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SECTION 1. INTRODUCTION

Our central argument is that this society has failed to recognize the social needs and rights of women as mothers and as workers. In Section 2, 'Women and Work' we focus on the tension between these two roles, as they are experienced by 885 African women in our sample. Over sixty per cent of these women are mothers of pre-school children as well as workers. We argue that they adopt various strategies to cope with the care of their pre-school children, within the parameters set by state policies and management practices. Section 3, 'The response of the State' deals with the controversial question of protective legislation and identifies the absence of maternity rights and the inadequacy of maternity benefits obtainable under UIF. Section 4, 'The response of capital' outlines management practices and policies relating to the employment of women workers. The widespread resistance expressed in our thirty interviews with management to any notion of workplace creches or maternity rights suggests that there are large and difficult questions at issue here. In Section 5, 'Types of child care arrangements' we attempt to illustrate the variety of options available to African working women and the coping strategies they adopt.

We view our report not simply as an academic exercise, but as paying tribute to the strength and resourcefulness of many of the women we have encountered; they are engaged in a struggle for daily survival. The nature of this struggle raises important questions as regards strategies for change. Our choice of sample was largely shaped by our priority, namely to identify a site of struggle where there is potential for mobilization around the issue of child care. By focusing largely on women in the workplace, we hoped to contribute towards the growing awareness of this issue in trade union struggles. Therefore, in Section 6, 'The response of the unions', we describe how the maternity issue is surfacing at present. In our final section, 'The politics of child care', we discuss some of the implications of advocating more social responsibility for child care.
SECTION 2. WOMEN AND WORK

The link between women's roles as mothers and as workers is important at two levels: firstly at the level of social analysis. Contemporary attempts to conceptualise women's place in wage labour, whether in terms of labour market segmentation theory, or as a reserve army of labour, revolve around the responsibilities women assume for domestic labour, including child bearing and child rearing within the private household. (3) Secondly, this link is important at the level of experience in terms of the 'dual shift' of both domestic and wage labour which is the reality for many working class women.

Unlike the pattern in advanced capitalist societies, full-time motherhood is impossible for many urban African women in South Africa compelled to support themselves and their dependents or to supplement their husband's low earnings. In our report we argue that among these women economic necessity generates a fusion of the mother/worker roles; that motherhood involves a primary emphasis on the satisfaction of the basic physical needs of their children - on obtaining the cash income necessary to pay the rent and buy food.

The vast majority of our national sample are mothers as well as workers. Ninety-six (95.53%) have children, and well over half of the sample (65.67%) have pre-school children. These findings suggest that one cannot assume a fixed and invariant relation between having pre-school children and women's participation in wage labour. It is widely believed that the first acts as an obstacle or brake on the second. Instead we would argue that for African working-class women in South Africa the need for employment is possibly amplified by the responsibility of supporting pre-school children.

This pattern contrasts with the ideological prescription that "a woman when she becomes a mother should withdraw herself from the world, and devote herself to her child". (4) This is clearly an option for women of the dominant classes in South Africa, and an option for white women who have access to cheap domestic servants. (5) It is not a viable option for many African women in the urban areas. Shuemyane maintains that "most mothers have to go back to work when their children are less than three months old. The children are not breast fed and can suffer from malnutrition." (6) In our sample, almost a quarter (20.35%)
of the mothers went back to work when their last child was less than two months old; 61.59\% did so when their last child was one year old or younger, and over half (51.81\%) went back when their last child was six months old or younger.

It is clear to us that economic necessity propels most of these African women into wage labour - often reluctantly. As one informant stated, "...it's hard. I feel it's important that a mother looks after her own children. Money shouldn't come first. But what can we do?" Several informants emphasized the absence of choice because "prices are up", or "times are bad".

Rising inflation, linked to the decline in subsistence agriculture, and the massive disorganisation of African family life in contemporary South Africa lies behind the increasing employment of both our sample and black women generally in South Africa. This increase was especially dramatic between 1973 and 1981 when there was a 51.7\% increase in the numbers of black women employed.\(^\text{(7)}\) These women are mainly located in the service and agricultural sectors in the least skilled, lowest paid and most insecure jobs.\(^\text{(8)}\) In February 1982, the percentage distribution of African women in the economy was as follows: 11\% of employed African women are in the professional sector (mainly in nursing and teaching which accounts for 94.8\% of African women employed in this sector); 2.9\% in the clerical sector; 4.6\% in the sales sector; 18.6\% in agricultural production; 12.8\% in factory production and 50\% in services.\(^\text{(9)}\)

In South Africa, as in advanced capitalist societies, service work is an expanding sector and the numbers of African women employed in it have increased dramatically in recent years. Apart from jobs as domestic servants, service categories such as office and shop cleaning, laundry work, cooking, waitressing, tea and kitchen work, as well as messenger services, absorb an extremely large number of African women. In 1973, 62,468 African women were employed in these service jobs and by 1981 their number had almost doubled to 112,024.\(^\text{(10)}\)

Although the female percentage of the industrial workforce is still relatively small, the absolute number of women involved in manufacturing has increased in recent years. However, in South African manufacturing, the overwhelming mass of women are confined to the
production of food, clothing and textiles. This reflects the sexual division of labour generally as women's traditional activities in the household have been transferred to the factory. Food, clothing and textiles are labour-intensive sectors where wages are particularly low. There is only one industry where women constitute the majority of the black work force, namely clothing (including the knitting sector) where 83% of those employed are black women.\(^\text{11}\) In 1981, the average monthly wage for Africans employed in the clothing industry was R120.\(^\text{12}\) The numbers of black women employed in the Transvaal clothing industry have increased dramatically in recent years. The increase was over five-fold between 1955 (when they numbered 3,005) and August 1980 (when they numbered 15,368).\(^\text{13}\)

What is clear from all this is that while black women's participation in wage labour in South Africa has increased noticeably in recent years, they are confined to a narrow range of occupations which reflect both ideological definitions of 'women's work' and the fact of black women being a preferred source of labour because they are cheaper.

However, the sexual division of labour these figures reflect cannot be viewed as a static or uniform phenomenon. Two sources of pressure lie behind the extension and restructuring of the sexual division of labour at present which is affecting many black women.\(^\text{14}\) The first pressure is a possible movement to an urban labour preference policy. While further research is needed to establish this as a definite trend, it appears that in certain sectors and areas preference is being given to African women with Section Ten rights, over migrant men.\(^\text{15}\) Secondly, the policy of decentralization is affecting the sexual division of labour. The policy encourages capital to take advantage of the cheap pools of labour trapped in the homelands by strict influx control. The relocation of some food, clothing and textile factories in particular, have provided employment for African women with the result that in Lebowa, the Ciskei, Bophuta-Tswana and Venda more than half the work force involved in industry is female.\(^\text{16}\) Many of these women are extremely poorly paid. For example, a sweet manufacturer recently relocated in Bophuta-Tswana has been reported to be paying African women R40 a
month for jobs for which they had previously been paid R48 a week in Johannesburg. (17)

While the image of black women engaged in stone quarrying in the Transkei and white women working as crane drivers at ISCOR suggests that the sexual division of labour is being eroded, there is not sufficient evidence to substantiate this. Instead we maintain that the sexual division of labour is being extended and restructured in ways that are sometimes disadvantageous to black women. This 'disadvantage' is rooted in the system of racial controls operating in South Africa whereby capital maintains a cheap, exploitable reservoir of labour power. Women in the homelands engaged in informal sector work, in farm labour (much of it seasonal), or engaged in heavy manual labour for state infrastructural development, are all legally unprotected, low paid, ununionized and insecure due to the massive reserve army of black unemployed. In addition, many women are solely dependent on the inadequate remittances of male migrants. In this situation, many African women come into 'white' urban areas impelled by poverty and desperation. Increasingly they do so illegally and can only find employment in domestic service or informal sector jobs. (18)

These changes suggest that black working class women are among the central shock absorbers of the current crisis. This is evident firstly in the inclusion of some African women into wage labour, at the lowest levels of remuneration, at the same time as the majority of African women are excluded from employment with the progressive tightening of influx control mechanisms. Secondly, working class women are the shock absorbers of the current crisis as this surfaces in the household economy. In the urban context increasing numbers of working class women are subject to a 'dual shift', a double load of work both inside and outside the home. Inflation increases the burden of domestic labour working class women have to bear in order to stretch the wage further. Consequently, they suffer a continual drain of resources and energy, borne of tension, conflict and sheer overwork.

This overwork is a constant feature of the experience of working class women in other cultural and historical contexts. Working class women have usually experienced extreme strain and difficulty
in combining their two roles as mothers and as workers. For black working class women in South Africa this dual shift is compounded by racial oppression. The daily routine of most of the women interviewed in depth in our small Johannesburg sample began around 5 a.m. and included very little leisure time, or even sufficient rest. The majority of these women worked between 16 - 18 hours a day; 9 of them had 6 hours sleep on average a night, and 15 only 7 hours. Their time at home is spent largely on domestic labour, "I boil water, do cleaning, cooking, washing and ironing, when I get home in the evenings. On week-ends, I do my big household chores - mostly cleaning and washing clothes".

The typical pattern which emerged from our study was one of unremitting work in the household as well as in the place of employment. This dual shift left one informant "exhausted to the point of death".

This double load of work both inside and outside the home clearly inhibits women's participation in trade unions and community organizations. The source of this inhibition is not women's innate commitments to their roles of wife and mother but the physical and emotional demands their responsibilities in the domestic sphere generates. The extent of this inhibition depends on the access women have to other forms of support. In the urban black working class context in South Africa, the most common form is an extended family structure in which other female members of the household provide a support network for the woman who is both a mother and a worker.

The great majority (80%) of the women interviewed in-depth in our small Johannesburg sample said that they prepared breakfast and supper for their households themselves. In no single instance did their husbands (56% of our sample were married) help with the preparation of food. However, there is some sharing of household tasks among the women members. A significant proportion (60%) of our Johannesburg sample said that other household members helped them with child care - for example, washing, taking to the clinic when ill - this domestic help is usually provided by another adult woman in the household.

While our research does not provide us with a comprehensive understanding of the nature of the urban African working class
household, a number of themes have emerged. Firstly, the 
household in African urban working class areas does not refer 
to the small, relatively isolated monogamous unit termed 'the 
nuclear family'. Many households comprise a number of generations 
and the acute housing shortage manifests itself in excessively 
overcrowded homes. The largest proportion of our Johannesburg 
sample reported that their household size numbered 8 - 10 people. 
There also seem to be an increasing number of women living outside 
of stable marital relationships. This is evidenced by the large 
number of women in our sample who were single (30.19%) as well as 
mothers of pre-school children (77.98%).

It is possible that the marriage relationship is increasingly being 
questioned by African women. For example, an informant told 
Mullins, "Of course, I want children, but I don't want to get 
marrried. I think I'm happy without a man. Some men think that 
they must marry you and then you sit in the house and they can go 
all around by themselves."(23) One source of resistance to marriage 
may be the sexual division of labour within the household which 
seems to be widely viewed as natural and immutable.

The picture that merges from our research and other available 
literature is that African men participate very little in domestic 
labour in the urban working class household. However, there is 
some sharing of domestic tasks among the women inhabitants of the 
household. Clearly, there is no single pattern of urban African 
family life, and existing patterns have to be located in an apprecia­
tion of the massive disorganisation of African family life under the 
impact of poverty and the migrant labour system.

This disorganisation has demanded qualities of strength and resilience 
from African women. As Angela Davis has written of black women in 
America, "Black women could hardly strive for weakness; they had to 
become strong for their families and their communities needed their 
strength to survive". (24)

In this daily struggle for survival, children are an important source 
of joy and meaning to many African women. As one of Malcolm's 
informants expressed it, "Even if it is expensive, children are
making us happy". (25)

In conclusion then, the tension experienced by many African working class women in South Africa between their roles as mothers and as workers derives from three sources:

(i) their working conditions and low wages - the majority of our national sample earned R299 or less a month. (26)

(ii) the sexual division of labour within the household which places upon women the burden of domestic labour, including child care, and

(iii) the inadequacy of child care arrangements provided by either the state or private welfare initiatives.

In the following section, we will show how the state fails to mediate this tension.

SECTION 3: THE RESPONSE OF THE STATE

We have argued that in South Africa among African working class women there is a fusion of the mother/worker roles; that having pre-school children propels many mothers into wage labour. The fact that they do so when their children are often so young has important implications for the physical and emotional health of both mother and child. In terms of protective legislation covering employees in the retail trade and the clothing industry from which our national sample was drawn, there is a prohibition on the employment of women so soon after their confinement. In the following section we go on to show the total ineffectiveness of such protective legislation in South Africa. This refers to maternity rights, to protection from working in an environment specifically dangerous to women, and to restrictions on overtime and nightwork, all issues which arise specifically from the fact that working women usually carry responsibility for child care and family life.

Protective legislation is intended not only to protect the health, family life, and social needs of a mother and baby, but also to guarantee women's protection within the sphere of employment by preventing discrimination in employment practices on the basis of sex or pregnancy.

The degree of protective legislation in a particular society reflects directly the nature of the state in question: the ideology of the state and the terms in which it perceives women's relationship to society, as well as the dominant mode of production and the way this
affects the location of women in the labour market. In addition, the level of socialization of child care is a major element in the protective legislation issue. (27)

PROTECTIVE LEGISLATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

A base line for our understanding of the South African situation is the recognition of the importance of employment for both married and single women. The extent to which the state and capital take cognisance of these factors is, as always, determined by their effects on production, the rate of profit and by pressure being brought to bear on them by the trade unions and other working class organisations. This becomes apparent as we follow recent debates over legislation affecting women workers.

Working women have never been protected from dismissal during pregnancy. Not only this, but legally they may not be employed immediately before and after confinement. Section 23(2) of the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act 1941 and Section 13(2) of the Shops and Offices Act 1964 (Act 75 of 1964) prohibit a pregnant employee from working between the period commencing four weeks before and ending eight weeks after her confinement. There are exemptions from this constraint in the event of still birth, or death of the child before the end of the eight week period. Clearly the intention of this law is good: the protection of the mother and child's health; but it cannot stand in isolation from the broader social imperatives, like the need to retain one's job.

This is not to argue that women should have to work during pregnancy. Two factors, the health of the individual woman, and the possible existence of health hazards at work, should be the determinants of whether or not pregnant women work. In either case, the right to a substantial period off work after the child is born, and the right to return to work should both be guaranteed.

A further important issue is maternity benefits obtainable under the Unemployment Insurance Fund. (28) At present, maternity benefits, like all other UIF benefits are available to a select few of the working population. (29) For those who are eligible, the maximum benefit is 45% of the weekly earnings. But in fact, women can only claim one
week's benefit for every six weeks employment so that they are only eligible for the full 26 week's benefit if they have paid three year's worth of UIF. This means that to claim the full amount a woman could only have a baby approximately every four years! In addition, says Cloete, "Due to the inefficient bureaucratic machinery, women mostly receive their money after the three month period." (30)

It was in this context that the Wiehahn Commission sat in 1979 to evaluate the state of labour relations in South Africa. One of the many issues it investigated was that of the position of working women. In addition to evidence on the problems covered above, one particularly interesting piece of evidence was lead to the Commission by the Study Group on Women in Employment. They compared pregnancy to military leave saying that just as the Defence Act (Act No. 44 of 1957) ensures that employees may not be dismissed from work during short periods away on military service, pregnant women too could be legislated for in this way. (31)

The findings of the Wiehahn Commission on the question of maternity reflect a full cogniscance of the position of working women. Its recommendations were as follows: (32)

"5.15.6 the relevant sections of the Shops and Offices Act and of the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act be amended so as to provide for -

(i) the raising of the period of pre-confinement leave from four weeks to six weeks (paragraph 5.14.19);

(ii) the raising of remuneration during approved leave due to pregnancy to 60% of the employee's normal earnings (paragraph 5.14.19);

(iii) provision be made in these Acts for prohibiting the termination of employment on account of pregnancy and that employers be required to reinstate female employees at the end of the approved absence from work (paragraph 5.14.19);

5.15.7 similar provisions to those in paragraph 5.15.6 be included in any future legislation that deals with fair employment practices. (paragraph 5.14.19 (iii) );

5.25.8 all applicable legislative measures to be such as to require an employer to assign light duties to pregnant women where questions of health and safety are relevant. (paragraph 5.14.19);

5.15.19 the attention of the appropriate authorities be drawn to the
need to streamline administrative procedures in connection with the payment of maternity benefits. (paragraph 5.14.20);”.

The Commission’s argument that the needs of women and thereby of society in general were being severely impaired by the present lack of maternity protection as laid out in their recommendations, fell on deaf ears. In response to the Commission, the government white paper wrote on confinement (5.15.6i): (33)

"The prescribed four weeks pre-confinement leave has to the Government's knowledge not created any undue hardship and, in the absence of any sound reason why the period of leave should be increased to six weeks, the Commission's recommendation in this regard cannot be supported".

On raising of remunerations to 60% of the employee's salary (5.15.6ii) responsibility is laid at the door of the Unemployment Insurance Board to look into the matter.

On the retention of employment (5.15.6iii) the response is that:-

"The Government cannot support the Commission's recommendation in paragraph (iii) that the termination of employment of female workers as a result of pregnancy be prohibited in terms of the relevant two Acts and that employers be required to reinstate the employees at the end of the approved absence from work. Such a provision would result in serious complications for employers, especially for the small employer who has to employ substitute labour when an employee takes maternity leave and who cannot afford to increase his labour complement by reinstating the employee concerned. The Government would nevertheless urge employers to give cases of this nature their most sympathetic consideration and where possible to act in the spirit of the recommendation".

As regards light work the white paper (5.15.8) argues that the legislation and the administration "of such legislation are not considered feasible and the recommendation can therefore not be accepted. The Government is aware that this procedure takes place in practice in some cases. It urges all employers to implement this recommendation of their own accord".
This refusal to legislate maternity protection is clearly rationalised in terms of production losses, and fails to give serious credibility to the most critical needs of working mothers today. Granting maternity leave, protection from dismissal, and 60% of a salary for the period of absence are all seen in terms of their cost to the employer or the State. The gains for individual women, families and society are not the primary issue. The fact is that it would cost extra money to hold a job for a women, since this might involve both training, paying a substitute and possibly maintaining pension fund contributions and even perhaps part of the wage payments of the absent worker. This situation is backed up by international experience where the concern for maternity rights has always arisen in response to the incorporation of women into the labour market, and a concern for the effects this has on family and social reproduction in general. If women are easily replaced, then there is no reason for capital to bear the costs of child care.

The white paper manifests government priorities even more clearly on issues such as overtime and night work. The Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act provides that women cannot work between 6 p.m. and 6 a.m. The maximum overtime is two hours a day, on not more than three consecutive days and on not more than sixty days a year in total. The Act also prevents women from working at night after 6 p.m., as does the Shops and Offices Act. (Many exemptions to this were nevertheless granted to employers.)

Both these protective laws were promulgated in recognition of the two jobs carried out by women. If women were kept late at work, or expected to work at night, they would be unable to carry out their household duties. The importance of this cannot be overstated. Since women take full responsibility for the household their days are tightly scheduled to ensure that household chores are done before and after work hours. If these hours were altered, the tenuous balance between work and home would be threatened.

Unfortunately, the evidence on these issues given to the Wiehahn Commission took up contemporary debates in Western Europe where some countries are suggesting that the prohibition of overtime and nightwork discriminate against women, and all individuals should rather have the
right to choose a job in terms of their individual needs and abilities.

The government white paper took up this idea by removing the meagre protection provided in the Acts described above. It wrote:

"In view of the necessity for the optimal utilisation of manpower and in order to remove any differentiation on the basis of sex, the prohibition in the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act, 1941, and the Shops and Offices Act, 1964, on the employment of women on night work after 18h00 will be repealed.... The circumstances which led to the introduction of these protective measures decades ago have in the meantime changed to the extent that such protection is no longer necessary". (34)

The white paper does not document how these 'circumstances' have changed. As we shall go on to see in Section 5, 'Types of Child Care Arrangements,' the burden of child care remains squarely on the shoulders of the working class, and on women in particular. In addition, night work raises more specific problems since women would require 24 hour creches plus transportation to and from work. Neither facility exists anywhere for African women at present.

The net effect of all these deliberations on protective legislation, both the Wiehahn Commission and the government response in the white paper, is that working women have lost the little protection that they had had. The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (No. 3 of 1983) has replaced the Factories Act and the Shops and Offices Act. With this replacement has gone the additional protection women had from overtime, bringing them now onto the same level as men, and the protection from nightwork that was given in the Factories Act. Wiehahn's recommendations that women should be protected from heavy work during pregnancy, and should be protected from dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy have not been implemented. We can understand this to some extent if placed within the broad thrust of the state's so-called 'reform' strategy at the moment. On an ideological level we find the Wiehahn Commission making proposals which conform with present practice in Europe, suggesting the importance of guaranteeing women's right to work. At the same time, the state chooses to implement only those aspects which suit the needs of production and
which do not fundamentally threaten apartheid. The state's suggestion to employers that they should deal sympathetically with pregnant women is also indicative of this broad policy towards the reproduction of the working class. In relation to all aspects of reproduction, health, housing, child care etc., we hear murmurings of 'reform'. But in every case, such reform is in fact part of a directed policy of the state and capital towards improving conditions for a small part of the working class, as an attempt to incorporate them on an ideological level, whilst continuing or increasing the levels of control and oppression of the majority, who are left to carry the burden of reproduction on their own. (35)

From the point of view of the women themselves, given the sexual division of labour in the home, and the 'dual shift' experienced by many working class women, Mullins argues that "withdrawing such protective legislation cannot alleviate women's oppression but merely serves to exacerbate it. The only way out then, is for demands to be made that those protections won for women be extended to include all workers. The abstract right for workers of both sexes to be equally exploited at work, in effect, places an intolerable burden on women workers". (36)

SECTION 4: THE RESPONSE OF CAPITAL
This section focuses on management practices and policies relating to the tension experienced by many women in their roles as mothers and as workers. On the basis of thirty interviews with employers (37) three themes may be identified:

(i) Women are widely viewed by management as temporary and intermittent workers because of their child bearing and child rearing roles
This is widely used as a justification for not training and promoting women. (38) Pregnancy and child care create discontinuous work patterns, and contribute towards women workers being concentrated in the lowest paid and least skilled jobs.

This stratification applies even where there is an explicit company policy as regards non-discrimination on the basis of sex. For example, an informant from the Johannesburg head office of a large insurance company reported that 60% of their total workforce of 450 were women, and they were employed in the full spectrum of jobs from clerks to section heads and managers. However, closer questioning established
that there were only two women managers out of a total of forty; the Human Resources Manager attributed this to the fact that "very few women are totally career oriented." Black women are located in the most subordinate jobs even where there is an explicit company commitment to non-discrimination on the basis of race. In one company where there is such an explicit commitment, the reality is "management is white and the workers are black." Another personnel officer reported with pride that "we are a colour blind company" and said they employed a number of black women in "management positions." However, the examples cited were "industrial nurse" and "home economist". Several informants described women in "top positions" as "single", or with diminished domestic responsibilities. While we came across no instance of any explicit company policy as regards the employment of women with young children, "domestic arrangements" were often probed during pre-employment screening. In one instance, we came across an informal block on the employment of women with pre-school children. The informant, the chief personnel officer of a company employing 30,000 people (approximately 12% of which are women) described how this exclusion operates: "When I interview young white women I ask them about how many children they have, their ages and who looks after them. I don't believe in maids....there should be continuous care by the mother for the first years. Once the kids are at school it's O.K. But I steer clear of a young married woman with small children." This exclusion was not applied to black women because "their family structure is better. With coloured people especially, the culture is different, the families are willing to dig in. They have this family set up which is so much closer than ours." The assumption here is that the isolation of the 'white' nuclear family created a particular tension between women's roles as workers and as mothers. This tension was assumed to be diluted in the case of blacks who were believed to exist within an extended family structure which could incorporate child care arrangements more easily in a support network.

(ii) The tension between women's roles as mothers and as workers surfaces in a lacuna in management policy. "There is no policy on pregnancy", as one informant expressed it. The absence of explicit policy regarding maternity rights and maternity leave in the name of 'discretion' and 'flexibility' increases the insecurity of women
workers of child bearing age.

We came across very few instances where companies have an explicit commitment to 'maternity rights', a commitment to all employees being eligible for maternity leave, with a guarantee of reinstatement to their jobs after a fixed period. At the same time, we also came across few instances where management stated that pregnancy is automatically grounds for dismissal. The most common policy was to grant unpaid maternity leave after which returning to work depended on individual negotiations in which the following criteria were considered relevant: the nature of the job, particularly the skills and training invested in the worker, length of service and the supervisor's assessment of the woman involved.

However, we have heard of women workers trying to conceal their pregnancies for as long as possible so as to maintain their jobs. Cloete reports a black cleaner who aborted at 8½ months due to her efforts to conceal her pregnancy by strapping herself down tightly. (39)

The effect of the lack of maternity protection is that a woman may be fired either as soon as the employer discovers she is pregnant, or sometime during her pregnancy. What this has meant in practice is that many women workers have been faced with a choice: to be a worker or a mother. Generally this leads to a haphazard situation in which a woman loses her job, gives birth, and goes out in search of another job soon after giving birth. With the high rate of unemployment women are increasingly seeing themselves being presented with an either/or situation. To quote an African worker interviewed, "They expect you to say, "please sir, can I have a baby this year?"."

Cleaners, hotel staff, waitresses and shop assistants, seem to be particularly vulnerable to dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy. A representative of management in the hotel trade reported that "having pregnant women toddling around would ruin our image." Women are automatically dismissed at their sixth month of pregnancy since "it is not considered desirable for these women to be in the public eye". In a few instances, pregnant women are given alternative work; "once they start bulging they are sent into back rooms", but this was not common. In the service sector generally pregnancy is often grounds for automatic dismissal and women workers are easily replaced. As
one employer stated, "there is no need to make concessions as there is a large working group to choose from".

Management expressed a general resistance to any notion of maternity rights, or guaranteed job reinstatement. This was justified on the grounds that it was "impracticable", and "would undermine productivity. Giving a guarantee that a job would remain open would remove some of the incentive". However, many informants were at pains to stress that despite this lacuna in company policy, in practice most women are re-employed after 3 - 6 months unpaid maternity leave. This applies particularly to skilled white women workers. For example, an informant from a large insurance company reported that "a clerk is sacked and immediately replaced; but supervisors get their jobs back nine times out of ten." In the few instances where arrangements were made by management to cover a worker's job while she is absent on maternity leave, this included the employment of temporary workers, part-time workers, rearranging shifts and job sharing among the remaining employees.

The general picture that emerges is that the size of the workforce and the degree of union organisation are the critical variables determining whether pregnancy is grounds for automatic dismissal. Overall, the black, unskilled worker who is easily replaceable is most vulnerable to dismissal. Consequently, women workers who are expectant mothers are faced with the prospect of either dismissal, or the loss of earnings and promotion prospects. From our interviews with management, it emerged that the most common policy was to grant unpaid maternity leave. In all cases where this applied, there was a time limit on the duration of maternity leave allowed. The period varied from 3 - 6 months, after which the woman was dismissed if she did not report for work. The time limit involved is often "loose" and this is justified on the grounds of flexibility. "We try to steer clear of hard and fast rules." In very few instances, does a woman retain benefits that normally accrue to employees for continued service unconditionally. In the case of the few women in management positions such benefits are usually retained conditionally on her maintaining certain contributions such as pension fund and medical aid contributions. For women in non-management positions maternity leave is regarded as interrupted service and they lose benefits.

We did not come across a single instance of a company within our
sample, supplementing maternity benefits, obtainable for some women workers under UIF, from a special fund.

(iii) While motherhood was central to management's conceptions of women, there is widespread resistance to the practical implications of this, such as the provision of creches in the workplace. Management perceptions of the problems involved in child care for their workers depended on how close the informant was to workers on the shop floor. An industrial nurse at a manufacturing company in Johannesburg identified child care as "an enormous problem". She maintained that almost all of the one hundred women workers at this factory were "young mothers" whose pre-school children were cared for by grandmothers during their absence at work. In her view, these grandmothers are "very old" and "incapable of giving adequate care". Another industrial nurse at a different company reported that pre-school children are often left alone while their mothers are at work. In her view, such neglect was both psychologically and physically hazardous to the children. "Children get burnt and run over". By contrast, the human resources director of a large insurance company reported that the introduction of flexitime in his company had eased the burden of women workers "specifically as regards fetching arrangements and child care". However, it transpired that the lowest paid and most unskilled section of his workforce, "the restaurant ladies", did not work flexitime.

None of the representatives of management interviewed reported that they provided creches for their workers at the workplace. The general tendency was to see child care as either the responsibility of individual parents, or of the state. "The state should be more involved in the provision of social services generally". However, four informants expressed the view that employers should be involved in the provision of child care for their workers. "Women with small children can't abdicate their responsibility when they come to work". The Director of Personnel of one of South Africa's largest group of companies with a 1982 turnover exceeding R3 billion and employing 56,500 workers commented, "if a large number of women workers are employed, then employers have a social obligation to pay attention to the problem." This group of companies at present do so through financial contributions to creches in Soweto, Tembisa, Ga-RanKuwa,
Claremont (Pinetown) and District Six, although these creches are not specifically for their own employees.

There was a general resistance to the provision of nursery facilities and creches at the workplace on six grounds:

1. Cost. "Child care is an expensive commodity". "It would be too costly for an individual employer". This informant suggested cost sharing among a number of different companies.

2. The present recession. "The focus now is on maintaining employment and avoiding retrenchments rather than on extending benefits". However, this informant maintained that a creche would be a good way of creating a positive image of the company in the black community; "it would help to avoid strikes and consumer boycotts".

3. Disruption of productivity. "I'm sure it would cause a disruption in the work, as don't you think the mothers would keep wanting to go to their kids?"

4. Impracticability as regards transport arrangements, where workers are drawn from a wide geographical area.

5. Restricted benefit. "A workplace creche would only cater for a small section of the workforce". (This informant had previously estimated that approximately a quarter of his workforce of 700 women had pre-school children).

6. No demand for creches from trade unions. "There is no call from workers for creches".

There has been such a call from organised workers in other capitalist societies. However, such demands are only meaningful in a society where women have maternity rights; guaranteed reinstatement after maternity leave.

At present, in South Africa, the achievement of such rights for women workers appears to be remote. We have attempted to show that child bearing and child rearing are central to most management perceptions of women. Yet there is no recognition in either policy or practice of the tension between the roles of mother and worker. This lacuna amplifies the insecurity and exploitation of women workers who are treated as cheap and easily replaceable. In the following section, we discuss the various options open to these women who are also mothers of young children.
SECTION 5: TYPES OF CHILDCARE ARRANGEMENTS

As indicated earlier, in our national sample of African women workers, most had children, and well over half had pre-school children. Furthermore, almost a quarter of our national sample went back to work when their youngest child was less than two months old. The questions to which this section addresses itself are, what happens to these children?; What options do working class women have for the care of their pre-school children; and what is the quality of care these children receive?

Working women are relying first and foremost on their own family members to assist them in the care of their pre-school children. In our national sample, almost forty per cent of the women were leaving their children with adult relatives, particularly grandmothers, and 10% were leaving their children with older siblings. Thus, the main form of childcare amongst working class women is the extended family. However, what is significant is that 50% of the women in our sample are using forms of childcare outside their own family, suggesting that access to support in the form of the extended family is declining. We have found that once women have to start looking outside their own families for daycare, their options are limited and often severely inadequate.

A small proportion of our sample were leaving at least one of their pre-school children alone, implying a chronic lack of facilities, 9% were leaving their children with neighbours; 14% with childminders; 14% were in creches and 6% of the women had hired domestic servants to care for their young children.

Information on informal methods of childcare by either family, neighbours or childminders is difficult to obtain. In order to gain knowledge of these forms of childcare, one would need to penetrate deep into the core of working class life. Because of this problem of accessibility, this section contains most information on creches and childminding which are the most visible forms of childcare arrangements. When it comes to trying to describe what happens to children left with grandmothers and relatives, we are entering the private domain of the working class family. Nevertheless, certain findings did emerge. We found that women who leave their children with grandmothers tend to be
younger and more often than not single. (43)

Grandmothers, like childminders, are old. In our small Johannesburg sample, the average age of grandmothers involved in childcare was 63 years. Grandmothers, however, have more access to support networks in the home than childminders, and look after on average less children, (usually one or two). Other than these differences and the obvious emotional advantages of intra-familial care, grandmothers care for children in essentially similar conditions to childminders.

Neighbours tend to provide an intermediary form of childcare between grandmothers and childminders. The arrangement women make with neighbours are almost identical to those they make with their own mothers. They pay them and have fairly informal arrangements with them over hours and accessibility. However, like childminders, they are not kin and tend to be unemployed women in the townships.

Of all these methods of childcare, only creches receive any financial assistance or subsidisation. In our national sample, 86% of women workers with pre-school children use childcare options which involve either their own families, or informal township networks. As extended family assistance becomes less accessible the care of young children increasingly gets taken over by neighbours and childminders who then become part of the elaborate network of self-help, informal sector activities which tend to emerge in working class areas. These childcare systems are not cheap. In Soweto, for example, we found that the cost of sending a child to a creche was considerably lower than sending a child to a childminder. (44)

The state and employers have not responded to the increased participation of working class women in the labour market by providing daycare. It is still assumed that working class women provide for their children within their own families, or it is assumed that whatever working class women do with their young is their own affair and that they should bear the costs. (45)

By looking more thoroughly at the state's position on daycare and examining the financial contribution by the state and employers to daycare this becomes patently obvious. At the moment, the state is not providing daycare even on a reasonable scale for African women. The HSRC report on daycare/published last year, found that of a pre-
school population of over four million African children, only 0.37% were looked after in creches. In our study of Soweto, we found that only 4% of the overall pre-school population were being catered for in creches. These creches are predominantly funded by fees and subsidies from private welfare groups, rather than the state.

Thus, not only does the state virtually not provide any daycare for working class women, but the small amount of daycare that does exist is funded by non-state finance. The Department of Co-operation and Development did give a small welfare subsidy to black creches, but during 1983, it was withdrawn. So as things stand, the only government subsidisation that African children in daycare centres get are grants-in-aid from the different local authorities and community councils, and a per capita subsidy of R100 per child over five years old in creches by the Department of Education and Training. This subsidy is only given if the creche is registered with the Department, and the conditions of registering are so stringent that very few creches comply.

Neither do employers directly contribute to the provision of daycare for their women workers, as we saw. Numerous large companies give financial assistance to welfare groups, like the African Self Help Association in Soweto, but this is indirect and not always regular. In recession, cut-backs occur and welfare bodies are inevitably among the first groups to be adversely affected. The only direct employer involvement in providing women employees with daycare, occurs for white women workers and this too is exceptional. Thus the work place creches we found during our research covered white women shift workers at Iscor, and white clerical workers at SEIFSA head-office. Neither creche had plans to expand the service to black staff.

Given this severe lack of creches for African pre-school children and the lack of state/employer involvement in providing daycare, it is worth looking at the most recent response from the state on its attitude towards the care of the pre-school child, to see whether any changes are evident which reflect the changed composition of the workforce and the greater participation of African women in the labour market in the past decade.

The Wiehahn Inquiry has been the only official document in the past few years, to recognise that daycare is linked to women's participation
in the labour market. (50) It recommended that the provision of daycare be revised to increase the number of daycare centres, to raise the subsidisation of daycare, and to extend subsidisation to welfare, church and other private groups involved in providing daycare. It recognises the importance of daycare for working parents, as a right, which contrasts with the De Lange Committee conceptualisation of the pre-school child.

The De Lange Committee, set up to investigate educational reform by the HSRC in 1981, does not view the issue of daycare from the perspective of working parents, but purely in instrumental terms relating to the costs and benefits/intervention into pre-school education would have on the formal education system.

"The most important single reason for poor utilisation of formal education is to be found in inadequate preparatory learning experiences before starting school and inadequate support from the home during the years of the formative upbringing of the small child, so that he can later derive full benefit from the more formalised education...." (51)

To this end, the De Lange report did not recommend that the government provide more nursery schools or creches, but simply recommended a one year bridging programme in existing primary schools. It said, furthermore,

"In terms of expense and manpower, it is unrealistic to recommend any comprehensive provisions of these institutions at state expense. However, it is recommended that, in addition to private welfare initiative there should be limited development of these institutions on department initiative, but/restricted areas where the needs of small children are greatest." (52)

This implies a slight recognition that daycare exists as a problem independently of formal education. However, these minor recommendations were not implemented. As was mentioned, in 1983, the Department of Co-operation and Development took away the small welfare subsidy it offered to black pre-school children, and the most recent HSRC report on pre-primary education quotes the Department of Co-operation and Development stating that no new creches will be built in the foreseeable future. (53) Finally, in the latter part of 1983, a White Paper on Black Education was published which in essence does nothing to change the situation at all regarding pre-school childcare.
"The government accepts the recommendations regarding pre-basic education and in particular regarding a bridging period of one or two years aimed at promoting school readiness in as many children as possible before basic education is started. The government accepts that financing a bridging period of this kind should be given high priority because fundamentally affects the efficacy of all further education." (54)

No change in state involvement has resulted from these recommendations; besides the arguments the state forwards miss the issue of daycare completely. Subsidisation is seen purely in terms of the educational needs of the child. This while in itself laudable, ignores both the wider needs of the child and the needs of the working mother. State policy seems to be informed by the assumption that pre-school children are cared for at home; that child care is the family's responsibility and not the state's.

When looking at the situation of creches in Soweto in more detail we found that the way the small amount of state subsidisation works in practice is highly elitist. The six "Wrab" (55) creches are the only creches in Soweto receiving significant state subsidisation. They receive about R379,000 per annum from the council, which means that they are of an excellent standard. The salaries of the staff at these creches are high compared with the other creches in Soweto. (56)

The implications of the high level of state involvement in the six Wrab creches has far-reaching implications. Of a pre-school population of 192,000 children in Soweto, only 720 are in these six Wrab institutions. This, in fact, amounts to 0.37% of children in Soweto. Private creches in Soweto who used to receive subsidisation from the Johannesburg City Council before 1973 and then from Wrab until 1982, are all experiencing a reduction of subsidisation since the Soweto Council has been allocating money since 1983. It seems that the showpiece six creches are receiving an inordinately high degree of financial assistance, while other groups who used to receive reasonable subsidisation are now losing out.

Despite this, they run reasonable childcare centres. In fact, all the 4% of children in Soweto who attend creches, together constitute somewhat of an elite. In all creches the diet children receive is nutritious and well-balanced, (57) and all run relatively good daily
programmes. The Wrab creches offer somewhat higher quality care as their staff are mainly trained and receive more money. Nevertheless, all creches run various educational programmes, and all have had some input from the in-service programmes being run by different groups in Soweto. (58) The ratios of children to staff are not always reasonable. In our sample of Soweto creches the average ratio was 1:29 which is far above the accepted limit. (59)

However, the picture is slightly improved by the fact that in most creches in Soweto, the overall staff (cleaners, cooks, etc) is invariably quite large and presumably the children interact with these extra people as well as their teachers.

The physical conditions of creches is uniformly high as merely in order to register as a creche means complying with certain fairly rigorous standards. All the creches visited in the course of the research had rooms opening out onto verandahs and outdoor play areas. All had climbing equipment and sandpits, running water, child-sized lavatories, low basins, stoves, large rooms, etc. On a physical level, they can therefore give the children more than adequate care. Certainly, if one considers the conditions of the average township house with its lack of space and light, the creches offer a pleasant, spacious alternative. The gardens in almost all creches were grassed and well cared for - some with large shady trees and many with vegetable gardens.

The problem with creches, though, is that to run them optimally is costly. Also, to start them in the first place is expensive, which of course goes somewhere to explaining why there are so few. It has been estimated that the current cost of building a creche which complies by the fairly strict standards laid down by the Children's Act, is R130,000. (60)

In terms of the Children's Act, all pre-school facilities catering for more than six children must register with the relevant Department of Welfare, which then has certain standards which have to be met such as the amount of space per child, the provision of child-sized lavatories and so forth. What this in fact means is that in order to run a legal pre-school care facility, one either has to have only six or less children under one's care, or one has to have more than
R130,000 available in order to comply with the official standards. This leads to the situation where no intermediary pre-school is recognised by law.

The outcome is that a whole range of intermediary forms of childcare arrangements exist which fall outside the scope of the Children's Act and therefore are subject to no control or monitoring. Also, many of these arrangements are in fact "illegal" in terms of the Act. Any childminder who takes in more than six children is considered to be illegal, as is any enterprising woman who converts her garage and takes groups of children into an informal mini-creche. Because of the chronic shortage of facilities, and the fact that the input of outside groups has been restricted to assisting creches, childminders have become a major form of childcare in working class areas.

Another problem favouring alternative types of childcare, is that women in many sectors of employment cannot use creches. When one looks at the creche from the perspective of black working women, one needs to evaluate whether it provides a viable option for her, and one finds that certain impediments exist. Certain employment sectors in which black women are engaged automatically rule out the possibility of their using a creche. Thus, for example, women who work in any job in which the hours are unstable and unpredictable cannot use a creche to place her pre-school children. Creche hours should therefore accord with the needs of working mothers, which means that they should be open for longer than the mother's work hours, thus allowing her to commute from the place of employment to the creche in time - or to deliver her children and not be late for work. In Soweto, where most working women commute to Johannesburg daily, creche hours are severely inadequate. Only two creches in our sample opened at 6.30 a.m. and only one stayed open until 5.30 p.m. Most were open for less. This means, that a mother who has to be at work at 8 a.m. and works an eight hour day would have difficulty in fetching a child by 5 p.m. Mothers who start work earlier would have the problem of delivering the child to the creche on time and still not be late for work. Hours of work, therefore, can disqualify a number of women from using creches, unless older children and neighbours are available to help. We were told repeatedly by creche supervisors whom we interviewed...
that it was the older children who were mostly the one's to fetch and take the pre-school children to the creches. Women without this assistance would have to use other forms of childcare such as childminders. Unlike creches, childminders cater more fully for the needs of working class women in terms of flexibility and accessibility.

We estimate that possibly as many as 17,500 pre-school children in Soweto are being cared for by childminders. Very little is known about this community activity. Only a limited amount of intervention into childminding has occurred by a few welfare groups. Childminding has developed as a largely unknown and obscured, self help working class pattern. It exists and fulfills the needs of working class women for childcare which neither capital nor the state are meeting.

In our small Sowetan sample, the average age of the childminders interviewed was 61 years. Many are sickly, having spent a long physically exhausting life in wage labour. Almost half (47%) had come into childminding through illness or having been strained in previous employment. Given their age and frequent infirmity, it is not surprising that the majority (68%) of the childminders we interviewed never took their children out. It is possible that their interactions with their charges were extremely limited. Questions about the quality of care provided cannot be answered with any certainty as long as childminders exist hidden deep in the working class community.

A British study found that many childminders tended to see their role in passive, custodial terms. "... space is not being made for the child - the child is simply, in its most passive sense, being minded". In our sample this was largely the case. Many childminders made the following kinds of comments when asked what the children in their care did all day:

"They play around in the yard".
"They stay inside".
"They play around all day. I wash nappies".
"They sleep a lot because I must clean".
"They play in the yard and sleep and wash".

The implication is that the social world of many young African children is limited to a grey, colourless backyard.
We found that each childminder in our small Sowetan sample was caring for an average of seven children. The average age of the children was one year, eight months, but almost half (47%) of the childminders were caring for babies under one year. The average charge was R25 per month, per child. Most (94%) of these children were receiving milk daily but nearly half were fed only starch and vegetables and received no other forms of protein. Among our sample of twenty childminders, the ratio of children to adults was 7:1, but even this number of children clearly involves strain if one is 60 - 70 years old. The limitations on energy imposed by age are exacerbated by the inadequacy of facilities in the childminder's houses. Over a third (37%) of our sample had no running water in their homes. The remainder had water but only 44% had hot water. The others had to heat water if they were fortunate enough to have a stove. A significant proportion (16%) had no stoves, 33% had no fridges and only 43% had indoor toilets. Clearly, it is not easy in these conditions to keep bottles sterile, nappies dry and children clean.

These stark and almost Dickensian conditions must be qualified by the personal attributes of the childminder herself. The women who mind children are not a homogeneous group of equally endowed people. The Jacksons identified a number of 'types' of childminders in their British study. These include 'stable' ones who do the job for a long time, and 'intermittent' ones who move in and out of childminding. They write, "This is not of course the same as good or bad". (67)

Two other types that they identified were those who saw childminding as "essentially a passive activity" and those who see it as "an active role, as 'work'." (68) They also distinguish between childminders who may be 'retreating' from the public world, and those who are 'advancing' towards it; in other words, those who sought out work as childminders and saw it as a teaching activity, and those who came to childminding because they were unable to 'make it' in the public world. (69)

The most important insight that emerges from these typologies is that childminding is difficult to characterise in crude, monochromatic terms as either good or bad. While one may find the physical amenities of a particular childminder's house severely lacking, it
may be that the childminder herself is a warm, affectionate person who provides a great deal of emotional support, security and stimulation to her charges.

Many childminders said they enjoyed childminding as it meant they were not lonely. As one woman said - "I am used to it. I appreciate it. If they're not here week-ends, I feel so sad. It's so quiet".

As it happens, this particular childminder was a highly energetic and communicative woman, giving the children a comparatively good quality of care.

More importantly, childminders are being used by increasing numbers of working class women because they are nearby and are prepared to look after children and babies in a manner which suits the working class woman. The childminder takes babies from as young as one month old, is prepared to have the children for long hours and on extra days, if the mother has to work overtime and so on. They fit into the lives of working class women in a flexible manner. Many childminders have themselves been in wage employment and can empathise with the insecurities and instability of hours which working class women experience. Nevertheless, women interviewed are sometimes suspicious of childminders, and as a system it is open to abuse.

At present, the intervention of either the state or employers into daycare for African working class women is negligible. The focus of welfare groups is limited to upgrading and subsidising the existing creches. Their focus remains locked into institutionalised solutions. All existing approaches are failing to move beyond fairly limited ways of seeing childcare. If one begins to free oneself of this narrowness the potential is enormous.

SECTION 6: THE RESPONSE OF THE UNIONS

Having outlined the response of the state and capital to women's needs as mothers and as workers, we now turn to the response of workers' organisations to these needs. Given the unskilled, vulnerable position of women in the labour market, it is hardly in the interests of capital to consider providing work-place creches. It is for this reason that we have focussed rather on maternity rights, as a starting point.
Again, it is clear that maternity rights are not a necessary feature of the present labour policies. However, in the past few years, the growth of the independent trade union movement has shown clearly that organisation is the key to extracting basic rights from capital. Maternity rights will not be conceded easily. Only a high degree of shop floor organisation will carry the weight required for women's place in the labour force to be secured.

Maternity rights are not unknown in South African companies, just as they are not new to unions. Many unions, including the Food and Canning Workers' Union, the South African Allied Workers' Union, unions affiliated to FOSATU, and the Council of Unions of South Africa, have had maternity clauses for a long time, usually as part of general duty clauses. Such clauses include the right to maternity leave under general leave conditions, along with the rights for example, to sick leave, annual leave, compassionate and exam leave. On the management side, some companies have included maternity leave as a right. For example, there is a maternity leave agreement between ASSEMP (the employers' association of the retail trade, of which the OK Bazaars is a member) and the retail unions.

The basis of this agreement is that if a woman has worked for two years or longer and her work performance is considered to be satisfactory by management, she may go on maternity leave for up to six months and will be re-employed on her return. But this, like general duty clauses, although it appears satisfactory, leaves far too much to the discretion of management. Furthermore, a woman who has not been employed for two years has no protection at all. Those women lucky enough to fall within the stipulated period would be restricted to having their children at least three years apart! In effect the woman's chance of getting a job on her return tends to depend on whether there is one available at the time. The present agreement not only allows management to refuse to re-employ a woman because her job is no longer available, but also to refuse to re-employ a particular woman. Any workers who are seen as 'undesirable', be that for incompetence, doing union work, or even for personality reasons, can be refused re-employment. Consequently, pregnant women are particularly vulnerable on this level. (70)

A survey of maternity agreements in industrial councils is similarly revealing. Only three out of the fourteen industrial councils
approached by Cloete had specific agreements on maternity. The agreement of the Clothing Industrial Council is an example: "No employer shall terminate the services of any employee by reason of such employee's approaching confinement: Provided that the employee returns not later than two months after the due date of confinement".

These agreements do not, however, seem binding. Said an official at the Knitting Industrial Council, "it is really up to the individual employer".

The fact that an Industrial Council agreement is not binding on employers is an unfortunate comment on the two TUCSA clothing unions, which have neglected organising on the shop floor. As a result, on the question of maternity leave, the Garment Workers Union has neither worked to inform its members about their rights, nor to organise them to maintain these rights. A woman worker we interviewed at a clothing factory said, "But after six weeks or so you lose your job. They don't want us to be pregnant".

The move to bargain for adequate maternity rights has arisen directly from the factory floor; from the needs and problems articulated by women workers themselves.

Women repeatedly express the fear that pregnancy means job loss. In our small Johannesburg sample, one woman said, "I have noticed that they fire women when they are pregnant and refuse to take them back". Another said, "A lot of women are fired because they are pregnant. If you are pregnant now, they fire you". These comments show very clearly the insecurity experienced by women workers. The inadequacy of agreements like the ASSEMP agreement described above came out vividly in another of our Johannesburg interviews: "They said I could come back, but they fired me when I came back after eight weeks. I was working in a shop. So I came to head office to complain and they employed me here. I was on UIF. But I lost my green card. It was such a confusion that eventually I didn't even get the money for the child".

The first of the independent unions to negotiate for a separate and comprehensive maternity agreement was CCAWUSA. Organising in the retail industry with about 30,000 members over half of whom are
women. CCAWUSA members fall under the ASEMP agreement described above. A CCAWUSA organiser said that the typical experience of women was to be dismissed "there and then". The woman usually signed a resignation form, and was told "you may come and try". The union was concerned not only with the right to return to work, but also with working conditions during pregnancy. (74) The General Secretary Emma Mashinini commented "an expectant woman should not be allowed to work in unhealthy conditions; if it's a difficult pregnancy, the woman should be transferred. But women don't say they're pregnant because they are afraid". She said that "women in advanced stages of pregnancy are often moved off the shop floor and into less visible positions like warehouses which often require heavier work, in unhealthy conditions." (75)

Women also have problems claiming maternity benefits. They have to claim at the right time, they do not always realise this, and management is often unhelpful in getting their cards ready on schedule. According to a CCAWUSA organiser, "Most women do not realise they can claim the insurance only during these months. Instead they resign in the seventh or eighth month of pregnancy, intending to draw unemployment insurance for the next six months only to find they do not qualify". (76)

Management did not recognise the need for pregnant women to visit a clinic and so any days taken off to go to the clinic were not counted as sick leave. After returning to work, women could not take off time to take their children to a clinic, and were disciplined or warned for missing work should they do so. Absolutely no thought was given to breast feeding. (77)

The Union's first maternity agreement was concluded with the OK Bazaars amidst great publicity. The General Secretary of the Sweet Food and Allied Workers' Union, a FOSATU affiliate, said "CCAWUSA has set a new precedent which might be followed by our union". (78) This union and most of the other independent unions with significant numbers of women members have begun the process of negotiation for maternity rights. This process has led to much discussion about exactly what kind of agreements are most beneficial to women. One of the main debates is over the duration of maternity leave, and maternity
pay. Women workers in a company organised by NAAWU, have engaged in a series of seminars and discussions to draft maternity demands. One of their main conclusions, in contrast to the CCAWUSA draft, was that the right to PAID leave was not negotiable. The reasons for this are firstly that UIF cannot be claimed for the full period of 26 weeks by all women, and that some women are not eligible at all. Also the women felt that six months leave mostly taken after confinement was the minimum necessary time, and UIF did not cover that period. In addition, there was a feeling that by claiming UIF during pregnancy leave, women were using up their accumulated right to UIF which was very dangerous thing to do in this time of unemployment. The conclusion expressed was that UIF should be left in case the woman was retrenched at a later stage.

The question of pay is a complex one. Usually managements are not prepared to grant paid leave. To grant unpaid maternity leave may well be seen as tactically expedient in this time of recession since it allows management to appear to be making concessions while avoiding the issues that most threaten profits: demands for better wages and for a limitation on retrenchments. But once the union demands paid leave, the "costs" to the company become the determining factor, and are seen by management as too high.

Nevertheless, there is the unusual case of the Kellogs factory in Springs where pregnant women who have been with the factory for twelve months are paid 33 1/3% of their salaries (the maximum allowed for them to remain eligible for UIF) for a period of twelve weeks. They are given the cheque the day they leave work. They are not however, guaranteed their jobs back. The relevant union, the Sweet Food and Allied Workers' Union, keeps a list of these women's names, and the company informs the union whenever there is a vacancy. The women on the list have first priority to fill the vacancy. They may however, have to wait for months for a job, during which time they have no income. The industrial relations officer at Kellogs described the rationale for this policy: "It's one of the things the union proposes and thinking about it, it's only right. I don't see it as being too generous; it is a problem we all face. It's not a mortal disease. If you don't have this you might stop women from having kids". (79)
Considering the Kellogs agreement an organiser from a FOSATU union said, "managements have realised if they give you money you'll keep quiet - so that's why they give them money and not their jobs". (80)

At this stage, the likelihood of unions winning paid maternity leave is unclear. But a number of unions including SAAWU and some of the FOSATU affiliates are presently embarking on maternity negotiations and the demand for maternity pay will be tested then.

Although this section is concerned with maternity leave as an aspect of child care, it is worth noting that the National Union of Mineworkers is presently demanding paternity leave from the Chamber of Mines. The union asked for seven days paid leave for each worker whose wife had just given birth to a baby. Thus far, the Chamber has refused. (81)

The drive towards negotiations for maternity rights for women workers is a manifestation not only of increased union organisation in those industries employing women, but of increasing women's participation in the unions themselves. Although this study has not looked specifically at the effect of child care on women's participation in the union movement, the fact that 50% of the women in our small Johannesburg sample said that when they went out, they took their young children with them, indicates that there is a strong possibility that child care does indeed mitigate against a high degree of union involvement.

In a study done by Becker at a factory organised by the National Union of Textile Workers she found that "Domestic responsibilities and responsibility for child care is certainly a major factor affecting women's participation in NUTW." (82)

However, the problems of male chauvinism and the sexual division of labour in the home remain the dominant experience of women. In an interview, Mama Lydia Ngwenya, the Transvaal organiser of the Transport and General Workers' Union said, "You know what husbands are like. He'd complain that I don't do anything - cook, make tea or do washing for him. It's true that I preferred to do the washing at night rather than miss any meeting. I'd rather strain and overwork at night to satisfy him....That's the problem with married women in the organisation. You're in the middle and you don't know what to do. Even at work if you think of the problems at home you don't concentrate...
you find yourself getting depressed. What will you find at home? What attitude will you get from your husband and even your children?" (83)

This leads one to the conclusion that however important the newly-won maternity rights are in defining the arena of women's issues in the union movement, the fundamental problems involved in freeing women workers to participate more fully in labour struggles are deep seated.

We would argue however, that it is fundamentally in the interests of the working class as a whole, to combat sexism in the household. Without an understanding and acceptance of women's right to be treated equally with men, and an acceptance of joint responsibility for housekeeping and child care, the working class will remain deeply divided. The sharing of domestic labour more equitably between all household members is one solution. Another, is the shifting of a large part of the household burden out of the individual family with the socialisation of domestic labour through the provision of communal laundry services, dining halls and nurseries. (84) Both solutions warrant further debate since changes are urgently needed.

However, unless the problem is addressed by and within working class organisations, the possibility of success is limited. The problem within the workplace was identified during the Fosatu Education Workshop. A report on the workshop reads,

"Ms Magubane drew attention to two crucial realities about women workers in industry: Firstly, that women have been drawn into the industrial workforce in significant numbers only recently, and at levels of skill and wages much lower than those of men, which meant that they could be used against male workers. Secondly, the particular problems women workers suffer from were identified. The important point was made that although male and female workers are clearly from the same class, their experience of their position as part of the working class differs. (85)

The critical factor lies here: that the sexual division of labour divides the working class in South Africa and thus contributes to maintaining its subordination as a whole.

SECTION 7: THE POLITICS OF CHILD CARE

The central theme of this report is the tension between women's roles as mothers and as workers. We have tried to show how the state fails
to mediate this tension, how capital exploits this tension, and how this tension is experienced by the women themselves in our study. One dimension of this tension surfaces around the issue of child care. Therefore, the neglect of child care in South Africa has significant implications. Child care may be viewed as an 'indexical issue': as a crucial indicator of the level of organisation among women; of the standard of living of the working class, and of the state's concern with the reproduction of labour power. Marx wrote, "The maintenance and reproduction of the working class is, and must ever be, a necessary condition to the reproduction of capital." (86)

The neglect of child care in South Africa must be located in terms of the state's lack of concern with the conditions under which African labour power is reproduced generally. The neglect of state expenditure on child care is thus linked to a whole series of state policies such as the neglect of housing, education, health, pensions and welfare services generally for the African working class.

We see the need to politicise the whole question of 'motherhood'. It follows that child care should be conceptualised in political terms to generate demands on the state for more adequate child care provisions and demands on capital for maternity rights and benefits. The urgency of the task ahead is that the working class, through their trade unions and community organisations, will have to take the initiative in the struggle to achieve this. A distinction needs to be drawn here between short and long-term goals. "As a short term demand, the provision of sufficient child care facilities is an important one which can free women from the home and open the way for women's involvement in political struggle. It is a means of uniting women to organise around a common problem, challenge authority, and learn the value of collective action, but for it to have a long-term political significance, it must be demonstrated how it is connected to the rest of society and the mainstream political struggle." (87)

Mainstream political struggles in South Africa have frequently articulated a demand for child care provision. For example, the Federation of South African Women (FSAW) formed in 1954, drafted a women's charter setting out 'What women demand' for the Congress of the People in 1955. The demands included nurseries and child welfare
centres. The demand for paid maternity leave for working mothers was incorporated into the Freedom Charter adopted by the Congress of the People meeting in 1955. (88)

As was stated "We are the women who know the joy of having children and the sorrow of losing them. We know the happiness of rearing our children and the sadness caused through illness and ignorance". (89) Walker comments, "This statement, issued in 1955 by the Federation of South African Women, formed part of an appeal for the support of all the women of South Africa. The call for solidarity was not merely rhetorical, nor a cynical political stratagem, but flowed out of the recognition that for most women, motherhood is a central and unifying experience in their lives". (90)

While in the short-term demands around the issue of child care may have a unifying potential, we have stressed the class dimension to the experience of motherhood in South Africa. We have argued that among African urban working class women economic necessity generates a fusion of the mother/worker roles; that motherhood involves an emphasis on the satisfaction of basic physical needs - on obtaining the cash income necessary to pay the rent and buy food. Given the low level of African wages and the massive disorganisation of African family life in contemporary South Africa, this often involves mothers going back into wage labour as soon after birth as possible.

The majority of the women in our study relied for child care either on relatives, particularly grandmothers, or on informal provision in the form of child minders. For most of these women creches are not a viable option because of the shortage of creche places and their short, inflexible operating hours. At present, the range of child care alternatives for African working mothers are extremely narrow. The need involves widening the choices, in the sense of viable alternatives, open to these women.

In conclusion, the question of motherhood and the issue of child care are wrapped up in a complex tangle of ideological prescriptions. We have tried to steer our way through these, and have avoided any full discussion of strategies for change. At the same time, we are aware that our report raises large, urgent and complex questions, especially in the context of the increasing numbers of women entering
wage labour. Clearly, a wide variety of changes are necessary to relieve the tension experienced by many women who are both mothers and workers. The most obvious of these changes is the need for quality day care, but in addition, our study should have demonstrated the need for maternity leave with pay and without penalty to the worker.

Child care is an issue which takes us beyond the workplace and the household and raises fundamental questions about how our society is structured; it is an issue which involves shifting the boundaries between the 'private' and the 'public' spheres. At present, child care is a site of struggle built into the problem of daily survival for many African women. It is not a struggle on the larger social terrain involving collective effort, but one often conducted by women alone within the hidden, isolated arena of the household; it is often a struggle of desperate dimensions; a struggle of a deeply moving kind.

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FOOTNOTES

1. This paper is a summary of a 300 page report of the same title submitted to the Second Carnegie Inquiry into Poverty and Development in South Africa in February, 1984. It should be stressed that this project was conceptualised in exploratory terms. We set out to identify the difficulties experienced by a sample of working women in contemporary South Africa in relation to the care of their pre-school children. Given the limited time and resources at our disposal, we do not claim to have produced anything near a comprehensive definitive account of what is a large and complex social issue. Our report is the outcome of part-time work conducted by the three of us over a twelve month period. The fact that we have worked collectively is significant given the privatized, isolated nature of much social research. Hopefully, the product is a much richer document than any single one of us could have produced alone during this time.

2. Our data was obtained from interviews and questionnaires administered to 885 African women throughout South Africa. These samples were drawn from two different 'catchment points': the workplace and the household. Our largest sample involved a total of 835 African women workers employed in the retail trade and the clothing industry. Questionnaires were sent to all the women employed by a large retail organisation in a total of 62 towns throughout South Africa. The remainder of our workplace sample was drawn from the clothing industry, this being the only industry in which African women constitute the majority of the workforce. We
chose three different clothing factories in Johannesburg which an official from the Garment Workers Union assured us covered a range of work situations. We administered questionnaires to all their African women workers. These women are referred to as our 'national sample population'. Another sample of 50 African women was drawn from three communities in the Johannesburg area: Soweto, Alexandra and Katlehong. We interviewed these women in depth for two reasons; firstly, we wanted to obtain a fuller, richer picture of their experience as mothers and as workers, and the options open to them as regards the care of their pre-school children. We wanted to try and ascertain precisely why they had chosen these options and how they felt about them. Thus, the stress in these interviews was on the women's own subjective perceptions and experiences. Secondly, we wanted to explore the relation between child care and women's participation in wage labour. Do pre-school children act as an obstacle or an impetus to African women's employment? What kind of employment options are open to them? How does pregnancy interfere with their work patterns? Our interest in these questions precluded us restricting our sample to the workplace, to women presently engaged in wage labour. In our report these women are referred to as our 'small Johannesburg sample'. From these two sample populations, we hoped to illustrate the different dimensions of problems - in both qualitative and quantitative terms - relating to the care of their pre-school children, experienced by African women in different urban communities, work situations and household arrangements. The parameters of our research are thus women who belong to the urban African working class which implies the exclusion of the majority of African women in South Africa living in the rural areas. Given the diminishing number of black South Africans who have access to employment and accommodation and rights to be in a 'white' urban area, we have focussed on a 'privileged' section of the African working class.


14. The extension and restructuring of the sexual division of labour is also affecting many white women. It is possible that under the pressure of the so-called 'skills shortage' which some believed would lead to a restructuring of the racial division of labour, many white women are engaging in new occupational roles. The training and employment of white women as bus drivers in Johannesburg provides an example as does the fact that the majority of crane drivers, lorry drivers and quality control officers currently employed at ISCOR are white women.

15. For example "at the end of last year the Johannesburg City Council employed 74 women workers in jobs traditionally performed by male migrant labourers. The women are recruited from Soweto and form part of the council's new policy to make use of local labour. The Chairman of the Management Committee says that the policy will help solve some of the Council's accommodation problems for single men in hostels". (Rand Daily Mail. 9,2.1983).


17. Personal communication from trade union official August, 1983.

18. With the progressive tightening up of influx control and the deteriorating economic situation in the Homelands, for many African women illegal employment in 'white' areas as domestic servants is one of the few strategies of survival open to them. This is substantiated by a recent study which involved interviewing 4,500 households throughout the Transkei in 1982. The study revealed the high number (50,476) of female 'external' migrants (i.e. working outside the Transkei borders). Many of these women (44.39%) were employed in domestic service. Of the total 32,876 were assumed to be 'illegally' in South Africa. P. Wakelin, 'Migrant Labour in Transkei 1983', Institute for Management and Development Studies Statistical Series 2 - 1983. (Umtata: University of Transkei, 1983) p 5-6.


23. Ibid.


26. Uniformly the wages of the African women in our national sample were extremely low. The largest proportion (68.66%) earned R299 or less a month. A third (33.33%) earned R200-R299 a month, and almost another third (31.34%) earned R300 or over, a month. However, the great majority of our sample (98.39%) answered negatively when asked, "If you did not have a job, would your family have enough money to live on?" The majority of the sample (62.75%) said that no one else helped to support them or their children.

27. See discussion of protective legislation in Europe pp 58-65 of report.

28. Maternity benefits paid out under UIF increased from R5,5m in 1971 to R22,2m in 1981. (a) In 1982, they increased to R29,2m. (b) (a) SAIRR, Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, 1982 (Johannesburg SAIIRR, 1983) p 75. (b) Interview with Department of Manpower official conducted by Marian Cloete, May, 1983.

29. Amongst those excluded are agricultural employees (except in forestry), seasonal workers, pieceworkers, domestic servants employed in private households and people employed on the 'fixed establishments' of the Public Service.

30. M. Cloete, 'Maternity Rights and Benefits', Industrial Sociology III Research Project, University of the Witwatersrand, 1983, p 24. Also see Section 4: 'The Response of Capital' Another problem is that women often do not know about UIF even though an amount is deducted from their wages each month for UIF.

31. Study Group on Women in Employment, 'Memorandum on Women in Employment', February 1978, p 42-43. Amongst our management interviews, only one informant from a large retail organisation employing 1,500 workers (78% of which are black women) believed that women workers should have their jobs kept open for them and that maternity leave should be regarded as "analogous to military service".
34. Ibid.
35. See Section 5: 'Types of child care arrangements'. The continuing improvement of pre-primary schooling for a small elite at the expense of basic child care facilities for the majority is another example of this process.
37. Thirty interviews were conducted with different employers in the Johannesburg area where women form a significant proportion of the workforce. The interviews were loosely structured and the information given often labelled as "highly confidential" which of course, we have taken pains to respect. We attempted to cover all sectors where women workers are concentrated and a widely divergent scale of operations. Representatives of management interviewed ranged from a clothing factory employing 500 workers (79% of whom were women) to a large group of companies employing 226,000 workers (20% of whom were women).
40. A significant number (18) of the women interviewed in depth in our small Johannesburg sample believe that many women are fired from their jobs because of pregnancy. One woman commented, "Bosses get fed up with pregnant women". This is an issue where union membership may provide some protection. A laundry worker who "had forgotten" the name of her union said, "I have noticed that since we joined the union, they no longer fire pregnant women".
41. For example, in Britain, APEX (Association of Professional, Executive, Clerical and Computer Staff) maintain that "the provision of nursery facilities should be the responsibility of local authorities. However, until there is adequate provision, the union will, subject to certain safeguards, present claims to employers for workplace nurseries". APEX, Workplace attitudes to maternity and nursery facilities: a case study. (London: APEX, undated) p. 5.
42. Information on creches was obtained from interviews and questionnaires which were administered to supervisors at a sample of creches in Soweto and Alexandra. A few workplace creches were visited, and some white creches for comparative data. Information on creches was also obtained from other/studies official documents. Some key informants in the childcare field both in private welfare agencies and state departments were interviewed. Newspaper articles were gathered and other material such as conference papers. Twenty
childminders in Soweto were interviewed using a questionnaire which asked basic questions on diet, daily activities of the children, payment, numbers of children being cared for, income of childminders, etc.

43. In our national sample, half of the women in the under 25 age group left at least one of their pre-school children with their mothers. Only 20.75% of the older women (between 35 and 49 years old) did so.

44. We found that the average creche cost R15 per month per child. (It went up to about R18 while the research was in progress). Childminders, on the other hand, were charging on average R25 per month excluding food and some were charging as much as R60. Furthermore, women using adult relatives to look after their young were paying them between R16 and R30 a month on average.

45. See management attitudes, above.


47. This finance is very small and seems to have been decreasing particularly in Soweto in the past few years. For example, the African Self Help Association, the largest welfare group involved with day care in Soweto used to get eight cents a day per child in the early seventies from the Johannesburg City Council. When WRAB took over it was reduced to seven cents a day per child. (A total reduction of R12,000). Now that grants in aid payment have been handed over to the Soweto Council, the amount has been further cut by two thirds. Thus in 1981, WRAB gave R84,000 in grants-in-aid; in 1982 the Soweto Council gave approximately R29,000. This amounts to about seven cents per child per day. It is estimated that the cost of keeping a child at a creche is nearer to seventy-five cents a day per child.

48. The way this subsidy has been offered in Soweto for example has in fact made it inaccessible to the vast majority of African day care centres. In Soweto, for example, at least 90% of creches take children under three years of age. As these creches are fulfilling a need in the community by taking children from two years and upwards, they are loath to raise their age of acceptance in order to receive the subsidy which is only given at creches where the age of acceptance is three. A spokes person for ASHA said that this Department of Education and Training subsidy was useless in her creches as they would have to employ expensive qualified teachers to run the five to six year old groups in order to qualify for the subsidies. She said this expense would virtually cancel out the small subsidy of R100 per five to six year old making the whole thing a complete farce.

49. See pp 131-138 of our report for a full description of the two work-place creches visited.


52. Ibid p 6.


55. The Soweto Council is in the process of taking these creches over from WRAB at the moment.

56. Teachers were earning over R250 per month compared with teachers at some African Self Help creches who were earning less than R150 per month.

57. All creches in our sample gave children milk and porridge for breakfast and lunches; all included starch, protein, one vegetable and occasionally salads. All gave children milk or cocoa with bread.

58. For instance, the following groups have run-in-service training for the staff at Soweto creches: Entokozweni Early Learning Centre, Johannesburg City Health Department, the Department of Education and Training, RAU, World Vision and the Johannesburg Early Learning Society.

59. The US Federal Interagency requirements are that for two to three year olds, the ratios should be one staff member to four children, for three to six year olds, the ratios should be one staff member to eight children. South African standards on ratios are not as high. The Department of National Education says there should be one staff member to twenty children for pre-school children. The Provincial Education Department maintains that there should be 1:22, the Department of Co-operation and Development that there should be one staff member to twenty children and for older children, one staff member to thirty-five children.

60. African Self Help Association, 'Annual Report, 1981-1982' Johannesburg, 1982, p 3. In an interview with another creche informant it was estimated that the cost of building a creche was much higher - R240,000.

61. Women in domestic work, for instance, who sleep at their place of employment would not be able to use creches unless she had some help in fetching and carrying her child to the creche. Women who are employed in any work in which overtime has to be performed, as well as night shift workers, and women working in any establishment operating outside normal hours, would not be able to use creches without assistance in the fetching and carrying of their children.

62. Alpha Creche and Salvation Army creche.

63. We estimated that there are about 2,500 childminders each caring for about seven children in Soweto.

64. There are seven childminding schemes operating in Soweto and Alexandra. These schemes are mostly assisted by private welfare agencies. About 400 children, cared for by around 70 childminders, fall under such schemes. Mostly the schemes have some form of bulk buying offer, some training to the childminders, and monitor the conditions under which they are working.
We found that 18% of our sample of childminders had been garment workers; 29% had been informal sector workers, sewing and selling goods; 42% had been domestic servants or employed in the service sector; and 11% had been professional, i.e. teachers and nurses.


Ibid, p 164.

 Ibid, p 165.

Ibid, p 166.

Interview with Jeremy Daphne, CCAWUSA organiser, February, 1983.

Cloete, 1983: 36.

Government Gazette, No. R3495, 8 October, 1983, No. 1 208. Labour Relations Act 1956, Clothing Industry, Transvaal, Main Agreement, p 16, clause 14(3)(a). A new Industrial Council agreement has recently been signed. It increases confinement leave from three months to sixteen weeks and workers must get their job back while their holiday pay must not be affected. "Garment Worker", vol 25, No. 34, /11/2983.

Cloete, 1983: 37.

Telephone interview with Mongeze Radebe, CCAWUSA Organiser, Vereeniging, February, 1983.


Interview with Jeremy Daphne. February, 1983.

Interview with Maggie Magubane. September, 1983.

Telephone interview with industrial relations officer at Kellogs, September, 1983.

Interview October, 1983.

Interview with Cyril Ramaposa. August, 1983.

Becker, 1983: 57. In Britain, the TUC charter lays specific emphasis on child care as an impediment to women's participation in union activity. It urges unions to provide creche facilities during union meetings. See p 248 report.


As difficult as the socialisation of domestic labour may be, it may be easier than remodelling people's sex stereotyping of domestic tasks. As William Goode has observed for China, "In certain respects, the development of communal dining halls, nurseries, kindergartens, laundry services and so on, may be more acceptable to the Chinese male than would be any serious attempt to force him to conform to egalitarian values that would direct him to share the household tasks equally or to give up the services which were traditionally his male right. Under the communal system he may still obtain these services even though they are not so individualised as they would be in his household; at least, he does not have to take part in such 'women's activities' himself". W. Goode, World Revolution and Family Patterns. (New York: Free Press, 1963), p 302.
may be 'more acceptable' to many men, its advantages are not quite
so obvious to the women who perform the same domestic labour in
communal instead of privatized contexts. This seems to be the
situation in contemporary China. See C. Adams and K. Winston,
Mothers at Work. Public Policies in the United States, Sweden and

85. Johannesburg Correspondent, 'Workshop on Women', South African

p 718. However, Marx goes on to write, "But the capitalist may
safely leave this to the workers' drives for self preservation and
propagation". The implication is that the question of the maintenance
and reproduction of labour power is relegated to a 'private' peripheral
sphere.

87. A. Hill, 'Materialist Feminism and South Africa: the position of
black working class women in contemporary Cape Town'. Sociology

88. J. Kimble and E. Unterhalter, 'ANC Women's Struggles 1912 - 1982',

89. Meeting of the Congress of Mothers: 7 August, 1955. Treason Trial
exhibit G838 p 2. Cited by C. Walker, Women and Resistance in South

90. Ibid.

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