

UNIVERSITY OF NATAL

**THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SEPARATION BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE AND
THE REPRODUCTIVE SPHERES ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN WORKERS IN THE
CLOTHING INDUSTRY. THE UMBILO INDUSTRIAL AREA AS A CASE STUDY.**

Pheladi Pally MOJAPELO

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CASE STUDY**

BY: MOJAPELO PHELADI PALLY

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DEDICATION

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1. CHAPTER 1

1.1 Introduction

The principal focus of this study is to investigate the impact of the separation between the **productive**¹ and the **reproductive**² spheres on the lives of women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial area, as well as to look at the implications of the findings of the study for planning.

1.2 Background to the Study

There are about 384 clothing industries in the **Industrial Council**³ Area of Natal, employing approximately 35 000 people, of whom about 70% are women (Jugdeo, 1996. personal comm). These workers come from a number of places north and south of Durban, from places such as Umlazi, Kwa-Mashu, Phoenix, Chatsworth, Clermont and Pinetown. However, there are some workers who come from as far as Umzinto and Umkomaas. These workers commute everyday.

On the basis of the general information gained in an interview with one of the Inspectors (Mr P. Jugdeo) of the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area, a conclusion was reached about women's circumstances in both the productive and the reproductive spheres.

The official time for starting work in the factories is 07h00 in the morning and work carries on until 16h30 (Jugdeo, 1996. personal comm). Since most women come from areas relatively far north and south of the place of employment, getting to work on time requires waking up early in the morning. Every day, women spend most of their time working in the factories, with work in the household performed after 16h30, when they come back from work. They retire late in the evening after having completed all the necessary household tasks for the day.

From the above discussion, it can be concluded that the distance between the home and the workplace is burdensome for women to cope with work in both spheres, considering the time-frame within which women have to balance work in both spheres.

These assumptions are justified in a study conducted by Meer (1984) on "**Factory and Family. The divided lives of South African women workers**". From the discussions with the women, women defined themselves in the following manner:

"...we almost always live far from the factories and travel long distances and spend a lot of money and a lot of time to get to work. We sleep very little, we work at least 8 hours in the factory and 8 hours at home. We are 16 hour a day workers without time to read, no money or time to go for holidays or engage in other recreational activities... when we have spare time, we clean our houses or sew or knit, or attend weddings and funerals or visit friends and relatives..."

This study will focus particularly on women workers in the clothing factories in the Umbilo Industrial Area to ascertain whether there are any similarities between their experiences and the experiences of other women who have taken part in studies that have been undertaken on women factory workers.

The findings of the study will have many implications for planning in that it will help planners to have some understanding of the underlying problems experienced by working women as a result of the dichotomy between the public and the private spheres, so that future planning policies can be formulated along the lines of dealing with these problems, to help working women to cope with the demands in both spheres. Findings will also help the employees of these workers to gather what they can do to make it easier for women workers in the clothing industries to manage their roles in both spheres effectively.

1.3 Research Problem

The main research problem that compelled me to conduct this study lies in the universally acceptable stereotype that women belong in the home sphere while men belong in the work place (Cook, 1987:1). This stereotype has been reinforced by the spatial structure of South African cities, which, through land-use zoning regulation policies, have been designed in a way that home and work places are spatially divided. This home/work division is based on the assumption of a nuclear family, whereby the wives are responsible for the production and reproduction of

human life, while men provided the means of subsistence (Engels, 1972 in Kabeer, 1995:44, Matthaei, 1982 in England, 1991:137). The separation between the home and work place also meant the sexual division of the labour force, which according to feminists, forms the basis of women's oppression (Hayden, 1980:172).

It was only during the 1960s and 1970s that the problems of home/work division for women became acknowledged. England (1991:135) noted two post second world war trends which have highlighted the inadequacies of the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres. These are the change in the composition of household structure (due to industrialisation which encouraged the prevalence of nucleated rather than traditional extended families) and the increase in women's employment, as more women began to enter the labour force in the 1960s. These inadequacies are based on the fact that with the emergence of nucleated families, women could no longer gain assistance from other members of their families except from their close family members i.e. husbands and children. Furthermore, the entrance of more women into the labour force meant that their time had to be divided between work and home, with most of the time being spent in the former, thus making it difficult for women to cope with the demands between the two spheres.

South African black women who have entered the labour force since the 1960s are faced with the problems of having to fulfil their dual roles i.e. that of being a housewife/mother and a worker, owing to the spatial structure of the apartheid city. This was evident in a study conducted by (Cook, 1987) on women from two South African townships i.e. Khayelitsha and Soshanguve. In the case of Khayelitsha, it was found that women spend on average between 15 -18 hours of their daily lives engaged in activities in both the productive and the reproductive spheres. In Soshanguve on the other hand, it was found that women spend about 17 or more hours per day working between the two spheres.

Most of the women in these townships begin work at 06h30 and work finishes at 17h00. After a long working day, the average black woman in South Africa has only seven hours left to journey to and from work, complete domestic chores as well as her own personal tasks (ibid).

The burden is further exacerbated by the amount of time and money spent on transport and travelling to work. As it has been noted by Cook (1987:3) in the study on women in Khayelitsha and Soshanguve, the average travel time for walking to the bus stop, waiting, possibly changing transport, walking to the place of work is 1 hour and 40 minutes. The journey could take up to 4 or 5 hours if one considers the inefficiency of public transport. Thus at the end, about 3 hours 40 minutes are left in a day for women to do their tasks at home

1.4 Research Question

A research question will be outlined here in order to provide a framework as well as to give direction and focus for research. It will concentrate exclusively on how the separation between the **productive** and the reproductive spheres impact on the lives of women workers in the clothing industry in the Umbilo Industrial Area, looking specifically at the problems that these women experience with regard to coping with the demands made upon them in both spheres, as well as the implications of these problems for future planning.

1.5 Subsidiary Questions

To further expand on the main research question, the following subsidiary questions will be asked:

- Where do the women live?
- Do they commute and how do they commute?
- How much time do they take to get to work and how much money do they spend on transport per day?
- What characterises work in the productive and the reproductive spheres?
- Is there an interdependence between the two spheres?
- Do the women get assistance from other household members with the household chores?
- Would they prefer to work or live anywhere else?
- If yes, why is this so?
- what are the women's aspirations in relation to what could be **done to** help them cope with the problems they experience due to the "dichotomization" of the two spheres?

1.6 Hypothesis

The broad hypothesis of this study is that the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres generates problems for women workers in the clothing industry in the Umbilo Industrial Area, in coping with the competing demands between the productive and the reproductive spheres.

1.7 Scope of the Study

1.7.1 Limit of the study to the Clothing Industry

The study has been specifically limited to the clothing industry due to the fact that globally, this sector is one of the highly labour intensive industries employing mainly female labour force. Since the focus of the study is particularly on women workers in the industry, the clothing industry provided an attractive opportunity for the researcher towards the fulfilment of the aim of the study.

1.7.2 Limit of the study to women workers

There is a tendency for managers in the clothing and textile industries to prefer female to male labour force. In a study performed by Narayanan and Kimura (1992) on women workers in the textile industries in Thailand, they found that industrial managers preferred women labour for the textile and clothing industry because, "**textile work is light**" and is therefore suitable for women since they are more patient and nimble than men. Other representatives in the study agreed that women are more controllable than men and thus can be easily managed, and also less likely to engage in labour agitation activities (Narayanan and Kimura, 1992:144).

Other studies have shown that the tendency for industrial managers to prefer women to men in the labour force is because of the fact that women are much cheaper to employ and more easily exploitable than men.

The majority of women in the clothing industries are engaged in unskilled and semi-skilled work. The kind of work that women perform does not require technical knowledge and this renders women to be very susceptible to exploitation with regard to the low wages, occupational segregation and marginalisation in the industry.

1.7.3 Limit of the study to the Umbilo Industrial Area

The Umbilo Industrial Area, sometimes referred to as Congella, is an area situated beyond the south-west edge of the Durban Central Business District (CBD), (see map 1). It is distinctively defined on the south-east edge by the Southern Freeway and the railway line which form a physical barrier between the study area and the Maydon Wharf area. The area is also defined by Sydney Road and the Umbilo Arterial road which stretches southwards to join the Edwin Swales Drive on the western edge.

However, for the purpose of this research, focus will only be on the area bounded by the McDonald and Moore Roads on the north-west and the north-east of the study area (see map 2). This area represents only a portion of the greater Umbilo Industrial Area.

For the purpose of the study, the Umbilo Industrial area was chosen particularly for its location close to the Durban CBD and to the major bus and taxi ranks. This makes it a very attractive place for job seekers particularly reliant on public transport (most women in the clothing industry are reliant on public transport). Because of its centrality, it is closer to other firms, to customers and to labour. It was also easily accessible to the researcher who was herself reliant on public transport.

1.8 Research Methodology

1.8.1 Primary Sources

Primary Sources include the informal discussions with the inspectors of the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area, from the Industrial Council Offices (Natal Branch), which were intended to assist in acquiring the general background to the clothing industries in the Umbilo

Industrial Area. Managers of the different clothing industries were interviewed to acquire more information about the character of their factories and their labour force. Women workers from the clothing factories also formed another important source of information.

1.8.2 Secondary sources

Books, journals, and papers were secondary sources that were utilised to gather more information pertaining to the topic.

1.8.3 Structure of the Questionnaire

For the purpose of this study, two sets of questionnaires were prepared (i.e. one for the managers and the other for women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area).

1.8.4 Units of Analysis

The units of analysis for the study are women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area. Particular focus is on women workers under three categories, as prescribed in the Wage Agreement Schedule by the Industrial Council for the Clothing Industries (Natal) (see appendix 1). Focus was on women within Grade I, Grade II and Grade A categories, within which semi-skilled and unskilled workers are employed. The nature of employment in these three categories include people described as machinists, checkers, pressers, cleaners, sorters, service hands, cutters, trimmers, head-cutters, and so on. Clothing industries involved in the manufacturing of men, women and children's clothing were included in the study.

1.8.5 Development of a Sampling Method

In developing a sampling method for the industries, the researcher walked around the area bounded by the Umbilo Road, Sydney Road, Moore Road and Mc Donald Road identifying the clothing industries in the study area. Five clothing industries were randomly identified and selected. However, due to the time constraints owing to the fact that most clothing industries

were pre-occupied with increasing productivity at this time of the year (in preparation for the festive season), in three of the clothing industries that were selected, employers were not willing for their workers to take part in the study. It was in such cases that the researcher had to move on to the next factory until access was granted.

In obtaining a sample for the women, a list of women workers falling within Grades I, II and A in each factory was acquired from the employers by the researcher, with the aim of selecting a sample from these lists. However, this method proved to be inconvenient for the employers because of the amount of time it would take, since women were interviewed during office hours. Rather, employers preferred to "randomly" select the women from within the three categories from the factory floor and the researcher had no option but to continue along these lines.

1.8.6 Application of the Methodology

In the case of three factories, the questionnaires for the managers were administered directly by the researcher. In the other two instances, employers preferred to fill in the questionnaires themselves as they were short on time.

Owing to the time constraints, in all the factories, questionnaires were handed out to the women to fill in and these were collected immediately after they had been completed. However, a few exceptions were made with regard to cases where women were unable to read and understand English. A translation of the questionnaire into the Zulu language was made prior to going on to the field to accommodate these women.

1.8.7 Limitations of the Study

The major problem experienced in the field was that most of the factories were very busy at this time of the year, and this made access **into the factories very** difficult. Factories are under pressure to maximise their productivity for the festive season and employers tried to avoid any forms of disruption.

Also, owing to the pressure for time, the researcher was unable to individually administer the questionnaires with each respondent. To this effect, some of the responses given by women indicated a lack of understanding to some of the questions.

1.9 Chapter outline

This dissertation is divided into six separate but inextricably linked chapters. An attempt has been made to organise the chapters in a sequence that will ensure a better understanding of the text by the reader.

The first chapter is an introductory chapter. It informs the reader about the background and the scope of the study and what is to follow in the subsequent chapters. Other information incorporated in this chapter include the background and motivation to the research, outline of the research problem, the research question and sub-questions and the hypothesis. A discussion of the study case is included, followed by a discussion of the research methodology and finally, a chapter outline of the dissertation is incorporated in this chapter.

The second Chapter contextualizes the notion of women in development. Particular focus is on how the incorporation of women into development came about. Different approaches towards women in development are discussed and evaluated to note their contribution towards a better understanding of women in development.

The third chapter contextualizes the notion of women and industrialisation. It focuses particularly on the changes in industrialisation patterns from the 1960s until the 1990s, and on how these changes impacted on women's employment in the industries. Also, in this chapter, gender relations within the household as well as how capitalism and patriarchy came to reinforce these relations, and the status of women in society are discussed. The impact of these relations on women, as they began to enter the labour force are also discussed.

The fourth chapter provides the necessary contextual information on clothing industry and women's employment within this sector. In particular, focus is on how the changing geography of production is occurring at an international, national and regional level. The impact of this changing geography of production on the size, structure and the distribution of the clothing industry at the national and regional level is discussed. Trends in women's employment in the clothing industry in Durban are outlined and also, trends towards informalisation of production in the clothing industries, as well as their implications on women in the clothing industry are also discussed. Changes in women's employment in the clothing industries in the Durban area are examined.

The fifth chapter is concerned with the analysis and the presentation of the findings on the case study. As indicated, the case study deals with the women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area. An attempt will be made to explain relationships between variables in the survey in order to make the findings and the interpretation of the results more meaningful. Findings will also be related to those of previous studies on women workers in the factories to determine whether there is a correlation in the findings.

The final chapter is concerned with the conclusions and the consolidation of the findings of the empirical research. These findings will be related back to the conceptual framework. On the basis of the findings, recommendations and direction for future research will be proposed.

2. CHAPTER 2: CONTEXTUALISING WOMEN IN DEVELOPMENT

2.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a contextual basis for an understanding of Women in Development, as well as to indicate how this idea emerged. Different approaches have been proposed towards the understanding of women in development and these will be discussed, followed by their evaluation, to determine the extent to which each has contributed towards the understanding of the incorporation of women in development. With their incorporation into development, women began to engage in activities in other spheres, from which they were previously isolated. Their engagement in various activities posed women with the challenge of coping with their demanding roles in the productive and the reproductive spheres.

2.2 Emergence of Women in Development

Prior to the 1970s, development was heavily immersed with promoting economic growth. Initiatives such as the New International Economic Order (NIEO) were concerned only with equity, through enhancing access to resources and decision making regarding these resources, and on the alleviation of poverty between and within countries (Arndt 1987, in Kabeer, 1994:71). However, despite equity considerations, little attention was given to the incorporation of women into development.

It was only in the 1970s that the United Nations (UN), in their International Development Strategy proposed the importance of integrating women within development efforts. At the time, there was a significant concern with the place of women in relation to men in a society that was undergoing rapid social and economic transformation (Lown, 1990:1). Women's employment was becoming a very contested issue primarily owing to the fact that women were brought into development on sex specific terms i.e. men were perceived as household heads and productive agents, while women were regarded as housewives, mothers and "at risk producers" thus being relegated to welfare (Jaquette and Staudt, 1988 in Kabeer, 1995:5).

In the 1990s, the United Nations (UN) declared the need to translate women's problems into priorities towards ensuring the empowerment of women in development in terms of increased output, greater equity and social progress (UN, 1989:41).

However, the goal of integrating women into development was attacked by some feminist researchers in Latin America, Asia and Africa who argued that women have been integrated into development much to their disadvantage, as they have become the group of exploited workers and a source of cheap labour (Elson and Pearson 1981; Fuentes and Ehrenreich 1983; Nash and Kelly 1983; Jain 1990; in Moghadam, 1992:230). Others have argued that development through modernisation of a capitalist kind has reduced the economic status of women resulting in their marginalisation and impoverishment (Ward 1984; Sen and Grown 1987; in Moghadam, 1992:231, Pearson, 1992:222).

Others like Tinker (1976) cited in Moser (1993:63) attributed the adverse impact of development on women to three types of planning errors, which occurred as a result of the development planners' inability to accept the fact that women must perform two roles, while men perform only one role in society. The first error according to Tinker is that of omission or failure to acknowledge or utilise women's productive role. The second error is that which reinforced the values that restrict women to households to engage in childbearing and child-rearing activities. The third error is that of applying inappropriate western values regarding women's work. Tinker argued that it is because of these planning errors that the incorporation of women in development occurred in an unfair and unjust manner.

In addition to Tinker's argument, a group of Women in Development (WID) proponents in the United States (US) ascribed the problem of gender inequality to the capitalist development models. They argued that the non-recognition of women in USAid projects during the first Development Decade (1966-1970) is a typical experience of the inequalities encouraged by capitalism between men and women in development (Moser, 1993:63).

With the formation of this WID movement emerged various approaches towards the incorporation of women in development. These approaches have been **identified** as the welfare, anti-poverty and equity approaches suggested by Buvinic (1983), and the efficiency and empowerment approaches proposed later by Moser (1989). The **five approaches** together, have mirrored general trends in third world development from modernisation **policies** of accelerated growth through basic needs strategies associated with redistribution measures to the more compensatory measures associated with structural adjustment policies (Moser, 1993:55). The contribution of these policies towards the understanding of women in development **will be discussed below**, followed by their evaluation. The first approach to be discussed is the welfare approach, introduced in the 1950s and 1960s.

2.3 Approaches Towards Women in Development (WID)

2.3.1 The Welfare Approach

The major concern of this approach is to ensure the family's physical survival through the direct provision of food and nutrition, as well as to **ensure** that women are better mothers and housewives. Its underlying rationale is linked with the residual model of social welfare policies, introduced in many third world countries prior to **independence** (Moser, 1993:59). These social welfare policies were targeted at the "Vulnerable" groups, particularly low income women and their families, and were implemented when a crisis arose whereby women could not cope with ensuring the welfare of their families.

Women are perceived to be passive recipients rather than participants in the development process. Their potential to take part in economic activities is **undermined through** the provision of goods and services using a top down approach, **without** any means to empower them so that they can fend for themselves, thus creating a relation of **dependency**, which excludes women from the mainstream of development agencies and development programmes (Tinker, 1990:37, Moser,1993).

By locating women within the reproductive sphere, the welfare approach has failed to meet women's strategic gender needs through economically empowering them. This according to Moser, has served

to reinforce the prevailing stereotypes of "weak dependant" women belonging in the home.

The pre-occupation with meeting practical gender needs at the expense of strategic gender needs has significant consequences for women in that their different planning needs, according to the roles they play are not recognised nor catered for (Moser, 1995:15). Practical and strategic gender needs are interrelated and thus satisfaction of one at the expense of the other result in the inefficiency of both needs.

Practical gender needs derive from a concrete positioning of women within the gender division of labour and are usually short lived (Kabeer, 1995:90-91) . They refer to immediate response to a perceived need and they do not entail formulation of a strategic goal such as women's emancipation or gender equality (ibid). Strategic gender needs on the other hand derive from the analysis of women's subordination and they are **preoccupied** with the eradication of these forms of subordination. Examples of strategic **measures** suggested by (Molyneaux, 1989 in Kabeer, 1995:90-91) include: the abolition of the gender division of labour, alleviation of burden and child-care and domestic labour on women, the removal of institutionalised forms of discrimination as well as the sexual exploitation of women and coercive forms of marriage (ibid).

Both the practical and strategic gender needs have to be considered collectively in trying to enhance women's social and economic well being (Moser, 1993:48). She argued that cross sectoral planning strategies focusing on women's productive, reproductive and community roles are attractive towards enhancing women's social and economic **well being**. The focus on one sector, such as employment for instance will be biased particularly **against** women because employment planning is only concerned with individuals as paid **workers** (particularly men, who are associated with paid work), thus resulting in the marginalisation of women as mothers, income earners and community managers.

Thus failure of officials and policy-makers to recognise and accommodate women's multiple roles in the formulation and implementation of planning policies according to Moser may jeopardise the implementation of policy and also worsen the position of women in society.

The dissatisfaction with the welfare approach in the 1970s and 1980s led to the outcome of alternative approaches to women in development i.e. the equity, anti-poverty, efficiency and empowerment approaches. Together, these approaches are regarded as the WID approaches owing to their common origin (i.e. they were all formulated during the same decade - United Nations (UN) Women's Decade in the 1976 and 1985).

2.3.2 The Equity Approach

The foremost intention of this approach is to achieve equity for women in the development process through meeting strategic gender needs by direct state intervention, giving political and economic autonomy to women and thus reducing gender inequalities in society. Contrary to the welfare approach, the equity approach recognises that women are active participants in the development process, who through both their productive and reproductive roles provide a critical, but often unacknowledged contribution to economic growth (Moser, 1993:63).

The subordination of women is identified both within the household and also in relation to men and women in the market place (Buvinic, 1986 in Moser, 1993:64). The equity approach is concerned with equality between men and women in both the reproductive and the productive sphere. Hence, it places considerable emphasis on economic independence as synonymous with equity.

The underlying logic of the equity approach is that men have benefitted more from the development process than women, who have been marginalised in the development process and thus redistributive measures are required so that women from all socio-economic class could gain with men losing a little.

2.3.3 The Anti-Poverty Approach

This WID approach, introduced in the 1970s, is aimed at dealing with the problems of inequality through the redistribution of income, and in solving third world problems of poverty, which modernisation has failed to do. Programmes were directed towards employment generation strategies, which were seen to be a means towards the alleviation of poverty in third world countries (Moser, 1978, 1984). Poverty rather than the subordination of women is seen as the problem of underdevelopment. Women's poverty and inequality with men are attributed to their lack of access to private ownership of land and capital and to the sexual discrimination in the labour market (Moser, 1993:66).

Thus the World Bank proposed a shift from pre-occupation with economic growth towards the eradication of poverty and the promotion of the redistribution with growth. Integral to this was the Basic Needs Strategy to meet the basic needs such as food, shelter, education, social needs, human rights and participation in social life through employment and political involvement (Ghai 1978, Streeton et.al 1981, in Moser, 1993:67)

However, the potential of these employment programmes to modify the gender division of labour within the household was questioned by a number of people, who argued that the changes in the gender division of labour within the household may also imply changes in the balance of power between men and women within the family. According to Moser, in anti-poverty programmes, this redistribution of power is said to be reduced because the focus is specifically on low income women, and also because of the tendency to encourage projects in sex-specific occupations, particularly the traditional activities in which women are concentrated, rather than to introduce women to new fields of work.

Buvinic (1986) cited in Moser (1993:68) argued that anti-poverty programmes experience problems in the implementation and formulation processes due to their bias towards welfare-orientated projects. Furthermore, the anti-poverty approaches are not based on participatory planning

procedures and no mechanisms to ensure that women and gender aware organisations are included in the development process. In addition to these problems, the constraints of women's gendered roles in problems associated with the separation of the productive from the reproductive spheres as well as those associated with balancing productive and reproductive work, are left unrecognised.

The essential difference between the equity and the anti-poverty approach is that by proposing employment generation activities for women, the anti-poverty approach meets women's practical gender needs. However, if employment does not offer greater autonomy to the women, then it becomes short lived and thus does not meet strategic gender needs. The predominant focus of the anti-poverty approach on the productive role of women leads to the ignorance of women's reproductive role. Thus it has been argued by Moser (1993:69) that unless the income-generating programmes begin to recognise the burden of women's domestic labour and child-care, they may fail to meet even the practical gender needs.

2.3.4 The Efficiency Approach

A shift towards efficiency coincided with a noticeable deterioration in the world economy which occurred from the mid 1970s onwards, particularly in Latin American and African countries (Moser, 1993:70). Problems of stagnation were compounded by falling export prices and the mounting burden of debt, which caused the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank to implement structural adjustment policies to alleviate these problems, so as to enhance economic stability in the third world (Moser, 1993:70). These structural adjustment policies had negative consequences for women as producers and reproducers in society.

Structural adjustment policies resulted in the state's decrease in investment in human resources, which resulted in a decline in income levels, severe cuts in government's social expenditure programmes, particularly on health and education as well as reductions in food subsidies cushioned by the increased involvement of women in paid labour as well as the changes in purchasing habits and in consumption patterns (Elson, 1991:6 in Moser, 1992:71). This cutting down on investments

in human expenditure implied that women had to be providers of these services. The low wage levels increased the burdens on women who provide these services and struggled to make a living. Structural adjustment policies were not concerned with the unpaid domestic work of women which involved activities as caring for the children, the elderly, as well as ensuring the well being of the family as a whole regardless of the reduction in the resources allocated to assist women in this regard (Moser, 1992:71). SAPs defined economies in terms of market goods and services and subsistence cash production and thereby excluded women's reproductive work while giving less recognition to the increased burden of women's work in the market and in the household.

In a longitudinal study of low income communities in Guayaquil, Ecuador, a study shows that the real problem lies in the fact that women had to change the balance of their time between activities undertaken in their three roles. There appeared to be an increase in the time allocated to productive and community work at the expense of the reproductive work, and this had a negative impact on the stability of the family (Moser, 1992:72).

It is evident from the discussion that the efficiency approach relies heavily on the flexibility of women's labour in both their reproductive and community managing roles. It has only shown concern for meeting women's practical gender needs at the expense of strategic needs. The reduction in resource allocation also result in serious reductions in the practical gender needs met (Moser, 1992:73).

2.3.5 The Empowerment Approach

The empowerment approach questions some of the assumptions concerning the interrelationships that underlie the previously mentioned approaches. The importance of women to increase their power is acknowledged, not through the dominance over others, but rather, in terms of the capacity of women to increase their own self reliance and internal strength, through the ability to influence the direction for change, their right to make choices as well as to gain control over material and non-material resources (Moser, 1992:74).

The best known articulation of the empowerment approach was by the Development Alternatives with Women for a New Era (DAWN), comprising of a group of women, who established DAWN prior to the 1985 World Conference of Women in Nairobi (Moser, 1993:75). The primary concern for DAWN was to analyze the conditions of women as well as to formulate a vision of an alternative future society, which they identified as follows:

"We want a world where inequality based on class, gender and race is absent from every country and from the relationships among countries. We want a world where basic needs become basic rights and where poverty and all forms of violence are eliminated. Each person will have the opportunity to develop her or his full potential and creativity, and women's values of nurturance and solidarity will characterize human relationships. In such a world, women's reproductive role will be redefined: child-care will be shared by men, women and society as a whole... only by sharpening the links between equality, development and peace, can we show that the "basic rights" of the poor and the transformations of the institutions that subordinate women are inextricably linked. They can be achieved together through the self empowerment of women." (DAWN, 1985:73-5 cited in Moser, 1993:75).

DAWN distinguished between the short and long term strategies in trying to incorporate women into development. They argued that the short term strategies are necessary to provide ways of responding to current crises such as finding measures to assist women in food production through the promotion of a diversified agricultural base, as well as in formal and informal sector employment (DAWN, cited in Moser, 1993:75). The long term strategies are those necessary to break down the structures of inequality between gender, class and nation eg. through the national liberation from colonial and neo-colonial domination, shifts from export led strategies in agriculture and greater control over the activities of multinationals.

2.4 Evaluation of Women in development Approaches

The five women in development approaches discussed above have contributed substantially towards the understanding of women in development. In order to gain a sense of their contribution, these

approaches should not be considered as mutually exclusive. The limitations of one approach can be cushioned by the strength in another.

There are similarities in some of the development approaches. For instance, the equity and the empowerment approaches put emphasis on the alleviation of gender inequalities in society. Emphasis is also based on meeting both the practical and the strategic gender needs towards the emancipation of women. Women are seen as active rather than passive recipients in development, who have the potential to take charge of their conditions as well as to influence the direction of development, if given a chance.

The anti-poverty and welfare approach also have similar principles. They both put emphasis on the eradication of poverty through meeting basic needs. The problem with these two approaches is that their implementation is based on top-down strategies and these in a way, do not encourage the empowerment of women. Like the efficiency approach, they only focus on women's productive role at the expense of their reproductive role, thus failing to see the interrelations between the two.

However, the focus on meeting women's basic needs is also of particular importance. Thus if linked together, these approaches can contribute towards an even efficient enhancement of women's economic and social well being in development. Women's potential to take part in decision making should be considered and respected.

2.5 Conclusion

The incorporation of women into development partly forms a basis towards the understanding of the problems that women experience in coping with the demands between the productive and the reproductive spheres. Prior to being incorporated into development and thus in economic activities, women were confined to the home, where their lives revolved around the reproductive activities. As they began to work outside the home in the public sphere, the challenge of coping with the demands in both spheres became eminent.

The incorporation of women in development requires a consideration of their two roles in society, as well as the acceptance of the fact that these are mutually inclusive. Failure of previous planning policies as well as some of the approaches discussed above to realise this, have resulted in the marginalisation of women in development. Thus the formulation and implementation of current planning policies need to be reconsidered, and restructured in a way that women's practical and strategic needs can be incorporated in the planning process.

3. CHAPTER 3: CONTEXTUALISING WOMEN AND INDUSTRIALISATION

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the idea of women in industrialisation will be discussed, with particular reference to the changes in industrialisation patterns over time, and how these have impacted on the participation of third world women in the labour force. Also, a focus on the gender relations within the household and how the capitalist mode of production has reinforced the position of women in society, as well as the implications of this position on the dual roles of women in both the productive and the reproductive spheres will be discussed. This chapter will explain how the incorporation of women into the labour force further exacerbated the pressures on women to cope with their dual roles, in both the productive and the reproductive spheres.

3.2 Industrialisation and the Gendering of the Labour Force

The impact of industrialisation on women is an issue that has been under intensive debate since the 1970s. From many of these discussions, a consensus was reached that development and industrialisation marginalises women (Pearson, 1992:222, Boserup, 1970, Leacock, 1975). Consistent with this consensus was the linear perspective that saw industrialisation as moving through time between two poles i.e. the non-industrial economy where traditional methods of production are used and the modern technological economy where production is organised on a large scale (Pearson, 1992:223).

Prior to the period of factory production, production was carried out within the household, where consumption goods were produced through collective action within the family. Work was characterised by a social division of labour in which both men and women became allocated to different tasks within the household (Bowley and Burnett-Hurst, 1915; Tilley and Scott, 1978:21 cited in Mackenzie and Rose, 1983:160). However, with the changes in technology and production

engendered by modernisation, emerged changes in the sexual division of labour, and a new social order in which women and children became continuously confined to low-technology sectors of the economy while men took part in sectors using mechanical power, extractive industries such as coal mining or those based on metal working (Berg, 1985 cited in Pearson, 1994:340).

Workers in the modern industry had to have the necessary skills, education and also be familiar with the modern methods of production and for many years, it has been assumed that these characteristics were almost exclusively associated with male workers, as Anne Phillips and Barbara Taylor have put it:

"... skill has become saturated with sex... the equations - men/skilled, women/unskilled - are so powerful that the identification of a particular job with women ensured that the skill content of the work would be downgraded. It is the sex of those who do the work, rather than its content, which leads to its identification as skilled or unskilled." (Phillips and Taylor, 1980 in Pearson, 1992:223).

It is on the basis of this argument that Boserup (1970:20) assigned the failure of modernisation to benefit women to the sex-stereotyped job-hierarchies in the market economies of the third world, which inhibited women from seeking jobs in the modern sector. This resulted in the confinement of **women** within the reproductive sphere. Furthermore, men were given much preference over women regarding accessibility to training and education facilities (ibid).

However, Boserup's writings have been criticised for their **pre**occupation with measures that would increase women's participation in paid employment, **thus failing** to question the unilinear view of capitalist development. She attributed **women's exclusion from industrial work** to the supply and demand factors. On the demand side she made note of **regulations** such as women's maternity benefits, child care provision, exemption from night work and equal pay legislation which were used to regulate women's employment. On the supply side, she **noted the** in-flexibility of the modern industries, which is associated with **fixed working hours** in discrete locations which made factory work to be incompatible with the domestic duties of women, especially mothers (Boserup, 1970

cited in Pearson, 1994:342). This latter aspect of Boserup's argument forms an important aspect of this dissertation.

In an attempt to explain the marginalisation of women in development, dependency theorists accused the acceleration of industrialisation, particularly in Latin American countries during the post-Second World War period, for women's exclusion from industrialisation through a variety of factors. These factors include the nature of industrial growth in peripheral economies, which led to a reduction in the demand of female labour since it was first based on imported technology particularly in the new industries which formed part of the import substitution industrialisation strategies, adopted in many Latin American countries such as Brazil, Mexico, Argentina from the 1950s onwards; the transition from pre-capitalist industrial production where women were central to household-based petty commodity production into fully fledged capitalist system of production, which accelerated the expulsion of women from economic roles (Saffioti, 1978:188 cited in Pearson, 1994:343).

From these analyses, it has become apparent that women's movement in and out of the labour force is a very complex process. In order to gain an understanding of these complex processes, an analysis of two sets of relations i.e. relations of production and relations of gender is required (Moser and Young, 1981:57). Pearson (1994) also shared the same view when she stated that a full understanding of the relationships between capital and gender is necessary to trace how the more recent evolution of capitalist development has led to the rise in the position and status of women in society.

Pearson (1994) thus proposed two approaches which can be adopted towards the interrogation of these relationships between capitalism and gender. The first approach entails analyzing the growth of waged labour, particularly in the transition to industrialisation, through understanding the different dynamics of industrial accumulation in different time locations, different industrialisation strategies and the way in which their labour forces were selected and managed.

The second approach conceptualises capitalism and gender in broad terms. It accepts that capitalism extends beyond formal factory type workplace and thus conditions and organisations of work both within and outside the factory gate have to be considered if a fuller understanding of gendered structures of social relations both at work and outside it (i.e. in political structures, intra-household relations and in wide range of social interactions) is to be achieved (Pearson, 1994:339).

In line with the first approach, our focus will turn to the analysis of three industrialisation strategies to examine how relations of production within these impacted on the employment of women in industries.

3.3 Industrialisation Strategies

In the discussion on the relations of production and the impact of these on women's employment, three industrialisation strategies will be focused upon i.e. the Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI), Export Orientated Industrialisation (EOI) and Flexible Specialisation (FS). These strategies have occurred since the 1950s and 1960s and are often exclusive to a particular country and are also adaptable over time.

3.3.1 Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI)

The first identifiable industrial pattern is referred to as the Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI). Strategies associated with this pattern are orientated towards the internal market, i.e. a pattern that has been followed in the past by the larger Latin American Countries and some Sub-Saharan African Countries. This pattern owes its emergence to the decline in economic growth due to period of Depression in Latin America, which resulted in prospects of exporting manufactured goods to industrialised countries becoming very minimal. Specialisation in agriculture and raw materials was seen as backward and limited in its ability to promote economic growth and so, Latin American countries had to engage in the production of manufactured goods in order to grow economically (Jenkins, 1992:19). Emphasis began to be placed on the need for political and economic

independence, which could lead to the establishment of ISI strategies to provide further impetus for industrialisation (ibid).

ISI strategies have been associated with the creation of a particular labour force, (mainly men) employed particularly in the capital intensive sectors such as steel, ship-building, and heavy industry. The low female participation in ISI industries was attributed to the inflexibility of large scale industries, the use of modern technology which did not require intensive labour (Saffiotti, 1978) cited in Pearson (1992), as well as to cultural norms and values and women's domestic responsibilities, which inhibited them from entering the industrial labour force (Jenkins, 1992:19). Thus women became excluded from participating in industrial work and being confined to the reproductive sphere of production. It was only with the advent of export orientated industrialisation that women began to enter the industrial labour force.

3.3.2 Export orientated industrialisation (EOI)

Following from ISI is the emphasis on Export Orientated Industrialisation (EOI), which emerged mainly during the 1970s and 1980s. In common with ISI, export orientated industries in the Third World are labour intensive, taking advantage of cheap sources of labour on the global periphery. They are based on two processes, that is, the relocation of production from Western Economies to the Less Developed Countries (LDC) by the Multi-National Corporations (MNCs), and new investments and international sub-contracting in less developed countries; which offered low wage costs, comparable productivity and a range of incentives such as: exemption from local taxation, import and export tariffs, waiving of labour legislation concerning minimum wages and limiting the rights of workers to organise so as to encourage growth in manufacturing for export (Pearson, 1992:231; Schmitz, 1984 in UN 1989:148). This penetration of world export markets into developing countries engendered substantial modification of the structure and composition of the industrial labour force in many less developed countries (ibid)

The relocation of industries to the Less Developed Countries (LDCs) lead to the establishment of specialised industrial estates referred to as the Export Processing Zones (EPZ), which focused on a narrow range of products and production processes employing relatively large amounts of labour (mainly female labour); particularly in the clothing and textile industries, the assemblies of semi-conductors and other parts of the electronic industries (Pearson, 1992:230).

However, the role played by these zones in promoting industrialisation has been very controversial among developers with regard to the impact that these have on women's development. It was noted in the East and South East Asian countries that these EPZ have a potential for **generating** manufactured exports and providing employment opportunities particularly for young **women** (Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD, 1984 in UN, 1989:148) who would never have had a chance to enter the formal manufacturing sector. On the other hand, **others** have argued that the involvement of women in EPZ's is based on exploitation owing to the low wages, sometimes referred to as "**pin-money**" **that women work** for, and also due to **the fact** that women in these industries are usually **at the lower end of** the occupational spectrum (UN, 1989:148). The skill contents of the jobs that women engage in are usually very low and women do not have access to skills training facilities.

In these EPZs women are involved in tasks associated with manual dexterity, requiring a high level **of speed** and accuracy. These skills that women bring to the production process are deemed to be "**natural**" and thus are not recognised as skills nor rewarded as such. Despite the improvements in **technology**, which have taken pace over the past 10 to 20 years, the situation is still the same (Koning, 1975 in Pearson, 1994:353).

From the above discussion, it is evident that in spite of the transition, there is still a steep sexualized **hierarchy** in most export factories. Not only do women continue to fill the vast majority of unskilled posts, but there exists few prospect of women being promoted to either technical or management posts.

The discussion will now shift to flexible specialisation industrialisation, which arguably emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as a response to the pervasive changes in the world economy.

3.3.3 Flexible Specialisation (FS)

Flexible specialisation is an industrialisation process that is believed to have occurred as a response to pervasive changes in the world economy during the 1970 and 1980s (Sengenberger, 1992:141). It emanated as a result of structural adjustment policies and the need by managers to cut labour costs in advanced industrial societies, through the retainment of competitiveness, in a form of **straight** cutting of wage levels and other items of labour costs or through the rationalisation of production in various ways.

According to Sengenberger (1992:144), some of the measures adopted by managers to lower costs included the following :

- concession bargaining i.e. temporary or permanent reduction of wages, fringe benefits or other items of worker remuneration
- extending operational hours through reintroducing weekend work in industry or arranging flexible working hours in line with production needs referred to as ("capacity orientated work scheduling")
- introducing or extending various forms of standard employment such as fixed terms of contract, part time work, agency work, etc
- changes to commercial or labour legislation by governments, which included measures such as reduced tax rates for troubled or disadvantaged industries, regions or enterprises, and legal exemption from labour protection regulation
- relocating production plants to centres **with lower** labour costs, sometimes referred to as Union-free areas or alternatively resorting to **increased** outsourcing of production through replacing more expensive in-house production by buying plant sources from outside cheaply.

These measures have a great potential for lowering the standards of the labour force. Flexible specialisation required a flexible labour system that did not require multiple skills. Labour became

employed when required in production, referred to as the "just in time" principle by the Japanese. The re-emergence of homework in both industrialised and developing countries as a means to produce clothing for mass distribution in the former, while being used for production of clothing for local consumption in the latter, usually by small family units in the latter, became a form of outsourcing to small and medium sized enterprises. This could result in detrimental effects on employment if all parts of the production becomes assigned to homeworkers in that the use of homeworkers makes it possible to meet demands without creating permanent jobs (ILO, 1995:39); thus resulting in job insecurity of wage earners, particularly women, since they are the ones who constitute a large percentage of the **homework** labour force. Furthermore, assignment of employment to homeworkers results in the weakening of the power of organised labour, which could further exacerbate the exploitation of workers (ILO, 1995:39, Moghadam, 1992:237).

Thus in the light of these three industrial restructuring patterns, it can be concluded that the ways in which women have been incorporated in the industrial workforce - from hiring criteria and procedure; the techniques of management and the control of work to the lack of promotion opportunities are all simply gendered. Although women have retained a major share of employment, they have not yet achieved equity with men in the labour force. Gender relations within the workplace are reinforced or adapted to ensure that the subordination of women workers is not weakened as a result of their employment (Pearson, 1994:354).

3.5 Gender relations within the household

The discussion will now move towards a focus on the second approach proposed by Pearson towards the understanding of the relationships between **capitalism** and gender. As it has been noted earlier, this approach contends that capitalism extends beyond the factory gate, and that it is important to understand work organisations both within and outside of the factory gate in order to gain a full understanding of the interconnection between **gender** and capital. Organisations outside the factory gate, including of course the household, are of central importance towards the understanding of the relations between gender and capital.

It is important therefore, to look at the gender division of labour within the household, as well as how the capitalist mode of production have come to reinforce this situation. Markusen, (1980:26) and Roberts (cited in Baylies and Bujra, 1993:5) have noted the significance of patriarchal and capitalist social relations in producing the power relations between men and women, and the division of labour between them. This sexual division of labour between men and women reinforces the notion of male domination and female subordination , which confined women to the household (Manchip, 1986:34), thus resulting in the negative impact of the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres on women as they began to shy away from the process of domestication.

As Markusen (1980:23) has argued:

"the dominance of the single family detached dwelling, its separation from the workplace, and its decentralised urban location are as much the products of patriarchal organisations of household production as of capitalist organisation of waged work".

Social feminists see the family as playing an important role in the maintenance of the patriarchal relations within the household. However, they argue that the differences in the work that men and women do are not "pre-social givens" but rather, they are "socially constructed and thus socially alterable" (Jaggar, 1983:304 in Manchip, 1986:28). For social feminists therefore, women's sexual labour is more a result of "social" rather than "natural" necessity.

In a similar way, Marxists perceive the household as a "private" homogenous sphere responsible for absorbing the alienation of the capitalist workforce (Markusen, 1980:26). However, the analyses by radical and social feminists fail to take into account the role that women play in the reproduction of the labour power and in serving men. Women play an important role in the reproduction of the labour power in that they offer emotional support to their working husbands and in this way, they compensate for the alienation experienced by men in the public sphere, thus ensuring that men continue to offer their labour to capital. Women also look after the children, who constitute future labour for capitalism. Thus by ignoring the importance of women's work for men in the home, the

analysis of power relations within the household can be rendered incomplete.

The importance of women's role towards enhancing the reproduction of labour power within the household has been highlighted by the dependency feminists. They argued that the family is primary example of pre-capitalist form, which provided an essential subsidy to capital accumulation (Saffiotti, 1977 cited in Kabeer, 1995:47). Services carried out within the family by women reproduced the commodified labour power on a generational basis, referred to by the Marxists as the "reproduction of the labour power" which simply means the "renewal of the capacity to work" (Mackenzie and Rose, 1983:157). Dependency feminists argued that this reproduction of labour power is very important for the survival of the capitalist production although it was never rewarded. It is therefore the structure of capitalist system which keeps women at home so that it can benefit from the unpaid labour of housewives and the reserve labour supply (Nash and Safa, 1980:ix cited in Kabeer, 1995:48).

The separation of production from reproduction is an important theme in Marxist feminists explanation of women's lesser role in productive work. Mackenzie and Rose (1983:156) argued that the home as a separate sphere from the work place played an important part in maintaining "today's society"; both on a day to day basis and on a generational basis. By this, they mean that the home was a place of refuge for male- workers in the capitalist industries, who gained physical and emotional support within the home to enable them to cope with the frustrations of capitalism. Also, within the household, young children (who constitute future labour force) are born, raised and socialised.

One of the ways that has been adopted by Marxist feminists to explain these relationships is the notion of **Patriarchy and the Social Relations of Production**. Here, they have argued that in analyzing or trying to understand the relationships between **patriarchy** and capitalism, focus needs to be put upon production and reproduction as interdependent spheres. This interest in studying women's oppression in terms of the concept of reproduction and in locating patriarchy within the social relations of reproduction stems from a number of sources according to Beechey (1987):

- radical feminists' analysis, which has produced numerous insights into specific aspects of women's concerns with women's oppression in **reproduction** (e.g. **child-birth**, motherhood)
- the recognition that aspects of the oppression of **women go** beyond the capitalist mode of production (i.e. women's domestic, mothering and reproductive roles)
- the belief that patriarchal social relations cannot be derived from capital, and the desire to develop the Marxist account of the production process with the account of the process of reproduction (Beechey, 1987:103).

Thus Marxist feminists argued that **since the home sphere** plays an important role in the reproduction process, its analysis should not occur in isolation from the productive/work sphere since it makes possible the efficient functioning of the capitalist mode of production. As (Beveridge, 1942 in Mackenzie and Rose, 1983) has **stated**:

"the great majority of married women must be regarded as occupied on work which is vital enough, though unpaid, without **which their** husbands could not do paid work and without which the notion could not continue."

With the extension of women's dual roles, all aspects of women's lives became social and political issues. The changes in their lives became interdependent and mutually reinforcing. Women's daily activities contradicted each other owing to the extension of women's dual roles. A balance had to be maintained between their roles in the home and in the work place.

According to the UN (1989:129), the entrance of women into the labour force had both positive and negative consequences on women: positive in a sense that industrial employment offers women an opportunity to contribute towards economic growth and development, greater bargaining power as well as entitlement of familial and societal resources; negative in a sense that the structure of opportunities in the formal sector is restricted by gender bias and occupational segregation as well as securing adequate technical training (UN,1989:129).

The positive impact of women's involvement in paid employment has been documented in a number of studies which have confirmed that women are better off in paid employment than in unpaid family labour. One such study is that conducted by Finlay (1989) on two groups of women (community women and women employees) in the export processing Agri-Businesses in Azua. Her focus was on the changes that occurred when women moved from traditional roles into the market economy as wage earners and the effect of this move on the traditional division of labour, family structure and on the attitudes, standards of living and aspirations of the women themselves. She found that within the families of women workers, the division of labour had undergone important changes. Workers were less likely to assume full responsibility for all the domestic work than were community sample women (Finlay, 1989:139 in Moghadam, 1992:233). Workers had more power and control over resources within the family.

Another study that support this trend is the one undertaken by Safa (1992) on women factory workers in export manufacturing in the Caribbean. She found that the increased dependence on women by their families help them to gain increased authority and sharing of responsibility within the households. This was also evident in a study by (Ecevit, 1991:77 in Moghadam, 1992:233) on Turkish women factory workers which showed that married women in Bursa reported to have gained a considerable degree of power over decision-making in their families as a result of their employment.

To combine the productive and the reproductive roles, women need access to a wide variety of resources such as flexible child care, shops and services with late opening hours, schools which provide lunch time meals and supervision after school as well as vacation care for school age children and networks which care for the elderly and disabled household members, old age homes, etc (Mackenzie and Rose, 1983). These resources can be provided by the state, together with the private sector in liaison with women. Future planning policies need to include different aspects of women's lives in their formulation and implementation.

3.6 Conclusion

The incorporation of women into development has been both beneficial and unfortunate towards women - beneficial in a sense that women became empowered to take part in other activities other than those in the reproductive spheres; unfortunate in a sense that women's entry into the labour force resulted in the multiplication of their roles in both the productive and the reproductive spheres; which, added to domestic work began to pose significant challenges for women.

The forces of capitalism and patriarchy have also reinforced this situation by confining women to the home sphere, as housewives and mothers, rather than realising women's economic potential.

4. CHAPTER 4: CONTEXTUALISING THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to contextualise the clothing industry at the international, national and local level. Particular focus will be on how **changes** in the geography of production has brought about restructuring in the size, structure and the distribution of the clothing industry. Due to the period of recession and import competition in the clothing industry, a large number of jobs in the formal sector were lost. The decrease in formal employment was followed by an increase towards the informalisation of production process, in which firms began to sub-contract some parts of their production to homeworkers/outworkers, with women constituting a large percentage of this homeworking labour force. Sub-contracting has various implications for women, with regard to their performance of their dual roles in the productive and the reproductive spheres. The Durban clothing industry will be contextualised within the broader regional context. Changes in female employment in the clothing industry in Durban will also be discussed.

4.2 The Changing geography of production internationally

The clothing industry has undergone profound technological, economic and social changes over the last twenty years. A few years ago, the clothing industry was made up of relatively separate sectors and markets but now, with the globalisation of production activities, the clothing industry has become highly integrated, with production centres being linked together (ILO, 1995:5).

The most fundamental restructuring of clothing production began with the increased internationalisation of production in the mid 1960s, following the rise of production in four Asian countries i.e. Hong Kong, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Taiwan, China (referred to as the four Asian Tigers), launched an industrialisation strategy based on high labour intensive sectors including clothing. Their focus was on production for export to industrialised countries such as Europe, United

States and Japan.

The penetration of exports from these Asian countries into the industrialised countries resulted in the disruption of markets in the latter countries, forcing them to restructure their markets and production activities, both internally and externally. Internally, new methods of technology to improve productivity were introduced to meet the fashion demands; while externally, there was a relocation of high labour intensive activities (e.g. clothing) through direct investment in low wage countries or recourse to international out-sourcing, which resulted in the further expansion of clothing industries in developing countries (ILO, 1995:7).

The relocation of clothing industries from the industrialised to developing countries is associated with shifts in the gender composition of the workforce, characterised by a decline in women's employment within industrialised countries for an apparent increase in the Far East. As the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe has noted:

"the rising number of women in the labour force has been accompanied in a number of Western European countries by a considerable rise in women's unemployment. The share of women in the total number of registered unemployed had increased considerably. In many countries, this share is higher than the share of women in the labour force; the rate of unemployment among women is higher than among men" (UNECE, 1980:25 in Robert, 1983:24).

This trend has been very prevalent in many countries, as noted by De la Torre (1984:22) cited in Altman (1994:7), that between 1973-1980, 500 000 clothing jobs were lost in industrialised countries, and this trend has continued into the 1990s. Also, in a study carried out in 1991 by the Commission of the European Communities, a decline in women's share of wage employment in the US from 79.6% in 1988 to 77.9% in 1992 was noted. In Singapore on the other hand, women's share of employment in the clothing industry decreased from only 87.9% in 1988 to 87.1% in 1990 (ILO, 1995:28). Elsewhere in the Far East, increases in women's employment were likely to have

occurred.

With this decline, there is a tendency for industrialised countries to move up the product ladder, into higher productivity sectors. Also, much of the skills intensive functions remain in industrialised countries, while the labour intensive functions move to the developing countries. As developing countries move up the product and skills ladder to become "Newly Industrialised" countries, clothing production relocates to increasingly low cost locations (Altman, 1994:7).

It can therefore be argued, in the light of these statistics that jobs lost in the industrialised or newly industrialised countries have resulted in the creation of jobs in the less advanced countries. However, it is also important to note that a reduction in employment in a given country does not necessarily mean a decline in the dynamism of the sector as a whole (ILO, 1995). They argued that the reduction in the workforce may be due to improved productivity or to a deliberate policy by manufacturers to relocate parts of their production activities which cannot be maintained at home because of falling competitiveness (ibid).

4.3 The changing geography of production in the South African clothing industry

According to Harrison, K (1996:35), structural and regulatory environment in South Africa has **meant that until** recently, spatial shifts have largely been within the country's borders. Historically, the clothing workforce comprised mainly of white, Afrikaner women from the rural agricultural **sector in the Transvaal**. About one third of the workforce were teenagers earning much less than **their adult counterparts**. The use of teenage labour declined during the post war years as they became replenished by white youth. By the 1940s, coloured women and teenagers were "replacing" **the white** labour. During this time, firms began to decentralise to other regions. Initially, firms **moved** to metropolitan areas within Natal and the Cape, and then increasingly to areas in rural Natal as an escape from the growing militancy **of the Unions**. **Racial displacement** of the labour force **occurred** with the geographical movement of the industry (Smart, 1995 cited in Harrison, K 1996:35). Altman (1994:38) however, noted that the racial distribution of employment has remained

relatively stable since the mid-70s.

The employment fluctuations and the significant job losses during the 1980s in the Industrial Council areas in Kwa-Zulu Natal, Gauteng, Eastern Cape and Western Cape have resulted in the shift in the clothing industry towards areas excluded from the Industrial Council agreements such as the decentralisation points, rural areas and the urban periphery (Harrison, K.1996:35).

A significant feature in the geography of production in the South African clothing industry has been the pursuit of low cost labour, dependent on the opportunities and constraints sustained by institutional and regulatory structures (*ibid*). **Currently, the impact** of globalisation on the South African economy, particularly through the flow of both legal and illegal imports streaming into our markets are accelerating the process of spatial movement within the clothing industry.

4.4 Size and structure of the South African clothing industry

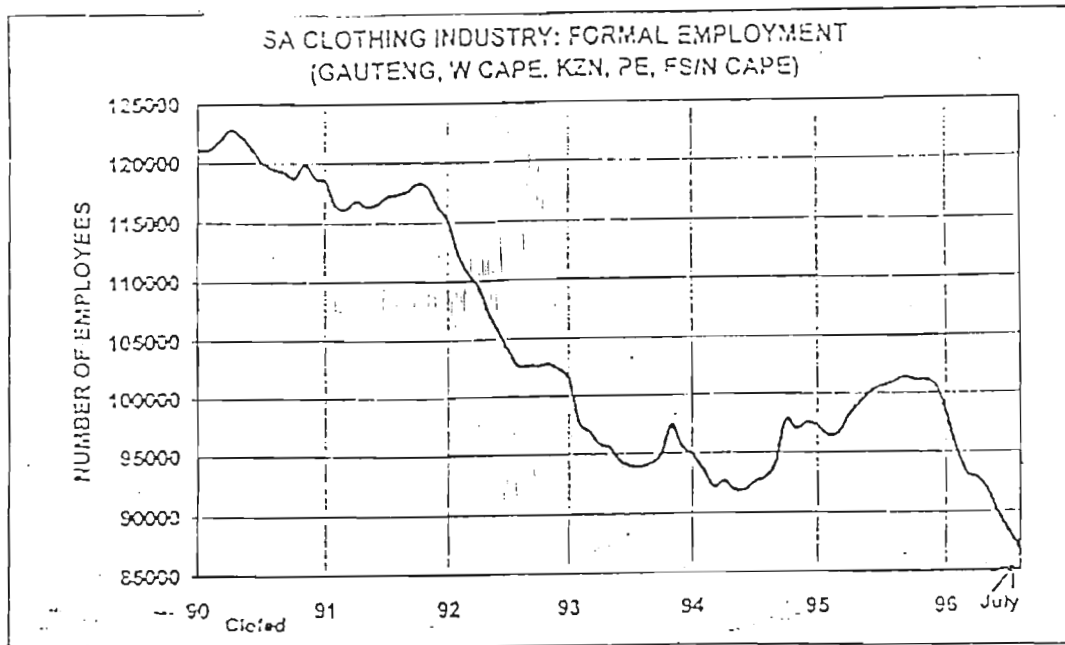
The structure of the South African clothing industry must be understood within the broader international context. According to Altman (1994:7), recent employment losses in the South African clothing industries are a result of import penetration rather than a decline in productivity. She noted that productivity hardly altered between the period 1976-1992. This inefficiency in productivity according to Altman, can be attributed to poor factory organisation, which results in high production costs and slow throughput as well as to the powerful retail sector, which limits the distribution of profits through the pipeline, thus possibly hindering new investments (Altman, 1994:7). Traditional means of wage or work intensification will not solve this problem because reduction in labour costs may only offer a short term advantage rather than a long term competitive advantage. She further argued that speeding up work will **not** address competitiveness, since throughput depends more on the flow of materials and work in progress (WIP) through pipeline and factory production. The continuing emphasis on labour cost flexibility as a means of increasing

competitiveness will result in significant losses in formal factory jobs, as more firms informalise, or proceed to low-wage countries, and then finally shut down (ibid).

According to (Prinsloo, 1995:4) the regulatory environment of the South African clothing industry portrays three key elements, namely:

- the trade related institutions of import protection and export promotion, which are now subject to change,
- legislation and incentives which influenced the location of production, and which resulted in an artificial dispersal of production,
- the related incentive and regulatory structure governing **employment and wages**, whereby clothing manufacturers could relocate from areas governed by Industrial Council agreements of wage and employment conditions, to decentralised areas of cheaper and less skilled labour, which are governed by separate wage agreements.

Nationally, in terms of employment, the South African clothing industry has suffered a rapid decline in formal employment owing to the recession and import competition. This rapid decline in formal employment has shown that the period of recession in the South African Clothing Industry is far from being over (CLOFED News, 1996:4). More than 15 000 people have lost their jobs since the middle of October 1995, as indicated in the graph below:



Source: CLOFED News (September/November, 1996)

Since the clothing industry is the most labour intensive manufacturing industry, this large decline in employment is very perturbing at the time when the government has released its economic framework strategy which focuses on labour intensive economic growth, to which the clothing industry consequently lends itself to supporting (CLOFED News, 1996:4)

Also, the decline in the number of firms in the clothing industry suggests that the resilience which firms have been displaying previously to the adverse conditions has ended, and closures are now occurring, although there are geographical shifts and processes of informalisation taking place. This suggests that the conditions in the industry have not improved as quickly as, or to the extent expected considering the upturn in the South African economy (CLOFED News, 1996:4)

The Industrial Council areas of Natal, Transvaal and the Eastern Cape today account for approximately 66% of total formal employment, which showed a consistent increase from 1933 to

the mid 1970s (NCF, 1994, in Prinsloo, 1995:5) . Since then, the level of employment has fluctuated, reaching its peak in 1982 (Altman, 1993 in Prinsloo, 1995:5). During the period 1993 and 1994, employment levels in Industrial Council areas were stagnant, with total formal employment reaching about 130 000 workers (NCF, 1994 in Prinsloo, 1995:5).

However, it is important to note that employment levels vary with changes in national demand, and with changes in volumes of clothing production. The figures above can be misleading owing to the fact that no statistics for the growth in the informal and unregistered firms has been indicated. There is apparently a very significant trend towards informalisation in the clothing industry, with more women taking up employment in these informal industries.

4.5 The informalisation of production within the South African clothing industry

The decline in formal employment is being succeeded by a trend towards the informalisation of production. According to Harrison, (1996:37), presently, various factors are boosting the development of small and informal manufacturers. These factors include recent changes in the form of procurement and the regulatory environment; the growing number of available sub-contractors due to the development of skills in decentralisation points and wage determination areas; the increasing number of firms sub-contracting the most labour intensive parts (Cut Make and Trim (CMT)) of production process to low cost areas with the aim of competing with imports and retailers requesting smaller orders due to the changing consumption patterns (Harrison, K. 1996:38). Firms that are not answerable to the Industrial Council, the multiple retailer, wholesalers and the designing houses are the most important contractors to the small, informal CMT operations (ibid). These informal factories are usually found largely outside the Industrial Council boundaries in the urban periphery; in decentralisation points and in wage determination areas (Smart, 1995, cited in Harrison, K. 1996:38).

4.6 Sub-contracting as a process of informalisation

According to Harrison, K (1995) sub-contracting, particularly in relation to the Japanese model of flexible specialisation within large enterprises, have complex implications for women's role within the economy, in that it succeeds in informalising women's work to a large extent. It has become apparent in recent years that a large number of married women and young mothers, many of whom are ex-factory employees, are involved in a network of industrial sub-contracting within their own homes (ibid). Various reasons are given by industrialists for using homeworkers. Others have argued that outworking allows the main suppliers responsible for export contracts to minimise overheads, to adjust to the size of the workforce to changes in demand, to weaken organised labour power as well as to save labour costs (as noted in the discussion on flexible specialisation). Another advantage may be that homeworkers often rely on family assistance, which is usually unpaid since workers are paid on a piece rate. This serves as a means of cost reduction, with increased productivity on the part of the employers. Others have cited reasons such as the relative freedom to work at home, without any form of supervision; convenience, with regard to flexible time for women to combine productive and reproductive tasks. However, in most instances, it is the employer who usually benefits, at the expense of the workers in that the latter always determines the demand and supply of sub-contracted work. This usually leaves the workers in a vulnerable situation associated with job insecurities and low wages.

Along with this process of informalisation, there are other factors encouraging firms to produce outside South African borders. These factors include: the increasing difficulty of finding labour cost flexibility within South Africa, the alteration of decentralisation benefits, the entry of the South African Clothing and Textile Workers Union (SACTWU) to previously unorganised regions, the possible introduction of the national Industrial Council as well as the reincorporation of bantustans, could result in an unprecedented integration of regional labour markets (Harrison, K. 1996:38).

4.7 The Kwa-Zulu Natal (regional) clothing industry

4.7.1 Geographical and sectoral concentration

It has been noted by Harrison, K (1996:41) that trends within the regional clothing industry generally follow those of the national industry, although some trends can be regionally specific, eg. the vulnerability of illegal imports, the relative importance of wholesalers and alternative marketing firms within the regional industry, the relatively small firm size, the prevalence of Indian entrepreneurs within the clothing industry in Kwa-Zulu Natal and the geographical structure of the industry (ibid). Thus, in order to gain a better understanding of the Durban clothing industry, we need to relate it to the broader regional context.

The Kwa-Zulu Natal region has been undergoing rapid economic and technological change; spatial restructuring; complex processes of urbanisation; institutional transformation; social transition and political reformation (Harrison, 1996:12-13). Along with these changes, some firms such as the chemicals, metals, paper and pulp industries are responding well to these changes, but however, there are sectors that are facing immense competitive pressures and severe dislocations in Kwa-Zulu Natal and in the rest of South Africa. **These** sectors include clothing, footwear, textile and motor vehicles, all of which are significant employers within the province (Harrison, 1996:13).

The average size of a clothing firm in Kwa-Zulu Natal is 88 workers, as compared with Cape Town's 120 workers. However, official data tend to under-represent the true levels of employment by 20-30%, Smart (1995 cited in Harrison, K. 1996:42); and since the unregistered firms are likely to be small or micro sized firms, capable of being undetected or being able to relocate overnight, the true picture would be one of the predominance of small firms. Altman (1994:9) also noted the perception that the clothing industry is characterised by small firms. She argued that this perception is based on the fact that the large firms that dominate the industry are usually not obvious to the casual observer because of the fragmentation of production, with which the size and the structure

of firms become small, thus resulting in the prevalence of small firms. The fragmentation of production organisation can occur across cities, regions or countries, and it is a popular trend today.

However, despite the immense competitive pressures and severe dislocations, clothing is still Kwa-Zulu Natal's largest manufacturing employer accounting for about 60 000 jobs (Harrison , K 1996:14). However, it is also an industry under severe threat of import competition. According to Harrison,K (1996:7) in 1990, only about 7% of the garments purchased in South Africa were imported. Recently, official statistics have suggested that the figure is about 20% although other sources which take into account the flood of illegal imports suggests that the figure is closer to 40%. Other sources in the clothing industry suggest that the level of import penetration will continue to rise, thus resulting in the decline in the sector by a further 25% over the next five years, with the loss of about 15 000 jobs in Kwa-Zulu Natal (ibid).

In responding to import pressures, the clothing sector is retreating towards the informalisation of production and by shifting the more labour intensive segments of the industry (i.e. Cut Make and Trim (CMT's) to peripheral locations such as Port Shepstone and Newcastle where wage rates are much lesser than those in the metropolitan areas (Harrison, K 1996). This trend is also noted by Harrison and Todes (1996 cited in Harrison,K 1996). However, the strong pressures from labour unions and metropolitan based industrial councils to narrow wage differences geographically and the option of relocating within the province may be closed in the future, thus resulting in many manufacturers moving to countries such as Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi (Harrison, K 1996).

4.8 Contextualising the Durban clothing industry

4.8.1 Size structure and distribution of the industry in Durban

Clothing industry in Durban is spread across most of the metropolitan area with notable concentrations of clothing manufacturers **in areas** such as:

- the southern industrial hub of Mobeni, **Jacobs**, Clairwood and in southern areas like Chatsworth;
- in the centre of Durban, in and around Grey street , and in the Umbilo/Rossburgh area which includes Umbilo Road and Gale Street;
- along the northern axis, from the Umgeni Road/Stamford Hill area and extending along the North Coast;
- in the Mayville/Overport area, which is to the north-western end of the city;
- in further northern centres, such as Phoenix, Verulam and Tongaat and
- to a lesser extent along the western axis , in Pinetown.

From the study by Prinsloo (1995) of 13 clothing manufacturers in Durban, it was found that major factors that determined clothing factory location in Durban are not only those related to the need to be closer to suppliers and buyers, but also, other factors such as the use of products and services offered locally and elsewhere in the country, in areas such as Johannesburg and Cape Town. Manufacturers tend to rely on services offered elsewhere in the country because of the efficiency of the service and prices which are competent if related to local services whereby problems of delays at local level and the accessibility to an abundant pool of accessible, skilled labour and the ability of firms to draw on an existing skills base. Thus industries tend to locate along major transport routes , which is an important consideration of most of the industries' location (Prinsloo, 1995:10).

However, as compared with other notable clothing hubs such as the Western Cape, clothing manufacturing in Durban is orientated more towards the lower end of the market. This explains its

strong hawker trade networks, which includes local informal trade, and buyers from other areas such as Gauteng and former bantustans (Prinsloo, 1995:7), **which** reflects the relative locational advantage inherent in the region. However, this scenario may be changing rapidly as this market has been wiped out by imports.

In spite of the benefits from the diversification towards the lower end of the market, attention to this sector of the market has had negative impacts on the clothing industries in the region. For instance, the growing penetration of particularly illegally imported **garments** poses a major threat to this lower end of the market (Prinsloo, 1995:7). This has resulted in many manufacturers to shift towards production for higher market segments.

4.8.2 Female employment in the Durban clothing industries

The increased participation of women in the industrial labour force became eminent during the period of industrialisation, as a decline in women's involvement in agricultural production occurred. More women began to enter the industrial work force, particularly in the clothing, textile, domestic and other service work (Yeandle, 1984:4).

In Durban, clothing manufacturing only emerged after the Depression of the 1930s, relatively late compared with the industries in the Southern Transvaal **and** the Cape (mainly the Western Cape). It has its roots in the 1880s when a manufacturer was contracted by the government of that time to manufacture military uniforms (Katzen, 1961:33).

The reason behind the dominance of these sectors according to Addleson (1989:17) was because they required a significant portion of imported raw materials, and thus preferred locating closer to the harbour for easy access to imported raw materials and efficient transportation of finished goods. It was further argued by Bell (1983:31) in Addleson et. al, (1989:17) that the availability of low skill intensity labour force offered by the Indians also influenced the boom in clothing, textile, footwear,

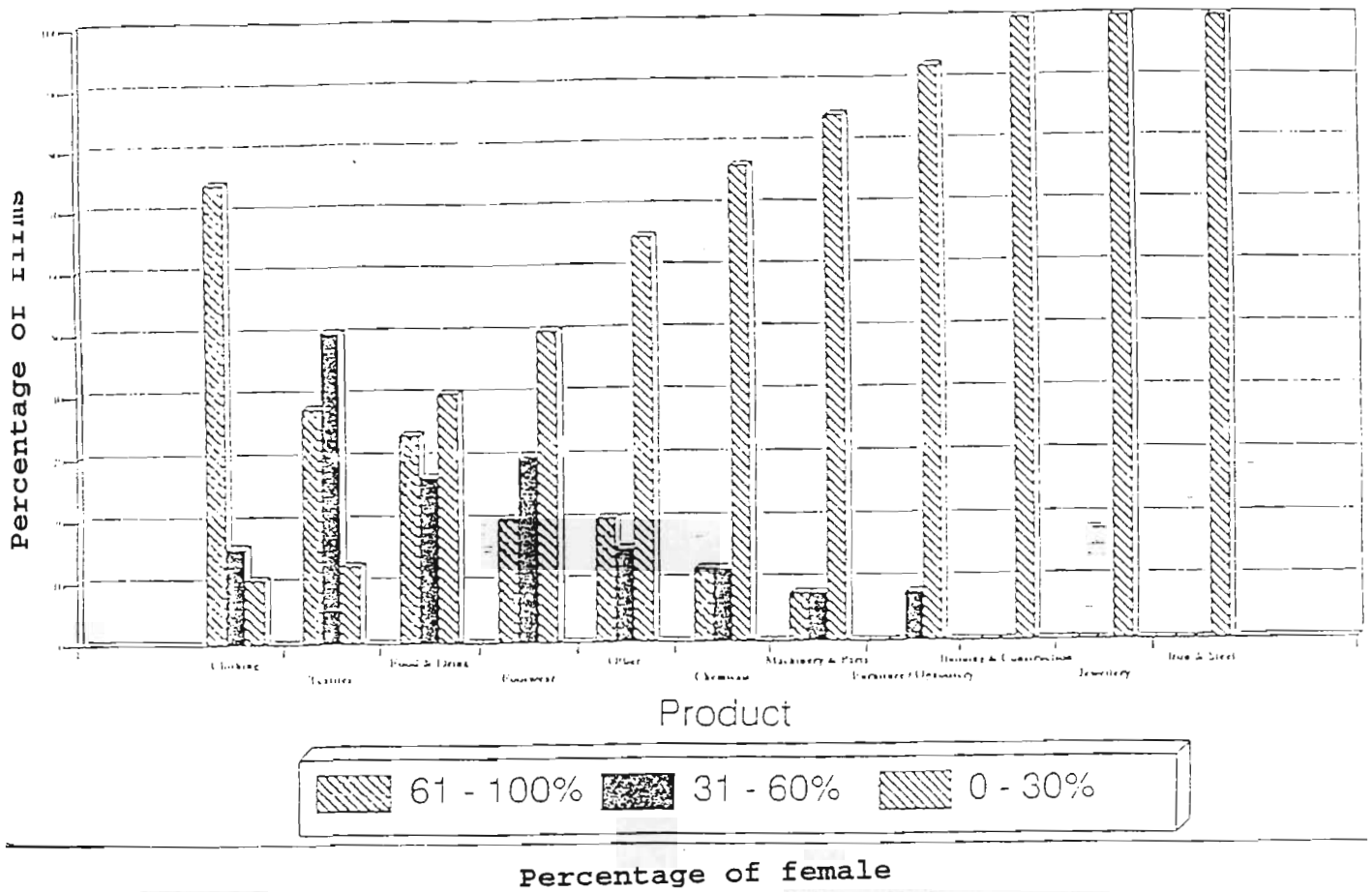
chemicals and paper industries in the Durban-Pinetown area.

Prior to the war, the clothing industries comprised of mainly European labour force. However, during the war and the post war years, access of European women into other industries such as commerce resulted in the scarcity of female labour provided by these women. This situation necessitated the employment of Asian and Coloured female labour into the industries. Thus by 1946, Asian and Coloured women constituted 80% of the labour force and nearly 90% in 1955 (Katzen, 1961:37).

By 1955, the clothing industry in Durban was employing people from all races. The large availability of non-European and Asiatic labour meant that industrial managers could afford to pay very low wages. As a result of the lower level of wages in Durban, employers were able to invest the high profits into modernising their buildings, plants, equipments as well as increasing the efficiency of management and workers with methods such as time, cost control systems, etc (Katzen, 1961:37).

In a study by Mc Carthy (1993) on 145 industries in Durban, a bi-modal distribution of workforce composition by gender was reflected in the sample. It was found that a high proportion of female employees were concentrated in the clothing, textile, footwear, food and beverage factories, with only a small proportion of the female workforce in other types of factories, as indicated in the graph below, which shows the percentage of female workforce according to product/sub-sector:

Percentage of work force female according to product



Source: (Mc Carthy, 1993:32)

The ILO has argued that the increased proportion of women's employment in these industries in relation to the global processes of socio-economic development are generating a larger demand and supply of women's labour (ILO, 1995). However, statistics relating to the total number of women in the clothing industry are often unrepresented in that only enterprises in the formal sector, which employ a minimum number of workers are recorded (ILO, 1995:26; UN, 1989:130). This problem is of high magnitude particularly in developing countries where the scale of the informal sector,

homework and clandestine employment is vast. Nonetheless, from the available data on the amount of employment in the clothing industry, it has been **indicated** that the proportion of women employed in the clothing industry is often between 70 and 80% (ILO, 1995:31).

4.9 Conclusion

As in the rest of South Africa, women's employment in the clothing industries in Durban has fluctuated over the years particularly owing to the period of recession in the industry. However the decline in women's employment in the formal sector has been succeeded by an increase in women's employment in the informal sector through **outworking/homeworking**, which has resulted in the exacerbation of women's problems in coping with the **demands** of productive and reproductive work. With outworking, although women **work from home**, this does not serve as a solution to their problems of coping with the demands in **two** spheres in that women have to meet the production demands. This usually involves longer **working** hours, which sometimes require assistance from other members of their families. Also, the **production demands** are met at women's expense in that they offer their cheap labour, which is usually exploited. Exploitation of women's labour is also enforced by the fact that outworking incapacitate the ability of workers to organise. At the end of the day, women are left with less time to perform their domestic tasks.

5. CHAPTER 5: PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF SURVEY RESULTS

5.1 Introduction

The main aim of this study is to investigate the planning implications of the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres on the lives of women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area. In this chapter, analysis and representation of the results from the survey will be presented. Findings from the survey will be used to ascertain whether the hypothesis outlined at the beginning of this dissertation is justified.

5.2 Nature of the clothing industrie in the Umbilo Industrial Area

From the 5 clothing industries that were selected for the purpose of the study, it was found that most of these industries have only recently established in the area (i.e. between 1985 and 1994). The firms are new, with Umbilo being their first area of establishment. Their main attraction to the area has been the centrality of Umbilo area to the CBD, customers, effecient transportation routes as well as proximity to labour.

These industries are of a relatively small nature, with their workforce composition ranging from 20 workers in the smallest firms, to 120 workers in the largest firms. The labour force in these industries comprise mainly women, most of whom are married.

From the survey data derived from managers, it was reported that over the last five years, most of the industries did not experience any major change in industrial employment. This owes to the fact that most of the firms are new as well as to the recession in the clothing industry over the years, which resulted in decreased employment in SOuth Africa and in developing countries across the world.

Most of the clothing industries do not sub-contract to homeworkers, the reason being that there is no demand for this, probably due to the effects of the recession, which resulted in decreased

demands and thus a decline in productivity as well as the increase in international competition. Also, the managers noted their pre-occupation with maintaining high standards of quality as well as enhancing administrative efficiency.

5.3 Issues relating to the labour force

The survey revealed that in four of the factories, women constituted 100% of the labour force, while one factory reported to have both men and women workers, but with women occupying a higher percentage of the labour force than men.

The high percentage of women in the clothing industry in the Umbilo Industrial area reflect a trend that has been experienced internationally in studies carried out in 1991 by organisations such as The Commission of European Communities in many industrialised; newly industrialised and developing countries such as the United States, Singapore and Mauritius; where the prevalence of women in the clothing industry is very strong.

Three of the employers have attributed the high percentage of women in these industries to the fact that more women than men tend to apply for the jobs, one employer responded that women do this kind of job much better than men. The latter response reflects some of the stereotypes held by employers, as shown in a study by (Narayanan and Kimura, 1992) on women workers in the Thailand textile industries. They found that most of the employers preferred female to male labour force because they believe that women perform the job much better than men, since this job is an extension of what they do in the home. In a study by Harrison, K (1996:58), on the clothing industries in Port Shepstone, other reasons given for the predominance of female labour force were: male machinists tend to be "cheeky"; small companies cannot afford "expensive" labour and women are prepared to work for less; men help organise the workers; and that women produce better quality products and are less likely to be alcoholics than men (Harrison, K. 1996:58).

In all five of the factories, employers reported no particular problem with female labour force. In contrast, in the study by Harrison, K (1996) employers stated that the main problems associated with female labour force were: conflict amongst the workers themselves; late coming; absenteeism, productivity levels and quality standards dropping dramatically in the owner's absence; no sense of ownership by the workers or "understanding" of the industry, communication and language problems; strong family demands on labour particularly over weekends, which result in a limited amount of overtime (Harrison, K. 1996:59). The response from employers that no particular problem is experienced with female labour force could be a result of employers' reluctance to state the problems experienced.

In three of the industries selected for the study, the labour force has remained stable over the last 5 years. Two of the industries reported that women's employment decreased by 20% over the last 5 years, owing to the period of recession in the industry.

In comparing the changes in women's employment with that of the total employment over the last five years in the clothing industries in the study area, a 60% decrease in total employment was reported. Of this 60%, 20% experienced fluctuations, which have been attributed to the economic impact of recession, changes in the demands for labour at different times of the year and to an increase in wage demands and international competition.

5.4 Sub-contracting

Four of the five factories interviewed stated that they do not sub-contract to homeworkers. The reasons given for this was that there is no demand for sub-contracting within their factories, since they are able to cope with the work load. Others noted the importance of quality control and administrative convenience. These findings are similar to that found by Harrison, K (1996) in her study of clothing industries in Port Shepstone. She found that most of the factories do not sub-contract to homeworkers for relatively the same reasons and also, because of the unavailability of the necessary machinery and the lack of electricity in people's homes; difficulties in accessing insurance cover; management already being overstretched; the type of merchandise produced, not

being conducive to homework; and that the "twilight"¹ factories provide a similar function. One of the factories sub-contracted to other firms because they do not have a factory of their own. There were no women involved in home based industries in the five factories that took part in the study.

5.5 Training and service facilities on the work place

Three of the factories do not invest in any form of training for their employees. The other two invest in in-house training to improve productivity and efficiency. These factories also offered informal counselling facilities (one factory) and family planning facilities (one factory) for women workers. Employees do not seem to be interested in enhancing women's skills, thus women continue to occupy low skill jobs, associated with low wages in the clothing industries.

In the study by Harrison, K (1996) it was found that in many of the factories that were interviewed, the training of workers is largely done "ad hoc" and in-service. Workers were normally trained on site either by family members of the owner or other workers within the factory, with training usually undertaken during tea and lunch breaks, or during production time by supervisors. Others reported that they do not invest in any training of workers because it is too expensive and thus not worth it.

¹. "Twilight" factories refer to firms in which overtime work is undertaken in the evenings, usually between 6pm and 12pm, as well as on Saturdays and Sundays, with the aim of increasing productivity levels (noted by Harrison, K (1996) in her study on Port Shepstone clothing industries.

5.6 DEMOGRAPHIC CHARACTERISTICS

5.6.1 Age

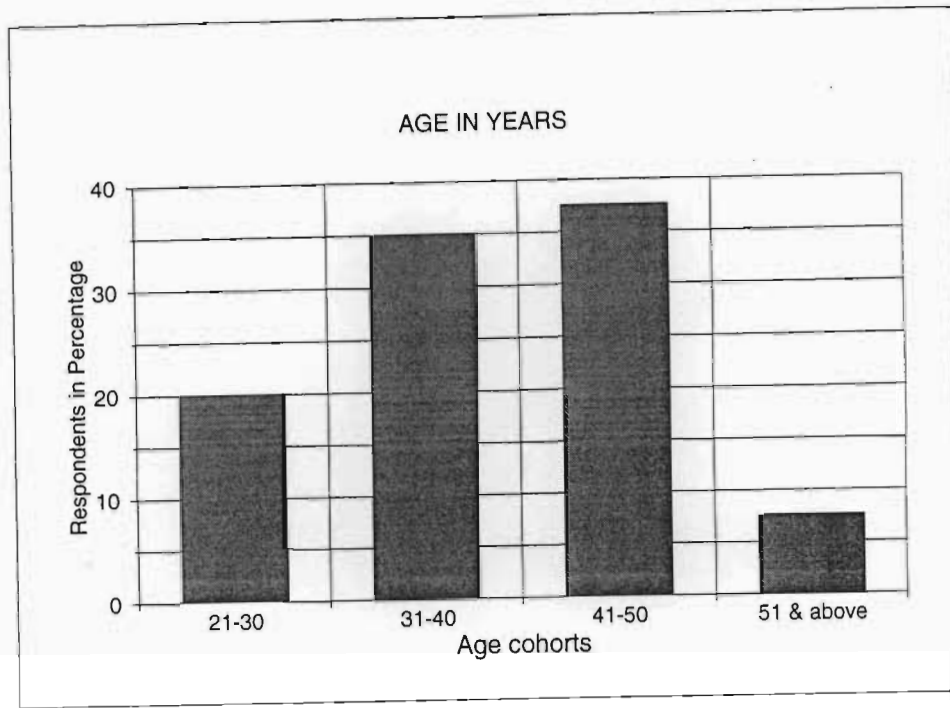


Figure 1

From the survey, it was found that most women employed in the clothing industries fall within the age group 31-40 years (35%) and 41-50 years (37.5%) respectively. Only about 20% of the women fall within the age cohort 19-30 years and 7.5% of the women are 51 years old and above. These findings show a prevalence of older women in the clothing industry.

Contrary to these findings, in a study by The Institute for Black Research (IBR) (1990), which sampled 988 Black Women Workers in the Durban-Pinetown region during 1984, it was found that most women fell within the age cohort 21-40, with the highest concentration in age cohort 21-30 years. It can therefore be hypothesised on the basis of the findings by the IBR that there has been

a shift in the nature of the labour force constitution from younger to older women. This trend can be attributed to the fact that nowadays, more young women are getting educated and can manage to get access to better employment opportunities in other spheres of employment. This trend also tends to disprove the stereotype that women employed in the industries are young, recruited from the age cohort 15-25 and concentrated in the 18-21 age group (Pearson, 1994:351).

5.6.2 Marital Status

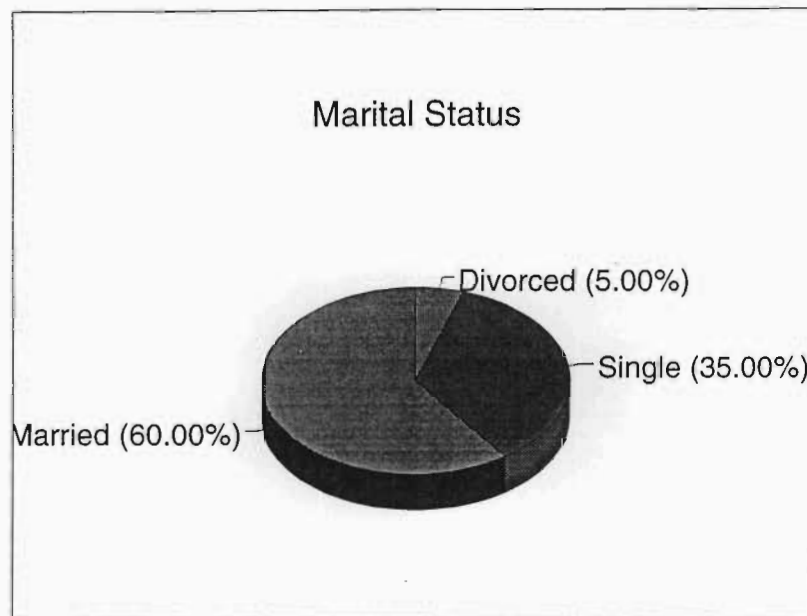


Figure 2

From the survey, it was found that approximately 60% of the women employed in the clothing industries are married, while 35% of the women reported that they are single.

The remaining 5% are divorcees. The prevalence of married women in the clothing industries suggest that most of the women have family obligations. In a study by the Institute for Black

Research, 96% of women who were interviewed had families and of this, 44.2% were married.

The fact that 60% of the women who participated in the study are married disproves the idea that women recruited in the industries are single, and childless, and thus did not have any family obligations.

From the findings on age and marital status, it can be concluded that majority of the women have family obligations, having to care for young children, the elderly within the households, as well as ensuring the general well being of the family.

5.6.3 Places of residence

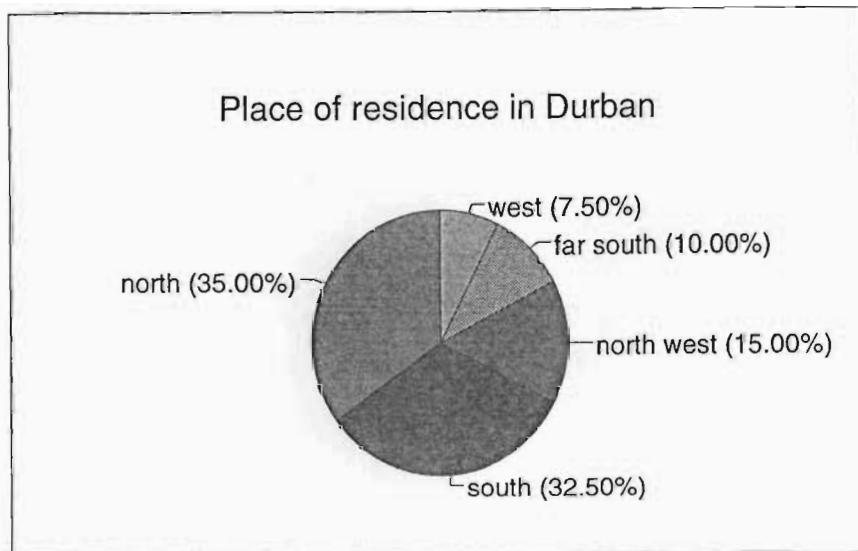


Figure 3

It was reflected in the survey, that most women working in the clothing industries come from around Durban. About 35% of the women come from the north of Durban, from areas such as Tongaat, Phoenix, Avoca Hills, Kwa-Mashu, Ntuzuma; 32.5% come from the south of Durban, from the areas as (Umlazi, Merebank, Lamontville, Chatsworth); 7.5% come from the west, from areas such as Mayville and Mpumalanga; 15% of the women come from the north west, from areas such as Inanda and Newlands. The other 10% come from as far as Kwa-Makhutha and Ngonweni which are situated further south of Durban.

The place of employment is located in the south western parts of Durban and this implies that a high percentage of the labour force in these industries rely on public transport to work.

5.7 ISSUES RELATING TO MOBILITY

5.7.1 Mode of Transport

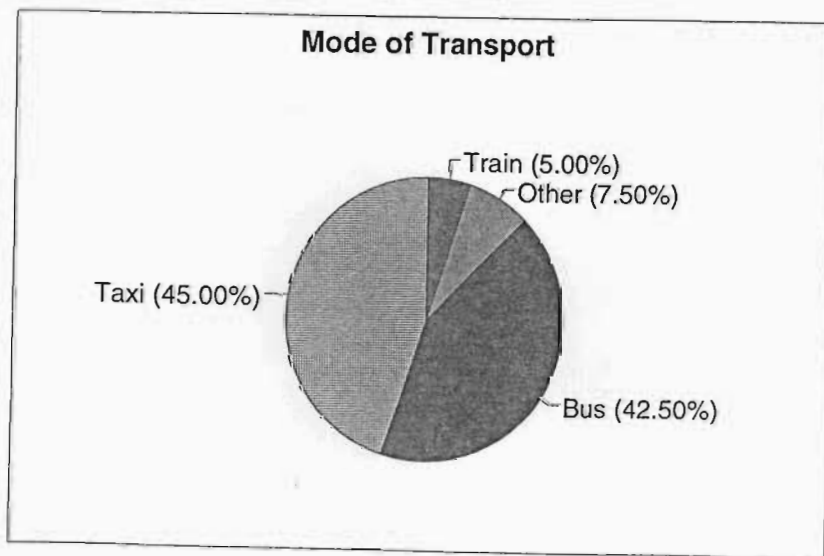


Figure 4

Another finding from the survey was that 45% of the women use a taxi whereas 42.5% use a bus as a means of transport to work. The other 5% and 7.5% use the train and other means of transport to work. The latter category constitutes those women who use private transport to work (in most cases, their husband's cars)

It was found that approximately 87.5% of the women commute everyday from their original place of residence. Only 12.5% stay in a rented place, the reason being that they originally come from distant places and can therefore not afford to travel home everyday. Of this 12.5%, it was found that 2.5 % manage to go home at least every weekend.

Reliance on public transport and the fact that some women do not travel from their original place of residence everyday signifies that women travel long distances to and from work.

5.7.2 Time spent waiting for transport and on the journey to work

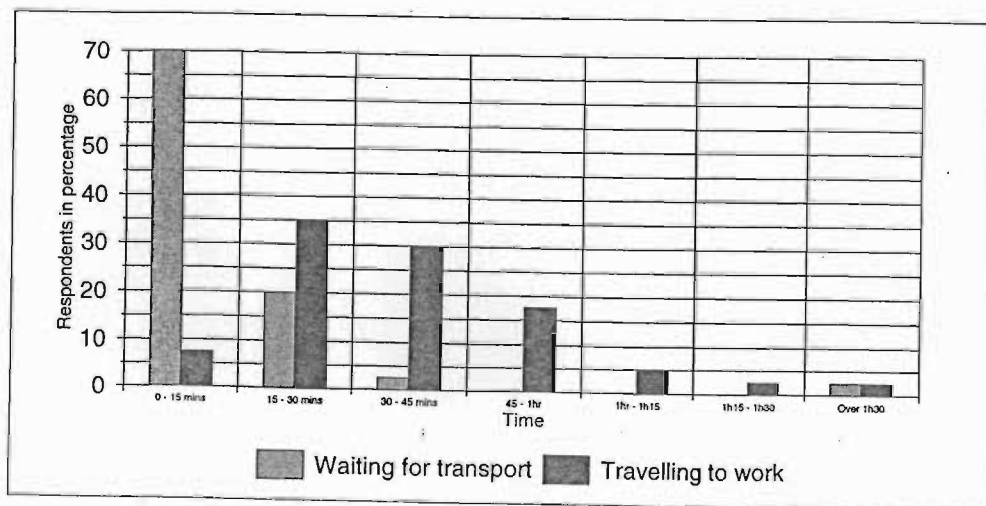


Figure 5

Figure 11 ascertain that the majority i.e. 70% of the women spend between 0-15 minutes waiting for transport to go to work in the morning whereas 20% spend between 15-30 minutes. Only a modest percentage (2.5%) of the women spend between 30 - 45 minutes waiting for transport to go to work. Presumably, the little time that most women spend waiting for transport can be attributed to the fact that most women use a taxi (which tends to be faster) as a means of transport. Women who spend over one hour 30 minutes waiting for transport are most probably those living further south of Durban or those using a train or a bus as a means of transport to work.

In comparing the time that women spend waiting for transport and the time spent travelling to work, it is evident that for most women, more time is spend on travelling than on waiting for transport to go to work. About 30% of the women spend between 30-45 minutes, 17.5% spend 45 minutes to one hour, 5% spend between 1hour to 1h 15 minutes on the journey to work. The remaining 5% spend between 1hr 15 to 1hr 30 minutes travelling to work. This evidence confirms the opinion that the spatial separation of the productive from the reproductive sphere has contributed to the long distances that women have to travel to work. The opinion **has** been further justified in a study by Cook (1987) on women workers in two South African townships of Khayelitsha and Soshanguve, whereby women spend about 4 to 5 hours on their daily journey to work and back, considering the inefficiencies of public transport. It was also evident in the study by the (IBR) in which it was found that 47.5% of the women travelled 19kms each way, with **each** trip taking about an hour at the most - (this implies two hours each day, spent on commuting). However it is important to note that the situation in Durban is not quite as extreme as in Pretoria or Cape Town.

About 52.5% of the women reported that they experience problems with travelling to work. These problems are related to traffic congestion on the roads, **congestion** in the modes of transport to work (whereby for example, people get packed into buses and taxis), thus resulting in women being exhausted by the time they reach their destinations. The length of time spent on commuting results in a reduction in the amount of time left over after work for doing other household tasks.

5.8 ISSUES RELATING TO THE HOUSEHOLD

5.8.1 Household Size

Number of People

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	Above 7	Total
Respondents in %	5	5	20	15	20	22.5	7.5	5	100

Table 1

5.8.2 Number of dependants

	0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 & above	Total
% Respond- ents	10	12.5	20	27.5	10	7.5	10	2.5	100

Table 2

Most of the women (77.5%) have families of between 3 and 7 members. Only 10% of the women have families of less than 3 people, while the remaining 5% have more than 7 people in their households.

There seem to be a correlation between the size of the households and the number of household members who are dependent on women. The data on household size shows that there is a prevalence of relatively small families among women. About 32.5% of the women have between 1 and 2

dependants. In relation to this, only 27.5% of the women have between 4 and 6 dependants, with 2.5% of the women having more than 7 dependants. Dependants are usually children of school going age, mothers and fathers - usually pensioners or retired, unemployed husbands and in some cases, brothers and sisters.

The small families among women can be attributed to the shift towards the prevalence of nucleated families, the use of birth control and also that women can only afford to maintain small families.

5.9 GENDER DIVISION OF LABOUR WITHIN THE HOUSEHOLD

5.9.1 Tasks performed in the morning and time taken on each

Time in minutes	Cook	Clean	Wash	Iron	Prepare children for School
0-5	0	0	0	2.5	0
6-10	5	5	2.5	7.5	0
11-15	2.5	5	7.5	15	5
16-20	12.5	7.5	5	7.5	5
21-25	0	0	5	0	0
26-30	12.5	15	0	12.5	10
31-35	0	0	0	0	0
36-40	0	0	0	2.5	0
41-45	0	0	0	0	5
56-60	2.5	0	0	0	2.5
No work done	65	67.5	80	52.2	72.5
Total	100	100	100	100	10

Table 3

About 35% of the women reported that they do cooking in the morning, 32.5% do cleaning, 20% do washing, 47.5% do ironing, 27.5% prepare children for school in the morning, before they go to work.

The average time taken by women to perform the tasks in the morning is 26 minutes. These women reported that they also have to perform household tasks when they come back from work in the afternoon/evening. Most of these tasks involve cleaning, cooking helping children with their homework and getting them to bed.

5.9.2 Household members assisting with the tasks

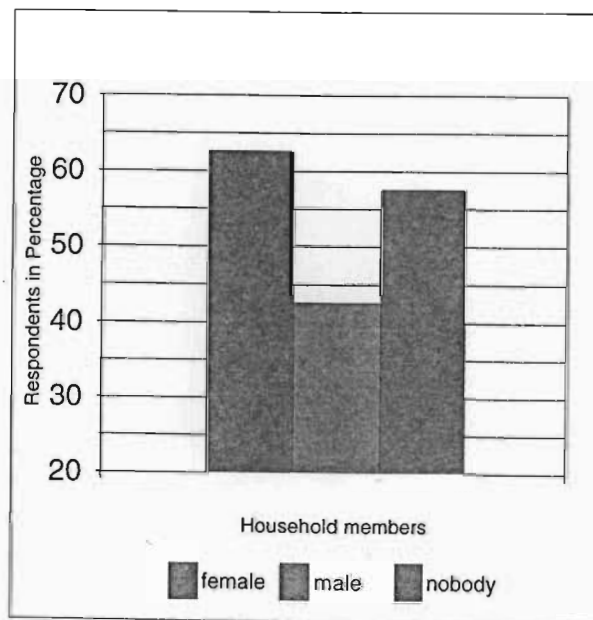


Figure 6

From the survey, it was found that most women (62.5%) are usually aided by either their mothers, sisters or daughters with the household tasks. About 57% of the women are not assisted by anybody, in most cases owing to the fact that they stay alone or with their young children. Only 45% of the women reported that they get assistance from male household members. Of the 67.5% of the households with adult male persons, only 8.9% reported that the adult male persons occasionally help with the household tasks, although the frequency of assistance varies according to the type of task one is referring to. This is better demonstrated in table 2 below showing the tasks that adult males usually take part in, and the frequency with which the tasks are performed.

5.9.3 Frequency at which tasks are performed by men

	All times	Occasionally	Never	No males	Total
Respondents in %					
Cooking	2.5	17.5	50	30	100%
Cleaning	7.5	15	47.5	30	100%
Washing	0	7.5	62.5	30	100%
Ironing	2.5	10	57.5	30	100%
Children to school	2.5	5	62.5	30	100%
Help children with homework	5	5	60	30	100%
Other	7.5	2.5	60	30	100%

Table 4

From the survey, 3.9% of the women reported adult male household members assist with the household tasks all the time, 8.9% of the women reported that adult males help occasionally with the household tasks, and 57.1% of the women have reported that adult males never assist with the household tasks. The remaining 30% have no adult males living with them.

There is a great difference in percentage between adult males who assist all the time with the household tasks (3.9%) and those who never assist with the household tasks (57.1%). It is apparent from the findings that most adult males do not assist with the household tasks. This implies that women bear the brunt of having to perform all the household tasks by themselves, particularly if there is no assistance from other household members.

5.10 MONTHLY COSTS ON TRANSPORT AND CHILD MINDER

The long distances between home and work places owing to the separation between the productive and the reproductive sphere mean that women have to spend a lot of money every month on travelling as well as paying people who help look after their young and elderly while they go to work.

5.10.1 Money spent on transport per month

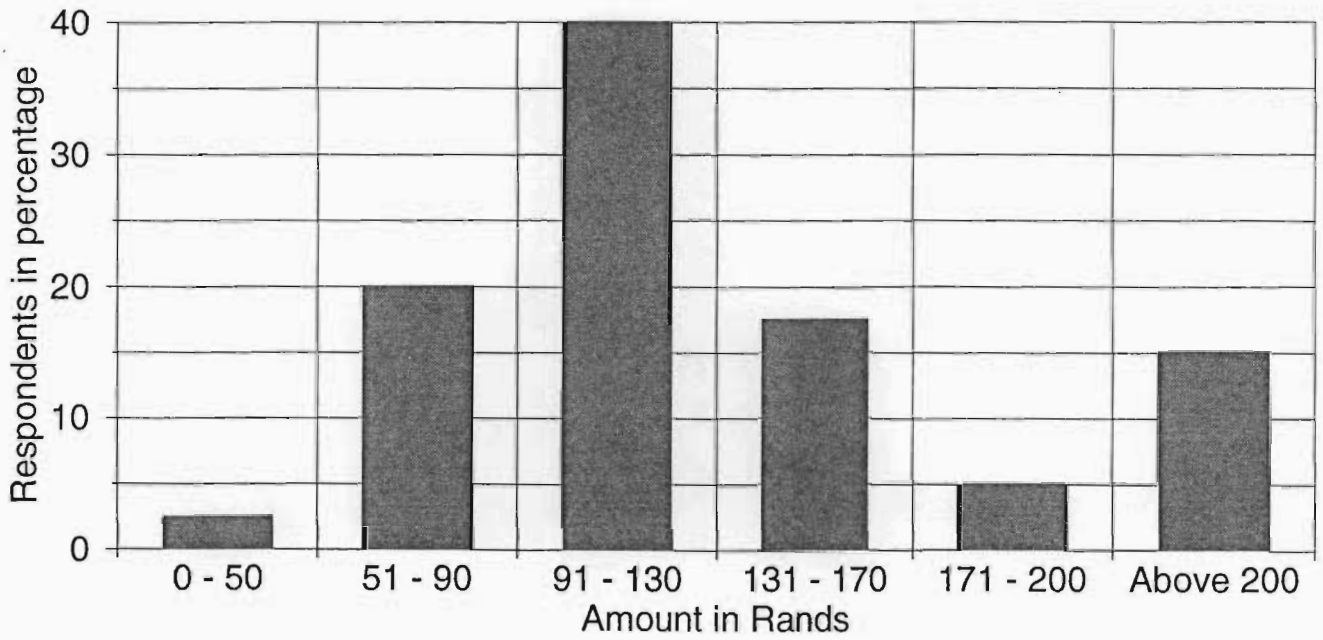


Figure 7

5.10.2 Money spent on child-minder per month

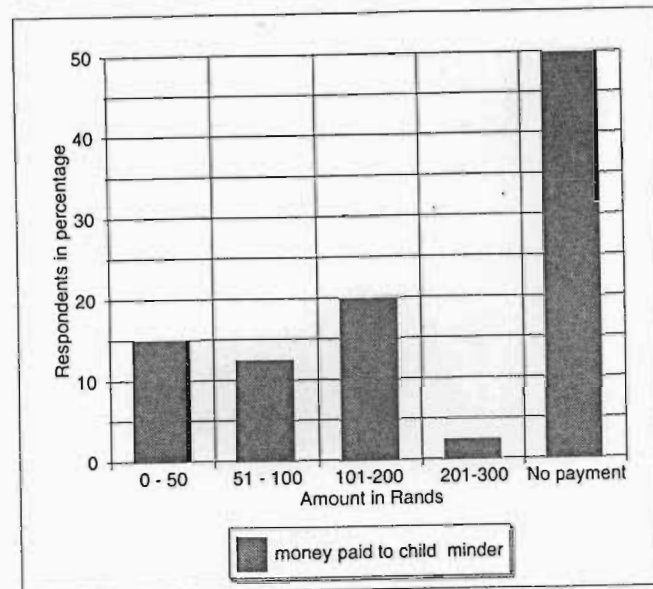


Figure 8

From Figure 7 it is noticeable that 40% of the women spend between R91 - R130, 00 per month on transport. About 17.5% of the women spend between R131 - R170.00 a month. Only 15% of the women spend above R200, 00 on transport a month. The latter category include the people who have to travel longer distances to work everyday (i.e. those living in the far south of Durban).

From Figure 8 it is apparent that about 20% of the women have to pay between R101 - R200, 00 towards people who take care of their children while they go to work. Only 2.5% of the women have reported that they pay between R201-R300,00 to people who take care of their children.

In most cases, it is their mothers/grandmothers (22.5%), neighbours/friends (15%) who care for the children. In some cases however, 5% of the women said that their children are looked after at a crèche while others (7.5%) stated that their unemployed husbands look after the children while they go to work.

5.11 Relation of women's monthly costs to their wages

From these findings, the economic burden placed upon women due to the separation becomes apparent. The wages of most women in the clothing industry range between R196,75 and R474,80 in accordance with the grades in which women have been categorised and also depending on the duration of service in that particular clothing industry (see appendix 1). In the study, particular focus was on women who are within the Grade I, Grade II and Grade A employees. Women's activities in these grades include machinists, checkers, pressers, cleaners, sorters, service hands, cutters, trimmers, head-cutters, just to mention a few.

Most women's monthly expenses on transport and child minder amount to about R200,00. The subtraction of this amount from women's salaries leave women with an amount of approximately R100, 00 to meet basic household needs. After these have been met, only a little amount of money is left for women to spend on themselves. This amount is very little if one considers that most of the women have at least three dependants.

In the study by (IBR), women's wages varied from under R140, 00 per month (17%) to R800, 00 (1.5%). Of this, 83% earned less than R262,00 per month, which was just enough to maintain a family of its subsistence level.

5.12 TIME BUDGETS OF WOMEN'S DAILY LIVES

5.12.1 Time women wake up, and leave for work in the morning

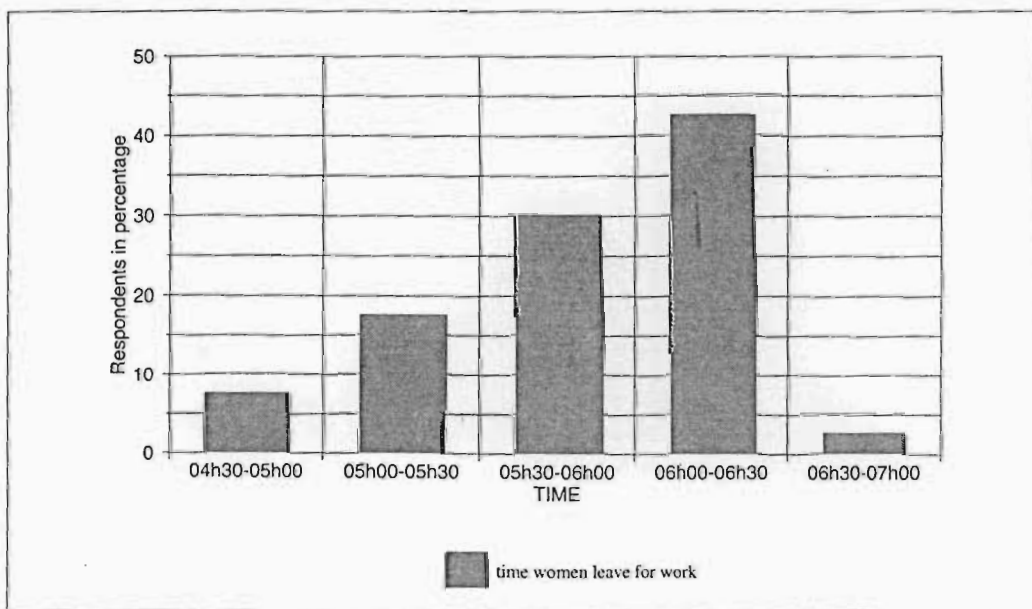
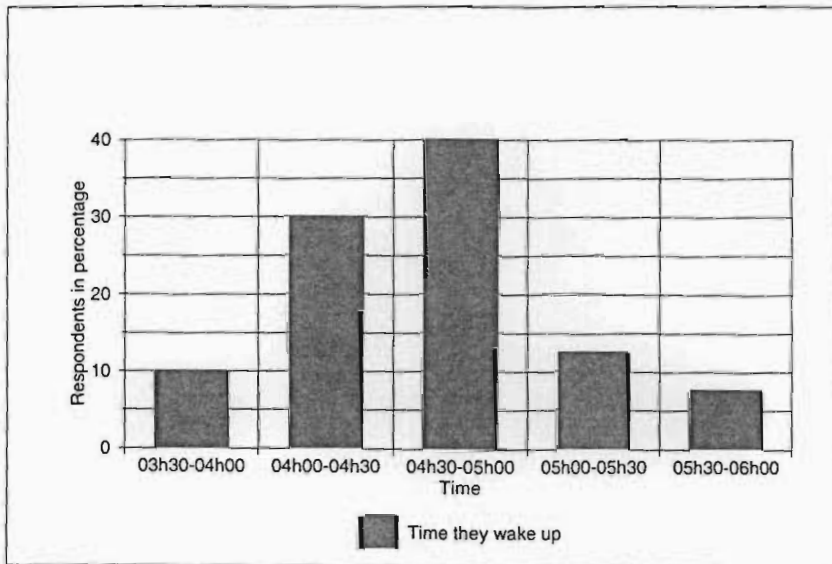


Figure 9

5.12.2 Time women get home from work and the time they go to sleep

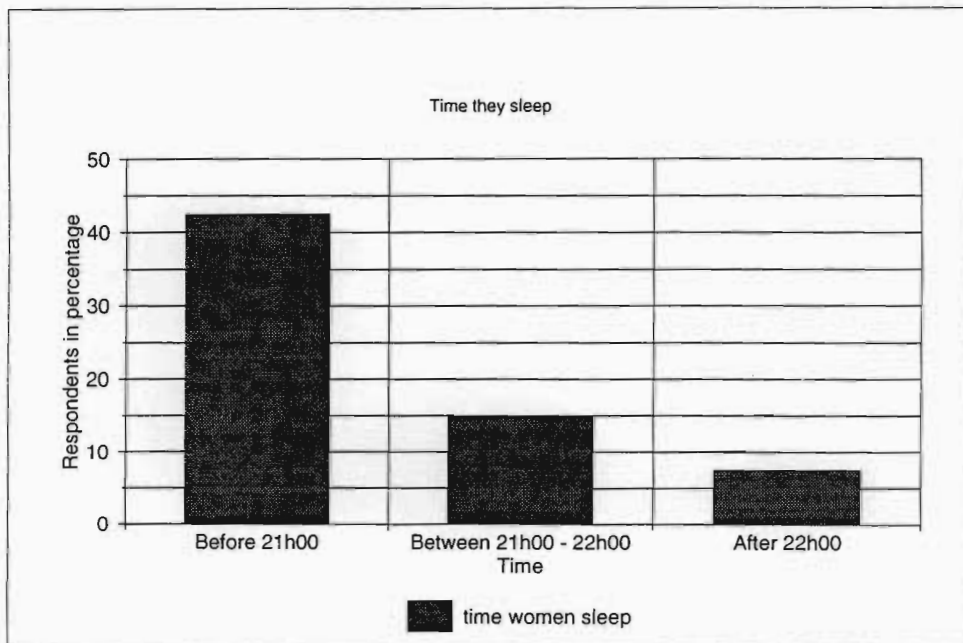
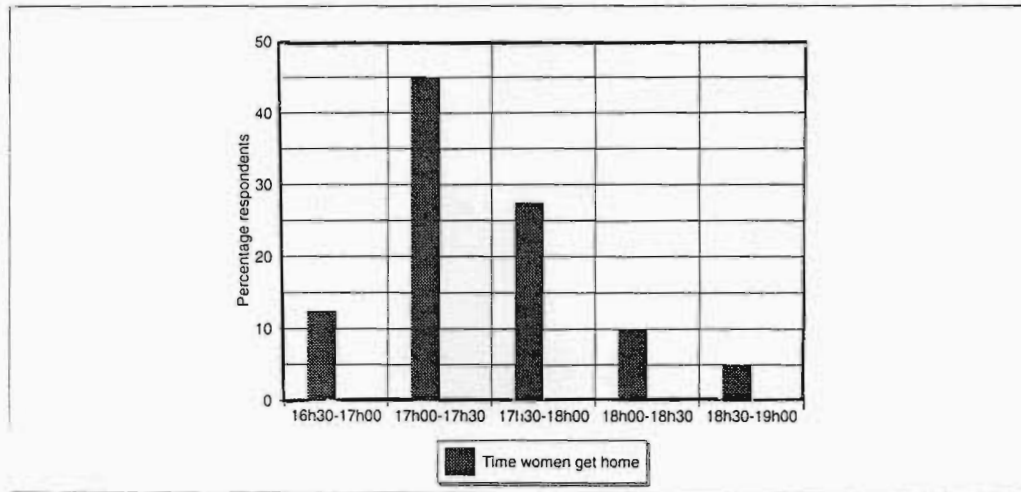


Figure 10

In comparing the above two variables, it can be deduced from figure 12 that majority of the women (70%) wake up between 04h00 and 05h00, with 72.5% of these women leaving for work between 05h30 and 06h30.

Looking at figure 13, 72.5% of the women get home from work between 17h00 and 18h00. About 57.5% of the women go to sleep between 21h00 and 22h00.

These findings are similar to those in the study by the (IBR), where women reported that they leave home between 05h30 and 06h30 and returned home at about the same time.

From these findings, it can be said that most women stay awake for approximately 18 hours in a day. Within these 18 hours, considering that work starts at 07h00 and ends at 16h30 (for 100% of the women interviewed); women spend 9 hours in a day at work in the factories, and the other 9 hours at home, most of which is spent performing household tasks. Most of the women only manage to sleep for at least six hours i.e. between 22h00 and 04h00. The lack of enough sleep has negative implications on women's health conditions. These findings corresponds with those by Cook (1987) on women in Khayelitsha and Soshanguve, work begins at 06h30 and finishes at 17h00. Most of the women spend on average 15-18 hours a day engaging in activities in both the productive and the reproductive spheres.

5.12.3 Typical daily life of a clothing factory woman worker

On average, the day of a clothing factory woman worker begins at 04h00 in the morning when she wakes up to prepare to go to work. She performs household tasks before leaving for work between 05h30 and 06h30; between 07h00 and 16h30, she is engaged in productive work in the clothing industry. She leaves work after 16h30 and only manage to get home between 17h00 and 18h00. When she gets home she takes about 4 hours doing the household tasks and then retires between 21h00 and 22h00.

5.13 Conclusion

The findings from the survey have revealed significant information in relation to the impact of the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres on the lives of women workers in the clothing industries. Women's problems are manifested in the fact that they have to wake up early to do the household tasks in the morning, as well as to make it to work on time.

Women travel long distances to and from work everyday. Commuting takes up most of the women's time, thus leaving little time at the end of the day to perform other household duties. They usually get home from work very late, but still perform household tasks; sometimes without any help from their husbands nor other members of their households.

Women go to bed late in the evening and usually have a few hours of sleep before they have to wake up to prepare for another working day.

From this, it can therefore be concluded that the time constraints under which women have to work; and balance their roles between the two spheres makes it difficult if not impossible for them to cope with the competing demands between their productive and reproductive roles.

6. CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Conclusion

In this concluding chapter, an attempt will be made to consolidate the various aspects discussed in this dissertation. Following from this is a brief discussion of the findings from which it will be ascertained whether the hypothesis formulated at the beginning of this research has been confirmed or not. Finally, the planning recommendations and future directions for research are suggested.

The major focus of the study was to investigate the implications of the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres on the lives of women workers in the clothing industry in the Umbilo Industrial Area. Central to this focus was the examination of how women's involvement in wage employment in the clothing industry has created challenges for them, in coping with their dual roles of being housewife\mother and that of being a worker. The clothing industries in particular, formed a central focus of the study as this sector has been the largest employer of women, since women became incorporated into the industrial labour force.

Previous chapters of the dissertation describe the involvement of women in the broader spectrum of development, and explain how their incorporation into productive work came about. Various forms of industrial patterns as well as the nature of the industrial workforce associated with each of these were discussed. Focus was also on the relations between gender and capital within the household.

The broad hypothesis for the study is that the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres generate difficulties for women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area, particularly in coping with the demands made upon them by their dual roles in both the productive and the reproductive spheres. This has been vividly confirmed in the study.

First, in terms of the labour force, clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial area have displayed a number of features that are in line with those experienced internationally. For example, a large percentage of the labour force in these industries constitute mainly women. This has been the dominant trend in clothing industries in many developed and developing countries.

Another conclusion that has been drawn from the survey is that most of the women in the clothing industry are older, married women with family obligations. This finding discards the stereotype that women in these industries are young, recruited from an age cohort ranging from 15 to 25, and concentrated in the 18-21 age group; that she was single and childless and thus did not have any family obligations (Pearson, 1994:350-51).

Also found from the survey was that most of the women employed in the clothing industries come from areas in the north and south of Durban, while their place of work is situated in the south western parts of Durban. Women therefore have to commute everyday to their places of work using public transport, which even though efficient in most instances, covers relatively long distances between the home and work place.

The problems associated with the separation between the productive and reproductive spheres are exacerbated by the organisation and division of labour within the household. From the survey, it was found that within the household, women are solely responsible for the performance of household tasks as well as ensuring the general well being of family members. Women are usually helped by other female members of the household. On the other hand, men rarely assist with the household tasks. Thus it can be argued that the shift in emphasis from the traditional extended family to the modern nucleated family with capitalism has placed major burdens on women as most of them lost the support from other members of the extended household. Furthermore, the obligation of caring for the young children and elderly people compel women to find other means of assistance with the caring of children and the elderly while they go to work, in most instances having to pay the helper from their small income.

The amount of time that women spend travelling between the productive and the reproductive spheres exacerbates the burden even further. It was found in the survey that most women have to wake up in the early hours of the morning to prepare for work as well as to perform other household tasks. When women return home from work in the evening, they still have to continue with other household tasks before going to sleep late in the evening.

From the research done on women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area, it became apparent the spatial separation inherent in most South African cities, together with their integration into the wage economy has resulted in difficult conditions for women's efficient performance of their dual roles in both the productive and the reproductive spheres.

Thus on the basis of the findings described above, it can be argued that the hypothesis outlined in the first chapter of this dissertation has been shown to be true.

6.2 Planning Recommendations

It can be argued that the use of land-use zoning regulations by planners in designating areas for exclusive residential use and the others for economic and commercial use has contributed substantially towards the problems that women experience with regard to the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres. It has moulded the way in which the analysis of problems associated with women's performance of their dual roles has been undertaken, in a way that focus is mainly on the role of women as wage earners in the productive sphere.

Thus in the light of this, an alternative planning policy to counteract the misfortunes of the previous planning policies is necessary. The policy should be based on an understanding of the complex relations between gender, capital and space, and should also adopt feminist principles to dealing with the problems of urban design and spatial structure. This approach must involve a shift away from the spatial disintegration of activities towards a mixed-use approach to planning whereby women's activities both within and outside the home can be located at close proximity to each other to enhance efficiency in women's performance of their dual roles in both spheres.

Therefore, in order to enhance an environment in which women workers are able to cope with the demands in the productive and the reproductive spheres, **policies** have to take into consideration the need to provide opportunities for employment, mobility, care, shopping, leisure facilities, and so forth.

My recommendations toward adopting measures to enhance women workers to cope with the demands in both the productive and the reproductive spheres falls in line with policy objectives that have been identified in various documents, cited in (Greed, 1994:184). These objectives entail the following:

- to reduce the need to travel by increasing mix of uses in areas, (particularly reintegrating work and home)
- provide greater distribution of localised small scale, friendly, safe facilities, shops and amenities in a multi-nucleated city
- provide for better public transport for women particularly for those living far from their places of work
- move towards inside-town shopping centres, clustered housing developments, shift away from land-use patterns based on the motor car, and
- centralised provision of facilities such as hospitals, comprehensive schools, and government offices to achieve the economies of scale, which diminish **the** provision of local facilities should be discharged by returning to the traditional hierarchy shopping centre, as most women have convenience of local centres.

Efficiency of movement between and within places is important. Mobility has been observed not only as a means of transportation but rather, as also involving a cluster of related issues such as safety, lighting, public transport, availability of public conveniences, and shelter (GLC, 1985 in Greed, 1994:174).

Additionally, there is a need towards the provision of child care facilities in the women's places of work and within residential areas. As (Hayden, 1984 in Greed, 1994:179) has suggested, neighbourhoods could be modified in a way that one house in 20 was converted into a child care

centre, which could also provide other useful services and facilities such as places for elderly people. More government investment in child care is needed in the long term in the form of purpose built facilities, in new care zones midway between employment and home areas (Greed, 1994:179). Alternatively, nurseries can be established in the women's places of work. This will serve as an advantage for both the employers and the employees in that such facilities will attract working mothers and thus employers will benefit from abundance of labour force. This trend has been realised by some developers and planners to be a compatible use with a potential for attracting more women workers eg. in the case of Waterside Office Park, Northampton (Greed, 1994:180).

Doxiadis, (1968 cited in Greed, 1994:181) has argued that planning theorists have long been concerned with three elements i.e. home, work, and play in the "city of man". The problem with this is that for women, child care, children's play activities have been merged with the activities of sports and play thus resulting in the overlooking of separate provision for these activities. There is therefore a need for disaggregation in planning policies as to who needs what, with greater emphasis given to local facilities (ibid).

Provision of adequate facilities and services such as day care, after school and holiday supervision care facilities is required, with special amenities for older children and teenagers. Amenities could also include private areas of study, local nurseries, arts, music and craft facilities, developing into a district care zone alongside or between housing and employment areas, thus linking public and private sector realms (Greed, 1994:182).

However, the way towards reaching these objectives requires planning law enforcement, that will compel planners and developers to provide facilities (Greed, 1994:184). Alternatively, authorities can reassess the needs of their areas, resolve conflicting demands, consider new ideas, as well as to bring forward appropriate solutions. Conditions **deemed fit** by planning authorities can be implemented to enhance consolidation of women's issues into the development and planning policies and processes (ibid).

6.3 Directions and scope for future research

The study of women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial Area was an investigative study. Some important aspects of the lives of women workers in the clothing industries in the Umbilo Industrial area have been revealed. From the survey, it is evident that women's roles within both the productive and the reproductive spheres are mutually inclusive and thus have to be simultaneously considered in the planning process. A way towards meeting these women's strategic and practical needs should be sought. For instance, the provision of efficient transport systems within the greater Durban Metropolitan area can be very useful, in that the times taken on the journey to work can be reduced. Also, this will mean that women do not have to wake up very early in the morning to make it to work on time. There should also be a provision of child-care facilities in the women's places of residence or even closer to their places of work. Women can therefore be able to leave their children at the child care centre on their way to work and collect them after work, on their way home. Provision for efficient transport system and child care facilities will also help reduce the amount of money that women spend on the facilities per month.

However, owing to the time constraints under which the study had to be undertaken, certain issues were not explored in greater detail. One opportunity for future research is the impact of the separation between the productive and the reproductive spheres on family stability, productivity in the work place and also on the health status of women workers in the clothing industry.

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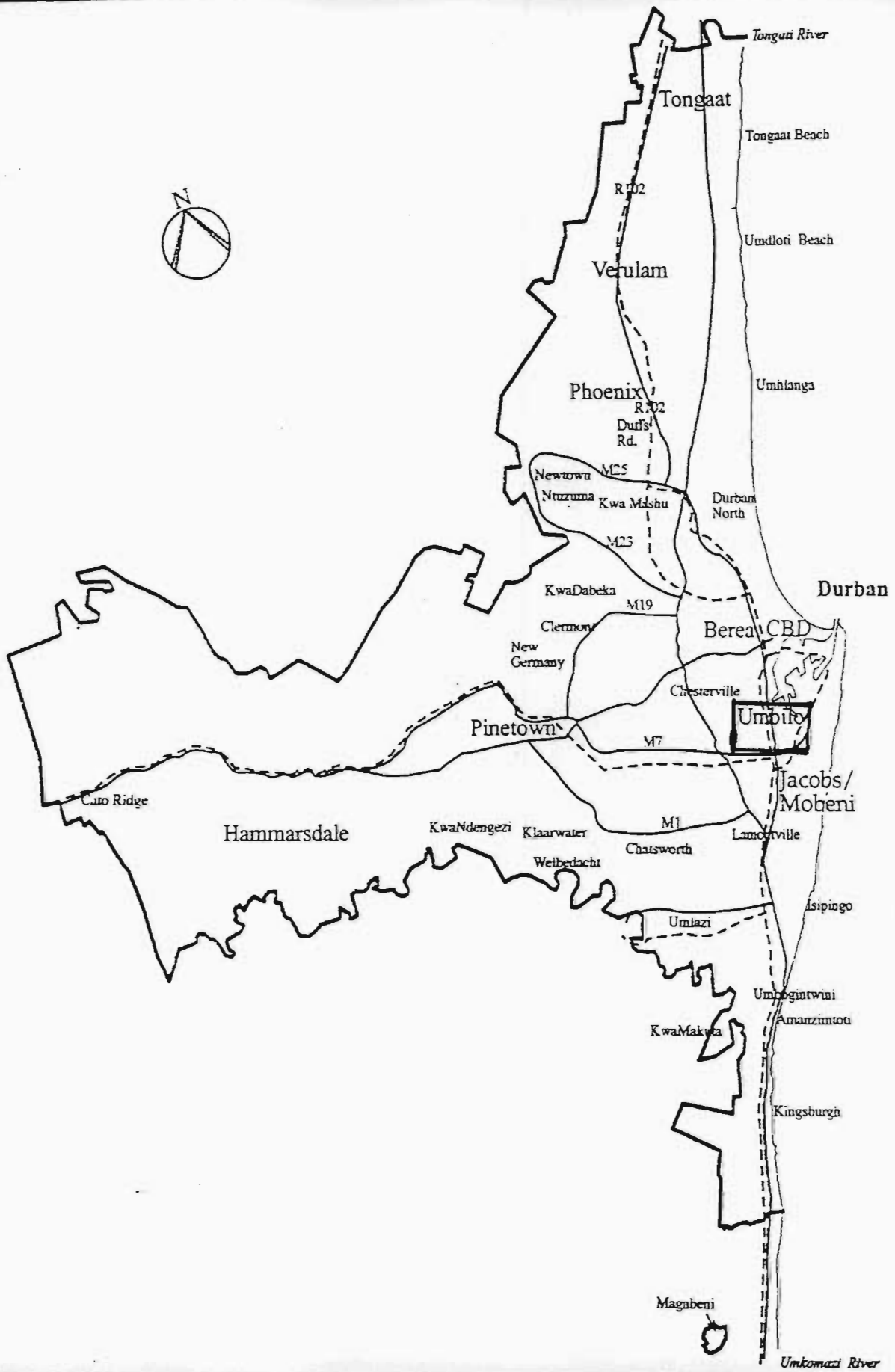
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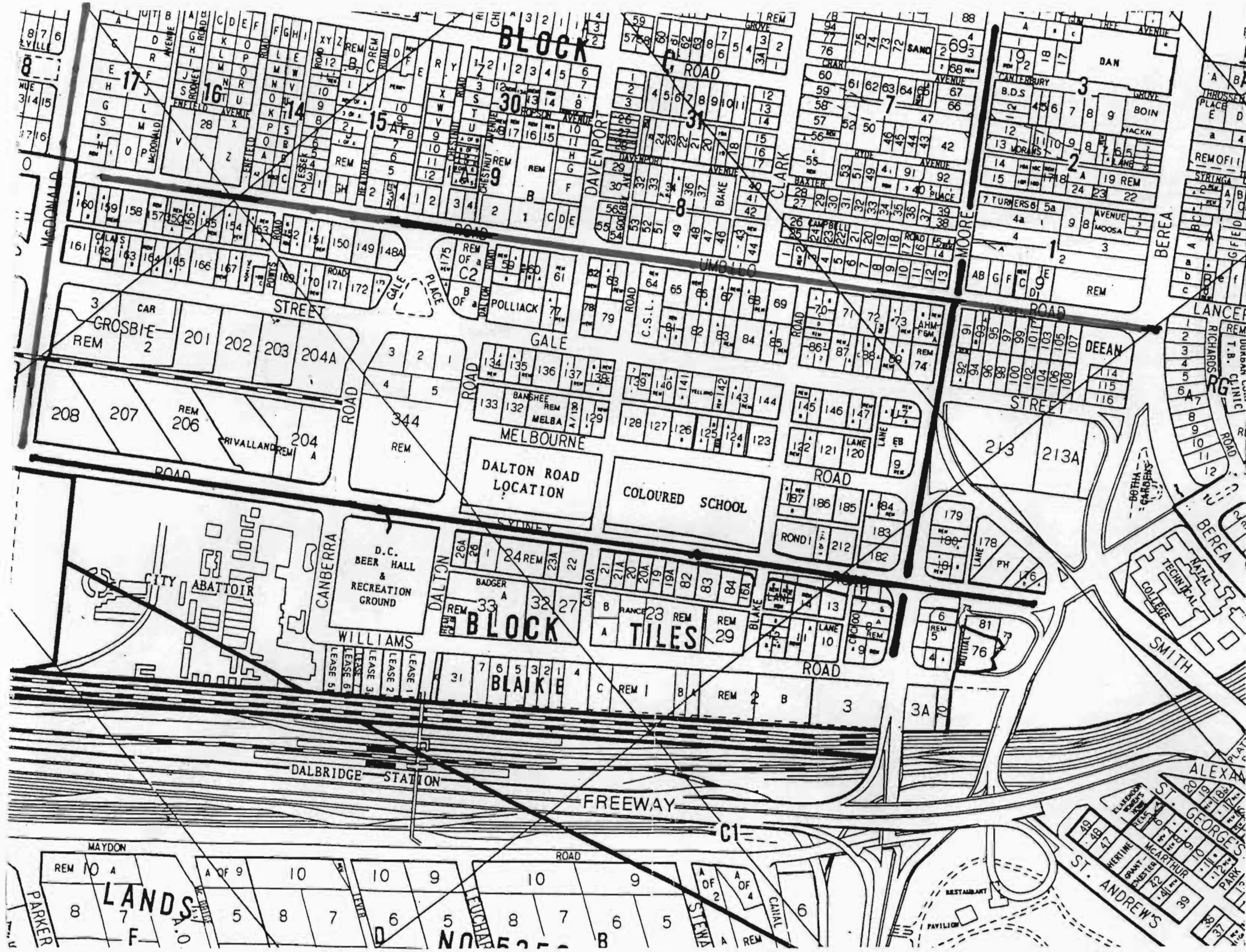
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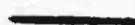
- Durban Metropolitan Boundary
- Major roads
- - - Rail network

METROPOLITAN DURBAN

Map 2: Boundary of the study area



Legend

-  Umbilo Road
-  Sydney Road
-  McDonald Road
-  Moore Road

APPENDICES

PRESCRIBED WAGES wef 1 JULY 1996

Occupation	Number of months experience in industry : inclusive							
	0-6	7-12	13-18	19-24	25-30	31-36	37-42	>43
Grade 1	213.40	233.65	253.25	320.60				
Grade 2	210.80	278.75						
Grade A	221.55	285.40						
Cutter & Trimmer	202.10	225.85	248.70	275.55	322.25			
Bandknife Cutter	226.90	251.20	274.10	300.25	339.30			
Assistant HeadCutter	411.70							
HeadCutter	514.80							
Clerical Employee	234.90	265.30	290.20	345.55				
Foreperson	395.15							
Mechanic	255.80	293.80	337.20	380.60	426.85	469.30	511.10	554.50
Watchman	288.00							
Driver								
< 454 kg	270.70							
454 - 2722	296.20							
2722 - 4540	345.25							
> 4540	417.50							

TOPIC: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SEPARATION BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE AND THE REPRODUCTIVE SPHERES ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN WORKERS IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY. THE UMBILO INDUSTRIAL AREA AS A CASE STUDY

Thank you for your cooperation in accepting to take part in this study. Please put a tick next to the answer of your choice.

1. Demographic Characteristics

1.1) Age

.....

1.2) Marital Status

Single
Married
Divorced
Separated

1.3) Household Structure

Household Member	Relation to Respondent	Age	Occupation
1			
2			
3			
4			
5			
6			
7			
8			

1.4) Total number of people in the household

.....

1.5) Total Number of dependants

.....

2. Geographical Aspects

2.1) Where do you come from?

.....
.....

2.2) Do you travel from your own home to work everyday?

YES	NO
-----	----

2.3) If not, from where do you travel to work everyday?

Friend's House
Relative's House
Rented Place
Other

2.4) How often do you go home?

Every Day
Every Weekend
Once a Month
Once a Year
Other

2.5) Who looks after your children while you are at work?

.....
.....

2.6) Do you have to pay this person for looking after your children?

YES	NO
-----	----

2.7) How much do you have to pay him/her per month for looking after your children?

.....
.....

3. Preparation to go to work in the morning

3.1) What time do you have to wake up in the morning to prepare for work?

Between 3:30 and 4 am
Between 4 h00 and 4: 30 am
Between 4: 30 and 5 am
Between 5 am and 5: 30 am
Between 5: 30 and 6 am
Between 6 am and 6:30 am
Between 6: 30 and 7 am
Later than 7 am

3.2) At what time do you leave for work in the morning?

Between 4: 30 and 5 am
Between 5 am and 5: 30 am
Between 5: 30 and 6 am
Between 6 and 6: 30 am
Between 6: 30 and 7 am
Between 7 and 7: 30 am
Later than 7: 30 am

3.3) What household chores do you do in the morning before you leave for work?

Task	Time spent on each task
Cooking	
Cleaning	
Washing	
Ironing	
Preparing children for school	
Other	

4. Transport Characteristics

4.1) How do you commute to work?

Bus
Taxi
Train
Other

4.2) Do you experience problems in getting transportation to work?

YES	NO
-----	----

4.3) How much time do you spend waiting for transport to go to work?

0 to 15 minutes
15 to 30 minutes
30 to 45 minutes
45 minutes to 1 hour
1 hour to 1h 15 minutes
1hr 15 minutes to 1 hr 30 minutes
Over 1 hr 30 minutes

4.4) How much time do you spend travelling to work?

0 to 15 minutes
15 to 30 minutes
30 to 45 minutes
45 minutes to 1 hour
1 hr to 1 hr 15 minutes
1 hr 15 minutes to 1 hr 30 minutes
Over 1 hr 30 minutes

4.5) How much money do you spend on transport per day?

Less than R1
Between R2 and R3
Between R4 and R5
Between R6 and R7
Between R8 and R9
R10
Over R10

4.6) What time does work start?

.....

4.7) What time does work end?

.....

4.8) What time do you get home from work?

Between 4 and 4:30 pm
Between 4:30 and 5 pm
Between 5 and 5:30 pm
Between 5:30 and 6 pm
Between 6 pm and 6:30 pm
Between 6:30 and 7 pm
After 7 pm

5. Household Characteristics

5.1) Are there adult male persons in the family?

YES	NO
-----	----

5.2) What is their relation to the respondent?

Husband
Uncle
Brother
Cousin
Other

5.3) Do they help you with the household chores?

YES	NO
-----	----

5.4) What household chores do they help you with?

Task	Occasionally	All the time	Never
Cooking			
Cleaning			
Washing			
Ironing			
Children's Homework			
Preparing children for school			
Other			

5.5) Besides the male members, do other household members assist you with the household chores?

YES	NO
-----	----

5.6) Who assists you with the household chores?

Mother
Sister
Daughter
Cousin
Other

5.7) Would you prefer to live and work anywhere else?

YES	NO
-----	----

5.8) Why?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

5.9) What do you think could your employer do to help you in coping with the demands at work and at home?

.....
.....
.....
.....
.....

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE

TOPIC: THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE SEPARATION BETWEEN THE PRODUCTIVE AND THE REPRODUCTIVE SPHERES ON THE LIVES OF WOMEN WORKERS IN THE CLOTHING INDUSTRY. THE UMBILO INDUSTRIAL AREA AS A CASE STUDY.

Thank you for your cooperation in accepting to take part in the study. Please put a tick next to the answer of your choice.

A. FACTORY CHARACTERISTICS

1) When was the firm established?

.....

2) Where was the firm first established?

.....

3) Why did you establish in or move to Umbilo Industrial Area?

.....

.....

.....

B. LABOUR FORCE CHARACTERISTICS

4) What is the total number of the workforce in the factory?

.....

.....

5) Approximately how much of your labour force constitute women?

.....
.....

6) Have the numbers of women changed over the 5 year period?

YES	NO
-----	----

7) Did the numbers increase or decrease over the 5 year period?

.....

8) By how much did the number of women decrease or increase?

.....

9) Has the total employment increased or decreased over the past 5 years?

.....

10) By how much did the total employment increase or decrease?

.....

11) Why do you think the total employment increased or decreased?

.....
.....

12) Which category of women do you prefer to employ?

Single	Married
--------	---------

13) Why?

.....
.....

14) Do you sub-contract?

YES	NO
-----	----

15) If yes, how much of the work is sub-contracted?

.....
.....

16) To whom is the work sub-contracted?

Other firms
Home-workers
women
Other

17) How much of the work is sub-contracted to women?

.....

18) Why do you sub-contract?

.....
.....

19) Why do you not sub-contract?

.....
.....
.....

C. PRODUCTION

20) Why do you mainly employ women machinists?

.....
.....
.....

21) Are there any particular problems with female labour force?

.....
.....
.....

22) How do you think these problems can be dealt with?

.....
.....
.....

23) For how many hours are your employees expected to work per week?

.....
.....

24) Do you invest in any kind of training for your employees?

YES	NO
-----	----

25) What type of training do you invest in?

.....
.....

26) What other services do you render to women in the workplace?

Family Planning
Child Care
Counselling Facilities
Other

27) What percentage of men and women do you have in the following job categories:

Managerial	Men	Women
Supervisory		
Skilled		
Semi-skilled		
Unskilled		

28) Why are more women than men concentrated in semi-skilled and unskilled categories?

.....
.....

29) Do you pay your workers according to the Industrial Council Wage Rates?

YES	NO
-----	----

30) If not, do you pay more or less than the Industrial Council Wage Rates?

More	Less
------	------

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE