

- the strain of the women who are both wage and domestic workers.

The GP responds to this structural problem in an individual atomised way by either helping the housewife to 'adjust' to their housewife role, or by advising her to give up waged work. Barrett and Roberts (1978; pp 45) found that this was common.

The mechanisms of control the medical profession uses are drugs, counselling and psychiatry. Barrett and Roberts found no instance of a GP challenging the assumption that a married woman's life should be exclusively oriented towards her family, and they wrote, the most usual policy would be sympathy, adjustment, drugs, and in the end, if all else failed, referral to a psychiatrist. They quote more than one instance of a woman's refusal to do housework, i.e. rejecting her traditional feminine role, resulting in hospitalisation and ECT.

Now I hope some very broad questions about the role of the medical profession in society generally. Here we should underline two characteristics of the profession:

Firstly, it is male dominated, and has been for centuries since midwives were denounced as witches and were drowned and burned. The conflict between the experts (male) and the traditional wisdom of women centred on the right to heal. The historical antagonist of the female lay healer was the male medical professional.

"The notion of medicine as a profession was in some ways an advance over the unexamined tradition of female healing. A profession requires systematic training, and, at least in principle, some formal mechanisms of accountability. But a profession is also defined by its exclusiveness, and has been since the professions of medicine and law first took form in medieval Europe. While the female lay healer operated within a network of information sharing and mutual support, the male professional hoarded up his knowledge as a kind of property, to be dispensed to wealthy patrons or sold on the market as a commodity. His goal was not to spread the skills of healing but to concentrate them within the elite interest group which the profession came to represent. Thus the triumph of the male medical profession is of crucial significance for our story: it involved the destruction of women's network of mutual help - leaving the women in a position of isolation and dependency - and it established a model of expertism as the prerogative of a social elite.

In Europe the conflict between female lay healing and the medical profession had taken a particularly savage form: the centuries long witchhunts which scar the history of England, Germany, France and Italy. The targets of witch

hunts were almost exclusively peasant women, and among them female lay healers were singled out for persecution. Many of the 'crimes' levelled against witches included providing contraceptive measures, performing abortions, offering drugs to ease the pain of labour. Undoubtedly many of the witch-healers' remedies were purely magical, but others were scientific. They had effective painkillers, digestive aids and anti-inflammatory agents. Digitalis, still an important drug in treating heart ailments is said to have been discovered by an English witch, long since hidden from our history.

There is a low proportion of women doctors, and they are virtually absent from high positions in medicine. Overall although women form a numerical majority of general health workers, they are concentrated in low status positions.

Secondly the medical profession has high prestige and tends to recruit from a middle-class population. Given this middle class and male dominated character how does the medical profession operate in the wider social context. Zola has argued (1975) that medicine operates as an institution of social control. It diverts energies from political problems by individualising them. Illich has written,

"People who are angered, sickened and impaired by their industrial labour and leisure can escape only into a life under medical supervision and are thereby seduced or disqualified from political struggle for a healthier world."

This social function is sometimes quite explicitly stated by some of the profession's apologists. Eg. Mechanic writes

"I view the functions of medicine not only as curing illness and alleviating distress and disability, but also as assisting in social control in society. Medicine frequently helps to sustain individuals in their social roles and thus contributes to the reduction of social tensions.

Zola has argues that the power and control of the medical profession is widening. Medicine and the labels 'healthy' and 'ill' are relevant to an ever increasing part of human existence. Zola writes,

"the labels health and illness are remarkable 'depoliticizers' of an issue. By locating the source and treatment of problems in an individual, other levels of intervention are effectively closed."

In other words, society disguises as medical problems issues that require political action. Gorz writes,

"We use hospitals and their workers to conceal the

real, socio-political causes of the evil ... There is no way a hospital can restore or maintain health when it is permanently undermined by social conditions. Thus hospital workers are at once and the same time the instruments and the victims of a gigantic swindle." (Gorz 1980; pp 205-6)

Our treatment of ourselves and other women have the choice of perpetuating or challenging this swindle. As feminists we should be talking about how to challenge this swindle. Feminist work on the subject of health has centered around the issue of controlling our own bodies and in particular our own reproductive functions.

Another important area is the extremely neglected field of industrial health. We have a responsibility to investigate local employment hazards. Also we need to inform people of the way femininity is defined to involve health hazards. I'm thinking of high heeled shoes which damage the feet and skin lightening creams which poison the skin.

Feminists have begun to develop a truly radical critique of the health care system, as they realised that the health system was largely a mechanism of social control - not only of women, but of the poor, of minorities, of workers, of the young and the elderly.

Women have been in the forefront of movements for change in health care. We initiated and developed the concept of 'self help' which in its broadest sense encompasses gaining knowledge about our bodies and taking responsibility for keeping our bodies healthy. Self help goes against the prevailing medical ideology which views the health 'consumer' as passive, ignorant and unable to make responsible choices about health care.

But while stressing personal responsibility and autonomy, feminists have also been keenly aware of the social, environmental and political factors which affect health. They reject the notion that achieving good health is purely a matter of personal choice, of 'maintaining a healthy lifestyle' as too many employers, politicians, and medical professionals would have us believe. So women have also become active in struggles to achieve safer places of work, to eliminate environmental hazards such as chemical dumps and nuclear power plants, and to set up community health centres. Thus in the best tradition of the women's movement, health is seen as both a personal and a political concern. Women are working for a radically new kind of health system - one that respects the integrity and self-healing capacity of the body, one that acknowledges our right to make our political and environmental influences rather than as an exclusively 'medical' concern. We aim at nothing less than the transformation of the health system from an instrument of oppression and social control into a vehicle for human liberation.

Women and the Law

UND Women's Movement

LAW IN SOCIETY

In discussing any aspect of law it is important to note the relationship between law and society. Law does not exist in isolation. It is both a perpetuator and a product of the particular social formations, and in this sense it has a close relationship with the economy and the prevailing ideology of the State.

This paper attempts to look at the way in which the law enforces and supports the particular economic system in South Africa and how it supports also the system of male domination in South Africa. The common experience of all women in this country, despite class-race divisions, is that of male domination. All women experience oppression which is due to them merely because of their sex, just as men in our society exercise a degree of power by virtue of their sex alone.

The difficulty of this paper is to separate, in order to discuss, those issues which women experience by virtue of their sex from those issues which oppress women because of their race or class. However, it must be observed that the economic system also requires a sexual division of labour and society in order to maintain the conditions of production. That is, in order for the existing set of social and economic structures to continue, they must be reproduced.

The labour force needs to be reproduced every day in order that factories may be operated (cheaply) and the future labour force (children) also needs to be reproduced. It is in this sense that the function of women must be maintained. The primary function of women in the economy is that of reproducer - the unpaid domestic labourer.

The methods employed to keep women fulfilling this function are, inter alia, to promote the ideology of femininity - that women are naturally, instinctively, inclined to do unpaid domestic labour, that normal women should be emotionally and economically dependent on their spouses.

By keeping women economically powerless, that is, more powerless than their male counterparts, access to law is lessened. There are pitifully few controls on domestic violence. Battered women have almost no satisfactory or immediate protection in the law. So too, the treatment of rape survivors by the legal system encourages violence against women to continue. Rape, in a patriarchal society, is one of the mechanisms by which women are 'kept in their place', and the treatment of rape survivors is evidence of this. Women's dependency on men is extended to the point where women must seek the protection and safety of men against the violence of men.

Law acts as an arm of the State, both in the process of repression and in actively supporting the existing ideology. The legal system is repressive to the extent that it forcibly prevents people from moving out of the bounds of the existing social formations, and the legal system is ideological to the extent that it perpetuates State ideology through legal concepts and theories which legitimate the present political, social, and economic structures, for example, 'equal treatment before the law' and the 'neutrality of the judiciary'.

However, the so-called equality of treatment before the law does not account for laws which are directed specifically at certain groups of people (blacks and women), and nor does it take into account the fact that the concept of the reasonable man (sic) means that the standard of reasonableness is that standard set up by white male judges, appointed because they support the ideology of the ruling class. This means that the courts tend not to deal equitably with people who are not white and who are not male.

PASSES

One excellent illustration of the way in which laws are implemented to serve the needs of the dominant class and legitimate the prevailing economic order is the extension of pass laws to African women in 1952.

As early as 1930, a certificate of approval was required by an African woman wanting to live in the urban areas. This was the first serious attempt to control an influx of African women into the cities, yet it was only in 1952 that pass laws were officially extended to women and were to be a lot more stringently enforced than the previous regulations regarding certificates.

Despite incessant protest and resistance to these pass laws, the requirement that women be in possession of a reference book was in force in all areas by 1959. Significantly, it was in this self-same year that women were subjected to the terms of the Black Labour Act and regulations in all areas. The transfer of power from the Native (Urban Areas) Act to the Black Labour Act prescribing the pass document to be produced by women, is the most blatant example of the way in which the migration of women into the towns could be adjusted to the needs of employers rather than to the need of women and their families. As an MP for Kempton Park, Mr F.S. Steyn stated in his official capacity, "We do not want the Bantu Women here simply as an adjunct to the procreative capacity of the Bantu population". In other words, a woman should only be allowed into a town if she was needed on the labour market. If not, she should stay in the reserve (presumably fulfilling her role of subsidising a cheap male labour force) and be visited by her husband from time to time.

It is clear then that as Yawitch (1979) maintains:

"State legislation and interventions in the 1950's have to be seen in terms of changes in the accumulation process at the time, and in terms of state attempts to deal with these in the face of the increasing militancy and strength of both the working class and national liberation movements."

In conclusion, the extension of passes to African women can be viewed as an important ideological legitimation on behalf of the dominant classes with respect to two main areas:

- The need to control women because for the first time their increased influx to the urban areas was a serious threat to the stability of the conditions for accumulation.
- The need to redirect cheap labour to the areas needing labour most, for example, the manufacturing sector.

As a final comment, it should be pointed out that the introduction of these pass laws to African women at a different time to men could perhaps be viewed in terms of the patriarchal ideology. We feel that this is an area worthy of further exploration.

DIVORCE

The nuclear family and the sexual division of labour are social creations which are legitimised by an ideology of natural or biological differences which give rise to gender-specific roles. This ideology is expressed in the laws relating to marriage and divorce.

The nuclear family sees to the welfare of its members which relieves capital of that social security responsibi-

lity. The family also has the function of producing and raising children in such a way as to socialise the children to accept the values of the system and serve the interests of capital.

Through education and emulation, the sexual division of labour becomes socially accepted and promoted as natural. This has meant that it is no longer necessary to uphold the nuclear family by law. Divorce, that is, is no longer discouraged as the functions are upheld and the nuclear family is continued with or without a legal marriage. Women usually gain custody of the children and even where they have to supplement their maintenance by participating directly in the labour market, they still perform the task of domestic worker and reproducer of the labour force. Men continue to be regarded as the chief breadwinners and financial providers for the future labourers through the payment of maintenance to an ex-spouse or children.

It is clear, then, that a change in the divorce laws to make divorce easier to obtain does not pose a significant challenge to the structure of society.

The Divorce Act No 70 of 1979 does have a number of advantages:

- it eliminates the element of guilt as a necessary ground for divorce which means that spouses need no longer seek a 'guilty' party in a divorce.
- a successful divorce action can now be brought against a spouse who is no longer in the country or area of residence of the person seeking the divorce.
- there is no longer a seven year waiting period for the ground of mental illness but a two year waiting period during which hospitalisation must be continuous. Two psychiatrists, one of whom is appointed by the courts, must give evidence. If either husband or wife is found to be responsible for the condition of the mentally ill spouse, a decree of divorce could be refused. Previously only the husband could be refused a divorce for this.
- the continuous unconsciousness of a spouse is a ground for divorce. The period must be more than six months continuously unconscious before divorce proceedings begin. Two medical practitioners, one a neurosurgeon appointed by the court, must give evidence.
- the declaration of habitual criminality as a ground now comes under 'irretrievable breakdown' as possible proof of the marriage being irrevocably broken down.

The chief advantage of the new divorce law is the elimination of guilt as a necessary ground for divorce. However the concept of a guilty party is still used in determining maintenance and awarding costs. Since these are the issues which involve most conflict in a divorce, the change has not resolved many of the problems which arose in the past.

While divorce has become easier to obtain in general, it is still more difficult for women and poor people. Women are generally economically dependent on their husbands even when they work for salaries or wages, as these are usually lower than men's. Thus women suing for divorce are often unable to afford the procedure, especially when it comes to battles for maintenance and costs. It is recommended that in order to prove the irretrievable breakdown of the marriage, that the couple live separately for a year. Often women economically dependent on their husbands find it difficult to set up a separate domicile. This keeps some wives from initiating divorce proceedings. The cost of divorce is a problem for all low-income people.

The difficulty of divorce for the average person ensures that the working class reproduces itself through the nuclear family structure. Lack of financial mobility keeps the ordinary working class family together. Economic dependence of women encourages them to tolerate unhappy marriages as poor wages and child responsibility prevent them from leaving the joint home. Working class men are unable to support a separate family on their wages, which also deters divorce.

The new Divorce Act 70-79 has made divorce easier to obtain, but only for those who can afford it in the first place. Besides, divorce can only become equitable when the whole society operates equitably. When marriage as a traditional institution, and the laws that legitimise and uphold that inequitable institution are altered to recognise women as adult persons in the society with sufficient responsibility to manage their own affairs, and if necessary those of their spouse as well; when women receive the education and socialisation that encourages them to participate freely in the labour market; when women have the same earning capacity as men; when child care is the dual responsibility of both parents; and when there is a more equitable distribution of wealth in the society; then it will be possible to say that divorce, marriage, and the entire network of laws in the state are just and fair.

RAPE AND ABORTION

Rape and abortion laws apply specifically to women. They are the focus around which a number of issues revolve ... ideas about private property, sexuality, the nature of men and women, the sanctity of life, marriage, individual freedom, the role of the State, etc. In some cases, the prevailing ideology is directly reflected in the law. In other cases, it is only in the implementation of the law that the ideology can be uncovered.

One of the most important ways in which ideology operates is in the definition of what is natural. Women are defined as having certain characteristics, and the relation between

the sexes is defined in a certain way. These come to seem natural, and the law reflects and legitimises this definition. Two themes will be traced in this paper: the definition of women as private property, and the distorted definition of women's sexuality.

This paper will briefly cover the law relating to rape and abortion in South Africa, and then go into more detail on the assumptions underlying the law, and the ways in which the laws are implemented. Finally, reforms to the existing laws are suggested.

The Legal Definition of Rape.

Rape in South African law is defined as intentional unlawful sexual intercourse with a woman without her consent.

Intentional - the man must have criminal intent. If he can show that he genuinely believed the woman had consented, he will not be found guilty of rape.

Unlawful - the most important case where intercourse without consent is not unlawful is where it occurs between husband and wife. A man may legally force his wife to have intercourse when she has already started divorce proceedings against him, or when he suffers from a contagious disease, or when he has done something which entitles the woman, according to the law of husband and wife, to refuse to have intercourse.

Sexual Intercourse - this is defined as penetration of the vagina with the penis. Penetration may be slight, and no ejaculation or rupture of the hymen need occur.

With a woman - a man cannot be raped, and a woman cannot commit rape.

Without her consent - intercourse may occur despite the woman's refusal due to:

- force
- threats of force or other action
- fraud - for example where the

woman is led to believe that the rapist is her husband or she may be incapable of consent or dissent, for example, where she is sleeping; suffering from a mental defect so that she is incapable of expressing consent or dissent; intoxicated to such an extent that she is insensible or incapable of understanding what she is doing; under the age of 12. All of these are regarded as rape.

A crucial point is that consent need not be expressed, but may, according to the law, be interpreted by the man from the conduct of the woman.

Rape: Women as Private Property.

The idea of private property goes back a long way in western legal thought. A great deal of legislation was devoted to protecting the property rights of individuals. Women were incorporated into this system not as individuals with property rights, but as pieces of property belonging

to men. The history of marriage laws shows this very clearly. Women were valuable to men as sexual objects, as workers, but most importantly, for their reproductive capacity. Heirs were needed as the future owners of the accumulated private property, and propertied men needed to be sure of the lineage. This could only be done by controlling women.

Under Anglo-Saxon law, rape was punished by the order to pay compensation and reparation to either the husband or father, depending on who exercised rights over the woman. Later the law was adapted to deal with the problem of bride capture. Rape was one method of establishing rights over an unmarried woman. In medieval times, when marriage among the propertied classes was a system of transfer of property, rape was an interference which upset the careful schemes of the woman's father. So the law against rape was designed not to protect or compensate women, but to prevent transfer of property to the abductor.

The remnants of these early reasons for the rape law is most evident in the law pertaining to rape within marriage. According to the law, it does not exist. It is held that at marriage, the wife irrevocably consents to intercourse. There is a contradiction here, because in the law of husband and wife, that is, civil law, the wife may in certain circumstances withhold marital privileges (refuse intercourse). But despite this, a husband who forces intercourse on her is not regarded as committing rape. Legal texts recognise this contradiction and admit that it is fiction to speak of consent. The reason for the retention of the fiction is given: 'it seems better to regard the rule simply as an exemption from liability on policy grounds', the policy being one of refraining from investigating the 'rights and wrongs of matrimonial disputes'. The actual application of the law shows how the conception of women as the property of men lingers on. What is not explicit in the law books becomes clear in the courts. Women who can be classified as being under the protection of father or husband are regarded as being 'wronged' more than independent women. Independent single women find that their claim that intercourse took place without their consent is challenged and the case is more likely to be dismissed or the accused found not guilty.

The question that usually arises in these cases is 'What is the moral character of the woman?'. According to legal practice, 'the complainant's reputation for chastity is relevant to the issue of consent and evidence of particular instances of unchastity as well as of her general reputation in that regard may be given.' Behind those words lies the 'second rape' - the interrogation and probing into her private life which the rape victim undergoes, while the accused rapist is protected from any such investigation.

Why is the chastity of the woman relevant?

There are several implications, some of which may not be explicitly accepted in law, but which form part of the social climate in which the trial is conducted. If a woman is neither a virgin under her father's protection nor a married woman, rape is not an offence to any male with rights in her, and hence it can be regarded in a more lenient light. A woman who does not fit into the categories of virgin, wife, or widow, a woman who is sexually active with several partners, is breaking the rules that govern women's lives. She is taking control of her life and sexuality in a way which goes against the rules - and by so doing, in the eyes of society, has no right to the protection of the law. The case of the prostitute is the extreme example. While in theory, charges of rape may be laid when the victim is a prostitute, in practice proof will be made very difficult and punishment will be much reduced.

The result of this is that the right of a woman as an individual to choose the circumstances of sexual intercourse is obscured. The implication is that a woman is either part of the respectable social system or outside it. If she has sexual relationships outside marriage, then she is fair game. Her only choice is whether to choose a 'respectable' or an 'unchaste' life. Once the option of a 'respectable' life is rejected, then the right to say no is denied.

Rape: The Distortion of Sexuality.

Sexuality is a powerful force which can be distorted to serve various ends. In modern industrial society, sexuality is a symbol of nature, of the free, instinctive, animal side of ourselves. But this symbolic use of sexuality does not apply equally to men and women. The sex drive in men is defined as strong, even overpowering, an appetite which cannot be controlled. By comparison, women's sexuality is downgraded and denied. The 'maternal instinct' is used to express the animal side of women's nature, a safe counterpoint to the male. These distorted definitions of sexuality serve to make rape seem like the natural expression of the different characteristics of the sexes.

Rape is regarded by the law courts as especially difficult to prove since it approximates normal sexual relations. This reveals a lot about the nature of so-called normal sexual relations in our society. In general, they are not the expression of desire between equals. Heterosexual relations take place between people with different levels of power, and therefore involve things like coercion, dependency, calculation. Rape can be seen as the extreme version of sexual relations.

The prevailing conception of normal sexual relations becomes

clear in this phrase from a legal textbook - "every consent involves submission". The word submission sums up the unequal nature of the relationship, which is taken for granted in the law. There is no need to speculate about who is expected to submit.

The whole approach to rape as a sexual crime must be questioned. By continuing to regard rape as a primarily sexual rather than violent act, the nature of the rape victim's experience is denied. For her, rape is a violent assault, and any interpretation of the event which treats her as a partner in a sexual act diminishes her rights as a victim of assault.

Abortion: Women as Private Property.

It has been described above how rape and marriage laws developed together to deal with women as private property belonging to individual men who had certain rights over them. The major right was over the woman's reproductive capacity. Women are the way men reproduce themselves. When women take control of their own reproductive capacities, it is a threat to individual men and to men as a group.

This threat has not been countered by giving the power to decide on abortion to fathers and husbands. The state has intervened. In South Africa, legislation passed in 1975 (International Women's Year!) removed abortion from the sphere of common law (where it is in effect dependent on the woman's doctor) and expressed it in legislation. Since 1975, only one minor amendment has been made.

According to the law, an abortion can be legally obtained

- if the pregnancy poses a threat to the life of the woman or seriously threatens her physical health.
- if the pregnancy is likely to result in serious permanent mental damage to the woman.
- if the child will be irreparably seriously handicapped.
- if the child was conceived as a result of rape or incest.
- if the pregnant woman is, due to a permanent mental handicap or defect, unable to comprehend the consequences of pregnancy or bear parental responsibility.

The intervention of the State suggests that what is at issue here is not the woman's role as private property (in whatever attenuated form) but her role as reproducer of labour power.

Abortion: The Distortion of Sexuality.

It has been shown above how the oppression of women is perpetuated by the definition of women by the prevailing ideology a definition which includes assumptions about women as the private property of individual men, and distorts women's sexuality. This definition of sexuality

is not uniform throughout the society. The 'permissive age' has introduced a change in the definition, although not necessarily to the benefit of women. However, there is still a strongly held belief, expressed in the abortion law, that women should not indulge in sex for any reason other than procreation. The reasoning is not explicit but can be revealed by analysing the law.

If we look at the conditions under which abortion is legally permitted, it is plain that belief in the sanctity of life is not the overriding consideration. For example, a foetus conceived as the result of rape or incest can be legally aborted. Under a strict sanctity of life rule, this foetus would be protected. What the law is implying here is that a woman who was raped can be spared the further ordeal of bearing a child, since the pregnancy occurred through no fault of her own. It may seem that this is a principle which could be applied to a woman who falls pregnant due to the failure of sterilisation or contraception - also no fault of her own. In fact, an amendment including a clause to permit legal abortion in the case of failed sterilisation was proposed in 1981. However, by the time the amendment came up for debate in Parliament, the clause had been deleted.

In both cases - rape and sterilisation- the woman did not want to fall pregnant. But in the case of rape, the woman did not want sex, while in the case of failed sterilisation, she obviously did. And this makes all the difference. The message that comes through is that sexual desire in women must be punished. Any woman caught out enjoying sex for its own sake rather than for the sake of procreation must not be allowed to get away with it. A woman who does not want children is also a challenge to the ideological definition of women which includes the 'maternal instinct' as a central element.

It is clear that the law expresses and legitimises an ideology which oppresses women. Women must work to redefine what is 'natural'. This means working to change attitudes in society as well as laws. Suggestions for changes to the rape and abortion laws are given below. More research is needed, especially into the effect of different laws in other countries.

A definition of rape as 'the unlawful penetration through any orifice of a person' was adopted at the 1981 NUSAS Congress. This removes the question of consent and includes men as the victims of rape.

The Abortion Reform Action Group is working for a change in the law to make abortion legal in the first trimester. The decision of whether to have an abortion would be a private one between a woman and her doctor. Change will only come about through our own efforts. We must work together to destroy these oppressive and unjust laws and the ideology which they reflect.

NATAL

The entrenchment of Zulu customary law as the 'Natal Code' is a further example of how law is used to legitimate an oppressive ideology. This code dates back to the days of Theophilus Shepstone. Lawyers who have studied the code have concluded that its humiliating restrictions on women are a result of the misinterpretation of tribal laws by white officials in the nineteenth century.

Recently, the 'Natal Code' was altered to the 'Code of Zulu Law'. The main differences between the two are that, in the former, all Zulu women regardless of age, educational or other achievements, were relegated to the status of minors. In the latter case however, women on reaching the age of 21 are automatically granted a majority status and no longer need be 'bought' from their male guardians via the traditional marriage payment of 'lobola'. The woman's status nevertheless reverts to that of a minor when she marries.

The customary contract of marriage was directly related to the idea of property. Women had an economic value, in that lobola was paid for them on marriage. Illicit sexual intercourse with an unmarried woman was regarded not as an injury to the woman herself, but to her guardian. His prospects for obtaining lobola for her were thereby reduced. Redress for such injuries as seduction or adultery fell into the scope of civil law.

The notion that an adult woman should legally be defined as a minor clearly results from a patriarchal ideology which has very little regard for the rights of women. Before the customary law was entrenched as the Natal Code, it was a lot more flexible and could often have been interpreted in the woman's favour, particularly to maintain the social cohesion and stability of the tribal group.

It should also be noted that the dependency relation which such a law forces upon women also serves the interests of the capitalist classes in that the labour force can be reproduced very cheaply. It allows virtually no independence for the woman herself.

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