between two actors. The interaction is viewed in terms of the rewards and costs the actors mediate for each other, and focuses on the exchange aspect of the rewards, punishments and costs. Exchange theorists refer to the actual process of power exertion as influence.

Thibaut *et al*, (1959) argue that the motivation of the actor is to maximize his own gain from interaction by extracting behaviour from (B) which will yield the best possible outcome for (A). They conceptualise (A)'s power over (B) as (A)'s ability to influence the outcomes (B) will experience.

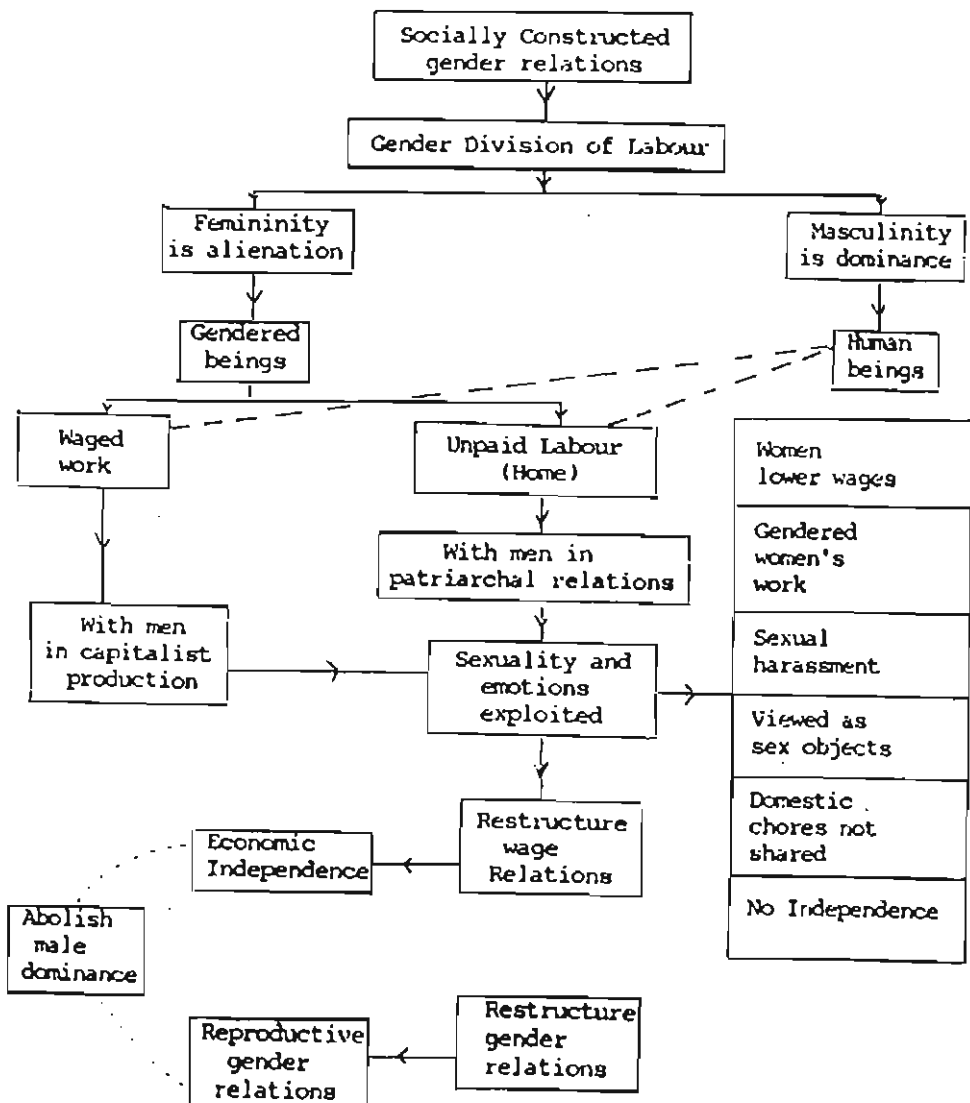
Emerson's exchange theory (1962) complements that of Thibaut *et al*, (1959). His major contributions deal with actors' power-dependency relations, and a concentration on the balance of power. He argues that power resides implicitly in the other's dependency. The power of one actor over another is equal to, and based upon, the dependence of (B) upon (A).

While these versions of exchange theory utilize different terms and maintain somewhat varied emphases, they are generally similar. Each argues that an actor's power over another is dependent on his ability to manipulate or determine another's rewards and costs in exchange for desired behaviour. This being true, one should

expect a high positive correlation between the possession of power resources and the use of power.

It is necessary, given the welter of ideas articulated in the literature survey, to schematically represent the themes and processes identified. (See Fig. 2).

FIG. 2 A SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THEORETICAL THEMES AND PROCESSES IDENTIFIED IN THE LITERATURE SURVEY





## 6. CONCLUSION

In this chapter, the researcher has sought to isolate the strengths and weaknesses of existing theories of gender relations in employment. It is a common presumption in most theories that capital benefits from the subordination of women by men and that men utilise capitalist relations in the subordination of women. This model, a neat fit between the interests of capitalists and men, also incorporates gender relations that exist in the family. The inclusion of familial roles is significant, because it enables the researcher to validly draw conclusions with regard to the division of labour as a whole. The researcher will attempt to explain the findings of the present study in terms of the existing theoretical propositions.

## CHAPTER FOUR : LABOUR TRENDS AMONG BLACK WORKERS

### 1. INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the labour of Black male and female workers in the context of the changing social structure, and forms of labour manifested within the South African social formation. It specifically addresses the question: How has the integration of capital accumulation affected Black male and female workers and their labour?

This chapter is divided into two parts. Part One attempts to identify the nature of the oppression of Black women in the pre-colonial society and economy of Natal. The researcher focuses on the social features that suggest the appropriation of the women's labour by the men. This is an important feature because it provides an insight into the social processes that reach out of the pre-colonial past and into the capitalist present. Part Two examines those labour trends among Black male and female workers which accompanied their incorporation into capitalist South Africa.

### 2. PART ONE : RELATIONS OF PRODUCTION AND DIVISION OF LABOUR UNDER PRE-COLONIAL MODES OF PRODUCTION IN NATAL

Given that sociology is concerned with change and development, and does not view society as being static, it becomes reasonable to argue that one cannot hope to explain the complexity of the

subordination of women solely in terms of the inherent logic of the capitalist system. This chapter therefore begins with an analysis of the relations of production and the division of labour by gender in pre-colonial Natal. As Jeff Guy (1980) has suggested, it is the examination of the analytically prior process of subordination that must surely underpin an analysis of chiefly power and State formation in Nguni systems.

Although there are differences of custom and tradition among the various chiefdoms that comprise the peoples of Natal, and whose culture most Zulu-speaking peoples in Natal/Kwazulu follow, sufficient similarities and continuities can be identified to generalise about the social and economic organisation applicable to most Black groups within the region.

The domination of women by men in the Zulu kingdom is well attested in historical and ethnographic literature. The main forms of control which men exercised over the productive labour of women in the Zulu kingdom are identified.

The main socio-economic unit in Nguni society was the lineage, living in a single *Umuzi*, or homestead, with a common ancestor in the male line. Society was polygamous, and clans were exogamous. Each wife and her children formed an independant production unit which was self-sufficient whilst creating, in addition, a surplus for the maintenance of the *umnumzana*, or homestead-head.

During pre-colonial times, Nguni women were in a position subordinate to men. They experienced a degree of oppression stemming from perpetual male tutelage and the gender division of labour. This was ideologically reinforced by the practice of avoidances and taboos and a host of other socialising elements. Despite the fact that women were in a position of dependence, they were important contributors to subsistence production. The lineage was an integrated whole, combining family, and social and economic functions, and provided security for all members. Although the status of the women in the lineage was inferior to that of men, their value was upheld. Despite the rigid gender division of labour, and the greater value that was placed on cattle-raising (the preserve of men) than on agriculture (the realm of women), the implication was not that their labour was not publicly productive. Nevertheless, among the Nguni, cattle, which were in the hands of men, were the only form of private property. It has been noted in this regard 'that with the beginnings of animal husbandry, which is often the first private property, male dominance appears' (Mullings, 1976:245).

This strict gender division of labour governed all areas of production and household work in the Zulu kingdom. Productive labour in the homestead was divided between men and women according to the clearly defined criteria of age and gender. All agricultural work, as well as domestic work and child-rearing, was conducted by females, whilst males were responsible for all work connected with cattle to which women were rarely allowed access. The main function of the head of the homestead was one of super-

vision and management. 'He rarely involved himself directly in production, his role being one of entrepreneur' (Raum, 1973:85). Other male preserves were marriage negotiations, jurisdiction, most religious rituals, and political functions such as the decision-making. Women were always the wards of men; first of their fathers and then their husbands. Ultimately it was the *unumzana* who controlled the means of production, the relations of production and its distribution (Wright, 1981).

The gender division of labour described here indicates that the labour of these women contributed to those labour activities connected with the production of use values. The main production for social exchange - cattle; sheep; raiding, and hunting, - was in the hands of men.

The forms by which men exerted their control over women within the homestead were ideological, operating largely through the kinship system which served to socialise women into accepting a position of inferiority as against men for virtually all their lives, and material, exercised by married men over the access of their wives' and daughters' to the main means of producing the necessities of life, and to the products of their own labour.

Marriage set up the productive unit upon which the society was based. When she became 'marriageable' a woman began to experience the full weight of a system that socially subordinated her to men. The marriage presupposed the pledge or the passing of cattle from the husband to the wife's father, (which is referred to as

*ilobolo*), on condition that the wife was obedient and fertile. Disobedience or infertility led to the return of the cattle. Placed in a wider social context, 'obedience' meant that the wife had to fulfil her function as an agricultural producer within her husband's homestead; 'fertility' meant that she produced children whose labour would in time be used for the homestead. The labour of the sons was used in animal husbandry for the support and perpetuation of the homestead, until they in turn created homesteads of their own. The labour of the daughters was used in domestic tasks and agriculture within their father's homestead, until they in turn married and assumed reproductive and productive responsibilities which would bring cattle from their husband's to their father's homestead. It is this productive cycle which lies at the heart of Southern Africa's pre-capitalist societies where, the productive capacity of women in the domestic and agricultural sphere, together with their reproductive potential, are exchanged by their fathers for cattle.

This social institution - *ilobolo* - is crucial to an analysis of the nature of gender relations in South African pre-capitalist societies. The destination of a Zulu bride is a matter of utmost concern to her father and brother(s), as the *ilobolo* received for her is an income for the family.

Marriage also highlighted the importance of a women's reproductive role, particularly as it involved interaction with other clans. Without exogamy a society could become more and more isolated and this would increase the odds against its own extinction. Loss of

a woman meant loss of a productive worker, but the gain of a woman, necessarily from another clan, meant not only the gain of a producer, but also a reproducer - the guarantee of a future line of descent.

It is necessary at this point to ask why this strict gender division of labour in Nguni society existed, and whether this was responsible for the high degree of male dominance. Strict biological determinists would argue that the main reason for the subordination of women is their lesser capacity for performing physical work. This example of Nguni society demonstrates clearly that the bulk of hard labour was performed by women, not only in agriculture, but in the portering and construction of homesteads. Holden described the workload of the Nguni women he observed as being 'as severe as that of the common labouring man...' (1966:168).

Mitchell (1971) has suggested that instead of viewing the physiological metabolism of women as cause for rendering them less useful members of the work-force, it was their lesser capacity for violence that, above all, determined their subordination to men. Although it is true of most societies that warfare was the preserve of men (and the Nguni were no exception) it is difficult to prove that this was a result of physiological preference or predisposition. More important in determining the level of participation of women in warfare or the critical sectors of production is their role in reproduction. Childbirth necessitated

withdrawal from labour for a period, which in Nguni society continued for over two years (Marks *et al*, 1978).

Adopting a similar analysis, Godelier (1981:12) observes that in the Zulu social dispensation, this primordial division of labour by gender was a perfectly natural one, that was not due to any conspiracy on the part of the males that the females should be relegated to the more laborious tasks.

This does not explain why women were responsible for the vast bulk of domestic chores and for the rearing of children until puberty. Whilst the above arguments might explain the reasons for a gender division of labour, they do not explain why men occupied a more highly valued place in the material process of life, and why it was that they came to dominate women who occupy an exceptional place in the process of reproducing life.

How it was possible for men to gain and maintain this position of dominance is perhaps best explained not in terms of cultural preference but by the fact that animal husbandry was the exclusive preserve of men. The holding of cattle by men determined the relations of production. Kinship relations (being the social form of the reproduction of life) determined by the existence of privately held and exchanged cattle, were turned into relations of production. These were reinforced by symbolic forms surrounding cattle, which legitimised men's control over women's fertility.



State controls operated through two sets of institutions: the king's *izigodlo*, or establishments of young women whom he could dispose of in marriage as he wished; and the female *amabutho*, or age-sets (Mullings, 1976). While the girls of the *izigodlo* were required to perform a certain amount of domestic and agricultural labour for the royal household, it is clear that the *izigodlo* functioned not so much to provide labour for the king as to provide him with an important source of patronage.

The relationship between the homestead and the State is that proposed by Marks *et al*, (1980) who see the homestead as retaining control over the labour of its womenfolk and, through them, producing food for those of its menfolk who were on State service in the male *amabutho*. Control over young women through the *amabutho* system was exerted not so much to enable the State to exploit their labour as to enable it to regulate the access of its male subjects to potential wives, and so delay young men's attainment of full social maturity.

It is submitted, therefore, that the subordination of women to men among the Nguni was the result not of a lesser capacity for physical labour or violence, but of their inability, because of their reproductive role, to participate in productive activities which took them far afield or which involved risk-taking. A rigid gender division of labour resulted, however, and was maintained through ideological reinforcement and conditioning via social institutions and taboos. By the same token, the activities of men were accorded greater social, economic and political significance

than the part played by women in subsistence production and reproduction.

Black women's labour not only intensified under the direct supervision of the patriarch, but asymmetrical gender relations continued to be reproduced even under changed relations of production. This phenomenon is considered in Part Two.

### 3. PART TWO : THE INCORPORATION OF BLACK FEMALES INTO THE INDUSTRIAL WORKFORCE OF SOUTH AFRICA

The purpose of Part Two is to examine what happened to Black women and their labour once processes of transformation, under the increasing dominance of capitalist relations of production and industrialisation, occurred. The focus is around issues of Black women's changing participation in the South African industrial system. The analysis attempts to highlight the growing national importance of women in the industrial labour force, the historically shifting racial patterns of female employment, and an identification of the particular branches of industry which constitute 'women's work'.

An interpretation of the changing role of women necessitates an understanding of the forces which provide the particular economic spaces for the entry of women into the labour force. In South Africa, the Black working-class women occupy a unique position as a fraction of the exploited social class. As Black working-class women, a system of division by gender operates where women's labour is believed to be temporary and of shorter duration than

that of men. Cock (1980) suggests that it is Black women in South Africa who act as economic shock absorbers, being absorbed temporarily into industrial work in times of economic boom, and often the first to suffer dismissal in times of economic downturn. Buttressing this gender division of labour is the ideology of patriarchy, which involving male domination and female subservience is deeply embedded in South African society. The critical significance of such an ideology is that it rationalises the relegation of women to the lowest paid and unskilled occupations, often as an industrial reserve army rather than as a permanent wage-labour force.

Notwithstanding the significance of the structures of gender domination, the second system of racial domination which operates in South Africa is of greater impact. Bolstered by a mesh of political and ideological structures, the racial division of labour takes precedence over the gender division of labour in determining the role of women in the industrial fabric of South Africa, both past and present.

When approaching an analysis of the position of Black women in South African industry, it is necessary to locate such a study in the context of the existence (historically and to the present day) of these two sets of structures of domination, which mould the niches available to women in industrial employment.

Since 1960, increasing numbers of Black women have been incorporated into the manufacturing, commercial and service

sectors of the South African economy. According to Jaffee *et al*, (1986) Black women workers have to struggle for equality with their male counterparts on at least three levels:

- (1) on the factory floor they are employed in the lowest-paid jobs with unhealthy working conditions and an absence of job security;
- (2) in the trade union movement and among their fellow male workers, women have to fight for equality against well-entrenched patriarchal traditions and,
- (3) at home they have to carry the burden of domestic and childcare.

An analysis of the position of women in the South African labour market has to take into consideration the segmentation of the occupational structure along lines of race and gender. The overall occupational hierarchy follows a specific pattern where White men occupy the most highly specialised positions, followed by White women. At the bottom of the hierarchy constitutes Black men, followed by Black women, with 'Coloureds' and Indians occupying the intermediate positions. Black women were the last to enter the industrial sector, after White, 'Coloured' and Indian women.

Bozzoli (1983) asserts that because of the lateness of their proletarianisation, Black women were relatively advantaged in that they used their economic strength to establish an independant base within the urban family. They became heads of families, which

retained extended family links to aid their survival, and were thus independant of capitalism's assumed requirements for a nuclear family.

Mackenzie (1984) provides two reasons for the increased influx of Black women into urban areas. Firstly, she cites economic reasons which encompassed the breakdown of the reserve economies, and secondly, personal reasons which involved the desire of women to live in the town with their husbands. Although this provides a convenient synopsis of the motives behind the migration of women, the reasons are perhaps more complex. It is widely held that the capitalist penetration of the pre-capitalist economies and the consequent development of the migrant labour system, which drew all the able-bodied men away from peasant production, was the root cause of female migration. Once the peasant economies became impoverished and finally broke down due to over-population and lack of male labour, these women were forced to migrate to the towns in order to find some means of earning a living.

Preston-Whyte (1973) asked a representative group of a hundred Black women their reasons for migrating to Durban. The majority migrated for economic reasons - the necessity to earn a living after they had been deserted by their husbands, after death or illness of fathers and husbands, after the birth of an illegitimate child, or after the dissolution of a marriage. Other reasons given were the wish to join husbands, the need to attend doctors or hospitals, and the lure of town-life and freedom. Preston-Whyte concluded that the poverty of rural area was the



necessary economic cause for migration, while a personal or domestic crisis was the sufficient or 'last straw' cause.

The question arises : Why did Black men and not Black women join the capitalist sector? Bozzoli (1983) locates the answer in the patriarchal relations of the pre-capitalist sector which subordinates the labour of women. It is this gender division of labour and the control that men had over women's production that caused a struggle between men and women within the domestic sphere, as well as a struggle between the domestic and capitalist spheres. With the advent of mining capital in the twentieth century, the link between pre-industrial patriarchy and the emergence of modern patriarchy was made clear.

The history of women's employment in South African manufacturing is presented in Table 1.

TABLE 1 : WOMEN EMPLOYED IN MANUFACTURING IN SOUTH AFRICA  
(1915 - 1980)

	1915/6	1924/5	1929/30	1934/5	1939/40	1944/5	1949/50	1960	1963	1970	1976	1980*
No. of Women	9 363	14 105	21 383	33 025	42 614	58 912	79 105	99 844	128 808	206 736	291 595	370 000
% of total employment	9,2	9,9	11,5	12,4	11,8	12,0	11,0	14,7	15,6	18,9	21,5	25,0
Note: * The 1980 figure is an estimate from both the data in the population census and from figures for the 'independent Homelands'.												

Source: Martin *et al*, (1984:36)

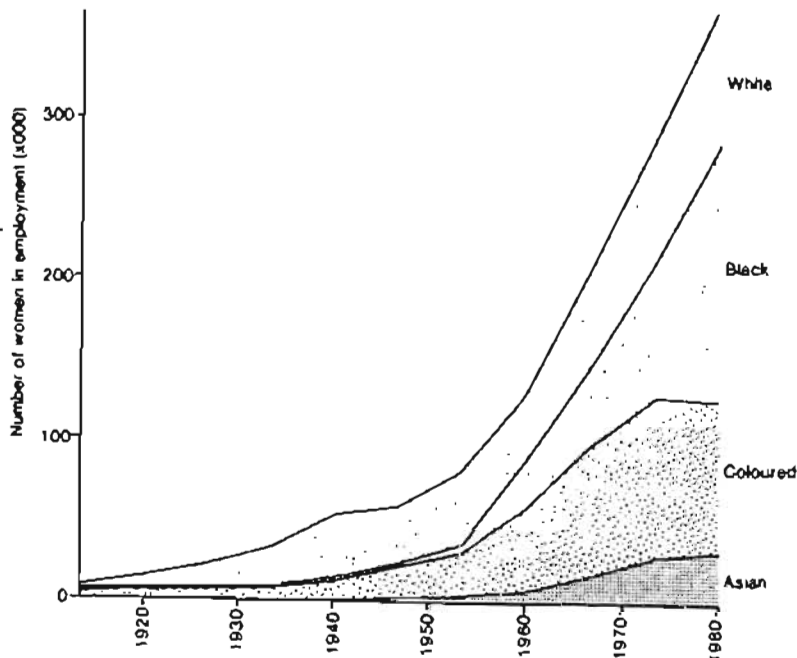
Table 1 suggests that the absolute number of women workers increased considerably from almost 10 000 in 1915 to nearly 400 000 by the end of the investigation in 1980. This means that the relative contribution of women to the total workforce had almost tripled, comprising one in every four workers in South African factories by 1980. According to Martin *et al*, (1984) the incorporation of women into the workforce did not occur evenly throughout this period. A steady growth of women workers in manufacturing is evident from 1915 until the commencement of the Second World War. Between 1950 and 1980 female employment increased five-fold and the relative share of women in the total industrial workforce rose from 11% to 25%.

Taking into account the racial mix of women workers in South African industry, Martin *et al*, (1984) identify three broad phases of the incorporation of women into industry. These phases represent the changing racial composition of women in South African industry. The first phase (1915) is characterised by the employment of White, predominantly Afrikaans women who remained in the workforce until the end of the Second World War. During the second period, (1945-1960), 'Coloured' women took the places vacated by White women who had moved into public service, commerce and finance. The third phase (1965 to the present day) is distinguished by the rapid movement into industry and commerce by Black women who by 1980 formed almost two-thirds of all economically-active women in South Africa (Pillay, 1985). The low number of Black women in industrial work until the 1930s reflects their late proletariat experience.

The racial divisions prevalent in the employment of women are evident. White women were concentrated mainly in clerical work (55,9%); 'Coloured' women mainly in the service sector (43,8%); Indian women were moving out of agricultural and service work into the industrial sector, and Black women were concentrated in unskilled jobs in service sectors (37,9%) and agriculture (34,7%). There is also a racial breakdown within each sector, with Black women occupying the lowest rungs (Jaffee *et al*, 1986).

Figure 3 below illustrates the racial concentrations of women and notably how these concentrations have changed.

FIG. 3 : FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRY BY RACE  
(1915-1980)



Source: Martin *et al*, (1984:37)

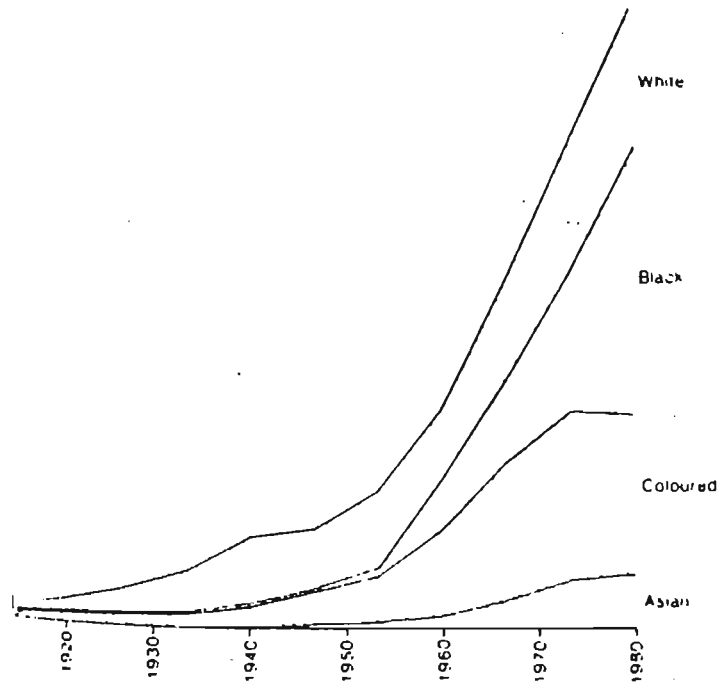


Although White, 'Coloured', Indian and Black women entered the industrial workforce at different historical periods, they have all been relegated to the lowest-paid and least-skilled positions. Where they have overlapped at the point of production, the structures of racial domination have placed White women in higher categories than 'Coloured' and Indian women, with Black women at the very lowest end of the hierarchy.

Boddington (1979) infers, that as the economy expanded the interrelationship between different sectors necessitated different types of workers, and successive waves of women have entered the labour market. This facilitated the movement of women in the colour group above them to jobs generally requiring a greater degree of skill accompanied by a higher wage.

The imprint of a gender division of labour is manifest in the identification of specific industrial categories as traditional areas for 'women's work' in South Africa. Out of nineteen industrial categories classified between 1915/1916 and 1947/1948, two groups, namely, food and drink, and the production of clothing and textiles, account for two-thirds of all women in South African industry. This is reflected in Table 2.

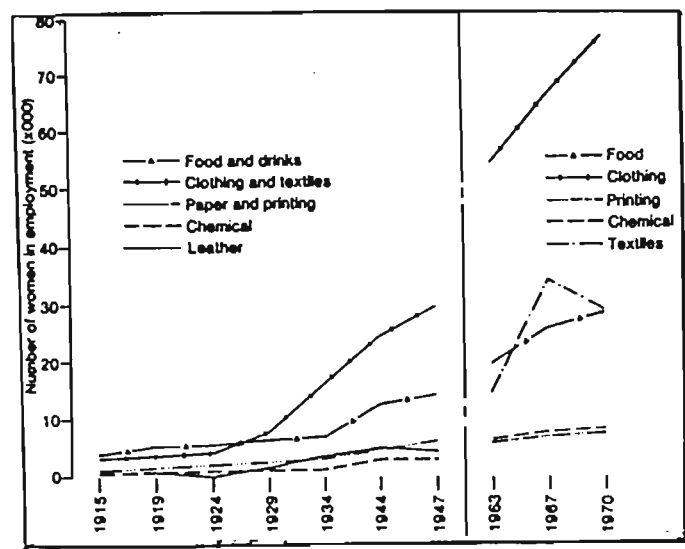
TABLE 2 : INDUSTRIAL GROUPS SHOWING CONCENTRATION OF WOMEN BY RACE GROUPS



Source: Martin *et al*, (1984:40)

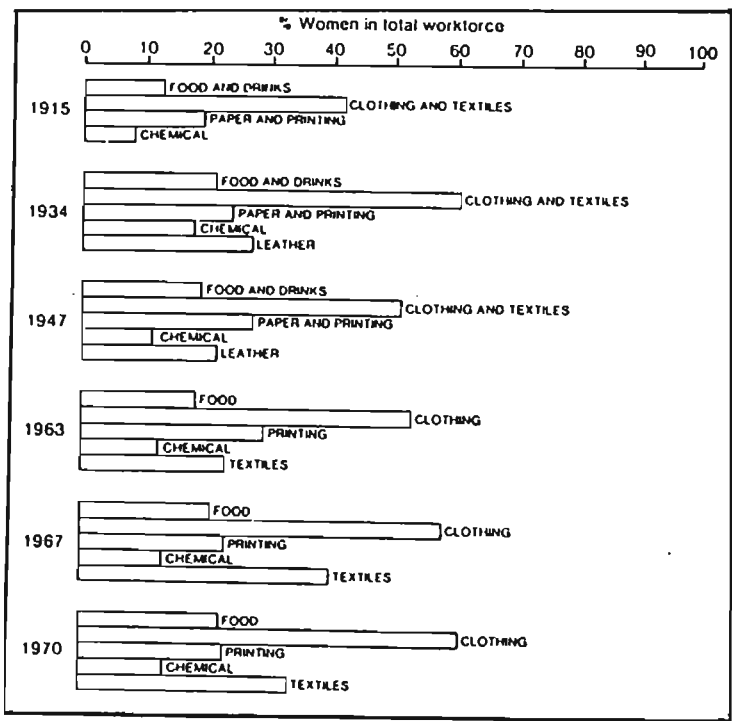
Table 2 indicates that little has changed in the patterns of industrialisation from the onset to the present day. The table indicates that when compared with industrialising countries, South Africa exhibits an overwhelming concentration of women in the food, textile and clothing industries (Cunningham, 1983). (See Figs. 4 and 5).

FIG. 4                    MAJOR INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES OF FEMALE EMPLOYMENT IN S.A. (1915-1970)



Source: Martin *et al*, (1984:39)

FIG. 5 : WOMEN IN THE TOTAL WORKFORCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDUSTRY IN THE MAJOR INDUSTRIAL GROUPS (1915-1970)

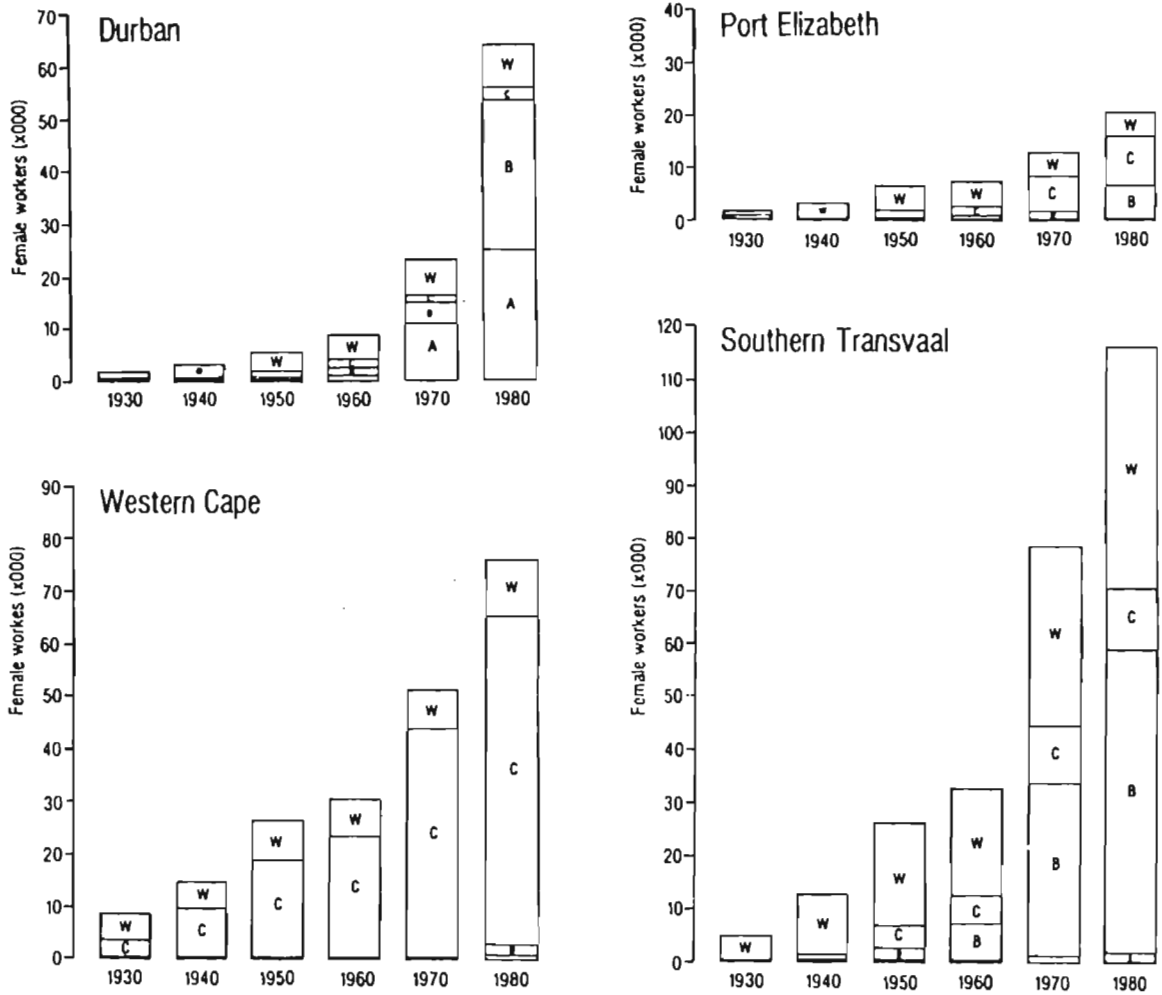


Source: Martin *et al*, (1984:1940)

The concentration of women within this group of manufacturing activities may be attributed to their 'low wage' and 'unskilled' gender stereotypes, which depict women as having nimble fingers, visual activity and being 'naturally' more suited to tedious, repetitive or monotonous work. The interpretation must be seen in the light of women's subordinate status. Stemming from this Elson *et al*, (1981) contend that women enter 'inferior' jobs because they enter them pre-supposed as inferior bearers of labour.

Since the study revolves around regional development, the spatial distribution of this industry is extremely important. The four major metropolitan areas of South Africa have consistently comprised 80% of total employment, although various shifts have occurred in each area. There has been a marked relative decline in the concentration of women employed in the Western Cape and in the Port Elizabeth regions. In 1930 these regions constituted half of the women in industry but by 1955 this figure had dropped to a quarter. The concentration of 'women-employing' industries in these areas may be explained by the availability of 'Coloured' women as a labour pool (Martin *et al*, 1984). By contrast, the rise in significance of the Southern Transvaal and later Durban, is explained by the later proletarianisation of Black women (and of to a lesser degree, Indian women). Figure 6 illustrates the overall concentration of women's employment in the four major metropolitan areas in South Africa.

FIG. 6 : RACIAL COMPOSITION OF WOMEN WORKFORCE IN INDUSTRY IN THE FOUR MAJOR METROPOLITAN AREAS OF S. A (1930-1980)



Source: Martin *et al*, (1984:43)

This arrangement has specific implications for the textile industry, where industrial decentralisation accommodates 'gendered' employment. A new interrelationship of spatial location industrial sector and the type of labour force arose due to the development of the State's 'spontaneous' tendency to decentralise industry (Bell, 1973).

While at first there was a tendency for labour forces in these decentralised areas to be largely composed of men - partly as a function of the type of industry that was decentralising, and partly because of the related gender division of labour - this trend is changing with the number of women out-stripping the number of men (Green and Hirsch, 1982 in Martin *et al*, 1984). This change is explained by the more recent decentralisation of typically 'women-employing' industries, by the greater opportunities for male workers as migrants or commuters, and, most importantly, by the ultra-exploitability of Black women (Lacey, 1982 *in* Martin *et al*, 1984).

For example, the increase in the number of women employed in Isithebe, especially since 1982 reveals the increasing capacity for the textile and clothing industries to decentralise and take advantage of cheap labour reserves. Apart from the incentives, the advantages to employers are obvious; the workforce is largely female and, therefore docile, cheap, powerless and unskilled.

This patriarchal model very clearly characterises the textile industry, where women perform low-paid unskilled jobs under male supervision and management. This theme is explored in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FIVE : PROFILE OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY AND  
TEXTILE UNIONISM IN SOUTH AFRICA

1. DEVELOPMENT OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South African textile industry has comparatively only recently become an important contributor to the economy of the Republic. Prior to the Second World War, the products of the industry were confined to blankets and sheeting, and the bulk of textile products were imported, mainly from Britain. The war hampered imports and in this way stimulated local textile industrial development. The textile industry started in South Africa at the end of the nineteenth century, but the main development took place immediately after the Second World War, the chief diversification being the manufacture of cotton and worsted yarns and materials (Du Toit, 1978).

Between 1926 and 1930, 6 cotton blanket mills were established, of which two were located in Durban. They were the African Textile Manufacturers Mill, founded in 1927 to make cotton blankets and rugs for 'the Native Trade' and the Belgian firm Roos (a South African example of an international firm), which supplied the greater bulk of the Belgian type of cotton blanket for 'Native Trade' in Swaziland, Transkei and the Congo (Katzen, 1961). By 1933 there were 12 factories in the country, and in 1944 there were 16 factories providing for 90% of the need for blankets, rugs and sheets (Steenkamp Commission, 1983). After the Second World War, Phillip Frame built the first spinning mill in Pinetown

(Katzen, 1961). It was in this supply-hungry market that the local industry came into being in 1947.

Today, Natal Consolidated, the Frame Group of Companies is reported to control the largest textile industry in the southern hemisphere and is the largest single blanket manufacturer in the world. The manufacture of blankets, rugs, shawls and sheeting is one of the oldest branches of the secondary industry in South Africa (Cole, 1956). The earliest known blanket factory in South Africa was a mill started in King Williamstown for the manufacture of woollen blankets to be sold in the Native territories in Natal in 1887. In 1925, the South African government, realising the need to encourage local production of woollen blankets, increased the duties on imported cotton blankets, shawls and rugs.

According to Du Toit (1978:33), the Department of Labour defines the textile industry as: 'That industry in which employers and employees were associated with the manufacture of blankets, rugs and shawls, cotton sheeting and other woven articles'.

However, the significant growth of the textile industry necessitated a re-definition of the textile industry. The definition proposed by the Constitution of ACTWUSA provides a much less restrictive presentation. (See Appendix E).

The significant growth of the textile industry in the 1950s may be attributed to the encouragement and assistance of the State, particularly the Industrial Development Corporation (IDC). The



IDC assisted in the establishment of very large factories in the 'border areas'. The development of the industry in these areas involved large investments of capital with a labour force of poorly paid workers. State assistance took the form of exemption from minimum wage determinations and tax concessions to primarily large international companies.

During the fifties and sixties the importance of Durban as a textile centre changed significantly. Whereas in 1952-3 only 12 textile factories existed in the Durban Metropolitan area as compared with 33 in the Western Cape and 39 on the Reef by 1970 the situation had changed (Cole, 1956).

Previous studies have offered several reasons for Durban, being the most significant growth point in large-scale textile manufacturing. Katzen (1961) suggests Durban's favourable location in relation to both raw materials and markets. As the most important seaport in South Africa, it has the facilities to land raw materials for the industry. Durban is also conveniently located to supply the massive African Market on the Transkei, Zululand, rural and urban Natal. Durban's humidity is also suitable for weaving since static electricity, (which is a great hindrance), develops in a dry climate. A further factor is the readily available supply of cheap Black labour which is of great advantage in an industry where wage costs comprise a large proportion of operating costs.

The need for a cheap labour force is linked to the industry's attempts to obtain large amounts of capital intensive machinery.

Hirsch (1978) correctly argues, that it is incorrect to believe that the textile industry where large amounts of capital equipment are used, consequently requires relatively skilled labour to operate the machinery.

Braverman (1974:425) supports this contention that: '...the more science is incorporated into the labour process, the less the worker understands the process; the more sophisticated the machine becomes, the less control and comprehension of the machine the worker has'. Although scientific knowledge increases, it becomes a monopoly of management and a minority of highly skilled workers.

This is no less true of the textile industry as of any other industry (See Nichols *et al*, 1976). Fensham *et al*, (1964) studied a particular case of automation in the textile industry in Britain in the early fifties. They studied the changing organisation of labour at a mill where automatic looms were introduced to replace semi-automatic looms.

A summary of the relevant aspects of their findings suggest that firstly, there was a considerable reduction in the proportion of the job that was manual; secondly, the physical components such as walking between machines and battery filling increased as the number of looms per worker increased, and thirdly, the weavers were relieved of the task of major stoppages when a problem arose. In the past the amount of damage and speed of repair had been the weaver's responsibility. Instead, helpers and spare-weavers were placed in the section to cope with time-consuming repairs. Thus

the weavers' jobs skill content fell, their tasks were divided and the repetition of 'contentless' work expanded.

Though the technology used in the South African textile industry was not as modern as that used in the advanced capitalist societies, a similar pattern of change was being repeated. Generally, the source of technology was Europe and the United States of America, though a few minor local variations have been developed. It did not take industrialists long to establish the relationship of the technology of the industry to local resources.

In this regard, Fielding (1952) noted that the repetitive nature of the textile industry with relatively simple operative functions were well suited to the Black population. Thus, the major labour requirements of the industry are that it be plentiful, cheap and disciplined.

With regard to foreign trade, the South African textile industry has been a weak competitor on world markets. This is partially due to the presence of few 'natural' advantages, and to the lack of independant access to advanced technology at a reasonable price and a labour force which is perhaps not as intensively exploited as in some 'third world' countries.

Imports, by comparison, have steadily declined as a proportion of textile consumption in South Africa. 'In 1927, for example, they were 98,3%; in 1947, 93,2%; in 1957, 65,9% and in 1976, 25% worth

R180 million' (Hirsch, 1978:13). Current trends and figures are not available.

According to Hirsch (1978), one of the major historical reasons for the weakness of the industry in South Africa had been the size and nature of the available market and the extent to which this had prevented maximum efficiency. State agencies such as the Industrial Development Corporation attempted to remedy this problem by actively encouraging and supporting the concentration of capital in industry. An example of activities of this nature was the establishment of the Cape of Good Hope Textile Corporation at King Williams Town in the 1940s.

#### 1.1 Structural and Cyclical Developments of the Textile Industry (1973-1985)

It is primarily the cyclical 'ups and downs' of the textile industry that are dealt with in this section. However, these must be placed within the context of the structural development and growth of the industry. The pre-1973 period was generally seen as a boom era with the late 1960's in particular seeing high levels of demand and lower levels of competition in the textile industry. However, the early 1970's saw the beginnings of the inflation 'monster', and surpluses started to accumulate. These in effect were the early warning signs that bad times were ahead for the industry.

### 1.1.1 The Downswing : 1973-1976

The synthetic textiles sector worldwide was particularly affected by the 1973 Oil Crisis (Financial Mail, 1975). A sharp increase in the cost of raw materials for synthetic fibre manufacture followed. This decline was further exacerbated by the dramatic increase of Far East imports flooding onto the domestic market. To safeguard the textile industry against overseas competition, the Minister of Finance introduced higher import duties (Steenkamp Commission, 1983). Textile industries were '...40% down on normal production, with some reckoned down by 70% by 1975' (Financial Mail, 1975). An estimated 10 500 retrenchments and short-time was introduced at many factories. The sudden slump in the local industry precipitated State intervention and R57 million was set aside for the capital expansion in the ailing textile industry.

### 1.1.2 The Recovery Period : 1977-1979

The industry gradually recovered by 1976, as tariff protection began to take hold. The major problem for the South African textile industry was that the Japanese and other Far East countries were able to export synthetic fibres at a significantly lower cost because their labour costs were lower. In South Africa, synthetic fibres are more expensive than many other parts of the world (Daily Dispatch, 1977).

The industry was given a further shock when the State announced that a wide range of textiles will no longer get customs duties rebates (Argus, 1977). By September 1977 the textile industry appealed to the Board of Trade and Industries (B.I.I.) for further tariff increases because the effectiveness of duties was being destroyed by inflation and a devaluation (Rand Daily Mail, 1977). The recovery was becoming more pronounced by 1978 as capacity utilisation of plants went beyond 80%. This recovery was largely as a result of import displacement following increased tariff protection (Sunday Times, 1978).

In September 1979, the Managing Director of South African Nylon Spinners, Mr J Schaffer, outlined the three major factors behind the recovery. They were (i) the adoption by the Government of a sensible system of protection; (ii) the success of clothing manufacturing in overseas markets and, (iii) the expected growth in the domestic demand (Sunday Tribune, 1979).

#### 1.1.3 The Boom : 1980-1981

By February 1980, the volume of the industry was 18% higher than the same time for the previous year and approximately 80% of the domestic textile requirements were being met locally (Star, 1980). The major reason for the growth of the industry lies in its capability to satisfy virtually all segments of the markets at fairly competitive prices, qualities and delivery periods. Substantial increase in per capita textile consumptions by Blacks are also likely to be brought about by higher living standards

(Star, 1980). The increased demand for textiles resulted in both increased employment and substantial overtime and a number of firms are planning significant expansions of capacity (Rand Daily Mail, 1980). Early in 1981 the industry once again received more help through the amendment of tariffs and rebates on imports (Financial Mail, 1981). Yet, by the end of the year, the textile federation was demanding increased import duties from the government, primarily to counteract the surge of imports from the Far East (Argus, 1981). The following years were to see a dramatic decline in employment figures for the textile industry.

#### 1.1.4 The Slump : 1982-1984

From 1982 onwards, the impact of Far East imports began to hit the local industry. By the end of 1982 the hours worked were down by 30-35% on those of the previous year and production was also down by approximately 25%. Furthermore, widespread retrenchments numbered around 7 000 workers. Employment figures plummeted to 108 000 by January 1984. This was attributed to a rapid decline in the demand which was around 90% in 1981 but was down to 80% by 1984 (Argus, 1982).

It is crucial to stress the impact that foreign competition and declining domestic demand had on the textile industry, causing, it would seem, a realization of the need for high technology production. In September 1984, Mr Ernest Wilson, the Chairman of the Clothing Advisory Council, stated that:

*'The new ball game is where productivity, efficiency and flexibility are the name of the game. Those of us who remain in business in clothing and textiles will be in high technology, high sophisticated and automated industries in capital rather than the labour-intensive sector' (Rand Daily Mail, 1984:8).*

#### 1.1.5 1985 - The Future

During 1985 there were signs of a 'recovery period' ahead. The textile industry bottomed out during July and August 1983 ahead of and to a greater extent than other industrial sectors. There was a slight upward movement in the second quarter of 1984 and the recovery costs of imports resulted in a more rapid improvement (Rand Daily Mail, 1985).

An interview with the personnel manager of Frametex included the question: 'From your position, do you consider the local textile industry to be growing or shrinking?' This elicited the following response:

*'Much will depend on the development of the black consumer market. If employment can be found for most of the new work seekers at rising standards of living, the future indeed seems bright, especially if the price of fabrics and garments can be kept low. The future of these industries could be even brighter if exports could be pushed up beyond the present levels' (Pers. Com. Smith, S. 1988, Frametex).*

The same question was asked in an interview with the regional organiser of the representative trade union. He commented:

*'Imports are killing us. I mean, we can buy imported finished cloth at R1,00 cheaper than a locally produced one - the situation is ludicrous! Moreover the union is confronted with a number of retrenchment exercises' (Pers. Com. Eagle, J. 1988 ACTWUSA).*



Another factor that will influence the future of the textile industry is the productivity of workers. Textile companies have consequently been spending vast amounts of money on the training of workers. However, this must be counterposed to the increased capital expansion taking place. It would seem that these developments are part of the general trend towards 'rationalisation and restructuring' of production to survive within a recessionary economy.

The state of the industry is further exacerbated by more recent events. Although the textile industry came away relatively unscathed from the recent imposition of import surcharges, uncertainty prevails as cloth and clothing manufacturers await a 'jolt' in the industry from the State. Under the new surcharges textiles and textile items all enjoy Schedule 3 status, meaning they qualify for tariff rebates paying only 20% on imports. But the industry is awash with fears that the Schedule 3 status falls away if the Government adopts a policy in the Board of Trade Industry report (Natal Mercury, 1988).

In summary, the 1973-1984 period was characterised by rising levels of foreign competition, particularly from the Far East, which exposed the vulnerability of the textile industry. Furthermore, the local clothing industry was quick to take advantage of cheap fabric imports, which resulted in the dramatic drop in demand for local textile producers. In response to this situation local textile manufacturers seemed to be increasingly expanding their technological capacity through capital expansions.

As a whole, the 1973-1984 period may be characterised as 'transitional' for the textile industry. Although dominated by massive corporations like the Frame Group, the industry was moving from a competitive to a monopolistic phase of capitalist production. The industry is still going through this process of transition which is characterised both by increasing use of high technology and increasing concentration of ownership, and control by the major companies, viz., Frame and Romatex.

## 2. A BRIEF HISTORY OF TEXTILE UNIONISM

This section is not intended to be a detailed historical study of textile unionism in South Africa. It is largely based on a review of secondary material and interviews with union officials from ACTWUSA.

### 2.1 The Early Days : Johannesburg Workers Take The Lead

In December 1934 workers from Consolidated Textile Mills (CTM) in Industria, Johannesburg met to form the Transvaal Textile Workers' Industrial Union (TTIU). This union was not recognised by management despite attempts at negotiation.

In May 1935, matters grew worse. The first strike organised by the Transvaal Textile Workers' Industrial Union was in progress. The strikers were mainly White Afrikaner girls who had been driven from the poverty stricken drought areas of the country to seek work in the city during the depression of the early 1930's. The

strike broke out because workers were refused pay for Jubilee Day when factories were closed to let workers celebrate 25 years of King George's reign (Du Toit, 1978).

The strike at Industria ended after two months. It could not be considered a success, but neither was it a complete failure. Many lessons were learnt. The failure to organise workers across the racial prejudices that had barred them from unity was a striking lesson to be learnt by all workers in the country. Their inability to organise a national union rather than separate unions in each Province was another lesson to be learnt.

While Johannesburg workers were on strike, CTM workers in Durban had formed the Natal Textile Workers Union. Shortly after the strike, textile workers in Johannesburg met and adopted the following resolution:

*'That the Constitution of the Transvaal Textile Workers Industrial Union be amended to read: Textile Workers Industrial Union (SA), and that we organise all South African textile workers irrespective of race, colour or creed into one Union' (Du Toit, 1978:28).*

An appeal was made to the textile workers throughout the country to join the newly formed national union.

## 2.2 Free State Workers Unionise

Following the report of the meeting held in July, at which the textile workers resolved to form a national union, workers at

Harrismith requested the Head Office in Johannesburg to assist them to organise workers. These workers had many complaints and were particularly concerned about the reinstatement of 17 workers who had been dismissed, and the recognition of the trade union. The employers refused to meet these requests and a strike ensued which was a success. The dismissed workers were reinstated and a committee elected by workers was in future to take up complaints with the management. This was an immense achievement for a new, weak and financially poor organisation.

### 2.3 Co-operation of Cape and Natal Workers

During the same year, 1935, workers in the Western Cape and Natal joined forces with Transvaal and Free State workers to form one union - the Textile Workers Industrial Union (TWIU), which became a national union. The union encouraged close links with Black workers, but generally did not enrol them as members of the TWIU. The reason for this was a strategic one. The union's experience in the CIM Industria strike had taught it that it could not make progress by relying only on the power of workers in each factory independently. Workers had to unite factories and combine their strength nationally against employers. The only hope to induce employers to negotiate nationally with the union was to use the bargaining rights available to unions registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act. This law, however, excluded Black workers from registered unions.

Accordingly, the union encouraged Black workers to attend union meetings and to support the issues which the union was fighting. The union was very careful never to accept agreements which discriminated between workers on the basis of their race, despite the fact that this was not uncommon in other industries at the time.

Nevertheless, it remained a fact that Black workers generally were not eligible for union membership. Instead, they were organised into weak 'parallel' unions in different areas of the country.

#### 2.4 The Union Establishes An Industrial Council

Soon after the TWIU was established as a national union, it began pressurising employers to negotiate with it at a national level. In 1941 it succeeded in persuading the Minister of Labour who was a member of the Labour Party, to convene a conference of the blanket manufacturers and union representatives (Du Toit, 1978). This conference resulted in a negotiated national 'gentleman's agreement' between the union and employers.

Finally, in 1948, the Union set up an Industrial Council for factories making blankets and flock. The Council was a committee made up of half union representatives and half employer representatives. Phillip Frame, who had by that stage taken over CTM to become the biggest employer in the blanket industry, was appointed its Chairman. Alec Wanless, the Durban branch secretary of the TWIU, was appointed as the Council's Secretary (Isaacson, 1982).

The functions of the Council were to negotiate agreements on wages and conditions for the industry which applied throughout the country and which bound all workers (even non-union members) and all members of the Industrial Council. Through the Council, the TWIU was able to use the support of those employers paying some what higher wages to force up the wages of factories lagging behind. Further, they were able to ensure that the wages of Black workers were not lower than those of union members. Though still extremely bad, wages and conditions in 1948 were significantly improved from what they had been in the 1930s (Field, 1986).

## 2.5 Organising Black Workers

In the 1930s, White workers had made up two-thirds of the workforce in textile factories. The situation had changed completely by 1950. The industry grew from 12 to 74 factories, employing almost 17 000 workers. Now, almost two-thirds of these workers were Black (Du Toit, 1978). Like White, Coloured and Indian workers before them, they began mobilising for the establishment of a national union. Officials of TWIU actively assisted in this in all areas where it had membership. These efforts culminated in March 1950, when the African Textile Workers Industrial Union (ATWIU) was founded at a meeting of some 1 500 Black textile workers in Port Elizabeth. It was formerly affiliated to TWIU and subsequently to the South African Trades and Labour Council (SATLC) (Isaacson, 1982).

## 2.6 Black Unions and the State

In the year that the ATWIU was formed, a Government-appointed Commission recommended that the Industrial Conciliation Act be changed to register Black Unions. The Nationalist Government, which had come into power in 1948, would take thirty years to accept such a recommendation. One of the first laws it passed was the Suppression of Communism Act of 1950, in terms of which the State could 'ban' individuals from taking part in trade union activities - this Act has been used over and over again against trade union leadership. The State insisted that trade unions for Blacks were out of the question and introduced a new law, the Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act in 1953, to counter the trade unions. This law provided that all strikes by Black workers were illegal and punishable by fines of up to 300 pounds and or imprisonment up to 3 years. It stated that the 'official' means by which Black workers could be represented should be through Works Committees which had no powers in the factories. Other than these committees the only 'official' representation for Black workers would be by officials of the Labour Department appointed by the government for that purpose.

The 1950s saw the noose tighten against Black Unionism. The trade union movement was faced with two alternatives - either to get involved in the workers' struggles, or keep out of them. Some unions, such as the Garment Workers Union in Natal, Western Cape and eventually also the Transvaal, chose not to become involved. This group of unions decided that worker organisation had to

exclude Black workers. They formed the Trade Union Council of South Africa, (TUCSA) in 1954 and predictably its constitution excluded Black workers. Its existence represented a triumph for the State which could eliminate black worker organisation without any opposition from such Unions. Fourteen unions chose a different path. The TWIU and the ATWIU were amongst the largest of these. In March 1955 they formed a non-racial federation, South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU). This federation linked itself closely with the African National Congress on the assumption that: 'free trade unions could never succeed in their objectives without addressing themselves to the political suppression of their members' (Du Toit, 1978:39-40). These unions bore the brunt of the government's repression.

The introduction of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1954 forced racial separation upon ATWIU and TWIU. Nevertheless, in practice the two unions were virtually one union, sharing offices and resources. Both the trade unions contributed to the development of the South African Congress of Trade Unions (SACTU), through activities and financial contributions. During this period (1955 to 1960) SACTU was a powerful force with TWIU regarded as the strongest affiliate .

The intervention of the government had weakened the union leadership significantly. Several branch secretaries of the TWIU were faced with banning orders. Likewise, the ATWIU suffered defeat, which had disastrous effects. The weight of the State bannings, detentions and banishments, combined with complete



cooperation by all employers in refusing to deal with the union, finally drove the union into inactivity and Black workers were left without protection. From 1960 to 1973 there was virtually no sign of organised resistance amongst textile workers throughout the country.

The effects of the downfall of the Congress Alliance as a mass political organisation in the early 1960s reverberated on the workers and worker organisations affiliated to SACTU. The textile unions, in the same way, reflected the decline in the political situation in the early 1960s. Political division within TWIU had been evident since its affiliation to SACTU. The pro-SACTU division retained control of the union for the next eight years. There was evidence of strain, with the anti-SACTU tendency frequently obtaining overt support for capital. In 1964 the TWIU disaffiliated from SACTU which meant that a more conservative group had taken over the leadership and it affiliated to TUSCA in 1968/9.

The TWIU nevertheless played a major role in the campaigns engaged by SACTU during 1955-61:

*'In the context of the increasing militancy of the working class as a whole during the 50's the textile industry led all industrial sectors in terms of militant strike action. Textiles' relative importance grew substantially since the outbreak of the Second World War with the expansion being labour-intensive in character. The 'consolidated' strike... was part of a general upsurge in militancy, where textile strikes involved large, concentrated masses of workers for sustained periods' (Lambert, R, 1983:101).*

A TWIU official saw this rather as a choice between going under or concentrating on building membership. The choice made was to go for disaffiliation and building of organisation. The TWIU tried to expand its membership through the Industrial Council system. Textile industrial councils have generally covered a minority of workers in the industry and consequently the TWIU membership never exceeded 50%. Yet by 1973 the TWIU had established the Cape as its major base with limited organisation in other centres (Isaacson, 1982).

The following year was to be a significant watershed for the South African trade union movement. When the Durban strikes erupted in January 1973, textile workers were at the fore.

Bleak as the picture was for workers, they were far from crushed. In 1972, out of the ashes of the ATWIU, Cotton Mill workers at Pinetown, Natal, began driving towards the formation of a new union - the National Union of Textile Workers. The next 13 years would see the re-emergence of the biggest union campaigns the industry had ever witnessed in South Africa.

## 2.7 The Battle Begins : 1973-1983

The textile industry in Durban is dominated by the Frame Group of Companies. The Durban strikes saw 75 000 or 100 000 workers down tools for a short period. Employers like Phillip Frame who employed about one-fifth of the strikers, simply closed the mills

and sacked all the workers. After a few days the workers, having no strike pay, faced starvation (Du Toit, 1978).

In the aftermath of these strikes it was evident that Black workers in particular needed to be organised. In June 1973, at the TWIU Congress, National Union of Textile Workers (NUTW), a parallel unregistered trade union, was set up with the assistance of TWIU officials. Halton Cheadle was elected general secretary (Isaacson, 1982).

NUTW worked closely with TWIU which was a registered union. The split between NUTW and TWIU came after a spate of bannings in 1976. The split was interpreted differently by NUTW and TWIU. For the NUTW officials, 'Daniels forced the branches apart' (Hirsch, 1978:28). According to TWIU officials, 'He (John Copelyn) decided to take the branch on another track which was against our policy' (Hirsch, 1978:28).

In 1975 NUTW and TWIU signed a joint recognition agreement with Smith and Nephew. This was the first agreement of its kind in South Africa. In the aftermath of the Union split in 1977, Smith and Nephew rescinded this agreement because of the split between the two unions. NUTW retaliated by stating that the unions had not: 'decided to go their own separate ways as claimed by the company, but that all workers at the factory had resigned to join NUTW. TWIU on the other hand, blamed NUTW' (Sunday Tribune, 1977). This case was to be the first in a continuing battle in textile factories around the country.

NUTW in Durban had seen as its major target the Frame Group which dominated the Natal textile industry. With branches in Natal, Transvaal and the Eastern Cape the remaining crucial area to organise for NUTW was the Western Cape, which was the major base for TWIU. With the entrance of NUTW in Cape Town in 1983 another terrain of 'battle' between the two unions was opened.

## 2.8 ACTWUSA : The Union today

### 2.8.1 Developmental Factors

NUTW and TWIU were organising in the same factories. Problems arose in the attempts to organise because the focus shifted from workers' issues to the conflict between NUTW and TWIU. There was no co-operation between the unions which consequently led to instability in negotiation procedures. For example, NUTW and TWIU were opposed in their interpretation of the needs and desires of the workers.

The Congress of South African Trade Unions' (COSATU) policy of one-industry-one-union was implemented in 1987. The NUTW as an affiliate of COSATU was bound by it because 'they [NUTW] needed to show the Federation that they were serious about this' (Pers. Comm. Eagle, J. 1988, Regional Secretary ACTWUSA).

Furthermore feelings among the National Union of Garment Workers (NUGW), NUTW and TWIU showed a tendency towards unity amongst the unions. All three unions were affiliates of the South African

Textile Garment and Leather Workers Federation. The Federation encouraged the 'unity decision' and the plans for the merger were proposed.

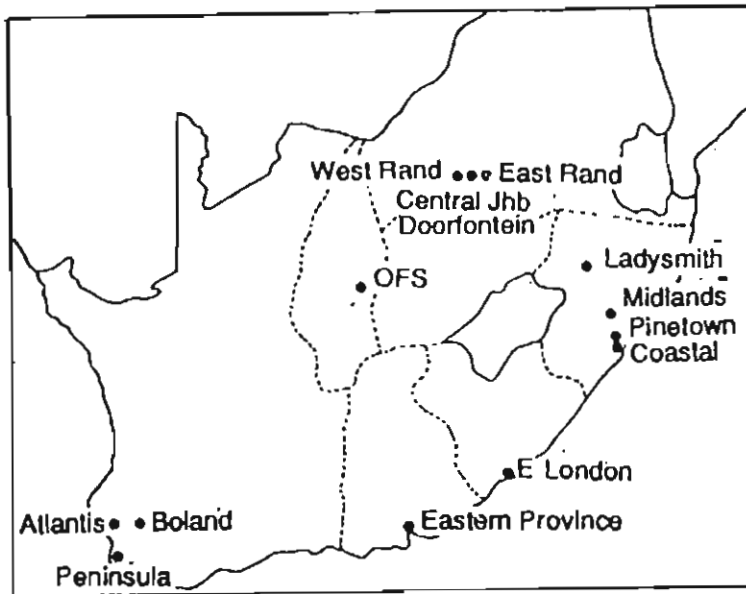
## 2.9 The Formation of ACTWUSA

In November 1987, workers in the textile industry formed the Amalgamated Clothing and Textile Workers Union of South Africa (ACTWUSA). 'ACTWUSA is the third biggest union in COSATU and the product of decades of organising, mobilising and bitter conflict in our industry' (Pers. Com. Ntuli, A, 1988. Frametex).

ACTWUSA has a membership of 69 388 workers. The distribution is indicated in Table 3 and the locations in Fig. 6.

TABLE 3 : DISTRIBUTION OF ACTWUSA MEMBERSHIP  
MEMBERSHIP FIGURES (APRIL 1988)

NATAL REGION:		
Coastal	= 8 259	
Pinetown	= 6 150	
Midlands	= 5 072	
Ladysmith	= 5 872	25 353
W.P. REGION:		
Peninsula	= 5 825	
Atlantis	= 1 264	
Boland	= 3 908	10 997
TRANSVAAL REGION		
East Rand	= 3 584	
West Rand	= 4 711	
Central Jhb	= 5 434	
J/Doorfontein	= 5 706	19 435
East London	= 5 386	
OFS	= 4 228	
PE/Uitenhage	= 3 989	
TOTAL:	=	13 603 69 388

FIG. 7 LOCATIONS OF ACTWUSA BRANCHES

This union is fairly new in form and structure and its general secretary, Copelyn, comments that:

*'ACTWUSA is large and growing all the time. New challenges are facing us. We were able to meet the challenges of the early days. We were able to use the reforms of government with the labour area to build organisation and advance the rights of workers.'*  
 (Pers. Comm., Copelyn, J. General Secretary, ACTWUSA)

The biggest struggle for ACTWUSA is to organise Frame Group. This was achieved when Frame was forced to recognise NUTW in 1985 and by 1987 about 15 000 of the 20 000 workers employed by Frame were union members (ACTWUSA News Bulletin, 1988). ACTWUSA has the majority at every Frame factory with Frame and Romatex as the most important textile groups in South Africa.

## 2.10 Campaigns and Outcomes

In its short life-span ACTWUSA has been able to make gains for workers, thus ensuring its power. At Romatex, for example, the negotiation for better wages occurred at a National Shop Stewards Committee meeting in Kimberley. This meeting was also attended by senior leadership of ACTWUSA. At this meeting major issues were analysed, viz., Christmas bonus, wages, service allowances and public holidays (June 16, May 1). There has been tremendous success through these negotiations. Six negotiations are presently set up in Durban, of which two have been settled at Romatex Mills. Service allowance appears to be the focus of this campaign. The demand with respect to service allowance is fifty cents per week per year of service.

Another major breakthrough for ACTWUSA is the benefit of securing paternal rights for the workers. Paternity leave is ten days paid leave per child; with five days leave unpaid per year. This benefit has been institutionalised with effect at James North, Frame and Automotive Products Industries. Maternity leave is six months paid leave at 33 % of the basic wages payable at the time of going on leave.

## 2.11 The Future

The biggest challenge facing ACTWUSA is to ensure that the provision of worker leadership in the union continues. There is a need to develop new structures to deal with the needs of a growing

membership and to ensure that these structures serve as vehicles to realise and develop worker control of the union. The efforts are to be directed towards centralisation of the bargaining process. This would be done by setting up regional and national bargaining structures. Moreover, there will be bigger drives to consolidate membership.

### 3. CASE STUDY : FRAMETEX NEW GERMANY

#### 3.1 A Brief History of The Frame Group

The Frame Group is one of the world's giants in the textile industry. It is the empire of the late Phillip Frame built up over some 56 years.

Phillip Frame was born in Russia at the turn of the century. He left Russia and settled in South Africa after study in textiles at the University of Dresden. A few years after settling in South Africa he established in Durban, African Textile Manufacturers (Pty) Ltd, which made blankets and rugs. In the next few years he established Natal Underwear and Natal Canvas and Rubber, with a market directed primarily at Black workers. According to Hirsch (1978), Frame seemed to have established good working relations with the state economic apparatuses which enabled him to avoid competition with cheap imports. Soon his blanket factory merged with most of the other firms of its kind in South Africa to establish the huge Consolidated Mills. This became a pattern of



mergers in which he was involved and he soon established his dominance in CTM.

After the Second World War, the Frame Group expanded further and established a fully owned Rhodesian subsidiary of CTM, and also Natal Consolidated Industrial Investments Ltd. as a holding and investment company. In the late forties, Frame entered into another merger-cum-takeover operation, this time involving internal capital, the Lancashire Cotton Corporation. All new operations were now largely internationally financed (Hirsch, 1978). The imperative to expand ceaselessly, to forever sacrifice consumption in favour of accumulation, seems to have governed the actions of the Frame Group. Eventually public shareholding in the major holding companies was accepted, but the Frame family retained a degree of control.

Since the 1950's, the Frame Group had expanded into a massive textile conglomerate, dwarfing all competitors in South Africa. It is not possible to examine this growth in detail, but some figures are instructive : in 1952 the group employed about 3 000 workers; in 1977, nearly 6 300 were employed, i.e., more than a third of all textile workers in South Africa. In 1978 these figures rose to about 7 200, and presently the Frame Group employs about 15 500 workers' (Pers. Comm. Eagle, J. 1988, ACTWUSA).

Frame's relations with workers were characterised by the maintenance of low wage rates and lack of tolerance of any form of workers' organisation.

### 3.2 THE FRAMETEX FACTORY LAYOUT

Frametex is divided in terms of space and time by departmental and shift systems. These divisions exist to ensure the smooth flow of the production process. This section attempts to locate workers within the spatial and temporal divisions. Management in most cases were unable to provide information on the more technical aspects of the production process. However, a general picture of the production process is given.

#### 3.2.1 Department Layout

The department layout is constructed around the production needs of the factory. Frametex employs approximately 2 500 workers, 55 % of whom are men. The spatial arrangement of the main departments and the labour force within it are as follows:

Spinning	:	Predominantly female
Sizing	:	Predominantly male
Sectional Warping	:	Predominantly female
Cloth Despatch	:	Approximately equal distribution
Winding	:	Predominantly female
Extrusion	:	Predominantly male

The labour process comprises two specific operations at Frametex: Spinning and Weaving. Most of the departments are spatially self-contained, allowing little opportunity for worker interaction during working hours. The shift system has a similar effect.

### 3.2.2 The Shift System

The following shifts operate in Frametex. These systems apply to all workers irrespective of gender.

Day Shift : Monday to Friday (8h45 to 16h30)

Special Shift : Monday to Sunday (18h00 to 06h00)

This is a three-shift rotational system. The workers are divided into three groups, viz. Ax, Bx and Cx. They are required to work a 168 hours shift over a three week cycle: 4 working days or nights, with Monday and Sunday off.

132 Hours Shift

This is a three-shift rotational system. The workers are divided into three groups, viz., Ax, Bx and Cx, and are required to work a 132 hours shift over a three week cycle: 3 working days, with Monday and Friday off.

144 Hours Shift : This is also a three-shift rotational system where the workers are divided into three groups: A<sub>x</sub>, B<sub>x</sub> and C<sub>x</sub>. They are expected to work 144 hours shift over a three week cycle with Monday and Saturday off.

Many of the workers would refuse to do shift work if they had a choice. This was the impression gained from an informal interview with shop stewards of Frametex. There was notably a bias towards alleviating women from shift work in view of the fact that the responsibilities of women were the maintenance of home, children and spouse.

### 3.3 GRADING AND WAGES

Grading and wages are determined by a job evaluation system. According to Penschlegel (1962 in du Toit, 1978 : 115) :

*'Job evaluation is a method to describe, analyse, compare and evaluate jobs within a unit, a branch, or an industry on the basis of the work content and the job requirements in order to place them under particular wage or salary grades'.*

The most commonly used grading system in South Africa is the Patterson system. It grades jobs purely on the level of decision-making which a job entails (Perolde *et al*, 1985). Six levels of decision-making are placed into 'bands'. These in turn are graded

according to the complexity and type of decision-making entailed in each job category as shown in Fig. 7.

FIG. 8 : PATTERSON WAGE-GRADING SYSTEM

BOND	DECISION LEVEL	TITLE	GRADE	KIND OF GRADE
F	POLICY MAKING	TOP	5 - 4	Coordinating/supervisory
		MANAGEMENT	1 - 3	Policy
E	PROGRAMMING	SENIOR	5 - 4	Coordinating or supervisory
		MANAGEMENT	1 - 3	Programming
D	INTERPRETATIVE	MIDDLE	5 - 4	Supervisory
		MANAGEMENT	1 - 3	Interpretative
C	ROUTINE	SKILLED	5 - 4	Supervisory
			1 - 3	Routine
B	AUTOMATIC	SEMI-	5 - 4	Supervisory
		SKILLED	1 - 3	Automatic
A	DEFINED	UNSKILLED	1 - 3	Defined

Source: S.A.L.B. V10 N4. Jan/Feb '85, pg. 84

Frametex does not adopt the Patterson System despite drives by the union to enforce its utilisation. The system adopted by Frametex is shown in Tables 4 and 5.

TABLE 4 : STATUS OF WAGES AND GRADING SYSTEM : FRAMETEX JANUARY 1988

GRADE	START	6 MTHS	9 MTHS	12 MTHS	18MTHS	24MTHS
A1	R 98.35	-	-	-	-	-
A2	R 99.35	R100.35	-	R101.35	-	R104.85
B1	R104.35	-	-	-	-	-
B2	R104.35	R105.60	-	R106.85	-	R110.85
C1	R107.85	R110.85	-	R114.35	-	-
D1	R122.85	-	R126.35	-	R130.35	-
F1	R158.35	-	R169.35	-	R180.35	R192.35

The gradings vary with reference to current wage levels. Thus, for July 1988, the figures are as given in Table 5.

TABLE 5 : STATUS OF WAGES AND GRADING SYSTEM : FRAMETEX,  
JULY 1988

GRADE	START	6 MTHS	9 MTHS	12 MTHS	18MTHS	24MTHS
A1	R105.35	-	-	-	-	-
A2	R106.35	R107.35	-	R101.35	-	R111.85
B1	R111.35	-	-	-	-	-
B2	R111.35	R112.60	-	R113.85	-	R117.85
C1	R115.85	R118.85	-	R122.35	-	-
D1	R130.85	-	R134.35	-	R138.35	-
F1	R168.35	-	R179.35	-	R190.35	R202.35

A comparison of the wages and grading systems for Table 4 and Table 5 indicate that although increases have been introduced the amounts are minimal to effect any changes in grading status.

Frametex as a whole is undergoing a rapid process of growth from operations of original 'family style' business, to a modern high-technology factory. The factory is a classic case of an older traditional firm that is developing within a recessionary economy.

The empirical data analysed in the next chapter are seen against the background of this case study.

## CHAPTER SIX: FINDINGS OF THE EMPIRICAL SURVEY

### INTRODUCTION

The results of the empirical survey are presented in this chapter, which is divided into four sections. The first provides a description of the characteristics of the respondents in terms of eight variables: gender, age, marital status, religion affiliation, educational levels, income, residence and number of children.

Section Two deals with the division of labour in the family. Here, the researcher attempts an understanding of the social function of family systems as integral to each society's organisation of production, and division of labour by gender. The family is clearly placed in the context of social production.

In Section Three, the attitudes of the respondents towards various aspects of gender relations within the family and factory are probed.

In Section Four, the researcher probes the concept: working-class consciousness. Working-class consciousness refers to the workers' realisation of their exploitable status in relation to capital and their capacities to collectively overcome this. The overall relations of unity, despite a segmented labour force based on gender, hold well for collective bargaining power. Management, in this instance, constitutes an enduring opponent.

SECTION ONE1. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE

Gender, age, marital status, number of children, educational levels, residence, income and religious affiliation are the variables used in this study. The characteristics of the sampling population are as follows:

1.1 GENDER

TABLE 6 : GENDER DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

Gender	N	%
Male	150	50,0
Female	150	50,0
Total	300	100,0

In terms of gender, the ratio of males to females in the sample is equal. This even distribution of males and females facilitated accurate comparisons in the analysis of the data by gender.



1.2 AGETABLE 7 : AGE DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

Age			Male		Female	
			N	%	N	%
	≤ 20		0	0,0	1	0,7
21	-	30	61	40,7	57	38,0
31	-	40	81	54,0	65	43,3
41	-	50	8	5,3	18	12,0
	>50		0	0,0	9	6,0
Total			150	100	150	100

In terms of age, there are no male respondents of 20 years old or younger as opposed to one female respondent; 40,7% of the men are between 21 and 30 years old compared with 38,0% of the women; 54,0% of the men are between 31 and 40 years old, while 43,3% of the sample comprise women for the same age category, and 5,3% men and 12,0% women constitute the 41-50 years old group. There are no (0,0%) male respondents over 50 years old in comparison with 6.0% women.

The findings in terms of age by gender are in keeping with studies done in the Durban Metropolitan area by other researchers. For instance, Meer (1983:15) concluded from her study of Black women: 'The majority of the workers [women] were in their working prime.' This conclusion was arrived at for the age category 21 to 40 years old. Similarly, Scharf (1980) found in their sample of Black male workers that 88% comprised an age distribution favouring a younger work force.

### 1.3 MARITAL STATUS

TABLE 8 : MARITAL STATUS DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS

Status	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Married	115	76,7	126	84,0
Single	33	22,0	17	11,3
Widowed	2	1,3	7	4,7
Total	150	100	150	100

In terms of marital status, 76,7% of the men and 84,0% of the women are married; 22,0% of the men, and 11,3% of the women are single, and 1,3% of the men and 4,7% of the women are widowed. There is a higher proportion of married women (84,0%) than men (76,7%), but twice as many single men (22,0%) compared to women (11,3%).

These figures do not have a marked bearing on the overall finding that the majority of the workers are married.

#### 1.4 NUMBER OF CHILDREN

TABLE 9 : DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF CHILDREN OF RESPONDENTS

Number of Children	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Nil	21	14,0	15	10,0
1 - 3	58	38,7	44	29,3
4 - 6	63	42,0	82	54,7
7 - 9	8	5,3	9	6,0
Total	150	100	150	100

Table 9 shows that 14,0% of the men and 10,0% of the women have no children; 38,7% of the men and 29,3% of the women have between 1 and 3 children; 42,0% men of the men and 54,7% of the women have between 4 and 6 children 5,3% of the men and 6,0% of the women have between 7 and 9 children. The findings indicate that more of the women than the men have bigger families, i.e., 4 to 6 children, while more of the men than women have smaller families, i.e., 1 to 3 children .

### 1.5 EDUCATIONAL LEVEL

TABLE 10 : DISTRIBUTION OF EDUCATIONAL LEVELS AMONG RESPONDENTS

Educational Level	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Nil	28	18,7	61	40,7
Class 1 - Std 2	46	30,7	49	32,7
Std 3 - Std 6	56	37,3	29	19,3
Std 7 - Std 10	20	13,3	8	5,3
Post Matric	0	0	0	0
Non Respondents	-	-	3	2
Total	150	100	150	100

In terms of education, 18,7% of the men and 40,7% of the women are illiterate; 30,7% of the men and 32,7% of the women received a primary school education (class 1 - std. 2); 37,3% of the men and 19,3% of the women received junior secondary education (std. 3 - std. 6) and 13,3% of the men and 5,3% of the women received a high school education (std. 7 - std. 10). None of the respondents received a post-matric education. Three female respondents did not indicate their educational attainment levels.

The findings suggest marked differences between the education profiles of the male and female workers. A greater proportion of the male workers than female workers attained higher educational levels. These results compare favourably with those of Meer (1983:8) who found that: 'young Black girls leave school early because their parents can no longer afford to keep them there, but primarily because the family desperately needs the money. Over

40% leave by the time they are in std. 2.' This explains why Black women enter the labour market less educated than Black men.

The lack of post-matric qualifications may be attributed to the structural inequalities characteristic of the South African social formation. The absence of higher schooling facilities in many of the Black areas is a major deterrent in raising the educational level of the Black people's in general. The fact that none of the workers in either group had experienced a post-matric education, seems to suggest that educational opportunities are perhaps limited for them.

#### 1.6 RESIDENCE

TABLE 11 : DISTRIBUTION OF PLACE OF RESIDENCE

Residence	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
Umlazi	28	18,7	32	21,3
Clermont	37	24,7	66	44,0
Kwa Mashu	17	11,3	2	1,3
Hostel	68	45,3	46	30,7
Klaarwater	0	0,0	4	2,7
Total	150	100	150	100

In terms of residence, 18,7% of the men and 21,3% of the women live in Umlazi; 24,7% of the men and 44,0% of the women live in Clermont; 11,3% of the men and 1,3% of the women live in Kwa Mashu; 45,3% of the men and 30,7% of the women live in the hostel,

and 2,7% of the women live in Klaarwater. None of the male respondents (0,0%) were found to be living in Klaarwater.

Against this background, residence, for the respondents ranged from township housing to hostel accommodation. The high percentage of the men (45,3%) and the women (30,7%) living in the hostels points to the plight of Blacks as victims of the migrant labour system. Many of the workers live in large dormitory townships on the city's periphery. The high proportion of the women living in hostels (30,7%) bears testimony to the changing position of Black women over the years. In particular, the repeal of the influx control laws has seen a drop in the restrictions which previously controlled their mobility and access to jobs. Indeed, the figures testify that the migrant labour system and its consequent pressures on working class families have meant that the nuclear family is not a reality for them.

### 1.7 INCOME

TABLE 12 : DISTRIBUTION OF INCOME PER MONTH FOR RESPONDENTS

Income	Male		Female	
	N	%	N	%
R100 - R200	0	0	0	0
R201 - R300	12	8,0	7	4,7
R301 - R400	54	36,0	45	30,0
R401 - R500	84	56,0	98	65,3
>R500	0	0	0	0
Total	150	100	150	100

At the time of the study, none of the respondents earn between R100 and R200; 8,0% of the men and 4,7% of the women earn between R201 and R300; 36,0% of the men and 30,0% of the women receive a wage between R301 and R400 per month, and 56,0% of the men and 65,3% of the women receive a monthly wage between R401 and R500. None of the respondents earned in excess of R500. The data reveal no marked difference in earnings between the men and women at Frametex.

In view of the fact that a vast majority of the workers have large families, the quality of the wage lies in question. In this regard, a number of studies have been undertaken to arrive at an estimated basic living wage. For instance, the Industrial Relations Information Survey has determined an average monthly budget of R809 per month for 1987 and the beginning of 1988; the Labour Research Service in Cape Town has arrived at a figure of R850 per month for 1987, and the Human Sciences Research Council has determined a monthly wage of R1 785,30 for a single divorced woman (Pers. Comm. Eagle, J. 1988. Regional Organiser, ACTWUSA, Durban).

Although all of the above estimates point to useful measures of a monthly budget, they must be viewed with caution. Given that the criteria used for each study vary, the estimates are based on different areas of emphases.

#### 1.8 RELIGION

TABLE 13 : RELIGIOUS DISTRIBUTION

Religion	Male		Female	
Catholic	135	90,0	132	88,0
Presbyterian	9	6,0	2	1,3
Zionist	2	1,3	10	6,7
Other	4	2,7	6	4,0
Total	150	100	150	100

In terms of religion, most of the men (90,0%) and the women (88,0%) are Catholic; 6,0% of the men and 1,3% of the women are Presbyterian; 1,3% of the men and 6,7% of the women are Zionist, and 2,7% of the men and 4,0% of the women belong to other religions.

The pattern of religious affiliation of these workers for the Durban Metropolitan area varies somewhat from that for South Africa as a whole. 'Whereas for South Africa, the Anglican and Methodist religions predominate for the Zulu speaking peoples, Natal is a Catholic domain' (Pers. Comm. Madlala, S. 1988 University of Durban-Westville).

#### 1.9 SUMMARY

In summary, the findings suggest that the sample comprise an active and relatively young Black workforce. The labour force is a fairly settled one, with more male than female workers domiciled in hostels, and more female than male workers localised in the dormitory townships on Durban's periphery. This suggests that many households could be female headed; a phenomenon not unique to the working-class of Durban.

In a study of 74 developing countries, Buvinic *et al* (1978 in Taylor, 1983:14), found that due to migratory labour patterns at least 1 in 12 were found to be female-headed; regional totals being 22% in Sub-Saharan Africa, 20% in the Caribbean and 16% in Latin America. Similarly, in some parts of Africa the figures are dramatic, with over 40% of the households in Kenya, Botswana, Ghana and Sierra Leone headed by women.



The tendency towards having many children appear consistent with the cultural ideologies of the Zulu. These findings in particular, are consistent with Vogel's (1983) contention that women's oppression must be seen in terms of social reproduction and the reproduction of labour power. This gives credence to the belief that bride-price (*ilobolo*) is based on the wife's fulfilment on her productive obligations in the husband's homestead and the fulfilment of her reproductive role.

There are marked differences between the education profiles of male and female workers in Frametex. The males on average, attained higher educational qualifications than the females. Education has always been far from free and compulsory for Black South Africans. The principle of free and compulsory education has only recently been extended to Indian and 'Coloured' children and its application to Blacks is still in its early stages. Black parents are consequently forced to take their children out of school. Cock (1980) points out that education is an expensive item particularly for Black South Africans, and is continually seen as being more relevant for boys than for girls.

A similar pattern emerges for factory workers in Taiwan. Wolf (1972) suggests that it is insignificant for a woman to study because the situation is the same for her after all. Similarly, Lapidus (1978: 28) concludes for factory women in Russia that:

*'... female intelligence was equal to males was conceded, but inquired uneasily whether teaching women to love learning might not divert their love for marriage.'*

The characteristics of the respondents, in general, point to a homogenous sample across most variables.

## SECTION TWO

### 2. SOCIAL ORGANISATION OF TASKS WITHIN HOUSEHOLDS

This section presents an exploratory analysis of the social organisation of tasks within the household. The researcher examines the domain of the family attempting to explore the family power processes and its organisation. This is done with reference to five variables, namely, breadwinner, domestic chores, child-care, financial control and decision-making. According to Safilios-Rothschild (1970:540):

*'Family power is a multidimensional concept that is measured indirectly through behavioural acts in which the degree of one's power is put to test. The familial power can be measured through the outcome of the type of prevailing division of labour.'*

TABLE 14 : DISTRIBUTION OF TASK ALLOCATION IN MALE HOUSEHOLDS

	T <sub>1</sub> : Breadwinner		T <sub>2</sub> : Domestic Chores		T <sub>3</sub> : Child Care		T <sub>4</sub> : Financial Control		T <sub>5</sub> : Decision Making	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Only Women	18	12,0	62	41,3	111	74,0	17	11,3	12	8,0
More Women than Men	45	30,0	51	34,0	29	19,3	15	10,0	17	11,3
Shared	35	23,3	22	14,7	3	2,0	26	17,3	12	8,0
More Men than Women	36	24,0	15	10,0	4	2,7	43	28,7	43	28,7
Only Men	16	10,7	0	0	3	2,0	49	32,7	66	44,0
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0

TABLE 15 : DISTRIBUTION OF TASK ALLOCATION IN FEMALE HOUSEHOLDS

	T <sub>1</sub> : Breadwinner		T <sub>2</sub> : Domestic Chores		T <sub>3</sub> : Child Care		T <sub>4</sub> : Financial Control		T <sub>5</sub> : Decision Making	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Only Women	33	22,0	68	45,3	96	64,0	20	13,3	8	5,3
More Women than Men	15	10,0	48	32,0	36	24,0	34	22,7	16	10,7
Shared	34	22,7	16	10,7	11	7,3	7	4,7	20	13,3
More Men than Women	38	25,3	12	8,0	7	4,7	42	28,0	34	22,7
Only Men	30	20,0	6	4,0	0	0,0	47	31,3	72	48,0
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0

### 2.1 BREADWINNER

In terms of the first variable, namely breadwinner, 12,0% of the males and 22,0% of the females indicated that this role is specific to women only in their respective households; 30,0% of the male households and 10,0% of the females indicated that this task is carried out by more females than males in their households. Egalitarian family units prevail in as many male households (23,3%) as female households (22,7%), with the breadwinner role almost equally assumed by men and women; 24% of the males in contrast to 25,3% of the females indicated that the breadwinner role is assumed more by men than by women, and 10,7% of the males as opposed to 20,0% of the females suggested that the breadwinner role is solely the domain of the men. These findings clearly contradict the view that the role of the breadwinner is strictly the function of men.

The role of breadwinner in the families of Frametex workers is not gender-specific suggesting that traditional beliefs

might have been superceded by western ones.

## 2.2 DOMESTIC CHORES

Domestic chores include the routine tasks undertaken by members of the family for the maintenance of the household and its members. These include, washing, ironing, dusting, cooking, grocery shopping, etc.

In terms of the responsibility for domestic chores the findings indicate that, 41,3% of the male households and 45,3% of the females' reported that domestic chores are solely done by the women in their households. In 34,0% of the male households and 32,0% of the female households more women than men performed the domestic duties; 14,7% of the males and 10,7% of the females indicated that there is an equal sharing of domestic chores in the home, and 10,0% of the males and 8,0% of the females reported that more men than women perform domestic duties. There are no (0,0%) males in contrast to 4,0% females who reported that men are solely responsible for housework in their homes.

Domestic duties in the households of Frametex workers are gender-specific.

### 2.3 CHILD CARE

In terms of the third variable, namely, child care, the overall findings indicate that women are more often responsible for child care and rearing than men. In 74% of the male households and 64% of the female households, only women perform this task. In 19,3% of the male households and 24% of the female households, child care appeared to be shared but with women showing more control; in 2,0% of the male households and 7,3% of the female households there is equal sharing of child care. In 2,7% of the male and 4,7% of the female households, men seem to have the edge over women and in 2,0% male households, child care is solely the task of men.

In South Africa, where the migrant labour system and its consequent pressures on working class families work against the formation of nuclear families among Black people, women's relationships are increasingly temporary and women tend to take responsibility for rearing children alone. Cock (1980) comments that many African children do not know their fathers. The findings are consistent with Taylor's notion that:

*"Women's ability to bear children is used to define their entire lives. It is used to create and justify a role for women that extends their responsibility for caring for children" (Taylor, 1983: 3) .*

## 2.4 FINANCIAL CONTROL

In terms of the fourth variable, namely, financial control, which includes payment of accounts and financial budgetting in the home, the results show that men control the purse strings. A very small percentage of male households (11,3%) and female households (13,3%) indicated the sole control of finances by women. A similar conclusion may be arrived at for the second score, where 10% of male households have women more in control of finances than men, as opposed to 22,7% in female households. Although the female households show an appreciably higher score than men in this regard, the difference does not alter the overall distribution of this task allocation amongst the family members in general. In 17,3% of the male households a greater degree of sharing of power over financial control occurs than the 4,7% of the female households. Although 28,7% of the male households and 28,0% of the female households indicate that both women and men have a say in the controlling of the finances, the responsibility is more significant for men. In 32,7% of the male households and 31,3% of the female households, responsibility for financial control is vested solely in the men.

## 2.5 DECISION MAKING

In terms of the fifth variable, namely, decision-making, the results coincide with the belief that men are the bosses in the home. Clearly, few women are found to have decision-making powers in either household. As a corollary, one would expect that if

women take major responsibility for the maintenance of the home, they should feature highly in the running of the home, i.e., decision-making.

The results show that although the African women appear to spend more time dedicated to household needs, this in no way enhances their power status in the family. Almost half the respondents in both male and female households (44% male; 48% female) indicate that decision-making is the sole task of men.

Davin (1976:5) offers a similar generalization of women in Russia, where the woman's active role in the home does not bolster her position in the family; instead it mitigates her general subordination and discrimination. Gamble, provides further evidence from Taiwan: 'where women spend much time on household need, such women have more say in running the home ' (1968:301).

## 2.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The analyses above suggest that among Frametex workers, household tasks are the responsibility of women. Clearly, the division of labour by gender in the households indicates gender-specific tasks. For women it is linked to reproduction and the maintenance of the household and family members. The assistance women receive from men does not preclude their (men) being in charge of, or carrying the responsibility for, domestic work.

The overall findings concur with those of Berk (1985), who found in her study of British working class households that whilst men exempt themselves from a variety of responsibilities, women find themselves engaging in chores across all categories regardless of the gender-related socialisation for the task. This may be attributed, in part, to the stronger expectation that all household labour is the responsibility of women.

In assessing the significance of the results concerning women's subordination, various theories were examined.

A glance at the findings makes it clear that certain patterns of responsibilities follow a rigid sex-stereotypification. The relative non-frequency of tasks such as child care and domestic chores combine to lower the overall contribution of men to household labour.

This conclusion is consistent with the Parsonian scheme of role differentiation. In this, gender roles in terms of social roles are considered different but equal. For these households men are geared towards 'instrumental' roles and women towards 'expressive ones'. The family is thus a patriarchal structure and not an egalitarian unit.

Under this system of male supremacy within a capitalist mode of production, the results coincide with Vogel's (1983) contention that women take overwhelming responsibility for the domestic component of necessary labour, i.e., women's subordination in the



home is perceived in terms of social reproduction and the reproduction of labour power. Indeed, in the Zulu tradition, the transfer of cattle (bride-price) is in fact a transfer of labour power - the labour power of the wife herself and the labour power of the children she has produced. The large families, based on the number of children in most of the respondents' households, is indicative of a future supply of labour power.

The findings also support Engels' notion (1972 in Barrett, 1980) that marriage reproduces in microcosm the conflicts and contradictions of the wider society. Women take on the character of a subordinate class, while patriarchal heads of households act out the role of employers or owners.

The results refute Engels' (1972) dictum that the emancipation of women lies in their introduction of the entire female sex into industry. He argued that a new family form is created as modern industry draws women into social production. His reasons are that both men and women take on breadwinner roles, and that the remnants of male domination lose their foundation. The researcher agrees with Delmar's contention (1976) that Engels defines women's oppression in terms of their role in production. With reference to the lives of the women in the present study, Engels' views fail to analyse what Bozzoli takes up, viz., the ideology of domesticity which is involved in reproducing the relations of male domination and female subordination.

Households in the Zulu tradition/cultural heritage may thus be regarded as the breeding ground for sex-role typifications in wider society. The analyses of the theoretical schema suggest that it is around household work that gender relations are produced and reproduced on a daily basis. Moreover, it is through these relations that work in the home assumes its uniquely consistent pattern of allocations and character. Gender has certainly played a role in distinguishing 'territories' of work occupied by men and women.

- ✓ The function of the family as the child-rearing unit, the sexual division of labour which characterises it and the associated absence of extra-familial child care provision, exist in conjunction with ideologies elaborating the social duties expected of women and men in relation to the family. Thus, for Zulu-speaking peoples, the duties of a husband are to be the breadwinner and to support his wife and children, while the duties of a wife are to rear the children and make the home comfortable. She may take up paid employment outside the home if she wishes, as long as it does not conflict with her family responsibilities.

SECTION THREE

3. GENDER RELATIONS IN THE FAMILY AND FACTORY

The social indicators developed so far have compared the material conditions of gender stratification. This trend omits an analysis of how men and women perceive gender roles, i.e., their ideologies and dimensions of change. The present section attempts to determine how male and female perceptions and experiences of gender as constructed within the family, present themselves in a work setting.

3.1 GENDER RELATIONS IN THE HOME

TABLE 16 : DISTRIBUTION OF MALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS GENDER RELATIONS IN THE HOME

Score	S <sub>1</sub>		S <sub>4</sub>		S <sub>8</sub>		S <sub>18</sub>		S <sub>26</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	7	4,7	8	5,3	29	19,3	8	5,3	1	0,7
2	15	10,0	12	8,0	38	25,3	14	9,3	12	8,0
3	1	0,7	4	2,7	5	3,3	7	4,7	5	3,3
4	63	42,0	40	26,7	46	30,7	46	30,7	49	32,7
5	64	42,7	86	57,3	32	21,3	75	50,0	83	55,3
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,1		4,2		3,1		4,1		4,3	
V	1,2		1,3		2,2		1,4		0,9	

TABLE 17 : DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
GENDER RELATIONS IN THE HOME

Score	S <sub>1</sub>		S <sub>4</sub>		S <sub>8</sub>		S <sub>18</sub>		S <sub>26</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	106	70,7	2	1,3	3	2,0	121	80,7	2	1,3
2	28	18,7	6	4,0	7	4,7	15	10,0	1	0,7
3	4	2,7	2	1,3	4	2,7	2	1,3	1	0,7
4	7	4,7	52	34,7	81	54,0	11	7,3	56	37,3
5	5	3,3	88	58,7	55	36,7	1	0,7	90	60,0
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	1,5		4,5		4,2		1,4		4,5	
V	1,0		0,7		0,7		0,8		0,5	

Five statements are used to probe male dominance and female subordination in the household:

- Statement: (1) A women's place is in the home  
(strongly agree = 5)
- (4) Lobolo makes a woman a property of her husband  
(strongly agree = 5)
- (8) Men's behaviour at home is the same as elsewhere  
(strongly agree = 5)
- (18) Domestic chores should be shared between men and women (strongly agree = 1)
- (26) Men are the bosses in the home  
(strongly agree = 5)

In terms of statement one (S1), it can be seen from a comparison of the weighted means, viz., 4,1 for males and 1,5 for females, that a significant difference in attitudes exists towards a woman's role in society for the workers in Frametex. Most men

agree that a woman's place is in the home, while the overall female attitude contradicts this viewpoint. The female workers appear to share a greater degree of consensus, ( $V = 1,0$ ) than the male workers, ( $V = 1,2$ ). This implies that more men than women feel strongly about the status of the Black women in society. Clearly, the men's decisions are influenced by the ideologies of motherhood and perceptions of a woman's role which conformed to familial ideology. For most women, their presence in industry is indicative of the breaking down of traditional beliefs about a woman's place being in the home.

A correlation of these perceptions with the actual experiences in the home (see Section 2), indicates why men have no doubts about what a woman's role entails. The tasks of women are essentially to maintain, service, and take responsibility for the care of their homes, husbands and children. The attitudes of the women exemplify their resistance to these traditional beliefs.

Similarly, in a United Nations Survey, a sample of working-class male and female respondents were asked whether they were in favour of or against the idea that the husband should work and the woman should be at home (Spence and Helmreich, 1980 in Taylor, 1983). Responses in this instance revealed substantial cross-sectional contrasts. Amongst the Japanese, 72% of the males favoured the traditional view, compared with 34% of the females; 79% of the males in the United States of America favoured traditional views as opposed to 62% of the females who tended towards egalitarian views; 33% of the males in West Germany favoured traditional roles

of women, and 88% of the males favoured the traditional view in Sweden, with 29% women holding the opposite view.

Qualitative studies have shown that husbands sometimes exert considerable influence over their wives' decision to take paid work (Kantor, 1977). Whilst this may not be to the advantage of the household as a unit, it is done so that the man can retain a position of authority.

Traditional culturally determined ideologies surrounding the status of women in the home are echoed in the responses to statement four (S4). In terms of S4 a comparison of the weighted mean for males ( $X_w = 4,2$ ), with that of females ( $X_w = 4,5$ ) shows that there is no marked difference in attitude between the two groups.

The findings are consistent with the conclusions of Pudifin and Ward's (1986) study of Black women workers in the textile border industries in Isithebe. They concluded that women become a property of their husbands on being married.

The variance value for females is 0,7 and for males is 1,3. The rank order of the two values indicates that 0,7 is lower than 1,3 and hence signifies a greater degree of consensus among the women than the men. The variance values reveal further that women feel more strongly about this cultural tenet than men do. This may be attributed to the experience of the patriarchal controls.

The universality of male dominance is probed in statement 8 (S8). Responses to this statement show contrasting attitudes. The weighted mean for males ( $X_w = 3,1$ ) indicates that men are divided in their beliefs around this perception, whereas the weighted mean for females ( $X_w = 4,1$ ) indicates a definite attitude that the behaviour of men in the home is the same as elsewhere. The variance values, viz., 2,2 for males and 0,7 for females suggest that there is greater consensus among women than there is among men.

The actual experience of task allocations (see Section Two) is verified further by the perceptions of the workers to statement 18 (S18). The results reveal dissimilar conclusions between males and females. A comparison of the weighted means, viz., 4,1 for males and 1,4 for females supports the findings in Section 2. Clearly, the male workers in Frametex reject the idea of domestic chores being shared, whereas the female workers maintain the opposite view. The variance values, viz., 0,8 for women and 1,4 for men, indicate a higher degree of consensus among women.

The toll of the double-shift is exemplified by the women workers' appeal for assistance. This view is reinforced by Oakley (1983), who concluded from her study of women, that on the whole, women define housework as real work, and that they do not enjoy it. The tasks are oppressive in and of themselves but most oppressive of all was the fact that women felt obligated to this vocation.

When compared with world experiences, the situation of Black working-class men and women in this study parallels those of other working class people. For example, Taylor (1983) comments that a working woman in Europe can expect little help from her husband at home. In Italy, 85% of married men do no domestic work at all. In the developing world, a similar picture is resembled. For example in the village of Ruanda women do all domestic work with no assistance from men at all (Beneria, 1972).

- ✓ In her study of Black women in the clothing industry in the Durban Metropolitan area, Mehtha (1984) found that 41% of the women received assistance from their husbands in the execution of household tasks. However, on further examination, Mehtha ascertained that this assistance was rendered in a gender-specific way, with men doing the repair work, painting, gardening, etc.. The main load rests primarily with women.

British working-class households appear to display similar patterns in the gender division of labour. In her study of the division of labour in British working-class households, Berk (1985) arrived at the following conclusions: household chores are specific to women, whilst repairs, painting, building and payment of bills were associated solely with male responsibility.

There can be fewer generalisations that hold as true throughout the world that domestic work is everywhere seen as the responsibility of women.



That men are the bosses in the home is overwhelmingly supported by both males ( $X_w = 4,3$ ) and females ( $X_w = 4,5$ ). In their responses to statement twenty six (S26), the male workers confirm their belief in patriarchal control while the responses of the women confirm their passive subordination to this control. This possibly suggests that the personal lives and experiences of the women workers at Frametex qualify their identity; their subordinate identity forcing them into an ideological ghetto.

This conclusion contradicts Thornton's (1975:2) contention that: 'Autonomy in the home gives women a marked degree of control over decisions to do with the home. To all intents and purposes women are the bosses.'

The following comment concerning the general problems of women in the home was made by a female shop steward in the initial informal interview:

*'The problem is that we women accept it. We didn't fight it from the beginning. We felt it was important for a man to be what he is. And so it became a habit. Even ourselves... sometimes we feel shy, say when our husbands has visitors and I ask him to help me. Because I think that his friends will think he's a fool.'*

The rank order of the variance values, viz., 0,5 for females and 0,9 for males, indicates a greater degree of consensus among women.

Clearly, the findings suggest a gender effect on responses. Male responses show the existence of a firm belief in the 'natural'

domesticity of women, with a corresponding implication that domesticity is 'unnatural' to men. For women, economic motives appear to be paramount. A redefinition of women's roles is implied in their shifting response pattern, but the emphasis appears to be on shortcomings of a traditional role, and not on positive features of an alternative role. The need to get out of the home conveys dissatisfaction and a seeming rejection of the traditional homemaker role.

3.2 GENDER RELATIONS IN EMPLOYMENT

TABLE 18 : DISTRIBUTION OF MALE RESPONSES TO EMPLOYMENT

Score	S <sub>3</sub>		S <sub>10</sub>		S <sub>13</sub>		S <sub>14</sub>		S <sub>15</sub>		S <sub>22</sub>		S <sub>24</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	13	8,7	12	8,0	10	6,7	8	5,3	8	5,3	46	30,7	15	10,0
2	9	6,0	14	9,3	8	5,3	4	2,7	14	9,3	40	26,7	26	17,3
3	9	6,0	6	4,0	7	4,7	6	4,0	5	3,3	7	4,7	7	4,7
4	52	34,7	48	32,0	60	40,0	56	37,3	58	38,7	31	20,7	46	30,7
5	67	44,7	70	46,7	65	43,3	70	46,7	64	42,7	25	16,7	56	37,3
Non Respondents	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	0,7	1	0,7	—	—
TOTAL	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,0		4,0		4,1		4,1		4,0		2,7		3,7	
V	1,5		1,6		1,3		1,7		1,3		2,3		1,9	

TABLE 19 : DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE RESPONSES TO EMPLOYMENT

Score	S <sub>3</sub>		S <sub>10</sub>		S <sub>13</sub>		S <sub>14</sub>		S <sub>15</sub>		S <sub>22</sub>		S <sub>24</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	110	73,3	51	34,0	7	4,7	69	46,0	52	34,7	83	55,3	83	55,3
2	31	20,7	54	36,0	9	6,0	49	32,7	30	20,0	43	28,7	38	25,3
3	2	1,3	14	9,3	9	6,0	2	1,3	11	7,3	14	9,3	4	2,7
4	6	4,0	28	18,7	52	34,7	13	8,7	30	20,0	8	5,3	22	14,7
5	1	0,7	3	2,0	73	48,7	17	11,3	27	18,0	2	1,3	3	2,0
TOTAL	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	1,4		2,2		4,2		2,1		2,7		1,7		1,8	
V	0,6		1,3		1,2		1,8		2,4		0,9		1,3	

Seven statements are used to assess the respondents' attitudes towards employment. They are:

Statement:

- S<sub>3</sub> : There should be equal job opportunities for men and women (strongly agree = 1)
- S<sub>10</sub> : Unemployment is worse for men than women (strongly agree = 5)
- S<sub>13</sub> : When women enter the labour force they become independent of men (strongly agree = 1)
- S<sub>14</sub> : There is a need for men and women to seek employment (strongly agree = 1)
- S<sub>15</sub> : Women have no need for financial independence. (strongly agree = 5)
- S<sub>22</sub> : Male workers are afraid of losing their power status in this factory (strongly agree = 1)
- S<sub>24</sub> : Men need jobs more than women do (strongly agree = 5).

Against the background of family size it would seem necessary that both men and women workers in Frametex seek employment.

Similarly, an investigation into the financial circumstances of large families in London by Land (1972) emphasised that the financial burdens of extra children and the strains of 'family poverty' fell disproportionately on the mother, hence the need to seek employment.

With reference to statement three (S3), a comparison of the weighted means for males and females viz., 4,0 and 1,4 respectively, shows that a meaningful difference exists between the two values.

Most men (79,4%) believe that there should not be equal opportunities for men and women, whilst the majority of the women (94,0%) hold the contrary viewpoint. The male status in employment appears to be threatened by a call for equal-status jobs. Given that Frametex is an equal-opportunity employer, where there is a fairly even distribution of workers across agenda, it seems reasonable to conclude that men are dissatisfied with this situation. The rank order of the variance values, viz., 0,6 for females and 1,5 for males, indicates that women sustain a greater degree of consensus in their beliefs than do the men.

Similarly, in terms of statement ten (S10), a comparison of the weighted means for both worker groups, viz., 4,0 for males and 2,2 for females respectively, reflects differences in the attitudes held by men and women in Frametex. The responses from most of the male workers (78,7%) bolster the patriarchal control that, if men are unemployed it implies unemployment *per se*, whereas for women,

there is the household to which they could turn. However, the majority of the female workers (70,0%) disagree with this statement, implying that their wage is as important a contribution to the household unit, and therefore should not be easily dispensed with. The variance values, viz., 1,6 for men and 1,3 for women, suggest that although the majority of either gender hold a particular attitude, the consensus was not particularly high.

According to Pillay (1985), Black women have consistently constituted the largest percentage of the unemployed. He offers three possible reasons for this outcome, viz.,

- (i) they enter the traditional 'female' industries in which little or no skills are required, and therefore are ideally suited to form the industrial reserve army of labour which can be manipulated by employers in times of economic prosperity or depression;
- (ii) they enter the industrial process at the lowest levels (domestic/farm workers), and
- (iii) they are subject to that belief enforced by a patriarchal society that a woman's traditional role at home is her first obligation, and this facilitates the utilisation of women in the industrial reserve army of labour.

Similarly, Wolf et al (1979) argues that women are more likely to be unemployed than men because they are crowded into a small number of occupations which do not provide sufficient employment for the number of women who seek it. Men, however, are able to enter a great number of occupations proportionate to their number and hence do not suffer such high unemployment as women. She suggests that women are confined in this way as a consequence of the hiring practices of employers. The latter discriminate against women in certain occupations, thus preventing their entry. It would appear that employers discriminate against female workers as part of a wider attempt by men to control women.

Beechey (1977) argues that married women may be paid lower wages and be easily dismissed because they are partially supported by their husband's wages. Women are harder hit by under-employment and unemployment than are their male counterparts, as the few openings in the industrial sector are offered to men first. Furthermore women are more vulnerable to redundancy than are men in similar circumstances, whereas collectively women's employment does not suffer as much as men's do (Blau et al, 1976).

In terms of Frametex, the retrenchment policy is on the basis of 'last in first out'. This means that those with the least experience will be the first to be retrenched. It was ascertained from interviews with trade union officials that in this regard the workers are not selected by gender.

In terms of statement 13 (S13), the weighted mean value for males and females is virtually the same viz., 1,3 and 1,2 respectively. Most men (83,3%) and women (83,4%) believe that women do not become independent on entering the labour force.

The findings coincide with Bruegel's contention (1975) that being a wage earner does not necessarily grant these women the right to control their wages and without this prerogative their expressed attitudes concerning independence implies that they have not achieved higher status.

Male concern about such matters appears not to centre on whether the women should or should not work, but on whether a working woman might become so 'successful' that she may cease to be financially and domestically dependent upon her husband, and will no longer convey an appropriately subordinate female role and status to her children. The variance values of 1,3 and 1,2 for men and women respectively indicate equal, but not very strong, consensus.

A comparison of the weighted means for statement 14 (S14) indicates that men ( $X_w = 4,1$ ) and women ( $X_w = 2,1$ ) share conflicting views on this issue. Most men (84,0%) believe that there is no need for men and women to seek employment. Most women (78,7) held the contrasting viewpoint. The findings may be compared to those of statement 22 (S22), where most men (57,4%) acknowledge that they are afraid to lose their power status in the factory ( $X_w = 2,7$ ), hence the threat of the female workers'

potential. Women felt even more strongly about this view ( $X_w = 1.7$ ). The male attitude reinforces their notion that the place of women is in the home, whereas women's resistance to their suppression in the home is marked by their call for entry into employment.

These sentiments are echoed in a study of Brazilian women working in a textile factory, which drew positive conclusions. Saffioti (1981) states that for these women work represents a means of confronting life and a source of individualism. By earning money and working outside the home, factory women may find a certain independence from their families. Meeting and talking with other women lays a foundation for a collective spirit and perhaps collective action.

Economics may also be an overriding factor, influencing the allocation of women to their places in industry. In this regard studies done by Blood et al (1960 in Parker et al, 1977) conclude that in working-class families where the wife also goes out to work, the additional income is often used to make the home a comfortable place in which to live. They characterised the main role of the wife in relation to her husband's occupation as collaborative, supportive and peripheral.

The findings of statement fifteen (S15) and statement twenty-four (S24) may also be compared. That women, are occupying jobs that ought to be a man's domain, bolsters the argument that they do not have to be financially independent. A comparison of the weighted



means for (S15) and (S24), viz., 4,0 and 3,7 for males with those of 2,7 and 1,8 for females on (S15) and (S24) respectively, suggest that women are more positive in their attitudes than men. Most men believe that women have no need for financial independence, and that men need jobs more than women, whilst most women share the opposite viewpoint.

The variance values on S15, namely 1,3 for males and 2,4 for females, indicate that men are more consistent in their attitude, whereas women appear somewhat divided on this issue. For S24, the women ( $V = 1,3$ ), have a greater consensus about the issue than males ( $V = 1,9$ ).

### 3.3 ATTITUDES TOWARDS SKILL AND ABILITY

TABLE 20 : DISTRIBUTION OF MALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS SKILL AND ABILITY

Score	S <sub>2</sub>		S <sub>5</sub>		S <sub>9</sub>		S <sub>16</sub>		S <sub>20</sub>		S <sub>30</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	8	5,3	70	46,7	7	4,7	9	6,0	14	9,3	10	6,7
2	11	7,3	60	40,0	7	4,7	11	7,3	11	7,3	8	5,3
3	9	6,0	9	6,0	2	1,3	8	5,3	6	4,0	4	2,7
4	43	28,7	4	2,7	34	22,7	33	22,0	38	25,3	61	40,7
5	79	52,7	7	4,7	100	66,7	89	59,3	81	54,0	67	44,7
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,2		1,8		4,4		4,2		4,1		4,1	
V	1,3		1,0		1,1		1,4		1,7		1,3	

TABLE 21 : DISTRIBUTION FEMALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS SKILL AND ABILITY

Score	S <sub>2</sub>		S <sub>5</sub>		S <sub>9</sub>		S <sub>16</sub>		S <sub>20</sub>		S <sub>30</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	12	8,0	61	40,7	6	4,0	54	36,0	11	7,3	15	10,0
2	8	5,3	42	28,0	24	16,0	60	40,0	30	20,0	6	4,0
3	4	2,7	21	14,0	3	2,0	20	13,3	18	12,0	10	6,7
4	38	25,3	22	14,7	30	20,0	12	8,0	77	51,3	54	36,0
5	88	58,7	4	2,7	87	58,0	4	2,7	14	9,3	65	43,3
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,2		2,1		4,1		2,0		3,4		4,0	
V	1,5		1,4		1,6		1,1		1,3		1,6	

Six statements probe attitudes towards skills and abilities of male and female workers:

- S<sub>2</sub> : Female labour is cheaper than male labour  
(strongly agree = 5)
- S<sub>5</sub> : Women are more dextrous than men in this factory  
(strongly agree = 1)
- S<sub>9</sub> : Women are inferior to men  
(strongly agree = 5)
- S<sub>16</sub> : Women and men are equally capable of doing the same tasks in this factory (strongly agree = 1)
- S<sub>20</sub> : Women are more committed than men to their work in this factory (strongly agree = 1)
- S<sub>30</sub> : Men are more suited to skilled jobs in this factory than the women (strongly agree = 5)

That we live in a society in which men largely define our world has been well documented by feminist literature. It is this problem which women experience as workers. Their ideas about

themselves as workers are dominated by what men think of them as workers.

A comparison of the weighted means for statement two (S2), viz., 4,2 for both male and females and for statement nine (S9), viz., 4,4 and 4,1 for males and females respectively, indicate that both men and

women feel that female labour is cheaper than male labour and that women are inferior to men.

The data indicate that women passively reflect the views of men. The oppression of women is expressed in female stereotypes and women are dependent on the mediation of their self-images by men. This makes women a necessarily conservative force. The crux of the male attitude reinforces the notion that the place of a woman is in the home.

At Frametex, work for both men and women is essentially boring, repetitive and alienating - something to be endured for the sake of the wage packet. The workforce distribution is fairly equitable across the plant with a majority of men in the weaving section and a majority of women in the spinning section. Spinning is repetitive work, not as arduous as weaving, and can be done sitting down. For weaving one has to constantly monitor the machine and this requires a tremendous amount of walking. In this regard, management has acquired a stereotype of women workers which it proceeds to realise and reinforce. It provides the kinds

of work which do not require much concentration and which are unlikely to provoke high levels of interest amongst the workers.

Similarly, Porter (1978), has pointed out that gender stereotypes can distort supervisors' perceptions of women's performances and belittle their achievements in comparison to those of men, because management stereotypically view women workers as less competent and dependable and as greater risks. They tend to have lower expectations of them and not to assign challenging and demanding duties to them. This is demonstrated by a claim that during the period (1958-1973), Frametex decided to employ more Black women in industry as it was argued that they are well suited to textile manual and semi-skilled work (Westmore et al, 1976).

The variance values of 1,3 and 1,5 for males and females respectively for statement two (S2), suggest that there are no significant differences in consensus on this issue between the two worker groups. However, the variance values for statement nine (S9), viz., 1,6 for females and 1,1 for males, suggest that men have a higher degree of consensus on this issue than do women.

Statement five (S5), statement sixteen (S16) and statement thirty (S30) probe labour power investments of men compared with those of women. According to responses given to statement five (S5), both men and women believe that women are more dextrous than men ( $X_w = 1,8$  for males;  $X_w = 2,1$  for females). However, the men share a greater consensus on this issue ( $V = 1,0$ ) than the women ( $V = 1,4$ ).

Gender-stereotypes by management are also confirmed by wider research findings. Pollert (1981) concluded from her study that managers believe that women are less likely than men to possess the important employee attributes of good training, education and personality. Women are considered unsuitable for skilled or technical jobs, but had greater manual dexterity and patience. This attitude is succinctly expressed by Barron et al, (1976 ;42):

'...Who therefore could be better qualified by nature and inheritance to contribute to the efficiency of a production line than the female.'

With reference to statement sixteen (S16), most women believe that men and women are capable of sharing the same tasks in the factory ( $X_w = 2,0$ ), but most of the men share the opposite view ( $X_w = 4,2$ ). The degree of consensus is fairly similar for men ( $V = 1,4$ ) and women ( $V = 1,1$ ).

Hartmann (1981), argues that the efforts to exclude women from certain occupations may be viewed as deliberate attempts by male workers to better their own position at the expense of female workers. Therefore, it may be argued that the existence of a patriarchal division of labour pre-empted the advent of capitalism. The gender division of labour is perpetuated, by male workers and is reinforced by capitalist employers for their own benefit. It seems reasonable to assume that the existence of this form of occupational segregation in Frametex could be a way to preclude the possibility that women can be a source of competition

which may affect the conditions of employment of male workers. In this way women would not be competing directly with men for jobs.

Statement thirty (S30), suggests that the women are clear about the inferiority of 'women's work'. Comments about their own capacities as women compared with men, show an acceptance of the division of labour. Similarly, for the men, skilled work has always been their domain. The weighted means, 4,1 and 4,0 for males and females respectively, indicate that there is an acceptance on the part of male and female workers that men are more skilled at Frametex. Consensus on this is rather weak among women ( $V = 1,6$ ) and not much stronger among men ( $V = 1,3$ ).

It seems reasonable to argue that the results suggest that it is not the gender of the worker which affects this work behaviour, but particular technical and economic conditions, i.e., it is the operations of the market or capital, rather than 'innate' gender differences, which affect work behaviour. Therefore, the attitudes of male and female workers towards each other may be attributed in part to class attitudes, and may not be based solely on patriarchal control.

Statement twenty (S20) deals with commitment to work. For most women, the images of marriage and becoming dependent housewives remain. Work and independence are important, but temporary. Comments about their commitment to the work setting suggest that most men disagree that women are more committed than they are ( $X_w = 4,1$ ). Most women show a half-acceptance, half-rejection of the

statement ( $X_w = 3,4$ ). In this case, consensus is weak among men ( $V = 1,7$ ) and not very strong among women ( $V = 1,3$ ).

The lack of commitment to work for the women becomes a lack of a feeling of a right to work, sustained by a lack of tactical sense of how to overcome it. Moreover, the temporary nature of their work supports their attitude. The problems facing working-class women entering the labour force are different from those of their male counterparts. First, their informal cultural system places barriers on the kinds of work available to them, and second, the nature of their tasks confirms the deprecatory self-perception of women as passive, inferior creatures. It is in this instance that the oppression of women compounds their experience of exploitation as workers.

### 3.4 GENDER RELATIONS AND DISCRIMINATORY PRACTICES

TABLE 22 : DISTRIBUTION OF MALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
DISCRIMINATION

Score	S <sub>7</sub>		S <sub>11</sub>		S <sub>19</sub>		S <sub>21</sub>		S <sub>25</sub>		S <sub>27</sub>		S <sub>28</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	4	2,7	12	8,0	13	8,7	23	15,3	28	18,7	49	32,7	28	18,7
2	9	6,0	5	3,3	13	8,7	37	24,7	37	24,7	25	16,7	27	18,0
3	3	2,0	10	6,7	8	5,3	12	8,0	20	13,3	9	6,0	10	6,7
4	18	12,0	54	36,0	44	29,3	33	22,0	32	21,3	50	33,3	51	34,0
5	116	77,3	69	46,0	72	48,0	45	30,0	33	22,0	17	11,3	34	22,7
TOTAL	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,6		4,1		4,0		3,3		3,0		2,7		3,2	
V	1,0		1,4		1,7		2,2		2,1		2,2		2,1	

TABLE 23 : DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS  
DISCRIMINATION

Score	S <sub>7</sub>		S <sub>11</sub>		S <sub>19</sub>		S <sub>21</sub>		S <sub>25</sub>		S <sub>27</sub>		S <sub>28</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	4	2,7	10	6,7	8	5,3	9	6,0	19	12,7	54	36,0	3	2,0
2	6	4,0	6	4,0	9	6,0	9	6,0	24	16,0	35	23,3	4	2,7
3	2	1,3	9	6,0	8	5,3	4	2,7	29	19,3	17	11,3	9	6,0
4	39	26,0	69	6,0	35	23,3	34	22,7	37	24,7	25	16,7	51	34,0
5	99	66,0	56	37,3	90	60,0	94	62,7	41	27,3	19	12,7	83	55,3
TOTAL	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,5		4,0		4,3		4,2		3,4		2,5		4,4	
V	0,8		1,2		1,3		1,3		1,9		2,1		0,8	

Seven statements are used to probe gender relations and discriminatory practices:

- S<sub>7</sub> : Shiftwork is better for men than for women in this factory (Strongly agree = 5).
- S<sub>11</sub> : Women workers are not treated with the respect they deserve in this factory (Strongly agree = 5).
- S<sub>19</sub> : Women and men are equally represented by men in the union of this factory (Strongly agree = 1).
- S<sub>21</sub> : Sexual harassment is an established part of women's working lives in this factory (Strongly agree = 5).
- S<sub>25</sub> : The demands of the women workers are ignored by the trade union in this factory (Strongly agree = 5).
- S<sub>27</sub> : Job grading in this factory should not discriminate between male and female workers (Strongly agree = 1).
- S<sub>28</sub> : Sexual harassment is exclusively practised by men and directed at women in this factory.  
(Strongly agree = 5).



Although the researcher does not wish to explore the economic arguments regarding shiftwork, it needs to be pointed out that one of the ways of increasing the rate of extraction of surplus value is by introducing shifts so that capital-intensive machinery is used to its maximum before it becomes obsolete. This tendency is inherent in capitalist production and is not a new phenomenon.

Referring to statement 7, a comparison of the weighted means for males and females viz., 4,6 and 4,5 respectively, suggests that both men and women believe that shiftwork is more suited to men than women. The variance values point to a greater degree of consensus amongst women (0,8) than amongst men (1,0) over this issue.

Carpentier *et al*, (1977 in Charles *et al*, 1981) hold that any night work, whether regular or under rotating work schedules to women, would call into question the stereotyped notions of the roles of the sexes in society and of models of family life.

This is captured clearly in the following statement:

*'Not nice for any women to work shifts. I'm being a man but I'll think like a woman. It is the duty of the mother to prepare for her husband and children.'* (Pers. Comm. 1988. Male supervisor, Frametex, Durban).

Clearly, the extent of a woman's responsibilities in general is not taken into account in Frametex. The supervisors also mention that they are constantly tired, particularly in the weeks when they are on 'earlies', and in general they sleep less during those weeks than when they are working 'lates'.

The shifts may also produce problems between couples. Constant tiredness affects their sexual relationships and many of the women and men feel they do not see their spouses enough. Despite the problems arising from their hours of work in almost every area of their lives, the need to look after their children while earning a full-time wage takes precedence, however, and their own problems are regarded as an unpleasant, but unavoidable fact of life.

All shifts at Frametex are temporarily self-contained. Workers from different shifts seldom have the opportunity to interact, and when they do meet when, for example, shifts overlap, there is minimal opportunity to discuss anything. Although no production bonus is paid, a shift allowance is paid on those shifts which go into the weekend.

Given the paucity of childcare provision and the strong feelings expressed about the need for the mother to be at home with the children, women bear the brunt of the contradiction between paid work outside the home and their unpaid work within it.

In terms of statement eleven (S11), a comparison of the weighted means for males ( $X_w = 4,1$ ) and females ( $X_w = 4,0$ ) indicates that men and women share a common attitude, and that women workers at Frametex are not treated with the respect they deserve. The rank order of the variance values, viz., 1,2 for the women as against 1,4 for men indicates that women show a slightly higher degree of consensus than do men in this regard. Pudifin *et al*, (1986) arrived at a similar consensus in their study in Isithebe, that

the women generally felt that men are better off in the factories than are women.

The 1983 Eurobarometer in Taylor (1983), also attempted to gauge perceptions amongst male and female workers of the actual position of women at work, to see whether they were thought to be treated equally. The results showed that 50% of all the respondents recognised that the position of women was worse than that of men in terms of their pay, promotion, prospects and the range of jobs open to them, although most felt that there was equality in job security.

Men and women workers responded in a similar fashion to statement nineteen (S19). Both worker groups disagreed that men and women workers are equally represented in the union of the factory ( $X_w = 4,0$  for males, and  $X_w = 4,3$  for females). The rank order of the variance values indicates that women ( $v = 1,3$ ) have a stronger consensus about this than men ( $v = 1,7$ ).

It would seem that the pattern of representation in ACTWUSA is similar to that of the TWIU in the 1970's. In this regard Westmore et al (1976) found in their study of Frametex that in 1975/1976 the TWIU was a largely male-dominated body with only a few token women members on the executive.

The present ACTWUSA Membership is male-dominated. Women have no representation in leadership positions both regionally and nationally. The rationale behind this move is enhanced by a

comment made by a shop-steward : 'Women are not elected because they do very little for the workers' (Pers. Comm. 1988. Ngubane, Z, Frametex).

Women workers at Frametex are labelled as poor trade unionists by the male trade unionists, turning trade unionism into a man's world.

The workers' organisations have failed to recognise and build into their structure the specificity of gender. This failure means that in practice they have tended to represent male workers. Women are only tangentially represented in the union, and if their interests are in conflict with those of male co-workers then there is a need for a stronger gender-based presence and organisation to act for women's interests in the face of clear gender discrimination.

In terms of statement twenty-five (S25), a comparison of the weighted means for males viz., ( $X_w = 3,0$ ) and females ( $X_w = 3,4$ ), indicates that both men and women are divided in their views about the demands of women workers being ignored by the trade union. A rank order of the variance values, viz., 2,1 for males and 1,9 for females suggests that men are slightly more ambivalent in their attitude than women.

A closer examination of the union activities suggests that ACTWUSA has been successful in securing benefits for men and women in its negotiations with employers. Parental rights for males and

females and a maternity agreement have been settled. The maternity agreement at Frametex, compared with other textile firms such as James North, of which ACTWUSA is the organising union, accommodates less for the female worker.

Sexual harassment, by men in positions of authority in the workplace is an issue that South African trade unions are being forced to take up by their female members.

In Frametex, sexual harassment appears to be a common practice among male supervisors. In response to statement twenty-one (S21), women believe that sexual harassment is an established part of their lives ( $X_w = 4,3$ ), whereas the men appear divided in their responses ( $X_w = 3,3$ ). The women workers show some consensus ( $V = 1,3$ ) but the males ( $V = 2,2$ ) show very little consensus. Responses to this statement are further supported by those to statement twenty-eight (S28). Most women find men the exclusive abusers of female sexuality, ( $X_w = 4,4$  and  $V = 0,8$ ), whereas men tend to restrain their guilt by appearing ambivalent ( $X_w = 3,2$  and  $V = 2,1$ ).

For as long as the work women do and how much they get paid are based on their gender and inferior status, rather than on their ability to do the job, male workers would perhaps feel able to treat women as sexually available beings rather than as co-workers. Each of these areas gives rise to discrimination against women workers and creates the opportunity for male workers to exercise their power.

### 3.5 ATTITUDES TOWARD WAGES

TABLE 24 : DISTRIBUTION OF MALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAGES

Score	S <sub>6</sub>		S <sub>23</sub>		S <sub>29</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	52	34,7	30	20,0	44	29,3
2	49	32,7	38	25,3	85	56,7
3	5	3,3	4	2,7	9	6,0
4	30	20,0	53	35,3	9	6,0
5	14	9,3	25	16,7	3	2,0
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	2,4		3,0		1,9	
V	1,9		2,1		0,8	

TABLE 25 : DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAGES

Score	S <sub>6</sub>		S <sub>23</sub>		S <sub>29</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	69	46,0	18	12,0	66	44,0
2	37	24,7	35	23,3	63	42,0
3	7	4,7	4	2,7	5	3,3
4	23	15,3	72	46,0	14	9,3
5	14	9,3	21	14,0	2	1,3
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	2,2		3,3		1,8	
V	1,9		1,7		0,9	

Three statements are used to probe attitudes towards wages:

S<sub>6</sub> : Men and women should be paid equal wages for equal work (strongly agree = 1).

S<sub>23</sub> : The idea of the male breadwinner allows management to pay women less wages in this factory (strongly agree = 5).

S29 : The wage structure in this factory is clearly geared towards equal pay for men and women (strongly agree = 1).

An analysis of the data indicates that both men and women shared comparable with uniform views on these attitudes.

In terms of statement six (S6), there is support from both males and females for equal wages. The weighted means are 2,4 and 2,2 for males and females respectively. The variance of 1,9 for both groups signifies that there is the same degree of consensus among both men and women. Reference to statement twenty-nine (S29) suggests that Frametex is an equal-paying plant irrespective of gender, this is clearly shown by the responses of both worker groups ( $X_w = 1,9$  for males and  $X_w = 1,8$  for females), with almost equal consensus amongst them ( $V = 0,8$  for males and  $0,9$  for females).

McGouldrick *et al*, (1980) found that although women in textiles and clothing are lowly paid in comparison to women in other branches of industry, they are well paid in comparison to men in the same branch. These earnings differentials are confirmed by a study of female textile workers carried out in the United States.

Statistics on the wage differentiation between men and women are difficult to obtain. In 1981, the Labour Relations Act was amended to make discrimination in wages on the basis of gender illegal. Until then many industries had provided separate wage

rates for males and females, with female minimum wage rates generally being set at roughly 80% of the equivalent male wage rate (Budlender *et al*, 1984).

While employers have now been compelled to end overt gender discrimination, it is suspected that many employers have circumvented the law by renaming female grades in which gender is not specified but where the vast majority of employees are female, who can then still be paid at the lower rate.

The introduction of equal-pay-for-equal work at Frametex reflects a favourable shift in attitude towards working women. This suggests that patriarchal control may not necessarily be due to gender differences, but rather due to environment factors.

The demographic data indicate that most workers earn between R400-R500 rands per month. However, according to the International Textile Garment and Workers' Federation, figures on average wages of textile workers around the world as at March 1986 show the following: Out of 53 countries, South Africa has dropped to 38 in the wage levels it pays. The average level of South African wages in industry was R2,14 per hour including indirect benefits such as company contributions to the Unemployment Insurance Fund, Pension Funds, subsidising of canteens and the like (Budlender *et al*, 1984).



Other top paying countries are shown in Table 26.

TABLE 26 : WAGE RATES IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

Country	R/Hour*
Switzerland	R25,50
Belgium	R23,70
Denmark	R23,65
Holland	R22,94
Sweden	R22,58
Germany	R20,87
USA	R20,35
Canada	R20,00

Source: COSATU INFORMATION BULLETIN NO.8 (March:1987)

Note: \*: All figures have been converted  
into South African Rands.

It is possible that in most households the women's earnings keep many families above the poverty line. The idea, reinforced by the State, that women are or should be dependent on a male breadwinner legitimises lower pay for all women and their lesser claim on scarce resources. This belief further reinforces lower wages for men, their work incentive and belief in the adequacy of the wage system as such. The ideal of the family wage being earned only by men, is incompatible with equal pay for women (McIntosh *et al*, 1980). However, there seems to be a degree of indecision in this regard among Frametex workers. The weighted mean for responses to statement twenty-three (S23) for males is 3,0, which implies that men are divided in their attitude. For women, the weighted mean

is 3,3, which also indicates a degree of uncertainty in this respect. The variance values of 2,1 for males and 1,7 for females indicate that women have a higher consensus comparatively, but the consensus as such was relatively weak.

### 3.6 ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUPERVISION

TABLE 27 : DISTRIBUTION OF MALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUPERVISION

Score	S <sub>12</sub>		S <sub>17</sub>	
	N	%	N	%
1	7	4,7	73	48,7
2	9	6,0	47	31,3
3	6	4,0	9	6,0
4	51	34,0	12	8,0
5	77	51,3	9	6,0
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,2		1,9	
V	1,2		1,4	

TABLE 28 : DISTRIBUTION OF FEMALE ATTITUDES TOWARDS SUPERVISION

Score	S <sub>12</sub>		S <sub>17</sub>	
	N	%	N	%
1	9	6,0	82	54,7
2	14	9,3	40	26,7
3	5	3,3	9	6,0
4	57	38,0	11	7,3
5	65	43,3	8	5,3
Total	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,0		1,8	
V	1,4		1,4	

Two statements are used to ascertain attitudes towards supervision:

- S12 : Female workers make better supervisors than male workers (strongly agree = 1)
- S17 : Male workers are unhappy to be supervised by women (strongly agree = 1)

Reference to statement twelve (S12) shows that both worker groups disagree that females make better supervisors than males in Frametex. A comparison of the weighted means viz., ( $X_w = 4,0$  for females and  $X_w = 4,2$  for males indicates that there is no clear difference between male and female attitudes. A virtually equal degree of consensus confirms this (males,  $V = 1,4$ ; females,  $V = 1,2$ ). This confirmed the findings of an earlier study which uncovered beliefs that women were weak, lacked leadership qualities, should not supervise men, and accepted supervision more willingly than men (Pollert, 1981).

At Frametex, there are approximately one hundred supervisors, 95% of whom are men and 5% women. There are approximately seventy foremen of whom 2% are women and 98% men.

According to Fligstein *et al*, (1979), even in sectors of the labour force (such as spinning in the case of Frametex) where women predominate, men tend to be in supervisory roles. In general, women tend to be excluded from occupations which by definition involve supervising others, and tend not to assume

supervisory positions in work settings in which women dominate, let alone in mixed group settings. Moreover, women are much less likely than men to be in positions of authority, even when they have the same level of education or occupation status. This difference cannot be explained by the fact that men are the breadwinners.

According to Kantor (1977), employers' views on women's ability to perform in positions of authority are shaped by employers' attitudes on what women's roles should be, as well as the actual behaviour of women. Many employers feel women are too emotional and are therefore unfit to be in supervisory positions.

Employers also restrict women from positions of authority because of rules and policies within the organization, but not necessarily specific to it. In this regard, Segmented Labour Market Theory suggests that women are placed in sectors where jobs have limited promotion possibilities (Doeringer et al, 1971). Because of these limited career progressions, women are less likely to be in positions of authority than men.

At Frametex, there is little chance for female promotion, although the women shop stewards comment that if one works hard for a long time, one might be appointed as a supervisor. They are not clear on how hard or for how long one must work. The women state that in general they prefer male supervisors: 'because sometimes when a woman is placed in that position, she gets too clever and becomes cheeky to us'. Women workers passively accept the male

control. Therefore, women's views of their own competence for such positions enhance their dependency on male control. Most Black women, not having been socialised into leadership roles, may see themselves as less capable of assuming such positions. Furthermore, women are more likely to anticipate interruptions in paid employment, and may be unwilling to make the long-term commitment to an employer.

It may also be possible that management's retrenchment policy, 'last in, first out', at Frametex may inhibit women's movements into positions of authority. This may seem to have more impact on the career lines of women than men.

The empirical assessment of the importance of these factors for the explanation of the restriction of females from positions of authority, provides an understanding of whether the major differences between men and women in authority are because of factors within the control of the individual or resulting from the behaviour of others in the labour market. This is valuable as it suggests the direction in which policy-makers or people interested in achieving gender equality in the workplace should direct their attention to.

The variance values, 1,4 and 1,2 for females and males respectively, suggest that men sustained a slightly higher consensus than women, but in both cases consensus is not particularly strong.

In terms of statement seventeen (Sl7), male workers express dissatisfaction with female supervision ( $X_w = 1,9$ ) and women reinforce this, believing that men are unhappy with female supervisory roles ( $X_w = 1,8$ ). The variance values indicate that as many men as women agree to this statement ( $V = 1,4$  for both groups), although the consensus is again not particularly strong.

Chapkis *et al*, (1983) have pointed out that 'the giving of orders is a male prerogative, while the role of the female is the carrying out of orders'. This process of gender subordination is predicated upon some of the commonly found characteristics of the female labour force. Pollert (1981:74) expresses it in the following way :

*'...this subordination, traditionally practised as respect for elders, is combined with that of women 'in respect of men'; and the result is a factory situation which can be easily controlled and disciplined and where management's prerogative is maintained'.*

In response to the question: What is it like to be a woman supervisor having men under your control?, the following reply was obtained from a supervisor:

*'It is a real problem at the beginning; but I learned to live with it. I felt inferior all the time, maybe because we African women think we're inferior to men. That is why they don't like to have women supervisors. There must always be a man to chase after you. The women want to know why a woman with 10-15 years experience doesn't get to be a supervisor, but a man with 1-2 years gets to be a supervisor'. (Pers. Comm. 1988 Female Supervisor, ACTWUSA)*

World experiences reveal similar patterns. The 1983 Eurobarometer survey in Taylor (1983) asked a series of questions, which were designed to measure the extent of role-stereotyping in employment.

Respondents were asked whether they had more confidence in a man or a woman in certain predominantly male jobs. Generally, over half of the respondents felt they had more confidence in a man.

#### 4. ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORKER CONSCIOUSNESS

TABLE 29 : ATTITUDES OF MALE WORKERS TOWARDS CLASS  
CONSCIOUSNESS

Score	S <sub>31</sub>		S <sub>32</sub>		S <sub>33</sub>		S <sub>34</sub>		S <sub>35</sub>		S <sub>36</sub>		S <sub>37</sub>		S <sub>38</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	40	26,7	31	20,7	8	5,3	11	7,3	11	7,3	68	45,3	13	8,7	7	4,7
2	30	20,0	47	31,3	24	16,0	17	11,3	15	10,0	59	39,3	14	9,3	16	10,7
3	12	8,0	9	6,0	11	7,3	7	4,7	10	6,7	8	5,3	17	11,3	14	9,3
4	38	25,3	52	34,7	48	32,0	48	32,0	35	23,3	7	4,7	43	28,7	47	31,3
5	30	20,0	11	7,3	59	39,3	67	44,7	79	52,7	8	5,3	63	42,0	66	44,0
TOTAL	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	2,9		2,8		3,8		4,0		4,0		1,9		3,9		4,0	
V	2,3		1,7		1,6		1,6		1,7		1,2		1,7		1,4	

TABLE 30 : ATTITUDES OF FEMALE WORKERS TOWARDS CLASS  
CONSCIOUSNESS

Score	S <sub>31</sub>		S <sub>32</sub>		S <sub>33</sub>		S <sub>34</sub>		S <sub>35</sub>		S <sub>36</sub>		S <sub>37</sub>		S <sub>38</sub>	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1	10	6,7	50	33,3	14	9,3	9	6,0	19	12,7	18	12,0	11	7,3	44	29,3
2	13	8,7	33	22,0	11	7,3	19	12,7	16	10,7	24	16,0	16	10,7	69	46,0
3	10	6,7	16	10,7	3	2,0	12	8,0	22	14,7	17	11,3	5	3,3	12	8,0
4	44	29,3	46	30,7	42	28,0	52	34,7	46	30,7	59	39,3	39	26,0	18	12,0
5	73	48,7	5	3,3	80	53,3	58	38,7	47	31,3	32	21,3	79	52,7	7	4,7
TOTAL	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0	150	100,0
XW	4,0		2,5		4,1		3,9		3,6		3,4		4,1		2,2	
V	1,5		1,7		1,7		1,5		1,8		1,7		1,6		1,2	

Eight statements are used to probe working-class consciousness amongst the workers. These are neutral questions having no gender bias and are weighted as for positive statements:

- S31 : Management knows what is best for the workers.
- S32 : A worker must always show loyalty to the factory.
- S33 : In this factory, workers are treated as numbers  
and not as human beings.
- S34 : Workers need strong trade unions to fight for them.
- S35 : In this factory workers are united.
- S36 : Bosses and workers work towards common goals.
- S37 : Management is more concerned with making money  
than the workers.
- S38 : Management should permit workers to have a say  
in the running of the firm.

A gender analysis of statement thirty-one (S31) shows that this statement is supported by the female workers ( $X_w = 4,0$ ) and is refuted by male workers ( $X_w = 2,9$ ). However, the males tend towards indecision, hence the variance value of 2,3 which suggests that men are divided in their response to the statement: (45,3% agree; 46,7% disagree). The variance value for females (1,5) suggests that more women agree (78%) with this statement than oppose it (15,4%).

It would therefore seem reasonable to argue that the majority of the women workers responded to this statement not only as workers, but as women who are accustomed to being dominated by men. Thus,



power relations emanating from sexist ideology within the household would seem to extend themselves to the workplace. The women have internalised their 'powerlessness' relative to men, and therefore respond 'appropriately'. Given that the union is a male dominated organisation, it seems reasonable to assume that the men are acquainted with management and union interests. Hence, their non-acceptance that management knows what is best for the workers.

The notion that management be vested with this role, indicates an unwillingness on the part of Black women to believe in themselves. Black women for generations have been socialised in a tradition of conformity and submissiveness and are therefore not critical of authority figures. Black men have traditionally been in leadership positions and their expressed dissatisfaction with management control implicitly suggests that they accept the right to be critical and to initiate change.

Both male and female workers believe that workers should not always be loyal to their employers (see statement thirty-two). Given the repetitive nature of their work, the researcher supports the contentions of Bryant (1972) that lack of meaning in monotonous and unstimulating work may be offset by the fact that most don't really care about their jobs and therefore owe no loyalty to their company. This justifies the perceptions of the workers ( $X_w = 2,8$  and  $X_w = 2,5$  for males and females respectively). However, both values are close to 3,0 (undecided) and the variance values of 1,7 each also indicate that for both

worker groups there is a considerable lack of consensus on this attitude.

Feelings of alienation and hurt are expressed by both worker groups, to statement thirty-three (S33),  $X_w = 3,8$  and  $X_w = 4,1$  for males and females respectively. The workers believe they are treated as numbers and not as human beings. However the data indicate that more women than men feel strongly about this statement. The variance values of 1,6 for males and 1,7 for females suggest that there is a fair degree of consensus among both male and female workers that they are not treated with the respect they deserve. It may be surmised that those workers who believe that they are not treated as human beings and hence with the respect they deserve, have come to passively accept this non-recognition. Those who feel that they are treated as human beings and therefore accorded the respect they deserve, have come to rationalise their plights (Chetty, 1983). In terms of class identity, the above results coincide with the views of Argyris (1964 in Mann, 1973) who suggests that workers develop various psychological defence mechanisms against objective reality such as rationalisation, projection, daydreaming apathy, fatalism and the like. The longer their experience of depriving work, the more likely they are to come to terms with life in a pragmatic, adjustive way.

A comparison of the weighted means for male workers ( $X_w = 4,0$ ) and female workers ( $X_w = 3,9$ ) in terms of statement thirty-four (S34), suggests a reasonably high degree of similarity in

attitudes amongst the workers that a strong union presence is necessary for their representation. The results appear to be indicative of some form of working-class consciousness. Given that ACTWUSA has been able to wrest benefits (in particular, higher pay) from management, it is clear that a strong trade union is necessary to implement change.

The weighted means obtained for male and female workers' responses to statement thirty-five (S35) are 4,0 and 3,6 respectively. Men have somewhat stronger feelings of collective solidarity amongst the workers than do the women.

However, in view of the sexist ideology prevailing at Frametex, it seems reasonable to argue that for the women, in particular, the issue of gender discrimination takes precedence and becomes a dominant factor in creating class divisions. Thus fragmented consciousness follows structural divisions in Frametex. Similarly Roberts (1977), concluded that the proletarian image of society was more dominant among male manual respondents than female respondents. The variance values for males (1,7) and for females (1,8) are similar but do not reflect a strong consensus.

In terms of statement thirty-six (S36), the weighted mean for male workers is 1,9, suggesting that there is a tendency amongst male workers to see themselves as a class opposed to management. The consensus is fairly high among the men, who probably see themselves with different class interests than management ( $V = 1,2$ ). In contrast, women feel unsure about where they stand in

relation to management ( $X_w = 3,4$ ). Most women feel confused and are divided on this issue ( $V = 1,7$ ). This indicates that class identity is lacking amongst women.

With reference to statement thirty-seven (S37), workers' perceptions of their economic exploitation are evident in the weighted mean values obtained for males ( $X_w = 3,9$ ) and females ( $X_w = 4,1$ ). Although most women workers (78,7%) acknowledge that the company makes a lot of money because of them, this realisation has not helped inculcate an awareness of class opposition. This is substantiated by findings relating to statement thirty-six (S36). However, the male response in terms of class identity is more meaningful because their feeling of exploitation - an awareness which tells them that they are making money for the bosses - questions their role in the sharing of the products of their labour. This contention is substantiated by the findings obtained with regard to S36. The variance values indicate a similar, but not very strong, degree of consensus.

A lack of homogeneity is evident in the responses obtained from the workers to statement thirty-eight (S38). Most of the men believe that workers should participate in the activities of managing the firm ( $X_w = 4,0$ ). The weighted mean for the women is 2,2, showing disagreement with the statement. Their responses were possibly undermined by their awareness of being women and of their role in the family. It would therefore seem that their self-perceptions are coloured by patriarchal stereotypes. Their oppression as workers is viewed in terms of their oppression as

women in a gender hierarchy at work. Men universally believe that they are producers who sell their labour. Their 'gut conception' of their exploitation is evident in their strong wish to participate in the workers' control of the shop floor. The variance values of 1,4 for males and 1,2 for females are similar and not particularly strong.

## 5. SUMMARY OF THE FINDINGS

The following findings are indicated with respect to the Frametex workers.

### 5.1 Social Organisation Of Tasks Within The Households

#### 5.1.1 Breadwinner

The analysis shows that the role of breadwinner in the households of Frametex workers is not gender-specific.

#### 5.1.2 Domestic Chores

The data reveal that the responsibility for domestic chores is gender-specific. This is clearly the domain of women in both worker households.

### 5.1.3 Child Care

Child care clearly takes priority in the lives of women workers at Frametex and is therefore found to be gender-specific.

### 5.1.4 Financial Control

The analysis shows that financial control in the households of Frametex workers is governed by the men, and is therefore a gender-specific task.

### 5.1.5 Decision-Making

In the area of decision-making, responsibility is vested with the males in the households of Frametex workers. Decision-making is a gender-specific responsibility in the households of Frametex workers.

The general conclusion in this regard is that male dominance in the household is still strongly felt. The traditional patriarchal system is thus still functional in the domestic lives of Frametex workers.

## 5.2 Gender Relations In The Family And Factory

A clear pattern emerged in the analysis of the data. In terms of each of the six variables involved, namely, gender relations in respect of the home, in employment, towards skill and ability,

discriminatory practices and attitudes towards wages and supervision, the weight of evidence indicates an expectation of male dominance. Among women there was some resistance to this attitude, but also considerable acceptance. The patriarchal tendency is thus again shown to be a decisive factor in the nature of gender relations in the family and factory.

### 5.3 Attitudes Towards Working-Class Consciousness

Once again the patriarchal tendency emerges, showing a consistency of this attitude among male workers at Frametex, and some opposition, but general compliance by women. The results indicate that in general the women workers at Frametex lack a sense of working-class consciousness. As a result, they have not acquired a realisation of their 'total situation' and do not perceive the society in which they live as being comprised of two contradictory classes with opposing interests.

## 6. ADDRESSING THE WORKING HYPOTHESIS

The findings of the research tend to confirm the working hypothesis (see Chapter 1). Thus it is concluded that gender is used as a means of maintaining authority positions for men in jobs in the textile industry, as evidenced in the Frametex textile mill.

## 7. CONCLUSION

The overall results show a consensus among men and capital that the world of work is a man's world where women hold secondary status - a gender stereotype confirmed in other studies (see Nichols *et al*, 1976). Predictably, a 'woman's place is seen as in the home', and her responsibility for biological reproduction justified sexual discrimination by employers.

The overall findings contain grounds for both pessimism and optimism regarding the potential for change in the lives of men and women workers in Frametex. While it has been analytically possible to distinguish between exploitation and oppression, it seems that both men and women enter the labour market as gendered beings.

The factory system relies upon and reinforces the power of the male workers at Frametex to control women in the traditional patriarchal mould. The family in western society has served as the domain for the production and training of the working-class. It has been the alleged reason for women having to function as underpaid, irregular labourers. Such has been the institutionally determined role of the family under capitalism, and women both in and outside the family have had their outer and inner lives shaped by the structure of its social relations.

Capital's control over women is achieved through various mechanisms. It seems that the techniques used exploit the



traditionally defined attitudes of femininity: passivity, submissiveness, sentimentality and sexual desirability. This emphasis on passive and ornamental femininity is intended to forestall the rise of any sense of independence or unified strength among the women workers.

The functionality of a large female workforce becomes apparent upon examining a series of discriminatory practices against them. Such discrimination finds an ideological justification in the role of the women in the family as wife and mother. The role of legal-economic dependant in the family follows women into industry, and by using and manipulating sexual stereotypes perpetuated by the ideology of male dominance, the gender division of labour is reproduced on the larger terrain of socialised production.

#### 8. THEORETICAL IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

Various theories concerning gender discrimination have been examined in this study. The following criticisms are levelled in assessing the implications of these theories in terms of the empirical findings.

The initial Marxist-Feminist writings offer valuable insights into the overall structural relationships between a women's position in the family and her position in the labour market. Furthermore, they help to explain the ideological power of occupational stereotyping. However, because they confuse idioms with explanations for the specific location of women in the work force, they are

ultimately of limited value for understanding the contemporary gender division of labour.

While suggesting a functional explanation for the existence of gender differences in industry, the early Marxist-Feminist analyses fail to explain why particular jobs are labelled 'female' and others 'male'. Instead the familiar idioms of gender-role stereotypes, relying on analogies between domestic labour and women's work outside the home, were uncritically accepted as an explanation for the location of women in the paid work force. However, since housework consists of an almost infinite variety of tasks, such analogies can be extended to virtually any job that women happen to be doing.

The Feminist School is strongly supported by the findings. The ideology of patriarchy appears as the primary determinant in regulating women to subordinate roles in the economy. In accordance with patriarchal ideology it is a man's career that usually takes precedence in a family. The findings indicate that the participation of the women in the labour force and their status in Frametex is predicated on patriarchal relations - essentially male control over women's labour and women's enforced dependence on men.

To this end, functionalist tenets are supported, suggesting that the domestic oppression of women provides stability of the social order. Hence, there is no need for women to enter employment.

In assessing economic theories, it is evident that neo-classical theory is singularly inadequate in explaining sexual discrimination.

The extent to which endowment differences between the genders themselves reflect discrimination or result from rational choices of women or men, is a complex problem. For example, do women choose to invest less in job market experience because of household and child rearing duties, or do occupational barriers against women deny them such opportunities to invest as much as men? Furthermore, to what extent does feedback from discrimination in pay and jobs account for the inferior position of women in terms of their accumulated human capital?

Human Capital theory is useful because it highlights the fact that job discrimination can be due to differences in the level of education attained. But human capitalists also exclude a number of variables outside the control of the individual. For instance, they do not acknowledge that the constraints imposed by society can limit an individual's freedom to make his or her own decision. In this respect, it is widely known that a large number of Blacks in general and Black women in particular, are unable to enter certain occupations because they are denied access to education or are provided with education of inferior quality.

Dual Labour Market theory, especially the Institutional approach, seems to offer a better basis for the explanation of gender discrimination at Frametex. The tendency towards dualism or

segmentation along gender lines is evident, with the majority of women being restricted to the secondary sector (spinning) and men to the primary sector (weaving). The Dual Labour Market theory of Doeringer and Piore has made an important contribution towards explaining how technology and labour markets have interacted to create dualistic tendencies. Whilst this theory is useful in explaining why women, for example, may form a larger proportion of the secondary sector, it does not go on to explain further sex segregation which might occur within each sector. Nor does it shed light on the differentiation which occurs within the female sector. The Institutional model of Blau and Jusenius addresses itself to these important issues and provides a more adequate explanatory framework for segregation along gender and racial lines.

Theories of labour market segmentation do more to suggest why certain jobs are allocated to certain types of workers - if not to women specifically, then to the larger population of 'secondary' workers. According to these theories, there is general correspondence between the gender division of labour and the cleavage between stable, high-paying 'primary' jobs (in oligopolistic firms) and 'secondary' jobs, with high turnover and low wages (in the competitive sector).

One basic problem is that this approach treats women, racial minorities, and other sources of 'cheap labour' in an undifferentiated way. Job segregation by gender becomes one among several divisions among workers in advanced capitalist societies.

The critical link between the family and women's paid work - ultimately the unique feature of women's relationship to the labour market - is simply absent. The Labour Market Segmentation literature does emphasize the significance of the different economic constraints operating in different sectors of the labour market. However, the typology of labour markets offered namely, independent primary, subordinate primary, and secondary markets (Doeringer *et al*, 1971) is far too simple, and the historical and empirical propositions put forward are often counterfactual.

Labour market segmentation theory deals with the political as well as the economic aspects of job segregation by gender. Indeed, the *raison d'être* for the various forms of segmentation the theory identifies is capital's efforts to 'divide and conquer the work force'. This opens up discussion about the prospects for political challenges to job segregation and goes beyond a purely functionalist explanation of segmentation as beneficial for 'the capitalist system'.

The ideology of gender-role stereotyping, which figured so prominently in the early Marxist-Feminist literature, might indeed be understood as enforcing the collective interest of capital in job segregation on individual capitals, despite their short-term interest in substitution. But the segmentation literature misses this aspect of the problem altogether, simply collapsing the class interest of capital with the interest of the individual employer. The variability in patterns of employment by gender in different industries perhaps reflects different resolutions of the conflict

between the collective and individual interests of capital, depending on the specific historical conditions.

The role of Radical Labour Market theory has also been important in that it highlights the role that monopoly capital can play in segmenting the labour market. They argue that gender segregation is one aspect of labour market segmentation and in this way, capitalists have consciously attempted to exacerbate gender divisions.

All of these theoretical perspectives offer valuable insights into a problem that has only recently been explored. Their suggestions about the gender inequality help account for its persistence in a general way. In general, however, they pay insufficient attention to the independent effect of industrial structure on the gender division of labour and on the political struggles that take place over a 'woman's' place in the labour market.

## CHAPTER 7 : RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUMMARY

### 1. INTRODUCTION

Although the recommendations which follow are made specifically with regard to industry and Black workers, they may also be implemented in other areas and with other population groups.

#### 1.1 Housing

The migratory labour system has given rise to a new family form among Zulu-speaking peoples. In the case of Frametex workers, the majority are found to be accommodated in single-sex hostels. Housing authorities and municipalities together with the relevant social welfare agency/organisations should assess the need for provisions in the various areas, which would result in a 'normal' family life. It is also recommended that when such a need assessment is carried out, cognisance should be taken of the special needs of both women and men (transport, clinics, hospitals, recreation, etc.).

#### 1.2 Public Educational Programmes

Given the deeply ingrained societal attitudes that either support or tacitly condone female subordination and oppression, the public is in need of information about the magnitude of the problem in order to counteract the misconceptions that prevail. The general

public could be reached by organising workshops and seminars. These services could be offered by service organisations.

### 1.3 Media Coverage

Although seminars and workshops provide a useful way in which to disseminate information to the general public, many women may not be able to benefit from such services because of their self-imposed isolation or because of fear of possessive husbands. The media (television, radio, newspapers, magazines) may be able to reach otherwise inaccessible people.

Other important methods recommended for providing information to the public include posters, brochures, and information kits. The information kits should include information on the legal rights of women, resources in the community, lists of women's groups in the areas, etc.

These methods have proved to be particularly successful in reaching the public in Britain and America.

### 1.4 Educating Professionals and Trainee Professionals

Many professionals feel isolated and inadequate when faced with discriminatory practices. It is recommended that in-service training of management and trade union officials which could take the form of workshops and seminars, be implemented.



A comprehensive training programme should cover the following aspects:

- (i) definitions and examples of discriminatory practices, and the consequences of such practices for both workers and employers;
- (ii) the necessity of tackling discriminatory practices as part of providing equal opportunities at work for men and women;
- (iii) information on the legal responsibilities of employers and trade unions to remove discriminatory practices, and the uses and limitations of the law in tackling such practices at work;
- (iv) the role of management and the union in implementing policy, and
- (v) formal and informal procedures for handling complaints, including the role of counselling and situations requiring disciplinary action.

#### 1.5 Education Programmes at Schools

It is equally important, as a primary preventative measure, to reach young people through education programmes at schools. The aim of these programmes would be to create a new generation of men and women who would define marriage as an equal partnership. It is recommended that "Education for Living" Programmes run by FAMSA become an integral part of school syllabuses, as this would serve the vital function of change in the perceptions of the roles of men and women at work. Sweden, for example, has undertaken a

long-term reconstruction of the school system and of educational and vocational guidance in order to effect a fundamental change in attitudes, by abolishing the work/home antithesis and thus changing the traditional allocation of specific roles to men and women. The Swedish Model thus serves to influence the education policies of the other industrialised countries that are still far from achieving this degree of the principle of equal opportunity.

It is further recommended that State departments of education be encouraged, by means of technical support, to set up or develop training workshops for personnel in the main school systems. Development and evaluation of school curricula, textbooks and educational materials should be implemented.

At universities, department(s) should incorporate a women's studies course as part of the curriculum or as a separate course entirely.

#### 1.6 Introduction of New Legislation

Social change is a complex process that is not instantaneous, but which can be accelerated by legislation. Some may argue that legislation does not change attitudes or that attitudes cannot be legislated.

A Gender Discrimination Act should be introduced, to ensure application of the principle of equality. It is recommended that the Act incorporate the idea of direct discrimination (e.g., where

a woman or man is discriminated against on the grounds that she is a woman or vice versa), and indirect discrimination (e.g., where an employer's training scheme offers places only to people who have 'free time' in the afternoon). On the face of it, it would appear that gender is not significant in this instance; however, a typical day in the life of most women includes paid labour (work) and unpaid labour (home), with no free time.

In the United Kingdom, positive discrimination programmes aimed at giving women access to training sectors leading to so-called 'male branches of activity' have been implemented. A decisive and durable improvement in the status of women can not be achieved by measures aimed at women alone; it was equally necessary to abolish the conditions that tend to assign certain privileges, obligations or rights to men. There can, furthermore, be no decisive change in the distribution of functions and status as between the sexes, if the duties of the male are to remain unaltered.

Protective legislation for both men and women should be implemented. It is recommended that such protective legislation concerns itself with special protection from hazardous processes at work, for example, night work (shifts), health hazards (e.g., exposure to chemicals, dust), etc. The Health and Safety Act could provide a base from which one can work to improve the health and safety needs of all workers. The introduction of flexible working hours, for both men and women, may help (somewhat) to redress the balance of tasks in working families.

The Gender Discrimination Act should in addition incorporate positive measures designed to enforce equality between the sexes in vocational training. This would be an important step in opening up to women forms of training in fields previously reserved for men.

### 1.7 Sexual Harassment

In terms of individual action, a self-defence training course aimed at making women aware of their integrity is recommended. Moreover this would provide a basic training for women to cope with a sudden attack. The aim would be to build women's self-confidence through a recognition of their hidden strength. By making women feel positive about themselves and giving them a sense of power, their ability to meet a challenge can be greatly increased.

Assertiveness training provides an opportunity for women to explore situations in which they feel a lack of confidence. Training programmes are based on women's assessment of their own strengths and weaknesses. By developing problem-solving and decision-making skills, women would gain confidence in their ability to tackle all types of problems in the work place. This would provide a forum for women to talk about their fears as well as to practise techniques for dealing with unpleasant situations.

An in-service action programme within the factory might incorporate the following ideals:

- (i) an investigation into sexual harassment in the workplace;
- (ii) the publication of articles and information;
- (iii) the setting up of an education programme for members and officials;
- (iv) the reviewing of grievances and disciplinary procedures to assess their usefulness in dealing with sexual harassment, and
- (v) the provision of a counselling service for members who practise sexual harassment.

Some trade unions in the United States of America and Australia have developed formal counselling procedures to be used prior to the training of any disciplinary action. To offer such a service, management and trade unions would need to train representatives in the broad range of issues related to sexual harassment. Representatives would need to be sensitive to the difficulties faced by their members, while remaining firmly committed to challenging sexist practices.

### 1.8 Women's Forum

South African women workers need a separate forum in which to build their confidence, gain experience in articulating their needs and so on. British Trade Unionists have found that positive action is helpful in promoting women's participation in the union's activities (Bird, 1985). Examples of such actions are:

- reservation of women's seats on executive and other bodies;
- organising women's conferences;
- setting up women's advisory committees - nationally and regionally, and
- appointment of national women's officers.

That women and men workers often have identical interests is true, but this is not always the case. The challenge to the independent trade union movement is to acknowledge the different objective conditions of women and men workers in order to forge meaningful equality and unity in the working-class struggle in the long term.

The first task would be to gather the lessons that have already been learnt and information that is already known, and to integrate these into broader strategic planning. This would require a more integrated approach to negotiations than has been possible to date.

The second task would be to set up a monitoring group within the movement to check that women's voices are heard and that their points are taken up in democratic discussion. In this way, the obstacles which intervene and which tend to inhibit women's involvement in union affairs, e.g., questions of confidence, timing of meetings, the issues discussed, etc., could be dealt with systematically.

### 1.9 Future Research Areas

The main focus of this study was directed at gender experience as a global concept on the factory floor. It is recommended that more research be undertaken in the area of women's studies. This appears to be a neglected area of study in South Africa. Furthermore longitudinal studies, such as a study of the workers in this study after the implementation of Gender Discrimination legislation, should be encouraged in research.

## 2. SUMMARY

This study is about the relationship between workers' experiences of both gender and wage labour in the Frametex Mill. Its primary aim is to contribute towards a fuller understanding of the meaning of gender for working-class consciousness and control.

The study was undertaken to ascertain and analyse the attitudes of Zulu-speaking male and female workers in the textile industry, as evidenced in the Frametex Mill, towards gender as a mechanism of control in the factory. This was done within the context of a working hypothesis.

The study comprised a literature survey; consultation with authoritative sources in the field which was a pre-emptive stage in the construction of the interview schedule, and an empirical investigation of attitudes of the workers towards gender control in Frametex. The interview schedule was used as the main method

of data collection; participant observation and personal interviews providing secondary, documentary material. The interview schedule was constructed according to Likert principles.

The systematic random sampling method was used to select 300 respondents which was the required number to ensure that a 95% confidence level at a 6% margin of tolerated error was attained.

On completion of the fieldwork, the data was processed with the aid of a computer using the weighted mean ( $X_w$ ) as the main measure of central tendency in the analysis of the data and the variance ( $V$ ) as the test of consensus.

### 3. CONCLUSION

The major findings are as follows:

- 3.1 Male dominance in the household is still strongly felt. The traditional patriarchal system is thus still functional in the domestic lives of Frametex Workers.
- 3.2 In terms of gender relations in the family and factory, a clear pattern emerged in the analysis of the data. Among women there was some resistance to the patriarchal tendency displayed by men, but also considerable acceptance. The patriarchal tendency is thus again shown to be a decisive factor in the nature of gender relations in the family and factory.



3.3 The working hypothesis is confirmed. The final conclusion shows a consensus among men and capital that the world of work is a man's world where women hold secondary status - a gender stereotype confirmed in other studies (Nichols *et al*, 1976). Predictably, a 'woman's' place was seen as in the home, and the responsibility for biological reproduction justified gender discrimination by employers.

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#### Personal Communication :

Madlala, S (1988): University of Durban-Westville

Copelyn, J (1988): General Secretary, ACTWUSA

Eagle, J (1988): Regional Organiser, ACTWUSA

Smith, S (1988): Personnel Manager, Frametex

Mgubane, Z (1988): Shop Steward, Frametex

Ntuli, A (1988): President, ACTWUSA

APPENDICES

SECTION ONEBIOGRAPHICAL AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC DATA

## 1.1 Gender

MALE	FEMALE
------	--------

## 1.2 Age

≤ 20	21 - 30	31 - 40	41 - 50	50

## 1.3 Status

Married	Single	Divorced	Co-Habiting	Widowed

## 1.4 Number of Children

Nil	1 - 3	4 - 6	7 - 9	9

## 1.5 Educational Level

Nil	C1.1-Std.2	St.3-6	St.7-10	Post-Matric

## 1.6 Residence

UMLAZI	CLERMONT	KWAMASHU	HOSTEL	KLAARWATER

1.7 Income

R100-R200	R201-R300	R301-R400	R401-R500	R500

1.8 Religious Affiliation

Catholic	Presbyterian	Zionist	Other

SECTION TWO

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THE TASKS IN YOUR FAMILY?

	1	2	3	4	5
	Only Women	More Women Than Men	Shared	More Men Than Women	Only Men
2.1 Breadwinner					
2.2 Domestic Chores					
2.3 Child Care					
2.4 Financial Control (Budget)					
2.5 Decision Making					



### SECTION THREE

1. A Woman's Place Is In The Home.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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2. Female Labour Is Cheaper Than Male Labour

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

3. There Should Be Equal Job Opportunities For Men And Women

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

4. Lobolo Makes A Women A Property Of Her Husband

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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5. Women Are More Dextrous Than Men In This Factory

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

6. Men And Women Should Be Paid Equal Wages For Equal Work

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

7. Shiftwork Is Better For Men Than For Women In This Factory

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

8. Men's Behaviour At Home Is The Same As Elsewhere.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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9. Women Are Inferior To Men.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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10. Unemployment Is Worse For Men Than For Women

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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11. Women Workers Are Not Treated With The Respect They Deserve In This Factory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

12. Female Workers Make Better Supervisors Than Male Workers

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

13. When Women Enter The Labour Force They Become Independent Of Men.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

14. There Is A Need For Men And Women To Seek Employment

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

15. Women Have No Need For Financial Independence.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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16. Women And Men Are Equally Capable Of Doing The Same Tasks In The Factory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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17. Male Workers Are Unhappy To Be Supervised By Women.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

18. Domestic Chores Should Be Shared Between Men And Women.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

19. Women And Men Are Equally Represented In The Union Of This Factory

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

20. Women Are More Committed Than Men To Their Work In This Factory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

21. Sexual Harassment Is An Established Part Of W0men's Working Lives In This Factory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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22. **Male Workers Are Afraid Of Losing Their Power Status In This Factory.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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23. **The Idea Of The Male Breadwinner Allows Management To Pay Women Less Wages In The Factory.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

24. **Men Need Jobs More Than Women Do.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

25. **The Demands Of The Women Workers Are Ignored By The Trade Union In This Factory.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

26. **Men Are The Bosses In The Home.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

27. **Job Grading In This Factory Should Not Discriminate Between Male And Female Workers.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

28. Sexual Harassment Is Exclusively Practiced By Men And Directed At Women In This Factory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

29. The Wage Structure In This Factory Is Clearly Geared Towards Equal Pay For Men And Women.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

30. Women Are More Suited To Skilled Jobs In This Factory Than Men.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

31. Management Knows What Is Best For The Workers

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

32. A Worker Must Always Show Loyalty To The Factory.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

33. In This Factory, Workers Are Treated As Numbers And Not As Human Beings.

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
----------------	-------	--------	----------	-------------------

34.     **Workers Need Strong Trade Unions To Fight For Them.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	--------	----------	----------------------

35.     **In This Factory Workers Are United.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
-------------------	-------	--------	----------	----------------------

36.     **Bosses And Workers Work Towards Common Goals.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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37.     **Management Is More Concerned With Making Money Than The  
Workers.**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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38.     **Management Should Permit Workers To Have A Say In The  
Running Of The Firm**

Strongly Agree	Agree	Unsure	Disagree	Strongly Disagree
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ISIQEPHU SOKUQALA

1.1 Ubulili

Indoda	Umfazi
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1.2 Ubudala

20 Noma Ngphansi	21 Kuya Ku 30	31 Kuya Ku 40
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41 Kuya Ku 50	50 Noma Ngaphezulu
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1.3 Ngokomshado

Ushadile	Awushadile	Wehlukanisa	Nihlalisene	Washonelwa

1.4 Inani Lezingane

Awunazo	1 Kuya Ku 3	4 Kuya Ku 6	7 Kuya Ku 9	10 Noma Ngaphezulu

1.5 Ibanga Lemfundo

Awufundile	Ibanga 1 Kuya Ku 2	Ibanga 3 Kuya Ku 6	Ibanga 7 Kuya Ku

1.6 Indawo Ohlala Kuyona

Emlazi	E Clermont	Kwamashu	Ehositela	EKlaarwater

1.7 Indawo Ohlala Kuyona

R100 Kuya Ku R200	R201 Kuya Ku R300	R301 Kuya Ku R400

R401 Kuya Ku R500	R501 Nangaphezulu

1.8 Inkonzo Okhonza Kuyona

Ekhatholika	EPresbyterian	EZiyoni	Okunye

ISIQEPHU SESIBILI

Ubani Obhekene Nalokhu Okulande Layo Emndenini Wakho?

	Abesifazane Kuphela	Abesifazane Abaningi Kunabesili- sa	Kubam- iswene	Abesilisa Abaningi Kunabesi- fazane	Abesilisa Kuphela
2.1 Umondli Wekhaya					
2.2 Imisebenzi Yasekhaya					
2.3 Ukubhekwa Kwezingane					
2.4 Ukujlelwa Kwezimali					
2.5 Ukwenziwa Kwezinqumo					



ISIQEPHU SESITHATHU

1. Indawo Yowesifazane Isekhaya

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

2. Iholo Labesifazane Lincane Kunabesilisa

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

3. Amathuba Emisebenzi Kwabesilisa Nabesifazane Kufanele Alingane

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

4. Ingabe Ilobolo Lenza Owesifazane Akhothamele Owesilisa

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

5. Abesifaze Yibona Abenza Imisebenzi Eminingi Ukwedlula Abesilisa Kulemboni

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

6. **Iholo Labesilisa Nabesifazane Kufanele Lilingane Emsebenzini Ofanayo Abawenzayo**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

7. **Umbesbenzi Wamashifu Ulungele Abesilisa Kunabesifazang**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

8. **Ukuziphatha Kwabesilisa Ekhaya Kuyafana Nakuyo Yonke Indawo**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

9. **Abesifazane Bayazinyeza Kunabesilisa**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

10. **Abesilisa Abangaqashiwe Bangingi Kunabesifazane**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

11. Abesifazane Kulemboni Abaphathwa Ngenhlonipho Ebafanele.

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

12. Abesifazane Bangabaholi Abangcono Kunabesilisa

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

13. Uma Abesifazane Sebesebenza, Sebenelungelo Lokuziphatha

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

14. Kunesidingo Sokuba Abesilisa Nabesifazane Bafune Umsebenzi

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

15. Asikho Isidingo Sokuba Abesifazane Bazimele Ngezimali

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

16.   **Abesilisa Nabisifazane Banamathuba Okwenza Umsebenzi Olinganayo Emsebenzini**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

17.   **Abesilisa Abathandi Ukuphathwa Ngabesifazane**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

18.   **Imisebenzi Yasekhaya Kufanele Yenziwe Ngabesilisa Nabisifazane Ngokulinganayo**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

19.   **Abesifazane Yibona Abazinikele Emsebenzini Wabo Kulemboni Kunabesilisa**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

20.   **Abesifazane Yibona Abazinikele Emsebenzini Wabo Kulemboni Kunabesilisa**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

21.     **Ukuhlukunyexwa Ngobulili Kuyinto Ejwayelekile Empilweni Yabesifazane Abasebenza Kulemboni**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

22.     **Abesilisa Bayesaba Ukulahlekelwa Amathuba Okuphatha Kulemboni**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

23.     **Umcabango Wokuthi Abesilisa Ngabondli Bekhaya, Kwenza Ukuba Imboni Ikhokhele Abesifazane Iholo Elincane**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

24.     **Abesilisa Badinga Umsebenzi Ukwdlula Abesifazane**

Angivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

25.     **Isidingo Zabesifaze Kulemboni Azinakwa Yinyunyane Yalemboni**

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu

26. Abesilisa Bangomakhonya Ekhaya

Nigvuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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27. Ukuvezwa Kwamathuba Abesifazane Nabesilisa Kulemboni  
Akufanele Abe Nobandlululo.

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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28. Ukuhlukunyenziwa Kwabesifazane Ngobulili Kwenziwa  
Ngabesilisa Kuphela Kuqondiswe Kwabesifazane Kulemboni.

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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29. Ukuhlelwa Kwamaholo Abesifazane Nabesilisa Kulemboni  
Asesimweni Sokuba Amaholo Alingane.

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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30. Abesilisa Bangcono Kunabesifazane Emsebenzini Ofundelwe Kulemboni

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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31. Inkampani Iyazi Ukuthi Yini Elungele Abasebenzi

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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32. Umsebenzi Kufanele Ukuba Njalo Akhombise UklueThembela Embonini.

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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33. Kulemboni, Izisebenzi Ziphathiswa Okwamalunga Hayi Okwabantu Abaphilayo

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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34. Izisebenzi Zidinga Izinyunyane Eziqotho Ukuba Zibamele.

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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35. Kuleboni Izisebenzi Zibumbene

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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36. Izingongo Zabaphathi Nabasebenzi Balenkampani Ziyafana

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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37. Abaphathi Balenkampani Bacabangela Inzuzo Yenkampani Kunezisebenzi

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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38. Abaphathi Kufanele Banikeze Izisebonzi Gthuba Lokubeka Imibono Ekuqhuthsweni Komsenzi Embonini

Ngivuma Kakhulu	Ngivuma	Angisholutho	Angivuma
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Angivuma Kakhulu
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## APPENDIX C

### GUIDE QUESTIONS AND ISSUES USED IN THE INFORMAL INTERVIEWS WITH RESPECT TO THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

- 1.1 Nature of the job in terms of skill
- 1.2 General perceptions of the work place
- 1.3 General perceptions of the Frametex Mill
- 1.4 General perceptions of the shift systems, wages, job-segregation,
- 1.5 Perceptions of relations with other workers, supervisors and management
- 1.6 Management's control of the workplace
- 1.7 View of the male/female workers
- 1.8 How do men/women relate on the shop floor
- 1.9 The manipulation of gender in terms of benefits and rewards
- 1.10 Problems of organizing male/female workers
- 1.11 Nature of the work experiences

GUIDE QUESTIONS AND ISSUES USED IN INFORMAL INTERVIEWS WITH RESPECT TO  
PRODUCTION PROCESS AND LAYOUT OF FRAMEWORK

1. Personnel Manager and Trade Union officials

1.1 The development of the industry and factory

1.2 View of industry at present and the future

1.3 Technical questions on the nature of the shift system,  
department layout, job-evaluation, grading

1.4 Industrial relations : policies before unionisation;  
reaction to initial union activity

1.5 Present approach to trade unions

1.6 Description of the union and its strategies broadly

1.7 History of the union

1.8 Approach to negotiations, campaigns and outcomes

"Textile Industry" means the manufacture in whole or in part of all classes of textile products including blankets, blanketting bedding, travelling rugs, shawls, sheeting whether plain, raised dyed or printed or otherwise treated; duck webbing, interlinings and tapes whether elasticised or not, flock, foam, wadding or padding including shoulder padding, textile goods for hospital and pharmaceutical use including cotton wool, bandages, lints, gauze, swabs, surgical dressing and sanitary towels, towels and towelling; frills, tassels and similar finishings; lace, crocheted fabrics and embroidery; all manchester goods and curtaining including sheets, pillow cases, quilts and duvets; all classes of fabric whether knitted, woven or made by any other process whatsoever; worsted products; felt and underfelt; yarns or thread spun from natural or synthetic fibre or any combination or blend thereof; tents, tarpaulins, sails and other canvass products; automotive textile goods including seat-covers, safety belts and upholstering; all classes of matting, mats, cord, ropes, twine, nets and netting including braided and plaited packings made of fibres and lubricants but excluding ropes, cables and mats manufactured from wire; all classes of bag manufacture; all braided and plaited products including shoe laces; all classes of carpets, rugs, carpet tiles and carpeting; and including workers engaged either wholly or partly in cotton, ginning; fibre working, carding, spinning, winding, twisting, drawing-in, warping, weaving, knitting, plaiting, braiding, dyeing, bleaching, printing or finishing, raising, cleaning of any textile products or in rag picking, cutting, combing, blending, mixing or weighing of yarns and fabrics, including waste yarns and fabrics.