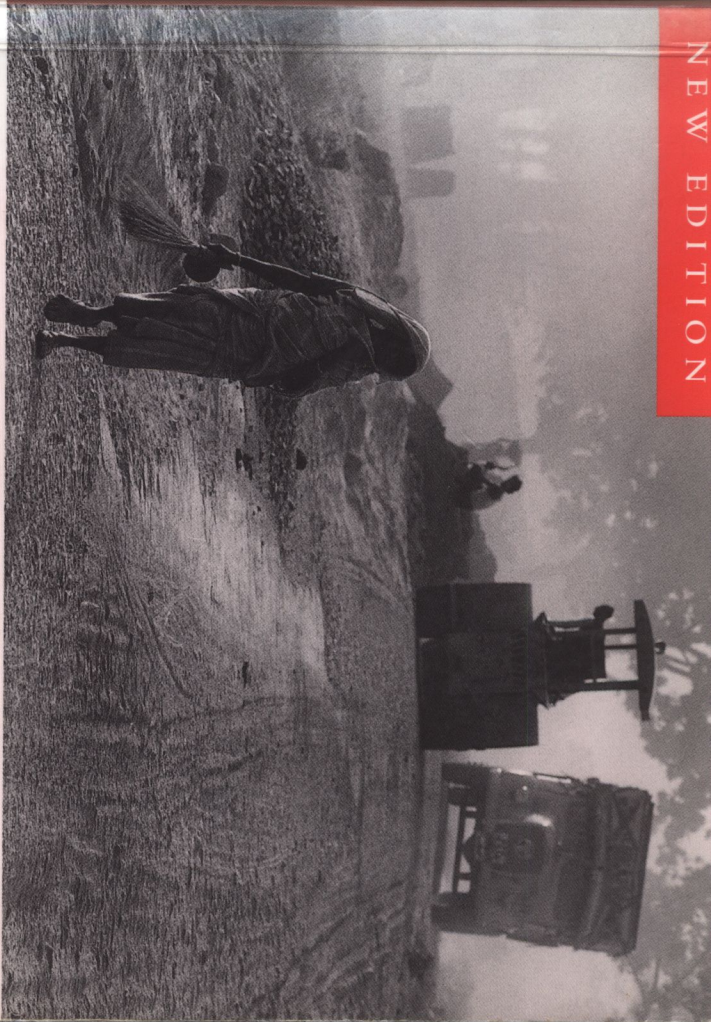


NEW EDITION



# MARIA MIES

Patriarchy & Accumulation  
on a World Scale

WOMEN IN THE

INTERNATIONAL

DIVISION OF LABOUR



# Contents

<b>Preface to new edition</b>	vii
<b>Foreword</b>	1
<b>1. What is Feminism?</b>	6
Where are we today?	6
Fair-weather Feminism?	6
What is New About Feminism? Continuities and Discontinuities	14
Continuities: Women's Liberation – A Cultural Affair?	18
Discontinuities: Body Politics	18
Discontinuities: A New Concept of Politics	24
Discontinuities: Women's Work Concepts	28
Exploitation or Oppression/Subordination?	31
Capitalist-Patriarchy	35
Overdeveloped-Underdeveloped Societies	36
Autonomy	37
40	39
<b>2. Social Origins of the Sexual Division of Labour</b>	40
The Search for Origins Within a Feminist Perspective	44
Biased Concepts	44
Suggested Approach	44
Appropriation of Nature by Women and Men	47
Women's/Men's Appropriation of Their Own Bodies	49
Women's and Men's Object-Relation to Nature	52
Men's Object-Relation to Nature	53
Female Productivity as the Precondition of Male Productivity	56
The Myth of Man-the-Hunter	58
Women's Tools, Men's Tools	58
'Man-the-Hunter' under Feudalism and Capitalism	61
<b>Colonization and Housewifization</b>	66
The Dialectics of 'Progress and Retrogression'	74
Subordination of Women, Nature and Colonies: The underground of capitalist patriarchy or civilised society	74
The Persecution of the Witches and the Rise of Modern Society. Women's productive record at the end of the Middle Ages	77
	78

*Patriarchy and Accumulation on a World Scale* was first published by Zed Books Ltd, 7 Cynthia Street, London N1 9JF, UK, and Room 400, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, USA, in 1986

This edition was published by Zed Books Ltd, London and New York, and by Spinifex Press, PO Box 212, North Melbourne, Victoria 5051, Australia, in 1998

Distributed exclusively in the USA by St Martin's Press, Inc., 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010, USA

Copyright © Maria Mies, 1986, 1998

Cover designed by Andrew Corbett

Printed and bound in the United Kingdom by Redwood Books, Trowbridge

Sixth impression, with new Preface, 1998

The right of Maria Mies to be identified as the author of this work has been asserted by her in accordance with the Copyright, Designs and Patents Act, 1988

All rights reserved.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library

US CIP data is available from the Library of Congress

ISBN 1 85649 734 8 (hb)

ISBN 1 85649 735 6 (pb)

In Australia and New Zealand

ISBN 1 875559 58 2 (pb)



The Subordination and Breaking of the Female Body: Torture Burning of Witches, Primitive Accumulation of Capital, and the Rise of Modern Science	82
Colonization and Primitive Accumulation of Capital	83
Women under Colonialism	88
Women under German Colonialism	90
White Women in Africa	97
Housewifization	100
<b>V4. Housewifization International: Women and the New International Division of Labour</b>	112
International Capital Rediscovers Third World Women	112
Why Women?	116
Women as 'Breeders' and Consumers	120
Linkages: Some Examples	127
Conclusion	142
<b>5. Violence Against Women and the Ongoing Primitive Accumulation of Capital</b>	145
Dowry-Murders	146
Amniocentesis and 'Femicide'	151
Rape	153
Analysis	157
Are men rapists by nature?	162
Conclusion	168
<b>6. National Liberation and Women's Liberation</b>	175
Women in the 'Dual Economy'	180
The Soviet Union	180
China	181
Vietnam	188
Why are women mobilized for the national liberation struggle?	194
Why are women 'pushed back' again after the liberation struggle?	196
Theoretical blind-alleys	199
<b>7. Towards a Feminist Perspective of a New Society</b>	205
The case for a middle-class feminist movement	205
Basic Principles and Concepts	209
Towards a feminist concept of labour	216
An alternative economy	219
Intermediate steps	224
Autonomy over consumption	225
Autonomy over production	228
Struggles for human dignity	229
<b>Bibliography</b>	236
<b>Index</b>	247

## Preface to the new edition

### Books Have Their Fate

When I started writing *Patriarchy and Accumulation* in the early 1980s my intention was not to produce a grand theory on the functioning of capitalist patriarchy. My limited aim was to find answers to a few burning questions which kept cropping up both in the struggles of the new women's movement and also in my classes in the department of Social Pedagogy in Cologne, Germany, and later in the 'Women and Development' programme at the Institute of Social Studies in The Hague, where I had been teaching since 1979. The participants in this programme were women from the South. For many of them 'feminism' was a strange phenomenon, something relevant to Western middle-class women. But they did not yet understand that the 'Woman Question' was their question too.

### Women's Work under Capitalism: New Questions about an Old Problem

Against the backdrop of this context and of my own experience in India, where I had lived for five years, it was obvious that I could not restrict my theoretical quest to a Eurocentric perspective. When feminists in Europe and North America began to ask why *housework* was not paid under capitalism – a question which challenged both liberal and Marxist economics – I could not limit this question to housewives in the industrialized North. What about women in the South? What about rural women there? What about small peasants in general and their relationship to capitalism? Obviously there was a lot of work being done in this world that was not covered by the category economists use to define the relationship of workers to capital. This category was restricted to waged employment only, and to so-called 'free' waged employment at that, because it was protected by unions and labour laws.

I was not the only one to ask similar questions around that time. Since the early 1970s, I had been working with two German friends, Claudia von Werlhof and Veronika Bennholdt-Thomsen, who like me had lived and worked in the Third World and tried to link this experience to the new feminist questions regarding women's work under capitalism. The result was that this questioning, which we shared with many feminists at that



# 1. What is Feminism?

## Where are we today?

The Women's Liberation Movement (WLM) is perhaps the most controversial, as well as the most far-reaching of the new social movements: the ecology movement, the alternative movement, the peace movement, and others. By its very existence it provokes people. Whereas one can lead a dispassionate intellectual or political discourse on the 'ecology question', the 'peace issue', the issue of Third World dependency, the 'woman question' invariably leads to highly emotional reactions from men, and from many women. It is a sensitive issue for each person. The reason for this is that the women's movement does not address its demands mainly to some external agency or enemy, such as the state, the capitalists, as the other movements do, but addresses itself to people in their most intimate human relations, the relationship between women and men, with a view to changing these relations. Therefore, the battle is not *between* particular groups with common interests or political goals and some external enemy, but takes place *within* women and men and *between* women and men. Every person is forced, sooner or later, to take sides. And taking sides means that something within ourselves gets torn apart, that what we thought was our identity disintegrates and has to be created anew. This is a painful process. Most men and women try to avoid it because they fear that if they allow themselves to become aware of the true nature of the man-woman relationship in our societies, the last island of peace, of harmony in the cold brutal world of money-making, power games and greed will be destroyed. Moreover, if they allow this issue to enter their consciousness, they will have to admit that they themselves, women and men, are not only victims, on the one side (women), and villains (men), on the other, but that they are also accomplices in the system of exploitation and oppression that binds women and men together. And that, if they want to come to a truly free human relationship, they will have to give up their complicity. This is not only so for men whose privileges are based on this system, but also for women whose material existence is often bound up with it.

Feminists are those who dare to break the conspiracy of silence about the oppressive, unequal man-woman relationship and who want to change it. But speaking up about this system of male dominance, giving it certain names like 'sexism' or 'patriarchy', has not reduced the ambivalence mentioned above, but rather intensified and broadened it.

There have been contradictory responses to the new women's movement right from its beginning at the end of the sixties. The women who came together in this movement in the USA and in Europe began to call themselves feminists and to set up all-women's groups in which they, for the first time, after the petering out of the old women's movement in the twenties, began to talk about the 'problem without a name' (Friedan 1968). Each of us had listened, time and again in private conversations, to one of our sisters telling us how badly they had been treated by fathers, husbands, boy-friends. But this was always considered the private bad luck of this or that woman. The early consciousness-raising groups, the speaking-out sessions, the all-women's meetings, the first spectacular actions of women who began to separate themselves from the mixed groups and organizations were all occasions where women could discover that their apparently unique personal problem was the problem of all women, was indeed a social and political problem. When the slogan, 'The personal is political' was coined, the taboo was broken that surrounded the 'holy family' and its sanctum sanctorum: the bedroom and the sexual experiences of women. All women were overwhelmed by the extent and depth of sexism that came to the surface in these speaking-out sessions. The new concern that arose, the commitment to fight against male dominance, against all humiliation and ill-treatment of women, and against continuing inequality of the sexes created a new feeling of sisterhood among women which was an enormous source of strength, enthusiasm and euphoria in the beginning. This feeling of sisterhood was based on a more or less clear awareness that all women, irrespective of class, race, nation, had a common problem and this was: 'how men treat us badly', as the women of the 'Sistren Theatre Collective' in Jamaica put it in 1977 when they were about to start their group in Kingston.<sup>1</sup>

And wherever women come together to speak up about these most intimate and often taboo experiences, the same feelings of indignation, concern and sisterly solidarity can be observed. This is also true for the women's groups emerging in underdeveloped countries.<sup>2</sup> In the beginning of the movement, the hostile or contemptuous reactions from large sections of the male population, particularly those who had some influence on public opinion, like journalists and media people, only reinforced the feelings of sisterhood among the feminists who became increasingly convinced that feminist separatism was the only way to create some space for women within the overall structures of male-dominated society. But the more the feminist movement spread, the more clearly it demarcated its areas as all-women areas where men were out of bounds, the more were the negative or openly hostile reactions to this movement. Feminism became a bad word for many men and women.

In underdeveloped countries, this word was mostly used with the pejorative attribute 'Western', or sometimes 'bourgeois' to denote that feminism belongs to the same category as colonialism and/or capitalist class rule, and that Third World women have no need for this movement. At many international conferences I could observe a kind of ritual taking place, particularly after the United Nations Women's Conference in Mexico in 1975. When women spoke from a public platform, they first had to disassociate themselves from 'those feminists' before they could speak as a woman. 'Feminists' were always the 'other women', the 'bad



women', the 'women who go too far', 'women who hate men', something like modern witches with whom a respectable woman did not want to be associated. Women from Asia, Latin America and Africa, particularly those connected with development bureaucracies or the UN, usually set themselves apart from those 'Western feminists' because, according to them, feminism would sidetrack the issue of poverty and development, the most burning questions in their countries. Others felt that feminists would split the unity of the working class or of other oppressed classes, that they forgot the broader issue of revolution by putting the issue of women's liberation before the issue of class struggle or national liberation struggle. The hostility against feminism was particularly strong among the organizations of the orthodox left, and more among men than among women.<sup>3</sup>

But in spite of these negative pronouncements about feminism in general, and 'Western feminism' in particular, the 'woman question' was again on the agenda of history and could not be pushed aside again. The International Women's Conference in Mexico, in a kind of forward strategy in its World Plan of Action, tried to channel all the subdued anger and slow rebellion of women into the manageable paths of governmental policies, and particularly to protect the Third World women from the infectious disease of 'Western feminism'. But the strategy had the opposite effect. The reports which had been prepared for this conference were, in several cases, the first official documents about the growing inequality between men and women (cf. Government of India, 1974). They gave weight and legitimacy to the small feminist groups which began to emerge in Third World countries around this time. At the Mid-Decade International Women's Conference in Copenhagen in 1980, it was admitted that the situation of women worldwide had not improved but rather deteriorated. But what had grown in the meantime were the awareness, the militancy and the organizational networks among Third World women. In spite of a lot of Third World criticism of 'Western feminism' at this conference, it still marked a change in the attitude towards the 'woman question'. After the conference, the word 'feminism' was no longer avoided by Third World women in their discussions and writings. In 1979, at an international workshop in Bangkok, Third World and First World women had already worked out a kind of common understanding of what 'feminist ideology' was; and the common goals of feminism are spelt out in the workshop documentation entitled *Developing Strategies for the Future: Feminist Perspectives* (New York, 1980). In 1981, the first feminist conference of Latin American women took place in Bogota.<sup>4</sup> In many countries of Asia, Latin America and Africa, small women's groups emerged who openly called themselves 'feminists', although they still had to face a lot of criticism from all sides.<sup>5</sup> It seems that when Third World women began to fight against some of the crudest manifestations of the oppressive man-woman relation, like dowry-killings and rape in India, or sex-tourism in Thailand, or clitoridectomy in Africa, or the various forms of *machismo* in Latin America, they cannot avoid coming to the same point where the Western feminist movement started, namely the deeply exploitative and oppressive man-woman relation, supported by direct and structural violence which is interwoven with all other social relations, including the present international division of labour.

This genuine grassroots movement of Third World feminists followed similar

organizational principles as that of the Western feminists. Small, autonomous women's groups or centres were formed, either around particular issues or, more generally, as points where women could meet, speak out, discuss their problems, reflect and act together. Thus, in Kingston, Jamaica, the theatre-collective Sistren mentioned above, formed itself as an all-women group with the aim to raise the consciousness of poor women, mainly about exploitative men-women and class relations. In Lima, Peru, the group Flora Tristán was one of the first feminist centres in Latin America (Vargas, 1981). In India a number of feminist groups and centres were formed in the big cities. The most well-known of them are the Sri Sangharsh group (now dissolved), and Saheli in Delhi. The erstwhile Feminist Network (now dissolved), the Stree Mukti Sangathana, the Forum against Oppression of Women, the Women's Centre in Bombay, the Sri Shakti Sangathana in Hyderabad, Vimochana in Bangalore, the Women's Centre in Calcutta. Around the same time, the first genuinely feminist magazines appeared in Third World countries. One of the earliest ones is *Manushi*, published by a women's collective in Delhi. In Sri Lanka the *Voice of Women* appeared around the same time. Similar magazines were published in Latin America.<sup>6</sup>

Parallel to this rise of Third World feminism from 'below' and at the grassroots level was the movement from 'above', which focussed mainly on women's role in development, on women's studies and the status of women. It originated, to a large extent, in national and international bureaucracies, development organizations, UN organizations where concerned women, or even feminists, tried to use the financial and organizational resources of these bureaucracies for the furthering of the women's cause. In this, certain US organizations, like the Ford Foundation, played a particularly important role. The Ford Foundation contributed generously to the setting up of women's studies and research in Third World countries, particularly in the Caribbean, in Africa (Tanzania) and in India. Research centres were created and policies were formulated with the aim of introducing women's studies into the syllabi of the social sciences.

In India, a National Association of Women's Studies was formed which has already held two national conferences. A similar organization is at present being formed in the Caribbean. But whereas the Indian association still sticks to the more general term 'women's studies', the Caribbean one calls itself 'Caribbean Association for Feminist Research and Action' (CAFRA).

This designation is already an expression of the theoretical and political discussions that are taking place in Third World countries between the two streams – the one from below and the one from above – of the new women's movement. The more the movement expands quantitatively, the more it is accepted by institutions of the establishment, the more money is coming forward from international funding agencies as well as from local governments, the more acutely the conflicts are felt between those who only want to 'add' the 'women's component' to the existing institutions and systems and those who struggle for a radical transformation of patriarchal society.

This conflict is also present in the numerous economic projects for poor rural and urban women, set up and financed by a host of development agencies, governmental as well as non-governmental ones, local and foreign ones. Increasingly,



the development planners are including the 'women component' into their strategies. With all reservations regarding the true motives behind these policies (see chapter 4), we can observe that even these projects contribute to the process of increasing numbers of women becoming conscious of the 'woman's question'. They also contribute to the political and theoretical controversy about feminism. If we today try to assess the situation of the international women's movement we can observe the following:

1. Since the beginning of the movement there has been a fast and still growing expansion of awareness among women about women's oppression and exploitation. This movement is growing faster at present in Third World countries than in First World countries where, for reasons to be analysed presently, the movement appears to be at a low ebb.

2. In spite of their commonality regarding the basic problem of 'how men treat us badly' there are many divisions among women. Third World women are divided from First World women, urban women are divided from rural women, women activists are divided from women researchers, housewives are divided from employed women.

Apart from these objective divisions, based on the various structural divisions of labour under international capitalist patriarchy, there are also numerous ideological divisions, stemming from the political orientation of individual women or women's collectives. Thus, there are divisions and conflicts between women whose main loyalty is still with the traditional left and those who are criticizing this left for its blindness regarding the woman question. There are also divisions among feminists themselves, stemming from the differences in the analysis of the core of the problem and the strategies to be followed to solve it.

3. These divisions can be found not only between different sets of women, separated along the lines of class, nation and race but also within sets of women who belong to the same race, class or nation. In the Western feminist movement the division between lesbian and heterosexual women played an important role in the development of the movement.

4. As each woman joining the movement has to integrate in herself the existential experience of a basic commonality of women living under patriarchy with the equally existential experiences of being different from other women, the movement is characterized everywhere by a high degree of tension, of emotional energy being spent on women's solidarity as well as on setting oneself apart from other women. This is true for First and Third World movements, at least those which are not under the directives of a party, but are organizing themselves autonomously around issues, campaigns and projects.

5. Many women react to this experience of being both united and divided with moralistic attitudes. They either accuse the 'other women' of paternalistic or even patriarchal behaviour, or - if they are the accused - respond with guilt feelings and a kind of rhetorical breast-beating.

The latter can be observed particularly with regard to the relationship between sex and race, which has in recent years emerged as one of the most sensitive areas

in the women's movement in the USA, England and Holland where large numbers of Third World women live who have joined the feminist movement (Bandarage, 1983). In the beginning, white feminists were often either indifferent to the race problem or they took a maternalistic or paternalistic attitude towards women of colour, trying to bring them into the feminist movement. Only when black and brown women began to extend the principle of autonomous organization to their own group, and formed their separate black women's collectives, magazines and centres the white feminists began to see that 'sisterhood' was not yet achieved if one put men on one side and women on the other. Yet although most white feminists would today admit that feminism cannot achieve its goal unless racism is abolished, the efforts to understand the relationship between sexual and racial exploitation and oppression remain usually at the individual level, where the individual woman does some soul-searching to discover and punish the 'racist' in herself.

On the other hand, neither do the analyses of black women go much further than to give expression to the feelings of anger of black women who refuse to be a 'bridge to everyone' (Rushin, 1981).

There are, as yet, not many historical and political-economic analyses of the interrelation between racism and sexism under capitalist patriarchy. Following the general ahistorical trend in social science research, racial discrimination is put on the same level as sexual discrimination. Both appear to be bound up with biological givens: sex and skin colour. But whereas many feminists reject biological reductionism with regard to sex-relations and insist on the social and historical roots of women's exploitation and oppression, with regard to race relations, the past and ongoing history of colonialism and of capitalist plunder and exploitation of the black world by white man is mostly forgotten. Instead, 'cultural differences' between Western and non-Western women are heavily emphasized. Today this colonial relation is upheld by the international division of labour. This relation is not only often eclipsed in the consciousness of white feminists whose standard of living also depends to a large extent on this ongoing colonial relation, but also in that of black women in the 'white world'. The fact that they have the same skin colour as their sisters and brothers in the 'black world' does not yet automatically put them on the same side as them (cf. Amos & Parmar, 1984), because black women are also divided by capitalist patriarchy along colonial and class lines; and class division in particular is often forgotten in the discourse on sex and race. At the present juncture, 'black' or 'brown' or 'yellow' capitalism is the great hope of the lieutenants of the capitalist world system. There are some black women in the 'black world' whose standard of living is better than that of some white women in the 'white world', and particularly than that of most of the black women in the white and in the black world's. If we do not want to fall into the trap of moralism and individualism, it is necessary to look below the surface and to come to a materialist and historical understanding of the interplay of the sexual, the social and the international divisions of labour. For these are the objective divisions, created by capitalist patriarchy in its conquest of the world, which are at the base of our differences although they do not determine everything. And these divisions are closely bound up with particular cultural expressions.



The way in which sex, class and race, or rather colonialism, are interwoven in our societies is not just an ideological problem which can be solved by good will alone. Anyone who wants to reach a realistic foundation for international feminist solidarity has to try to understand how these divisions along sex, race and class lines are combined. A mere appeal to more 'sisterhood' or international solidarity will not be sufficient.

As regards the divisions on the ideological and political planes, there have been attempts to categorize and label the various tendencies in the new feminist movement. Thus, some tendencies are called 'radical feminism', others 'socialist feminism' or 'Marxist feminism', others 'liberal feminism'; sometimes, depending on the political affiliation of the speaker, a tendency may also be denounced as 'bourgeois feminism'. In my view, this labelling has not contributed to a better understanding of what feminism really is, what it stands for, what its basic principles, its analysis of society and its strategies are. Moreover, this labelling has relevance only for people who mainly look at the movement from outside and try to fit it into categories already known to people. The categories developed may have some value in some countries, for example in the Anglo-Saxon world, but not in others. But by and large, their explanatory value is rather limited. Thus, the label 'radical feminism', mostly used to characterize one main trend of feminism in the USA, does not explain to an outsider what it stands for. Only those who know the movement know that radical feminists are those who advocate a strategy of radical separatism of women from men, particularly in the realm of sexual relations as the centre of patriarchal power. In polemics, 'radical feminists' are often accused of being anti-men, of all being lesbians.

The main shortcoming of this labelling approach, however, is not only its explanatory poverty but also the fact that it tries to fit the 'woman question' into already existing theoretical and political frameworks. This means these frameworks as such are not criticized from the point of view of women's liberation, but are considered more or less adequate and only lacking the 'women's component'. If this 'women's component' were added, it is hoped, these theories would be complete. Most feminist theoreticians who follow this approach are obviously unaware of the fact that the nature of the 'woman question' is such that it cannot simply be added to some other general theory, but that it fundamentally criticizes all these theories and begs for a new theory of society altogether. This additive labelling approach can be observed particularly in the attempts to add feminism to socialism. Characterizations of some trends in the women's movement as 'socialist feminist' or 'Marxist-feminist' are manifestations of the tendency to fit the new feminist critique and rebellion into the existing theoretical body of Marxism. By simply postulating, as a slogan of some Dutch 'socialist feminists' does, that there will be no socialism without women's liberation and no women's liberation without socialism (Fem-Soc-Groep), we do not yet understand what these women mean by socialism or feminism. (For the Dutch women who coined this slogan, 'socialism' was more or less identical with European social-democracy.) Such slogans or labels may appear useful at the level of everyday politics where people want to know into which pigeon-holes to put the members of such a diffuse movement as the women's movement. But they do not give us a clue as to how these people

analyse the 'woman question', what solutions they are proposing and what the relationship between the political goal of women's liberation and a socialist vision of a future society is. Such a relationship cannot simply be postulated. What is needed is a new historical and theoretical analysis of the interrelation between women's exploitation and oppression, and that of other categories of people and of nature.

Women following other tendencies, labelled 'radical' or 'liberal' feminism, have tried to fit their analysis into some other theoretical framework. Thus psychoanalysis has been the theoretical point of departure for many feminists in the USA, in France and West Germany (Millet, 1970; Mitchell, 1975; Irrigaray, 1974; Janssen-Jurreit, 1976). This emphasis on psychology and psychoanalysis has to be seen against the backdrop of the individualistic tendencies among large parts of the feminist movement in the West.

Others have used functionalism, structuralism or interactionism as theoretical frameworks for their analysis of the 'woman question'.

Of course, a social movement aiming at a fundamental change of social relations does not operate in a theoretical vacuum. It is natural that women who began to clarify their theoretical positions had to refer to existing theories. In some cases this led to a critique of at least parts of these theories: for example, Freud's theory of penis envy and of femininity came under heavy attack from feminists. But the theory as such remained intact. In other cases such a critique did not even take place, but the basic concepts and categories of such theories were used uncritically in feminist analysis.

This is particularly true for structural functionalism and its role-theory. Instead of criticizing the role theory as the theoretical framework for the maintenance of the patriarchal nuclear family under capitalism, the role theory was rather reinforced by many feminists. The emphasis on sex-role stereotyping and attempts to solve the 'woman question' by changing this sex-role stereotyping through non-sexist socialization not only strengthened structural-functionalist analysis, but by so doing blocked the understanding of the deeper roots of women's exploitation and oppression. By defining the man-woman problem as a question of social role stereotyping and of socialization it was immediately put on an ideological plane; it became a cultural affair. The structural roots of this problem remained invisible, and thus its connection with capital accumulation remained invisible.

The latter is likewise true for the attempts to use structuralism, and, too, in its Marxist modification (Althusser, Meillassoux, Lacan) as a theoretical framework for the analysis of women's oppression. These attempts also end up by maintaining a structural division between the economic base and the 'relative autonomy' (Althusser) of the ideology. And women's oppression is considered part of ideology or culture.

All these efforts to 'add' the 'woman question' to existing social theories or paradigms fail to grasp the true historical thrust of the new feminist rebellion, namely its radical attack on patriarchy or patriarchal civilization as a system, of which capitalism constitutes the most recent and most universal manifestation. Since practically all the above-mentioned theories remain within the paradigm of 'civilized society', feminism, which in its political aim necessarily wants to transcend



this model of society, cannot be simply added onto, or fitted into some forgotten niche of these theories. Many of us who have tried to fill those 'blind spots' have finally found out that our questions, our analyses put this whole model of society into question. We may not yet have developed adequate alternative theories, but our critique, which first started with those lacunae, went deeper and deeper till we realized that 'our problem', namely the exploitative oppressive men-women relationship, was systematically connected with other such 'hidden continents', above all 'nature' and the 'colonies'. Gradually a new image of society emerged in which women were not just 'forgotten', 'neglected', 'discriminated' against by accident, where they had 'not yet' had a chance to come up to the level of the men, where they were one of the several 'minorities', 'specificities' which could not yet be accommodated into the otherwise generalized theories and policies, but where the whole notion of what was 'general', or what was 'specific' had to be revolutionized. How can those who are the actual foundation of the production of life of each society, the women, be defined as a 'specific' category? Therefore, the claim to universal validity, inherent in all these theories, had to be challenged. This, however, was not yet clear to many feminists.

It is a peculiar experience of many women that they are engaged in various struggles and actions, the deeper historical significance of which they themselves are often not able to grasp. Thus, they do in fact bring about certain changes, but they do not 'understand' that the changes they are aiming at are much more far-reaching and radical than they dare to dream. Take the example of the worldwide anti-rape campaign. By focussing on the male violence against women, coming to the surface in rape, and by trying to make this a public issue, feminists have unwittingly touched one of the taboos of civilized society, namely that this is a 'peaceful society'. Although most women were mainly concerned with helping the victims or with bringing about legal reforms, the very fact that rape has now become a public issue has helped to tear the veil from the facade of so-called civilized society and has laid bare its hidden, brutal, violent foundations. Many women, when they begin to understand the depth and breadth of the feminist revolution, are afraid of their own courage and close their eyes to what they have seen because they feel utterly powerless *vis-à-vis* the task of overthrowing several thousand years of patriarchy. Yet the issues remain. Whether we - women and men - are ready or not to respond to the historic questions raised, they will remain on the agenda of history. And we have to find answers to them which make sense and which will help us to restructure social relations in such a way that our 'human nature' is furthered and not crushed.

### Fair-weather Feminism?

The structural and ideological divisions among feminists referred to above, and the difficulty in breaking away from basically patriarchal theoretical frameworks and in developing new approaches cannot be explained by some inherent weakness of the female sex. These difficulties are rather manifestations of the actual social and political powerlessness of women and of the ambiguity which follows

from it. Powerless groups, particularly if they are totally integrated within a system of power and exploitation, find it difficult to define reality differently from the powerful. This is particularly true for people whose material existence depends largely on the goodwill of the powerful. Although many women have revolted against all kinds of 'male chauvinism', they often did not dare to antagonize those on whom their jobs, their livelihood depended. For middle-class women these were often the powerful men in the academic and political establishment or even their husbands.

As long as the Western economies were experiencing an ever-expanding growth of their GNPs they could afford to neutralize social dissent and social unrest like that of the women by throwing some crumbs to such disenfranchised groups. Under the pressure of the women's movement, certain reforms were introduced like a certain liberalization of the abortion laws, reforms of divorce laws, etc. And in some countries, as in Holland, the state even created commissions for the emancipation of women, and women's action and consciousness-raising groups could demand state support for their activities. Also, in the USA departments of women's studies were established in most universities without great opposition. Although this all needed a lot of struggle from the women's movement, there was a certain paternalistic benevolence in granting 'the girls' a certain niche in the system. Already at this stage the various patriarchal establishments used their power to co-opt women and to integrate their rebellion into the system. But the deepening of the economic crisis at the beginning of the 1980s, and the rise of conservative governments and tendencies in most Western countries with their new policies of restructuring the economy also marked the end of fair-weather or welfare-state feminism (De Vries, 1980). In several countries, particularly in the USA and West Germany, conservative governments launched a virtual attack on some of the half-hearted reforms achieved under the pressure of the new women's movement, above all on the liberalized abortion laws. This roll-back strategy with its renewed emphasis on the patriarchal family, on heterosexuality, on the ideology of motherhood, on women's 'biological' destiny, their responsibility for housework and childcare, and the overall attack on feminism had the effect that women who had hoped that women's liberation could come as a result of some legal reforms or consciousness-raising withdrew from the movement or even became hostile to it. In the academic world, conservative, or even outright reactionary theories like socio-biology, came to the surface again and women either kept quiet or began to withdraw their earlier criticism of such theories. In the field of women's studies a tendency towards academic feminism could be observed. The goal was no longer to transform society and the man-woman relationship, but to get more women into the academic establishment and women's studies and research (Mies, 1984(b)).

This roll-back strategy, however, is only the political manifestation of more fundamental structural changes in the Western economies which are usually referred to as 'flexibilization of labour'. Women are the immediate targets of this strategy. The new strategy of rationalization, computerization and automation of production processes and jobs in the service sector has the effect that women are the first to be pushed out of well-paid, qualified and secure jobs in the 'formal



sector'. But they are not just being sent back to home and hearth. They are in fact pushed into a whole range of unqualified, low-paid, insecure jobs which they have to do on top of their housework, which, more than ever, is considered their true vocation. And, contrary to the official conservative ideology on women and the family, the family is no longer a place where women can be sure to find their material existence secured. Man-the-breadwinner, though still the main ideological figure behind the new policies, is empirically disappearing from the stage. Not only does the rising unemployment of men make their role of breadwinner a precarious one, but marriage for women is also no longer an economic guarantee of their lifelong livelihood.

The immediate effect of these new economic policies has been a rapid process of pauperization of women in the Western economies. Women constitute the largest section among the 'new poor' in the USA, in France, in England and in West Germany. In West Germany their proportion among the unemployed is almost 40 per cent. In the job market women are faced with all-round competition from men. This is particularly true with regard to well-paid, secure, prestigious jobs in schools and universities. In West Germany the policy of cuts in the educational system has led to large-scale unemployment, particularly of female teachers, and to the pushing out of women from the better-paid qualified posts in the universities. With jobs getting scarce, the league of men closes its ranks again and puts women again into their place, which is, according to many, the family and the home. Many men who have some power in this formal sector use it to get rid of women, particularly if these are known as feminists. The restructuring of the Western economies largely follows the model already practised in most underdeveloped countries, namely of dividing the labour market and the production process into a formal sector in industry and services with well-paid, qualified, mostly male workers, the classical wage-workers, whose job security, wages and other interests are the concern of trade unions, and an informal or unorganized sector with a host of different production relations and types of production, ranging from part-time jobs, to non-free contract labour, so-called self-employment, the new putting-out-system in tele- and other types of homeworking to domestic labour proper and any other paid or unpaid or low-paid work. This sector is characterized by low wages, absence of any job security and high 'flexibility'.

Trade unions do not feel responsible for this sector which absorbs all the chronically unemployed, marginalized people, most of them women because, according to the classical definition, shared by capital, state and the trade unions, these people are not 'free' wage-workers. People working in this so-called informal sector are like housewives. They work, often more than the 'free' wage-workers, but their labour is invisible. And thus it can become a source of unchecked, unlimited exploitation. The dualization of the economies and labour markets along the pattern known from underdeveloped countries is the method by which Western corporate capital is trying to bring the real wage level down, to save production costs and to break the power of the trade unions, because workers in the informal sector, like housewives, have no lobby and are atomized. What the experts call 'flexibilization of labour', some of us have called the 'housewifization' of labour (Mies, 1981; v. Werthof, 1984).

The strategy of dividing the economy up into 'visible' and 'invisible' sectors is not at all new. It has been the method of the capitalist accumulation process right from its beginning. The invisible parts were per definition excluded from the 'real' economy. But they constituted in fact the very foundations for the visible economy. These excluded parts were/are the internal and external colonies of capital: the housewives in the industrialized countries and the colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Due to the welfare provisions and the social security systems in Europe and the USA, the creation of an informal sector does not yet by itself make this sector a lucrative hunting ground for exploitation and accumulation. Only by simultaneously cutting down state expenditure on social welfare can the governments force the people who are thrown out of the formal sector to accept any work at any wage and any condition in order to produce their own survival. This means, in the last analysis, that the conditions which are prevailing for the vast majority of people in the underdeveloped world are returning to the centres of capitalism. Although for the time being the standard of living of the masses of people in the overdeveloped countries is still much higher than that in Third World countries, structurally the situation of people in the informal sector is approaching that of most people in the underdeveloped countries.

For women and the women's movement in the Western countries these developments have far-reaching consequences. Women are the hardest hit by this combined strategy of cuts in social welfare and the rationalization and flexibilization of labour. They, therefore, constitute the bulk of the 'new poor' in the Western countries (Atkinson, 1982; Möller, 1983).

For the women's movement these developments present an enormous challenge. On the one hand, they mean the end of 'fair-weather feminism'. All those feminists who had hoped that women's liberation could be brought about by putting pressure on the state and thus getting more social welfare for women, or by demanding equal opportunities for women in the job market, particularly in the higher ranks of this market, or by increasing women's participation in political and other decision-making bodies, find their expectations shattered. They have to realize today that the fundamental democratic rights, the claim to equality and freedom, are also fair-weather rights, as far as women are concerned, and that these rights, in spite of the rhetoric of their universality, are suspended when the accumulation needs of capital require this.

On the other hand, this disillusionment about the possibilities of the democratic capitalist states to fulfil the promises of the bourgeois revolution also for women can have a very salutary effect: it forces women, at least those who are not giving up their commitment to women's liberation, to open their eyes to the reality in which we live, and to turn to those questions which have been neglected by many feminists because they appeared to lie outside their immediate concern. These are, in my view,

1. a new assessment of what capitalism actually is and how women's exploitation and oppression, or patriarchy, are bound up with the process of capital accumulation.
2. a new discussion on colonialism. As the colonial conditions are returning to



the metropolises and as women, more than others, are affected by this process, the structural division, of Third World and First World women, brought about by the international division of labour or colonialism is getting blurred. Western feminists therefore have to learn quickly that colonized women are not only in Africa, Asia or Latin America, but also in the USA and Europe. Moreover, they have to find an answer to the question of why this highly-developed 'democratic' capitalist system still needs such colonies, in which all the rules it has laid down for itself are suspended or, in other words, why the system of capital accumulation on a world scale cannot afford to liberate women or other colonies.

- From the above discussion and analysis will follow a renewed discussion of what a feminist vision of a future society should be or the realistic prerequisites for women's liberation. This discussion would have to transcend the boundaries created by capitalist patriarchy and take into account the experiences and analysis of women at the various ends of the global market system. Only within a perspective that comprises all production relations created by capitalist patriarchy and not only those which we see immediately around us, only by a truly global and holistic approach can we hope to be able to develop a vision of a future society where women and nature and other people are not exploited in the name of 'progress' and 'growth'.

### What is New About Feminism? Continuities and Discontinuities

One of the important discoveries of the new feminist movement was the rediscovery and reassessment of women's history. Methodologically this new historical approach in the analysis of the 'woman question' is closely linked to the political goal of women's liberation. Unless we know how things became what they are, we are unable to know how we should change them.

A critical assessment of the feminist movement with a view to solving some of its basic open questions has, therefore, to consider the history of this movement, not only the relatively short history of the new women's movement which started in the West at the end of the sixties, but also the history of the earlier women's movement which petered out in the late twenties. Only by assessing how these movements have dealt with the above-mentioned basic questions, and by clarifying what the continuities and the discontinuities in the old and the new women's movement are, can we hope to learn from history and avoid the ambiguities which have marked large stretches of our history.

### Continuities: Women's Liberation – A Cultural Affair?

The first wave of the women's liberation movement started in the context of the bourgeois revolutions, particularly the French Revolution of 1789 and the American Revolution of 1776.

During the French Revolution, the principles of freedom, equality and fraternity

were put forward ostensibly for all mankind as basic human rights – and not only for the benefit of the rising bourgeois class. Indeed, the very fact that these principles were radical and universal made it impossible for the bourgeoisie, which had a direct and immediate interest in espousing them, to keep them within its own control. It could not prevent various categories of the oppressed and the downtrodden – the proletariat, the colonized nations, the negro slaves, and last but not least, the women – from making these principles the base of their liberation struggle in the course of time. It is not surprising, then, that French women brought forward demands for equal rights for women for the first time during the revolutionary periods around 1789 and 1848. They hoped to make their own revolution within the Great Revolution by joining in the struggle on the streets of Paris, as well as in the many discussion groups and republican clubs that had sprung up all over the country. Large masses of women from the impoverished sections of Paris participated actively in the battle against feudalism. When, in 1793, the Declaration of the Rights of Man was read in the Convent, one woman, Olympe de Gouges, raised her voice, and read her famous 17 articles on the 'Rights of Women'. She declared that if women have the right to die on the guillotine they must also have the right to speak on the tribune. She died on the guillotine the same year. And, although they had been in the vanguard of the revolution, women remained excluded from the political scene.

Also Mary Wollstonecraft's 'Vindication of the Rights of Women', published in 1792, could not change this policy of excluding women, even of the same bourgeois class, from the public sphere and from political power. The nineteenth-century women's movement, in Europe as well as in the USA, was mainly sparked off by the contradiction between the universal principles of the Bourgeois Revolution: freedom, equality, fraternity, and the deliberate exclusion of women from these human rights. The struggles of the old women's movement were therefore mainly concerned with getting women access to this public or political sphere, which was monopolized by bourgeois men.

Although Clara Zetkin, who initiated and led the Proletarian Women's Movement in Germany in the last decade of the nineteenth century, ridiculed this preoccupation with 'women's rights' as outdated 'bourgeois feminism', the aim of the socialist strategy for women's liberation, based on the theoretical foundations of Marx and Engels, was basically not much different: women's participation in public or social production as wage-labourers was seen as the precondition for their liberation (cf. Zetkin, 1971).

The addressee of most of the old feminist struggles and demands was the state, as the organizer and controller of the public sphere, not the men or patriarchy as a system. The social division of labour between 'private' and 'public', the main structural characteristic of capitalist industrial society, was accepted as necessary and progressive. It was not challenged either by the left, the liberal or the radical feminists. What the old women's movement fought for was that women should also get their rightful place in this public sphere. The theoretical assumptions underlying this orientation of the old movement were that women since time immemorial had been excluded from this public (political and economic) sphere. But modern society with its tremendous development of technology and material



wealth on the economic plane, and with bourgeois democracy on the political plane would provide the structural and ideological preconditions for bringing women out of their idiotic privatized existence into the public arena where they would work side by side with men in 'social production'. They therefore would have the 'right' to sit with them on the same public platforms where political power was wielded. The old feminist movement drew its inspiration largely from the hope that the democratic rights of the bourgeois revolution would eventually also reach women. The difference between the liberal and the left women was that the former considered political participation in the public sphere as the key to women's liberation, whereas the latter thought that only full economic participation in 'social production' could lead to women's emancipation.

Both tendencies also used the same methods of public agitation, of propaganda, of writing and talking from public platforms. And both considered women's education and training as one of the most important methods to raise women's economic, political and cultural status. For the proletarian women's movement this emphasis on women's education was seen as necessary to make them class conscious and to improve their job opportunities. For the liberal women's movement education of girls and young women was seen as the most important path to women's emancipation. Many, if not most, of the early feminists of the 19th and 20th centuries were teachers or social workers. The emphasis on women's education and culture in the liberal camp is based on a theory of society according to which all structural problems of inequality or exploitation are basically solved, and that women's oppression is a kind of 'cultural lag' and ideological anachronism, which can be abolished by education and affirmative action and reform.

The new women's movement was also initially seen as mainly a cultural movement. It may be due to the fact that it arose in the late sixties in the USA and Western Europe in the context of the big protest movements: the Anti-Vietnam War movement, the Civil Rights movement, the Black Power movement, the Hippie movement in the USA and the Students' movement in Europe, that it was seen as a cultural phenomenon affecting mainly young middle-class women who had had access to higher education. As Herbert Marcuse pointed out, the frustrations and rebellions of this generation and class did not stem from material deprivation or poverty. The after-war years of scarcity and reconstruction were over and the economies of the capitalist West had reached a level where most people had been able to acquire most of the durable consumer goods and where full employment and continual growth seemed to have banned poverty and the cyclical economic crises for good. The traditional working-class protest, stemming from the discrepancy between profits and the misery of the workers, was blunted by high real wages and the integration of the workers into what H. Marcuse called the one-dimensional consumer society. Trade unions, capital and state all worked together to create this one-dimensional society (Marcuse, 1970). Juliet Mitchell explains the emergence of the protest movements in the context of the necessity of the capitalist economies to open up new areas of production and consumption, new markets, which required that many more people got a much higher level of education. The expansion of higher education was a precondition for the expansion of the new communication technologies and/or a market for cultural commodities (Mitchell, 1973).

The access of many more young people to higher education than before produced, however, its own contradictions insofar as this group realized the tremendous discrepancy between universal ideals of freedom and civil rights, basic for parliamentary democracies, and the stark facts of discrimination, oppression and exploitation of minorities at home and of Third World peoples abroad. Moreover, it was this group which became aware of and articulate about the dehumanizing and alienating effects of consumerism. For the first time after World War II it articulated that human dignity was destroyed in the midst of plenty of material commodities. Thus, many people of the protest movements emphasized cultural or political forms of protest and anti-consumerism. The frustrations arose out of the realization that material affluence did not satisfy the deeper human desires for happiness, justice, freedom, self-realization. 'Water water all around and not a drop to drink' could have been the expression of these sentiments. However, the root cause of this frustration was not yet sought (by most) in the inherent mechanisms of the capitalist industrial system.—It was rather believed that a cultural revolution was necessary to do away with the negative effects of technology and growth. The growth model as such and technological expansionism were not yet criticized. One standard argument was that now that poverty had been conquered for good in Western society by technological progress, there was at last scope both for a redistribution of wealth and a cultural liberation of people. Many protest movements drew their legitimacy from the discrepancy between the potential for human realization, inherent in modern democratic societies and its factual non-realization. All factors were at last there to fulfil the promises of the bourgeois revolution, not only for some but for all people. If this did not happen, it was not due to structural faults or to scarcity but to a lack of consciousness or political will.

The women's movement initially shared this orientation to some extent. Women in the USA and in Europe, and also in Third World countries, realized that in spite of equality of the sexes, proclaimed by all democratic constitutions, they were still treated as a sociological minority; they were discriminated against everywhere—in politics, employment, education, in the family, and by the institution of the family. Due to the then optimistic hope that at last women could become full 'citizens', the American National Organization of Women (NOW) was founded by Betty Friedan in 1966, with its emphasis on fighting for the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA). Legal action, affirmative action, cultural action, change of role models through non-sexist socialization and education, fighting against sexist images in the media were and still are some of the main forms of the feminist struggle.

This emphasis on struggles in the sphere of consciousness, ideology or culture continued even after the first euphoric years of the new women's movement were over. Many feminists still believe that patriarchal men-women relations can be changed through education or different forms of socialization, that discrimination against women in the fields of politics and employment can be abolished by giving girls more access to higher education and training. Also Women's Studies, which have by now been accepted in many universities and colleges, draw much of their legitimacy from this 'cultural feminism', the claim that equal access to education as such and the emphasis on women-oriented contents of education would go a long way towards improving the status of women.



Particularly with the appearance of the 'new technologies', the computer technology, genetic engineering and biotechnology we can hear again that women should go in for more education, more training in these technologies, particularly in computer science and microbiology, otherwise they would again be left behind by this 'third technological revolution'. Even feminists, who are critical of this technological development feel that 'we first have to know these new technologies before we can say whether they should be rejected or not'.<sup>7</sup>

The belief in education, cultural action, or even cultural revolution as agents of social change is a typical belief of the urban middle classes. With regard to the woman's question it is based on the assumption that woman's oppression has nothing to do with the basic material production relations or the economic system. This assumption is found more among Western, particularly American, feminists who usually do not talk of capitalism. For many Western feminists women's oppression is rooted in the *culture of patriarchal civilization*. For them feminism is, therefore, largely a cultural movement, a new ideology, or a new consciousness.

But the socialist countries also consider women's emancipation as a cultural or ideological affair (see chapter 6). After the abolition of private property and the socialist transformation of production relations, it is assumed that all remaining problems in the man-woman relation are 'cultural lags', ideological survivals of the past 'feudal' or 'capitalist' society which can be overcome through legal reform, education, persuasion, cultural revolutions and, above all, constant exhortation and propaganda. As the man-woman relationship is not considered as part and parcel of the basic structural relations of production, these methods have had as little success in the socialist countries as they had in the capitalist countries. The gap between liberal or socialist ideology enshrined in formal laws and constitutions and patriarchal practice is equally wide in both systems.

'Cultural feminism' has also had great influence in the theoretical works of feminists. This is not the place to discuss this topic in detail, but one of the more important manifestations of cultural feminism is the conceptual distinction between *gender* and *sex*, first developed by Anne Oakley, but meanwhile almost universally used in feminist writings and discussions. According to this distinction, *sex* is connected with biology, is considered to be based on hormones, gonads, genitalia, whereas the *gender* identity of men and women in any given society is considered as psychologically and socially, and that means historically and culturally determined. In order to avoid the confusion about *sex* as being biologically determined, the concept *gender* was introduced to denote the socially and culturally determined differences between men and women. The internalization of these differences is then called 'gendering' (Oakley, 1972).

This distinction between *sex* as a biological, and *gender* as a socio-cultural, category may at first sight appear a useful one, because it removes the irritation that woman's oppression is time and again attributed to her anatomy. But this distinction follows the well-known dualistic pattern of dividing 'nature' from 'culture' (Ortner, 1973). For women this division has had a long, and disastrous tradition in Western thought because women have been put on the side of 'nature' since the rise of modern science (Merchant, 1983). If feminists now try to get out of this tradition by defining *sex* as a purely material, biological affair and *gender* as

the 'higher', cultural, human, historical expression of this affair, then they continue the work of those idealist patriarchal philosophers and scientists who divided the world up into crude 'bad' matter (to be then exploited and colonized) and 'good' spirit (to be monopolized by priests, mandarins and scientists).

It is not surprising that this terminology has immediately been adopted by all kinds of people who may not otherwise feel much sympathy for, or even be hostile to, feminism.<sup>8</sup> If, instead of 'sexual violence', we talk of 'gender violence', the shock is somewhat mitigated by an abstract term, which removes the whole issue from the realm of emotionality and political commitment to that of scientific and apparently 'objective' discourse. If the woman's question is again removed to that level, many men and many women, who do not want to change the status quo, will again feel quite comfortable with the women's movement.

But let us not fool ourselves. Human sex and sexuality have never been purely crude biological affairs. Nor has the female or male body been a purely biological affair (see chapter 2). 'Human nature' has always been social and historical. Human physiology has throughout history been influenced and shaped by interaction with other human beings and with external nature. Thus, sex is as much a cultural and historical category as gender is.

By the dualistic splitting up of sex and gender, however, by treating the one as biological and the other as cultural, the door is again opened for those who want to treat the sexual difference between humans as a matter of our anatomy or as 'matter'. Sex as matter can then become an object for the scientist who may dissect, analyse, manipulate and reconstruct it according to his plans. Since all spiritual value has been driven out of sex and encapsulated in the category of gender, the taboos which so far still surround the sphere of sex and sexuality may easily be removed. This sphere can become a new hunting ground for biological engineering, for reproduction-technology, for genetic and eugenic engineering and last but not least for capital accumulation (cf. Corea, 1984).

Certainly Anne Oakley and others who introduced this distinction between sex and gender may not have envisaged these developments; they considered these categories as analytical tools only or theoretical constructions which help clarify our ideas, but concepts are also means to construct reality. Therefore it is essential that our categories and concepts are such that they help us to transcend capitalist-patriarchy and help us construct a reality in which neither women, men, nor nature are exploited and destroyed. But this presupposes that we understand that women's oppression today is part and parcel of capitalist (or socialist) patriarchal production relations, of the paradigm of ever-increasing growth, of ever-increasing forces of production, of unlimited exploitation of nature, of unlimited production of commodities, ever-expanding markets and never-ending accumulation of dead capital. A purely cultural feminist movement will not be able to identify the forces and powers that stand in our way. Nor will it be able to develop a realistic perspective of a future society free of exploitation and oppression.



## Discontinuities: Body Politics

A look at the recent history of the new women's movement can teach us that the main issues which sparked off women's rebellion were not the issues usually taken up by cultural feminism, the issues of inequality and discrimination, but other issues which were all in one way or the other connected with the *female body*. In contrast to the old women's movement the new feminist movement did not concentrate its struggles on the public sphere (politics and economy), but opened up, for the first time in history, the private sphere as an arena for women's struggles. Women had been relegated to this *private sphere* in capitalist patriarchy, which apparently was an area free of politics. By speaking openly about their most intimate relations with men, their sexuality, their experiences with menstruation, pregnancy, childcare, their relationship to their own bodies, the lack of knowledge about their own bodies, their problems with contraception etc., the women began to socialize and thus politicize their most intimate, individualized and atomized experiences. 'Body politics' was and still is the area around which the new women's movement got sparked off, not only in the West, but also in many underdeveloped countries. By defining this privatized, segregated sphere of the man-woman relation as a political one, by coining the slogan 'the personal is political', the structural division of bourgeois society between private and public was challenged. This meant at the same time a critique of the concept of 'politics' as it was commonly understood (Millet, 1970). 'Body politics' was not developed as a deliberate strategy by the feminists. It rather grew out of the frustrations and the rebellion of masses of women in the Western societies about certain issues which demonstrated the basically violent and oppressive nature of the man-woman relationship in our societies. What were the issues?

In many countries, the USA, England, France, West Germany, and later in Italy and Spain, the women's movement became a mass movement only with the campaigns for the liberalization or the abolition of the *abortion laws* in the early 1970s.

In the USA, England and West Germany, the first phase of the feminist movement started when women who participated in the left students movement began to separate from these organizations and to form their own autonomous groups. These groups were concentrated in university centres, and although their first spectacular actions were widely published, the ordinary women did not yet admit that male dominance, or 'male chauvinism' as it was then called, was also a problem for them. This changed with the campaigns against the abortion laws.

In France a self-accusation campaign was started by prominent women in the *Nouvel Observateur* in April 1971. Many prominent women signed a declaration that they had had abortions. They thus challenged the state as the guardian of law and order to take legal action against them. A similar campaign was started by Alice Schwarzer in the magazine *Stern* in Germany in the same year. Three hundred and seventy-four women signed the declaration. This was followed by a large series of actions, demonstrations, rallies, which mobilized hundreds of thousands of women, and brought them into the streets and up in arms against the most powerful institutions which are the guardians of modern patriarchy: the

state, the law, the church and the gynaecologists. This large movement put pressure on the ruling party, the social-democrats, to abolish the law which criminalizes abortion. The campaigns against the abortion laws petered out in the early seventies, after some legal reforms had been achieved. In the old movement, the achievement of legal or political aims was usually the end of the movement. Not so in the new WLM. One could even say that the end of the campaign against abortion laws had *signalled the beginning of the movement*. What happened was that women were not mobilized by a party, a trade union or other organization, but by small groups of women who began to establish nationwide networks (Schwarzer, 1980).

The mass demonstrations and rallies were accompanied and followed by a proliferation of small groups, which cropped up in all cities. The women who had come out into the streets did not want to disappear again in the anonymity of their isolated homes. They were keen to join or form new women's groups. These *women's groups* discussed initially the problems of the abortion laws. But soon they developed into consciousness-raising groups, where not only problems of abortion were discussed, but experiences were exchanged about one's sexuality, one's experience as a mother, a lover, a wife. In short, the hidden reality of women's private lives became a public issue and many women realized that their 'unique' problem with their man, their child, their boss etc., was the 'general' problem of all women. In these discussions it became clear that the 'enemies' were not only the state, the church, the law, the male doctors, but that each woman also had the 'enemy' in her bed. Thus the campaigns for the abolition of the abortion laws had the logical consequence that more and more women began to reflect and discuss the issues of sexuality, the question why the consequences of sexual intercourse had always to be borne by women, why women knew so little about their own sexuality, why the questions of women's orgasm, of masturbation and female homosexuality were such taboos. These discussions brought finally to the surface that the most intimate sexual relationship between women and men was experienced by many women as characterized by violence, humiliation and coercion.

Violence and coercion seemed to be the main mechanisms by which the unequal power relation in the area of body politics was maintained. Women discovered more and more that their own bodies had been alienated from them and had been turned into objects for others, had become 'occupied territory'. Many began to understand that male dominance, or patriarchy as it then began to be called, had its origin not in the realm of public politics only but in men's control over women's bodies, particularly their sexuality and their generative capacities (Millet, 1970).

From this followed a 'discovery' of and a struggle against other manifestations of male violence. The next issues around which women were mobilized were wife and *women beating*. Large numbers of groups in many countries launched a movement against wife beating, and the physical and psychological cruelty of men towards women. Shelters for battered women were set up in most Western countries by autonomous women's groups as a first self-help measure. Meanwhile, such shelters were also set up in underdeveloped countries like India.



The movement against women battering was followed and accompanied by a similarly broad movement against rape and the molestation of women, against violence against women in the streets, in the media, in advertisements, and in pornography. Whereas the campaign against the abortion laws, at least in its initial stages, had addressed itself to the state and its law-giving bodies, the movements around the issue of male violence focussed on women as the victims, whom the feminists tried to help by a number of self-help initiatives like rape crisis centres, houses for battered women, feminist health collectives, etc. It had become clear in the meantime that women would not be able to develop a new consciousness as long as they lived in constant fear of men's physical or psychological assault. And it had also become clear that legal reform or state support was of no avail at this level, because women who tried to appeal for state or police protection against male violence had soon realized that the state did not interfere with the individual man if he treated a woman badly in his private sanctuary, the family. Although the modern state as the general patriarch had assumed the monopoly over all direct violence, it had left some of it to the individual patriarch in his family. Therefore, rape, for example, cannot become a punishable offence as long as it takes place within marriage. Raped women in all countries have realized that all the laws pertaining to rape are biased against women, that rape is blamed on the victim herself, that a raped woman, if she accuses a man, is often 'raped' a second time in court by the lawyers who take all liberty to make inquiries about the sexual life of the victim, whereas the man's aggression is often played down as a cavalier act. The more the feminist movement mobilized around various manifestations of sexist violence, the more it dawned on women that some of the basic human rights, proclaimed and upheld by all democratic constitutions, particularly the right to the inviolability and integrity of one's body, were not guaranteed for women. The stark fact that all women are potential victims of such male violence, and that modern democratic states with all their might and sophistication are not capable of implementing these basic rights for women raised serious doubts in the minds of many feminists about the state as an ally in their struggle for women's liberation.

All the claims that direct violence had disappeared from modern democratic 'civilized' societies could not be accepted by women who had experienced violence in many different forms. More and more women began to understand that the often praised 'peace' in these societies was based on the everyday direct and indirect aggression against women. In the German peace movement the feminists coined the slogan: 'peace in patriarchy is war against women'.

The movements against violence against women in the context of body politics taught perhaps the most important lesson to women, namely that, contrary to the hopes of the earlier women's movement, the participation of women in the public sphere, the achievement of voting rights and women's participation in wage-employment had not solved the basic problem of the patriarchal man-woman relationship which seemed to be based on violence. The mobilization around the manifestations of sexist violence enlarged women's awareness about the systematic connection between the apparently 'private' aggression of individual men and the main institutions and 'pillars' of 'civilized society': the family, the economy, education, law, the state, the media, politics. While starting with their

personal experiences of various forms of male violence, women began to understand that rape, wife-beating, harassment, molestation of women, sexist jokes, etc., were not just expressions of deviant behaviour on the part of some men, but were part and parcel of a whole system of male, or rather patriarchal, dominance over women. In this system both direct physical violence and indirect or structural violence were still commonly used as a method to 'keep women in their place'.

The origins and political significance of male violence against women were interpreted differently by different feminist groups. Some saw in male violence the manifestation of a universal and timeless system of male dominance or sexual power politics (Millett, 1970) which, in the last analysis, was rooted in the male physique, or psychology. This interpretation leaves little room for historical development and specificity, but assumes that men everywhere and at all times have tried to build their own power on the subordination of women.

My view on this question is that if we as women reject a biologicistic explanation of our subordination, we must also reject biologicistic reductionism with regard to the phenomenon of male sexist violence. It is more realistic to interpret these forms of male violence, and particularly the fact that they seem to be on the increase (see chapter 5), as time-bound and specific, and inherently bound up with the social paradigm which dominates our present world called 'civilization' or, in other words, 'capitalist patriarchy'. This does not mean that earlier patriarchal systems did not know violence against women (cf. the Chinese, the Indian, the Jewish patriarchies), but these systems never claimed that they had done away with direct violence, that they had 'pacified', 'civilized', 'domesticated', 'rationalized' all direct aggression of men against men and men against women. But modern or capitalist patriarchy, or 'civilization', has risen particularly with this claim: it has proclaimed itself superior to all other 'savage', 'barbaric' systems precisely because it claims to have banned all direct violence in the interaction of its citizens and handed it over to the overall sovereign, the state (cf. Elias, 1978).

If now, in spite of all the highly praised achievements of 'civilization', women under this system are still raped, beaten, molested, humiliated, tortured by men, a few serious questions arise which beg an answer:

1. If violence against women is not accidental but part of modern capitalist patriarchy, then we have to explain why this is so. If we reject a biologicistic explanation – as I do – we have to look for reasons which are central to the functioning of the system as such.
2. If we include the so-called private sphere into the sphere of the economy and politics – as feminists do – then the claim that capitalism has transformed all extra-economic violence or coercion into economic coercion – a position held by Marxists – cannot be upheld.
3. In the political sphere, the state monopoly over direct violence obviously stops at the door of the private family.
4. If this is so, then the line dividing the 'private' from the 'public' is necessarily the same line that divides 'private' unregulated male violence (rule of might) from regulated state violence (rule of right).
5. Hence, as far as women are concerned, the hope that in civilized or 'modern'



society the 'rule of right' would replace the 'rule of might' – as the old women's movement had hoped – has not been borne out. Both co-exist side by side (cf. Benholdt-Thomsen, 1985).

6. Again, if this co-existence is not just accidental or the result of survivals of 'barbaric' times, as some interpret it, then obviously we have to come to a different understanding of what civilization or capitalist patriarchy is.

Hence, the problem of violence around which women in all countries mobilized leads to a radical questioning of the accepted views on the social system we live in.

### Discontinuities: A New Concept of Politics

Already in the early consciousness-raising groups the division between 'private' and 'political' or 'public' was rejected and the private sphere was discovered as the foundation, the base of public sexual politics. The slogan, 'The personal is political' had the effect that women began to change their self-perception as 'non-political' beings and that they began to act as political subjects around issues which were close to them. In the context of the struggles around 'body politics', a new concept of politics emerged which, in the last analysis, radically criticizes the concept of politics in parliamentary democracy. For feminists, 'politics' is no longer identical with going to the polls, electing one's candidate to a parliament and hoping that he will change things in the name of the electorate. Feminists have tried to move from a concept of politics by delegation' or vicarious politics,<sup>9</sup> to a concept of 'politics in the first person'. Particularly the groups which called themselves 'autonomous' made it a point that they did not want to delegate the struggle for women's liberation to some male-dominated party or other organization. History had taught them that even women in these organizations were powerless when it came to the crucial problems of patriarchal man-woman relations. Contrary to the old movement, the new feminists rather believe in direct political action, campaigns, initiatives, in starting women's studies themselves, even before the political or academic establishments give their approval, in creating numerous women's self-help and other projects with their own means and without waiting for support and acknowledgement from the administration or politicians. Feminists learned very fast that even small and powerless groups could achieve their goals faster if they created publicity through non-parliamentary means and methods than by following the bureaucratic procedures of party or trade union politics. 'Politics in the first person' was not only much more fun, more inspiring, but obviously also more effective than 'politics by representation'.

It has been the experience in practically all countries where small autonomous feminist groups began to adopt this concept of politics in the first person and to mobilize around issues of body politics, that the women and the women's wings in the political parties, particularly the left parties, were put under pressure also to take up these issues, if they did not want to leave the whole mobilization to the feminists. Although the parties of the orthodox left had always been critical of, if not hostile to, feminism, when the campaigns for the liberalization of abortion or against rape or other brutalities against women started, the women in the left

parties (from the Communist parties to the social-democratic parties) could not sit back and watch. But the initiative for such struggles never came from the party women.

The autonomous groups stuck to the principle of 'politics in the first person' also because they were afraid that their mobilization might get instrumentalized by those parties for their own electoral interest, an experience undergone by numerous other powerless groups which had asked some party leaders to take up their grievances and to struggle in their name. Against such 'vicarious politics' the principle of *autonomy* was upheld. It meant, above all, that women would not entrust their struggles, their analysis, their organization, their action to anybody else, but would take politics into their own hands.

The emphasis on autonomy and politics in the first person was different in different countries. In countries where the ruling parties were sympathetic to the new women's movement, as was the case for example with the social-democratic parties in Scandinavia and Holland, the distinction between 'autonomous feminists' and 'party women' was not so sharp. Many feminists in these countries worked in governmental organizations and hoped thus to move the state machinery in favour of women. As long as the weather was fair, this approach showed good results in these countries.

In West Germany the Social Democrats were also in power in those years, but patriarchal structures in this party were so dominant that not even its women's wing, the Working Group of Social-Democratic Women (ASF) could achieve anything. In the course of the years many party women were disillusioned and frustrated. After the election of 1980 many gave up party politics and formed an autonomous grouping called the 'Women's Initiative of 6th October'.

The concept of politics developed by the feminist movement, the principle of an autonomous programme and practice was not only a challenge to the established parliamentary parties, but even more so to the traditional left parties, particularly the orthodox CPs. The impact of this challenge can perhaps best be illustrated by the reaction of the Communist Party of Italy (CPI) to feminism. In 1976, at the national conference of communist women, Gerardo Chiaromonte officially introduced the word women's 'liberation', along with the word 'emancipation' traditionally used in the Communist Party of Italy, into the party discourse. 'Emancipation' was understood in the way Engels, Bebel, Zetkin and Lenin had understood it: the introduction of women into social production as a prerequisite for their emancipation. 'Liberation', the word used by the feminists, meant the total liberation of the whole person, not only of her labour power.

The official recognition of feminism by the powerful CPI, which had so far been hostile to and critical of feminists, was a reaction to the tremendous pressure on the women and men of the CPI, exerted by the activities and the mobilization of Italian feminists. As Carla Ravaioli remarks, feminism was the spectre that haunted the national women's conference of the CPI in 1976, but also many of the debates afterwards. For the first time a spokesman of the CPI openly admitted that the feminist movement was a reality, that the party had to make an effort to understand its origins and motives: 'We also have to study the reasons for certain shortcomings of the labour movement and of our party in dealing with certain



problem areas like those of our customs, our sexuality and the interpersonal manners, relationships' (Chiaramonte, quoted by Ravaoli, 1977: 10, transl. M.M.).

But the challenge of feminism to the classical CP concept of politics went deeper than the emotional sphere of the man-woman relationship, which the CPI also defined as being part of the 'superstructure' or culture (see above). As Carla Pasquinelli points out, the real reason for the earlier reservations of the CPI against feminism was precisely that the principle, 'the personal is political' constitutes the most complete antithesis to Leninism with its democratic centralism and its dictatorship of the proletariat (Pasquinelli, 1981). The opening of the CPI to feminism was certainly part and parcel of the new strategy of Italian Eurocommunism, but it was also a reflection of the fact that feminism with its few radical principles, and in spite of its diversity and its often chaotic functioning, challenged the political and theoretical claim of the classical communist parties to possess the blueprint for a total transformation of society. For feminists these parties and their politics were not radical enough.

This is not the place to elaborate further on the repercussions the feminist movement has had among the organizations of the traditional left. In several countries a new discussion has started about the relationship between feminism and the left (Rowbotham, Segal, Wainwright, 1980; Hartmann, 1981; Jelpke (ed.), 1981). When feminists in Third World countries write the history of their own movement, they will most probably discover similar developments. The fact that today the earlier attitudes of open hostility to feminism or of ignoring it as irrelevant have given way to a strategy of 'embracing feminism', which can be observed with many traditional communist parties, is proof of the strength of its new concept of politics.

Moreover, the concept of 'politics in the first person', the rejection of the politics of representation, the rejection of the dividing line between the 'private' and the 'public' and the politicization of the private sphere were later also taken over by a number of new social movements like the citizens' initiative movement in West Germany; the alternative movement, the ecology movement and the Green Party, which made 'basis-democracy' one of their main political principles. A number of organizational principles of the feminist movement like non-bureaucratic, non-hierarchical functioning, decentralization and emphasis on grass-roots initiatives are today shared by most of the other social movements in Europe and the USA.

Thus, although the new feminist movement did not start with a unified programme and a fully developed analysis, but with women's rebellion against various forms of male dominance in the sphere to which they had always been relegated – the private sphere and the sphere of their bodies – this approach had its own dynamics and momentum which went further and reached deeper levels of the social fabric than most critics of the movement had initially thought. The feminist movement as a political movement has perhaps more far-reaching repercussions than any of the other new social movements today.

### Discontinuities: Women's Work

Another area where the feminist movement broke with the traditions of the old women's movement as well as with those of the orthodox left was the area of women's work. Whereas the old movement and the orthodox left had accepted the capitalist division between private household or – in Marxist terminology – reproductive work, and public and productive work – or wage-work, the only sphere from which they expected revolution as well as women's emancipation – the feminists not only challenged this division of labour but also the very definitions of 'work' and 'non-work'. This approach also put into question the accepted division, following from the other dualistic divisions, between politics and economics. It was only logical that, once women had begun to consider the personal and the 'private' as political, that they also began to re-evaluate and re-define the work that most women did in this 'private' sphere, namely household.

One of the most fruitful debates which feminism had started was the debate on domestic labour. This debate, more than others, was a challenge not only to the concept of politics of the traditional left but also to some of its fundamental theoretical positions. Significantly, the debate on household work was the first instance that men participated in the feminist discourse.

But before this debate on domestic labour started and before it degenerated into a more or less academic discourse, the issue of household work was raised as a political issue in the context of the labour struggles in Italy in the early seventies. The first challenge to the orthodox Marxist theory on women's work came from Italy, from Maria-Rosa Dalla Costa's essay, 'The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community', which was published together with Selma James's 'A Woman's Place' in 1972 in Padua and in the same year in Bristol.

In this essay the classical Marxist position that household work is 'non-productive' is challenged for the first time. Dalla Costa points out that what the housewife produces in the family are not simply use-values but the commodity 'labour power' which the husband then can sell as a 'free-wage labourer in the labour market. She clearly states that the productivity of the housewife is the precondition for the productivity of the (male) wage labourer. The nuclear family, organized and protected by the state, is the social factory where this commodity 'labour power' is produced. Hence, the housewife and her labour are not outside the process of surplus value production, but constitute the very foundation upon which this process can get started. The housewife and her labour are, in other words, the basis of the process of capital accumulation. With the help of the state and its legal machinery women have been shut up in the isolated nuclear family, whereby their work there was made socially invisible, and was hence defined – by Marxist and non-Marxist theoreticians – as 'non-productive'. It appeared under the form of love, care, emotionality, motherhood and wifehood. Dalla Costa challenged the orthodox left notion, first spelt out by Engels, but then dogmatized and codified by all communist parties, and still upheld today, that women had to leave the 'private' household and enter 'social production' as wage-workers along with the men if they wanted to create the preconditions for their emancipation. Contrary to this position, Dalla Costa identified the strategic link created by capital and state



between the unpaid housework of women and the paid wage-work of men. Capital is able to hide behind the figure of the husband, called 'breadwinner', with whom the woman, called 'housewife', has to deal directly and for whom she is supposed to work out of 'love', not for a wage. 'The wage commands more work than what collective bargaining in the factories shows us. *Women's work appears as personal service outside of capital*' (Dalla Costa, 1973: 34; transl. M. M.).

Dalla Costa rejects the artificial division and hierarchy capital has created between wage-workers on the one side and non-wage-workers on the other:

In the measure that capital has subordinated the man to itself by making him a wage-labourer it has created a cleavage between him – the wage labourer – and all other proletarians who do not receive a wage. Those who are not considered capable of becoming a subject of social revolt because they do not participate directly in social production (Dalla Costa, 1973: 33).

On the basis of this analysis, Dalla Costa also criticizes the notion held by many men and women of the left, that women are only 'oppressed', that their problem is 'male chauvinism'. As capital is able to command the unpaid labour of the housewife as well as the paid labour of the wage labourer, the domestic slavery of women is called *exploitation*. According to Dalla Costa, one cannot understand the exploitation of wage-labour unless one understands the exploitation of non-wage-labour.

The recognition of housework as productive labour and as an area of exploitation and a source for capital accumulation also meant a challenge to the traditional policies and strategies of left parties and trade unions which had never included housework in their concept of work and their struggles. They have always colluded with capital in its strategy to remove all non-wage work from public perception.

It is not accidental that the issue of domestic labour was first raised in Italy, one of the more 'underdeveloped' countries of Europe which nevertheless had a strong communist party. As Selma James points out in her introduction, Italy had only a small number of female factory workers, the majority of women being 'housewives' or peasant women. On the other hand, Italy had seen a number of labour struggles, influenced by the non-parliamentary opposition which had included 'reproductive struggles', that is, non-payment of rent, struggles in neighbourhoods and schools. In all these struggles women had played a prominent role.

Moreover, Dalla Costa already saw a structural similarity between women's struggles and the struggles of Third World countries against imperialism as well as that of the blacks in the United States and the youth rebellion as the revolt of all those who had been defined as being *outside* of capitalism (or as belonging to 'pre-capitalist', 'feudal', etc., formations). With Frans Fanon she interprets the divisions among women (as housewives and wage-workers) as a result of a colonizing process because the family and the household to her is a colony, dominated by the 'metropolis', capital and state (Dalla Costa, 1973: 53). Dalla Costa and James wanted to reintroduce women into history as revolutionary subjects.

As a strategy to overthrow capitalism they launched the 'Wages for Housework' campaign. Many women in Europe and Canada were mobilized by this campaign and a lively discussion took place about the prospects of this strategy. Eventually

the campaign petered out because several questions inherent in it could not be solved, for instance, the problem that 'wages for housework' would not end the isolation and atomization of housewives, or that the total generalization of wage labour would not necessarily lead to an overthrow of capitalism but rather to a totalization of alienation and commodity production, or the question, who would pay the wages for housework, the capitalists, the state or the husband?

In spite of these unresolved questions, the 'Wages for Housework' campaign had put the issue of women's domestic labour on the agenda of feminist theorizing. The 'domestic labour debate' which followed the book of Dalla Costa and James, particularly in Britain, but also in West Germany, has been an important contribution to a feminist theory of work. However, as many of the women and men who participated in this debate came from the traditional left, their concern eventually seemed to be rather to 'save their Marx' than to promote women's liberation.

Hence much of the debate ended in typically academic arguments at the centre of which was the question whether Marx's theory of value could be applied to domestic labour or not. Following from this, the dividing line between orthodox Marxists and feminists continued to be the question whether housework was considered 'socially productive' labour or not.

I do not intend to go back to the domestic labour debate here. As far as the politics of the feminist movement are concerned, its contribution was limited. But it did confront the left organizations for the first time with the unresolved question of women's housework under capitalism. Today many women and men of the left admit that Marx left out housework in his analysis of capitalism, but they then proceed to say that this does not invalidate the central role Marx assigned to wage labour, as the wage-labour relation to capital still constitutes *the* capitalist production relation.

The domestic labour debate, which took place between 1973 and 1979, did not include other areas of non-wage work which are tapped by capital in its process of accumulation. This is particularly all the work performed by subsistence peasants, petty commodity producers, marginalized people, most of whom are women, in the underdeveloped countries. Thus, most people involved in the discussion on housework did not transcend the Eurocentric view of capitalism. According to this view, these other areas of human labour are considered to be lying outside of capitalism and society proper. They are called 'pre-capitalist', 'peripheral-capitalist', 'feudal' or 'semi-feudal', or simply underdeveloped or backward. Sometimes they are referred to as areas of 'uneven development'.

The discovery, however, that housework under capitalism had also been excluded per definition from the analysis of capitalism proper, and that this was the mechanism by which it became a 'colony' and a source for unregulated exploitation, opened our eyes to the analysis of other such colonies of non-wage-labour exploitation, particularly the work of small peasants and women in Third World countries. This discussion was mainly led by feminists in West Germany who extended the critique of Marx's blindness regarding women's work to the blindness regarding the other types of non-wage-work in the colonies.<sup>10</sup>

In an article called 'Women's work, the blind spot in the critique of political economy', Claudia v. Werthof challenged the classical notion of capital versus



wage labour as *the only* capitalist production relation. She identified two **more production relations based on non-wage labour, namely household (male) wage-labour and subsistence work in the colonies, as prerequisites for the 'privileged' (male) wage-labour relation.** In the discussions that took place between Claudia v. Werthof, Veronika Benholdt-Thomsen and myself in these years on the various forms of non-wage labour relations and their place in a worldwide system of capital accumulation, Rosa Luxemburg's work on imperialism played a decisive role (Luxemburg, 1923).

Rosa Luxemburg had tried to use Marx's analysis of the process of extended reproduction of capital or capital accumulation (Marx, *Capital*, Vol. II) for the analysis of imperialism or colonialism. She had come to the conclusion that Marx's model of accumulation was based on the assumption that capitalism was a closed system where there were only wage labourers and capitalists. Rosa Luxemburg showed that historically such a system never existed, that capitalism had always needed what she called 'non-capitalist milieu and strata' for the extension of labour force, resources and above all the extension of markets. These non-capitalist milieu and strata were initially the peasants and artisans with their 'natural economy', later the colonies. Colonialism for Rosa Luxemburg is therefore not only the last stage of capitalism (Lenin, 1917), but its constant necessary condition. In other words, without colonies capital accumulation or extended reproduction of capital would come to a stop (Luxemburg, 1923: 254-367).

This is not the place to go further into the debate which followed Rosa Luxemburg's work. With the tendencies governing the Comintern in the twenties it is not surprising that her views were criticized and rejected. I am also not concerned with Rosa Luxemburg's final expectation that if all 'non-capitalist milieu and strata' have been integrated into the accumulation process, capitalism would come to its logical breakdown. But what her work opened up for our feminist analysis of women's labour worldwide was a perspective which went beyond the limited horizon of industrialized societies and the housewives in these countries. It further helped to transcend theoretically the various artificial divisions of labour created by capital, particularly the sexual division of labour and the international division of labour by which precisely those areas are made invisible which are to be exploited in non-wage labour relations and where the rules and regulations governing wage-labour are suspended. We consider it the most important task of feminism to include all these relations in an analysis of women's work under capitalism, because today there can be no doubt that capital has already reached the stage of which Rosa Luxemburg spoke. All milieu and strata are already tapped by capital in its global greed for ever-expanding accumulation. It would be self-defeating to confine our struggles and analysis to the compartmentalizations capitalist patriarchy has created: if Western feminists would only try to understand women's problems in overdeveloped societies, and if Third World women would only restrict their analysis to problems in underdeveloped societies. Because capitalist patriarchy, by dividing and simultaneously linking these different parts of the world, has already created a worldwide context of accumulation within which the manipulation of women's labour and the sexual division of labour plays a crucial role.

A look at the brief history of the feminist movement can teach us that the

rejection of all dualistic and hierarchical divisions, created by capitalist patriarchy, viz., between public and private, political and economic, body and mind, head and heart, etc., was a correct and successful strategy. This was not a pre-planned programme of action, but the issues raised were of such a nature that feminists could expect success only by radically transcending these colonizing divisions, for it became increasingly clear that the capitalist mode of production was not identical with the famous capital-wage-labour relation, but that it needed different categories of colonies, particularly women, other peoples and nature, to uphold the model of ever-expanding growth.

At present, I think it is necessary that feminists worldwide began to identify and demystify all colonizing divisions created by capitalist patriarchy, particularly by the interplay between the sexual and the international division of labour.

An emphasis on these colonial divisions is also necessary from another point of view. Many feminists in the United States and Europe have, together with critical scientists and ecologists, begun to criticize the dualistic and destructive paradigm of Western science and technology. Drawing their inspiration from C. G. Jung's psychology, humanistic psychology, non-dualistic 'Eastern' spirituality, particularly Taoism and other oriental philosophies, they propose a new *holistic* paradigm, the New Age paradigm (Fergusson, 1980; Capra, 1982; Bateson, 1972). This emphasis on the fact that in our world everything is connected with everything and influences everything is definitely an approach which goes along with much of the feminist rebellion and vision of a future society. However, if this desire to 'become whole' again, and to build bridges across all the cleavages and segmentations White Man has created is not to be frustrated again, it is necessary that the New Age feminists, the eco-feminists and others open their eyes and minds to the real colonies whose exploitation also guarantees them the luxury of indulging in 'Eastern spirituality' and 'therapy'. In other words, if the holistic paradigm is nothing but an affair of a new spiritualism or consciousness, if it does not identify and fight against the global system of capitalist accumulation and exploitation, it will end up by becoming a pioneering movement for the legitimization of the next round of the destructive production of capitalism. This round will not focus on the production and marketing of such crude material commodities as cars and refrigerators, but on non-material commodities like religion, therapies, friendship, spirituality, and also on violence and warfare, of course with the full use of the 'New Age' technologies.

In the following, therefore, I shall deal with these colonizing divisions of capitalist patriarchy, particularly the interplay between the sexual and international division of labour.

## Concepts

Before starting the discussion of the sexual and the international division of labour, I want to clarify why I use certain concepts in my analysis and not others. This does not mean that I propose fully to define these concepts, because the



concepts which emerged in the feminist discourse were mostly *struggle concepts*, not based on theoretical definitions worked out by an ideological mastermind of the movement. Therefore, the concepts I am proposing are of a more open character than scientific definitions. They are derived from our struggle experiences and the reflection on these experiences, and have thus a certain explanatory value. I do not think that it will help us very much to enter into a purely academic debate on the use of this or that concept. But, as we saw already in the discussion of the use of the concepts 'gender' or 'sex', it is important to recognize that questions of conceptualization are questions of power, that is, they are political questions. In this sense, the clarification of conceptual positions is part of the political struggle of feminism.

### Exploitation or Oppression/Subordination?

In the feminist discourse words are used to denote and explain the problems women are suffering from in our societies. The terms 'subordination' and 'oppression' are widely used to specify women's position in a hierarchically structured system and the methods of keeping them down. These concepts are used by women who would call themselves radical feminists as well as by those who come from a Marxist background or call themselves Marxist or socialist feminists. The latter usually do not talk of exploitation when discussing the problems of women, because exploitation to them is a concept reserved for *economic* exploitation of the wage-worker under capitalism. As women's grievances go beyond those of wage-workers and are part of the 'private' man-woman relation, which is not seen as an exploitative one, but an oppressive one, the term exploitation is avoided.

In the following discussion I shall, however, use the term exploitation to identify the root cause of the oppressive man-woman relationship. The reasons for this usage are the following:

When Marx specifies the particular capitalist form of exploitation which, according to him, consists in the appropriation of surplus labour by the capitalists, he uses this general term in a specific narrow sense. But 'exploitation', as is explained in the next chapter, has a much wider connotation. In the last analysis it means that someone gains something by robbing someone else or is living at the expense of someone else. It is bound up with the emergence of men's dominance over women and the dominance of one class over others, or one people over others.

If we do not talk of exploitation when we talk of the man-woman relationship, our talk about oppression, or subordination hangs somewhere in the air, for why should men be oppressive towards women if they had nothing to gain from it? Oppression or subordination, without reference to exploitation, becomes then a purely cultural or ideological matter, the basis of which cannot be made out, unless one has recourse to the notion of some inborn aggressive or sadistic tendencies in men. But exploitation is a historical – and not a biological or psychological – category which lies at the basis of the man-woman relation. It was historically created by patriarchal tribes and societies. Thus, with Maria-Rosa

Dalla Costa I speak of exploitation of women in the triple sense: they are exploited (not only economically, but as human beings) by men and they are exploited as housewives by capital. If they are wage-workers they are also exploited as wage-workers. But even this exploitation is determined and aggravated by the other two interlinked forms of exploitation.

I do not talk of *inequality* or *discrimination* in the following text because it should be clear from my discussion of the demands of the old women's movement that these demands of the French Revolution no longer constitute the core aspirations of the new feminist movement. Most feminists do not want even to be equal to men in the patriarchal system. The discussion on housework has revealed that the emancipation expected from wage-work has not come true anywhere, neither in the capitalist nor in the socialist countries. If the latter, and all orthodox communist parties still restrict their policy of women's emancipation to the demands of 'equality' and 'women's rights', basically bourgeois concepts, they ignore patriarchy as a reality of both capitalist and socialist society. And within a patriarchal system 'equality' for women can only mean that women become like those patriarchal men. Most women who call themselves feminists are not attracted by this prospect, neither do they have any hope that the demand for equality could ever be fulfilled within such a system. It is, therefore, wrong, as many men fear, that the feminists only want to replace male dominance by female dominance, because that is what 'equality' means for most of them: equality of privileges. But the feminist movement is basically an anarchist movement which does not want to replace one (male) power elite by another (female) power elite, but which wants to build up a non-hierarchical, non-centralized society where no elite lives on exploitation and dominance over others.

### Capitalist-Patriarchy

The reader will have observed that I am using the concept *capitalist-patriarchy* to denote the system which maintains women's exploitation and oppression.

There have been discussions in the feminist movement whether it is correct to call the system of male dominance under which women suffer today in most societies a patriarchal system (Ehrenreich and English, 1979). 'Patriarchy' literally means the rule of fathers. But today's male dominance goes beyond the 'rule of fathers', it includes the rule of husbands, of male bosses, of ruling men in most societal institutions, in politics and economics, in short, what has been called 'the men's league' or 'men's house'.

In spite of these reservations, I continue to use the term patriarchy. My reasons are the following: the concept 'patriarchy' was re-discovered by the new feminist movement as a struggle concept, because the movement needed a term by which the totality of oppressive and exploitative relations which affect women, could be expressed as well as their systemic character. Moreover, the term 'patriarchy' denotes the historical and societal dimension of women's exploitation and oppression, and is thus less open to biologicistic interpretations, in contrast, for example, to the concept of 'male dominance'. Historically, patriarchal systems



were developed at a particular time, by particular peoples in particular geographical regions. They are not universal, timeless systems which have always existed. (Sometimes feminists refer to the patriarchal system as one which existed since time immemorial, but this interpretation is not corroborated by historical, archaeological and anthropological research.) The fact that patriarchy is today an almost universal system which has affected and transformed most pre-patriarchal societies has to be explained by the main mechanisms which are used to expand this system, namely robbery, warfare and conquest (see chapter 2).

I also prefer the term patriarchy to others because it enables us to link our present struggles to a past, and thus can also give us hope that there will be a future. If patriarchy had a specific beginning in history, it can also have an end.

Whereas the concept patriarchy denotes the historical depth of women's exploitation and oppression, the concept *capitalism* is expressive of the contemporary manifestation, or the latest development of this system. Women's problems today cannot be explained by merely referring to the old forms of patriarchal dominance. Nor can they be explained if one accepts the position that patriarchy is a 'pre-capitalist' system of social relations which has been destroyed and superseded, together with 'feudalism', by capitalist relations, because women's exploitation and oppression cannot be explained by the functioning of capitalism alone, at least not capitalism as it is commonly understood. It is my thesis that capitalism cannot function without patriarchy, that the goal of this system, namely the newer-ending process of capital accumulation, cannot be achieved unless patriarchal man-woman relations are maintained or newly created. We could, therefore, also speak of neo-patriarchy (see chapter 4). Patriarchy thus constitutes the mostly invisible underground of the visible capitalist system. As capitalism is necessarily patriarchal it would be misleading to talk of two separate systems, as some feminists do (cf. Eisenstein, 1979). I agree with Chhaya Datar, who has criticized this dualistic approach, that to talk of two systems leaves the problem of how they are related to each other unsolved (Datar, 1981). Moreover, in the way some feminist authors try to locate women's oppression and exploitation in these two systems is just a replica of the old capitalist social division of labour: women's oppression in the private sphere of the family or in 'reproduction' is assigned to 'patriarchy', patriarchy being seen as part of the superstructure, and their exploitation as workers in the office and factory is assigned to capitalism. Such a two-system theory is not capable, in my view, to transcend the paradigm developed in the course of capitalist development with its specific social and sexual divisions of labour. In the foregoing, we have seen, however, that this transcendence is the specifically new and revolutionary thrust of the feminist movement. If feminism follows this path and does not lose sight of its main political goals – namely, to abolish women's exploitation and oppression – it will have to transcend or overcome capitalist-patriarchy as one intrinsically interconnected system. In other words, feminism has to struggle against all capitalist-patriarchal relations, beginning with the man-woman relation, to the relation of human beings to nature, to the relation between metropolises and colonies. It cannot hope to reach its goal by only concentrating on one of these relations, because they are interrelated.

### Overdeveloped – Underdeveloped Societies

If we say feminism has to struggle against all capitalist-patriarchal relations, we have to extend our analysis to the system of accumulation on a world scale, the world market or the international division of labour. The cleavages created by this division pose particular conceptual problems. What terminology should we use when we refer to the two divided, yet hierarchically related, sides of the world market? Should we continue to talk of 'developed' and 'underdeveloped' countries? Or, should we, in order to avoid the notion of a linear process of development, talk of 'First' and 'Third' world countries? Or should we use the concepts 'metropoles' or 'centres' and 'peripheries', stemming from the theoreticians of the dependency school? Behind each pair of concepts stands a whole theory which tries to come to grips with the historical phenomenon that, since the rise of Europe and later the USA as the dominant centres of the capitalist world economy, a process of polarization and division has been taking place by which one pole – the Western industrialized world – is getting richer and ever more powerful, and the other pole – the colonized countries in Africa, Asia and Latin America – are getting poorer and less powerful.

If we follow the feminist principle of transcending the divisions created by capitalist patriarchy in order to be able to establish that these divisions constitute only parts of the whole, we cannot treat the 'First' and 'Third' world as separate entities, but have to identify the relations that exist between the two.

These relations are based on exploitation and oppression, as is the case with the man-woman relation. And similar to the latter, these relations are also dynamic ones in which a process of polarization takes place: one pole is getting 'developed' at the expense of the other pole, which in this process is getting 'underdeveloped'. 'Underdevelopment', according to this theory, which was first developed by André Gunder Frank (1969), is the direct result of an exploitative unequal or dependent relationship between the core-countries (Wallerstein, 1974) in the capitalist world economy, and their colonies. It is not due to some inexplicable 'backwardness'. In this dynamic process of polarization between countries which are 'developing' themselves and countries which they in this process 'underdevelop', the rich and powerful Western industrial countries are getting more and more 'overdeveloped'. This means their development does not stop at a certain point where people would say: 'This is enough. We have enough development for our human happiness.' The very motor driving on this polarization of the world economy, namely, the capital accumulation process, is based on a world view which never says 'This is enough'. It is by its very nature based on limitless growth, on limitless expansion of productive forces, of commodities and capital. The result of this newer-ending growth model are the phenomena of 'overdevelopment', that is, of a growth that has assumed the character of cancer, which is progressively destructive, not only for those who are exploited in this process but also for those who are apparently the beneficiaries of this exploitation. 'Overdevelopment and underdevelopment' are, therefore, the two extreme poles of an inherently exploitative world order, divided up and yet linked by the global accumulation process or the world market.



To use the concepts 'overdevelopment-underdevelopment' in this sense may, therefore, help to avoid the illusion that in a world system, structured along these principles, the problems of the underdeveloped peoples could be solved by development 'aid', or that the overdeveloped peoples could achieve human happiness by further exploiting the underdeveloped world. In a finite world an exploitative and oppressive relation between the two sides of the whole will necessarily be destructive for both sides. At the present stage of history this truth begins gradually to dawn also on people in the overdeveloped world.

### Autonomy

While the concept 'capitalist patriarchy' summarizes the system or the totality of social relations against which the feminist struggle is directed, the concept 'autonomy' expresses the positive goal towards which the movement strives. This is true for at least a large section of the feminist movement. As was said before, the concept of autonomy, usually understood as freedom from coercion regarding our bodies and our lives, emerged as a struggle concept in the context of body politics, the sphere where women's oppression and exploitation was most intimately and concretely experienced.

There have also been different interpretations in the feminist movement of this concept and its content. One interpretation, rather common among Western feminists, is that which more or less identifies autonomy with 'individual independence', 'self-determination of the individual woman' or the 'right to individual choice'. In this emphasis on the individual there is the correct element that in the last analysis the individual woman, that is, the undivided and indivisible person, is the subject who either assumes the responsibility for her person and her life, or not. I interpret autonomy as this innermost subjectivity and area of freedom – small as it may be – without which human beings are devoid of their essential human essence and dignity, without which they become puppets or organisms without an element of free will and consciousness, or mere assemblages of organic matter, as is the model of reproductive engineers today.

In the concept autonomy, therefore, the feminist aspiration to maintain and strengthen or recreate this innermost subjective human essence in women is expressed and preserved. On the other hand, we cannot close our eyes to the fact that capitalism, by focusing on the atomized individual in its marketing strategies has, to a large extent, perverted the humanist aspiration inherent in the concept of autonomy. As the capitalist commodity market creates the illusion that the individual is free to fulfil all her/his desires and needs, that individual freedom is identical with the choice of this or that commodity, the self-activity and subjectivity of the person is replaced by individual consumerism. Thus, individualism has become, among Western feminists, one of the main obstacles for feminist solidarity and thus also for the achievement of feminist goals.

If we want to avoid this individualistic perversion, we have to make sure that autonomy means the preservation of the human essence in women. Autonomy, however, is not only used in the sense described above. It is also a struggle concept

which was developed to demonstrate that women wanted to separate from mixed, male-dominated organizations and to form their autonomous organizations, with their own analysis, programmes and methods. Autonomous organization was particularly emphasized, as we saw, *vis-à-vis* the traditional left organizations which had always claimed supremacy of organization, ideology and programme over all 'mass movements'. The feminist claim to autonomy in this sense means a rejection of all tendencies to subsume the women's question and the women's movement under some other apparently more general theme or movement. Women's autonomous organization is an expression of the desire to preserve both the qualitatively different character and identity of the feminist movement, as well as an independent power base. Particularly the latter has been learned from the old women's movement. By joining male-dominated organizations (parties and trade unions), the old movement lost its identity and was finally dissolved. The principle of autonomy is not only upheld with regard to male-dominated organizations, movements and contexts. Also within the feminist movement as such the diverse groups and categories of women have maintained this principle. This can be observed in the way various sub-movements evolved in the course of time, for example, the lesbian movement. But this principle was also followed by the rising Third World feminist movement. As there is no centre, no hierarchy, no official and unified ideology, no formal leadership, the autonomy of the various initiatives, groups, collectives is the only principle that can maintain the dynamism, the diversity, as well as the truly humanist perspective, of the movement.

### Notes

1. The thirteen women of the 'Sistren' Collective in Kingston, Jamaica, came together in 1977 when the Michael Manley government had started an 'Impact Programme' in order to create jobs for unemployed women, such as street cleaning. The thirteen women had been given training as teachers' aides. During the training they were asked to do a theatre piece for the annual Workers' Week celebrations. They asked Honor Ford-Smith from the Jamaican School of Drama to help them prepare a play. When she asked them what they wanted to do a play about, they said: 'We want to do plays about how we suffer as women. We want to do plays about how men treat us badly' (cf. Honor Ford-Smith: 'Women, the Arts and Jamaican Society', unpublished paper, Kingston, 1980; see also Sistren Theatre Collective: 'Women's Theater in Jamaica', in *Grassroots Development*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1983, p. 44).
2. I could observe this happening in India in 1973/74 when a small women's group came together in Hyderabad, out of which grew the first new women's organization in India, the Progressive Organization of Women (POW) (cf. K. Lalitha: 'Origin and Growth of POW: First ever Militant Women's Movement in Andhra Pradesh', in *HOW*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1979, p. 5). Meanwhile, feminist groups and organizations are coming up in many Third World countries.
3. The theoretical base of left anti-feminism is the Marxist position, first spelled out by Engels, Bebel and Clara Zetkin, that the 'woman question' is part of the class question and should not be dealt with separately. In the beginning, the



the new feminist movement was ignored and considered irrelevant by Marxist-Leninist parties. When they realized, however, that the movement continued to exist and continued to mobilize ever more women, even in underdeveloped countries, the policy changed. On the one hand, these parties claimed an avant-garde role for this new social movement by adopting the symbols, the slogans – partly even the concepts – of the new women's movement. On the other hand, they continued the old polemics against autonomous feminist groups and movements as being 'bourgeois' and 'deviationist'. This process can be clearly observed in the recent history of the *Deutsche Kommunistische Partei* (DKP), the Moscow-oriented communist party of West Germany. Their women's wing uses the colours, the symbols, and the slogans of the feminists and even claims to be 'autonomous'. Feminists in underdeveloped countries have had similar experiences with the orthodox left and their hostility and double strategy regarding the women's movement (cf. Datar: 'The Left Parties and the Invisibility of Women: A Critique', in *Teaching Politics*, vol. X, Annual No., Bombay, 1984).

4. India seems to be the country in Asia where the feminist movement is spreading most rapidly. In a recent 'Women's Liberation Pilgrimage' (*Shree Mukti Yatra*), organized by some women's liberation groups from Bombay, about 200,000 women and about 100,000 men attended the drama-shows, poster exhibitions, talks and discussions, slide-shows, book sales and other programmes on women's oppression and liberation. This 'mobile workshop' consisted of a bus with 75 women's liberation activists which, in 12 days, covered 1,500 kilometres and held programmes in 11 towns and 10 villages in the state of Maharashtra. As one of the participants wrote: 'The objective was to create an awareness of the secondary position of women in society and clear some of the misunderstandings surrounding the concept of women's liberation' (Nandita Gandhi in *Eve's Weekly*, 16–22 February 1985). The response to and the result of this pilgrimage were so overwhelming that the *Times of India*, one of the main Indian dailies, commented: 'As the two-week long *Shree Mukti Yatra* proved in Maharashtra, feminism has come to stay here. No longer can it be dismissed as an irrelevant Western import, the preserve of a handful of city women' (Ayesha Kagal, 'A girl is born', in *Times of India*, 3 February 1985).

5. When the second Feminist Conference of Latin America and the Caribbean took place in Lima, Peru, in July 1982, the number of participants had increased from 230 women at the first conference in Bogota, to 700. Women from 15 countries, ranging from urban, middle-class intellectuals to working-class and peasant women attended the conference. The organizers clarified why women responded so eagerly to their call: 'It is the feminist movement which has been crucial in countering the rebirth of conservatism in the industrialized countries. Without a change in patriarchal power, the problems will persist' (cf. Jill Gay, 'A Growing Movement: Latin American Feminism', in *NACLA Report*, vol. XVII, no. 6, Nov–Dec 1983).

6. In a short annotated bibliography, some 36 titles are listed of feminist journals and magazines published by women's groups in Latin America (cf. Unidad de Comunicación Alternativa de la Mujer – ILET, publicaciones alternativas de grupos de mujeres en america latina, Santiago, Chile, 1984).

7. At the 2nd International Interdisciplinary Women's Congress in Groningen (Holland) in April 1984 the main concern of the organizers, and of many of the women who presented papers, was to mobilize women to jump on the bandwagon of the 'third technological revolution'. Women's liberation was

again seen as a function of their knowledge of modern science and technology.

8. One of these is Ivan Illich, who first got a number of ideas and concepts from feminists like Barbara Duden, Gisela Bock and Claudia von Werthof, whose analysis of housework under capitalism inspired him to write his paper on 'Shadow-Work'. But by subsuming housework under the sex-neutral concept of shadow-work, he not only again obscured women's exploitation, but eventually gave the materialist feminist analysis an idealistic interpretation. In this process the English concept 'gender' came in handy to transport the whole analysis to the cultural sphere. The next step then was his outright attack on feminists who, according to him, were about to abolish all universal, culturally-determined, gender differences (cf. I. Illich: *Gender*, New York, 1983).

9. The terms 'vicarious politics' or 'politics by delegation' are translations of the German term *Stelvertreterpolitik*. In West Germany the feminists were the first to reject *Stelvertreterpolitik*. Later, other social movements like the alternative movement, the ecology movement, and the Greens, also began to challenge the concept of politics by delegation and to replace it by the new concept of basis democracy, or grassroots democracy.

10. This discussion was started around 1977 by Claudia von Werthof, Veronika Bernholdt-Thomsen and myself. Our analysis was presented in a number of papers published in feminist journals, mainly in *Beiträge zur feministischen Theorie und Praxis*. A collection of some of the main articles was published in: Claudia v. Werthof, Maria Mies, Veronika Bernholdt-Thomsen: *Frauen, die lezlie Kolonie* (Women, the Last Colony), Reinbeck, 1983.



### 3. Colonization and Housewifization

#### The Dialectics of 'Progress and Retrogression'

On the basis of the foregoing analysis, it is possible to formulate a tentative thesis which will guide my further discussion.

The historical development of the division of labour in general, and the sexual division of labour in particular, was/is not an *evolutionary* and peaceful process, based on the ever-progressing development of productive forces (mainly technology) and specialization, but a violent one by which first certain categories of men, later certain peoples, were able mainly by virtue of arms and warfare to establish an exploitative relationship between themselves and women, and other peoples and classes.

Within such a predatory mode of production, which is intrinsically patriarchal, warfare and conquest become the most 'productive' modes of production. The quick accumulation of material wealth – not based on regular subsistence work in one's own community, but on looting and robbery – facilitates the faster development of technology in those societies which are based on conquest and warfare. This technological development, however, again is not oriented principally towards the satisfaction of subsistence needs of the community as a whole, but towards further warfare, conquest and accumulation. The development of arms and transport technology has been a driving force for technological innovation in all patriarchal societies, but particularly in the modern capitalist European one which has conquered and subjected the whole world since the fifteenth century. The concept of 'progress' which emerged in this particular patriarchal civilization is historically unthinkable without the one-sided development of the technology of warfare and conquest. All subsistence technology (for conservation and production of food, clothes and shelter, etc.) henceforth appears to be 'backward' in comparison to the 'wonders' of the modern technology of warfare and conquest (navigation, the compass, gunpowder, etc.).

The predatory patriarchal division of labour is based, from the outset, on a structural separation and subordination of human beings: men are separated from women, whom they have subordinated, the 'own' people are separated from the 'foreigners' or 'heathens'. Whereas in the old patriarchies this separation could never be total, in the modern 'western' patriarchy this separation has been extended to a separation between MAN and NATURE. In the old patriarchies

(China, India, Arabia), men could not conceive of themselves as totally independent from Mother Earth. Even the conquered and subjected peoples, slaves, pariahs, etc., were still visibly present and were not thought of as lying totally *outside* the *oikos* or the 'economy' (the hierarchically structured social universe which was seen as a living organism (cf. Merchant, 1983)). And women, though they were exploited and subordinated, were crucially important as mothers of sons for all patriarchal societies. Therefore, I think it is correct when B. Ehrenreich and D. English call these pre-modern patriarchies gynocentric. Without the human mother and Mother Earth no patriarchy could exist (Ehrenreich/English, 1979: 7-8). With the rise of capitalism as a world-system, based on large-scale conquest and colonial plunder, and the emergence of the world-market (Wallerstein, 1974), it becomes possible to externalize or externalize those whom the new patriarchs wanted to exploit. The colonies were no longer seen as part of the economy or society, they were lying outside 'civilized society'. In the same measure as European conquerers and invaders 'penetrated' those 'virgin lands', these lands and their inhabitants were 'naturalized', declared as wild, savage nature, waiting to be exploited and tamed by the male civilizers.

Similarly, the relationship between human beings and external nature or the earth was radically changed. As Carolyn Merchant has convincingly shown, the rise of modern science and technology was based on the violent attack and rape of Mother Earth – hitherto conceived as a living organism. Francis Bacon, the father of modern science, was one of those who advocated the same violent means to rob Mother Nature of her secrets – namely, torture and inquisition – as were used by Church and State to get at the secrets of the witches. The taboos against mining, digging holes in the womb of Mother Earth, were broken by force, because the new patriarchs wanted to get at the precious metals and other 'raw-materials' hidden in the 'womb of the earth'. The rise of modern science, a mechanistic and physical world-view, was based on the killing of nature as a living organism and its transformation into a huge reservoir of 'natural resources' or 'matter', which could be analysed and synthesized by Man into his new machines by which he could make himself independent of Mother Nature.

Only now, the dualism, or rather the polarization, between the patriarchs and nature, and between men and women could develop its full and permanent destructive potential. From now on science and technology became the main 'productive forces' through which men could 'emancipate' themselves from nature, as well as from women.

Carolyn Merchant has shown that the destruction of nature as a living organism – and the rise of modern science and technology, together with the rise of male scientists as the new high priests – had its close parallel in the violent attack on women during the witch hunt which raged through Europe for some four centuries.

Merchant does not extend her analysis to the relation of the New Men to their colonies. Yet an understanding of this relation is absolutely necessary, because we cannot understand the modern developments, including our present problems, unless we include all those who were 'defined into nature' by the modern capitalist patriarchs: Mother Earth, Women and Colonies.



The modern European patriarchy made themselves independent of their *European Mother Earth*, by conquering first the Americas, later Asia and Africa, and by extracting gold and silver from the mines of Bolivia, Mexico and Peru and other 'raw materials' and luxury items from the other lands. They 'emancipated' themselves, on the one hand, from their dependence on European women for the production of labourers by destroying the witches, as well as their knowledge of contraceptives and birth control. On the other hand, by subordinating grown African men and women into slavery, they thus acquired the necessary labour power for their plantations in America and the Caribbean.

Thus, the progress of European Big Men is based on the subordination and exploitation of their own women, on the exploitation and killing of Nature, on the exploitation and subordination of other peoples and their lands. Hence, the law of this 'progress' is always a contradictory and not an evolutionary one: progress for some means retrogression for the other side; 'evolution' for some means 'devolution' for others; 'humanization' for some means 'de-humanization' for others; development of productive forces for some means underdevelopment and retrogression for others. The rise of some means the fall of others. Wealth for some means poverty for others. The reason why there cannot be unilinear progress is the fact that, as was said earlier, the predatory patriarchal mode of production constitutes a non-reciprocal, exploitative relationship. Within such a relationship no general progress for all, no 'tricking down', no development for all is possible.

Engels had attributed this antagonistic relationship between progress and retrogression to the emergence of private property and the exploitation of one class by the other. Thus, he wrote in 1884:

Since the exploitation of one class by another is the basis of civilization, its whole development moves in a continuous contradiction. Every advance in production is at the same time a retrogression in the condition of the exploited class, that is of the great majority. What is a boon for the one is necessarily a bane for the other; each new emancipation of one class always means a new oppression of another class (Engels, 1976: 333).

Engels speaks only of the relationship between exploiting and exploited classes, he does not include the relationship between men and women, that of colonial masters to their colonies or of Civilized Man in general to Nature. But these relationships constitute, in fact, the hidden foundation of civilized society. He hopes to change this necessarily polarized relationship by extending what is good for the ruling class to all classes: 'What is good for the ruling class should be good for the whole of the society with which the ruling class identifies itself' (Engels, 1976: 333).

But this is precisely the logical flaw in this strategy: in a contradictory and exploitative relationship, the privileges of the exploiters can never become the privileges of all. If the wealth of the metropolises is based on the exploitation of colonies, then the colonies cannot achieve wealth unless they also have colonies. If the emancipation of men is based on the subordination of women, then women cannot achieve 'equal rights' with men, which would necessarily include the right to exploit others.<sup>1</sup>

Hence, a feminist strategy for liberation cannot but aim at the **total abolition** of all these relationships of retrogressive progress. This means it must aim at an end of all *exploitation* of women by men, of nature by man, of colonies by colonizers, of one class by the other. As long as exploitation of one of these remains the precondition for the advance (development, evolution, progress, humanization, etc.) of one section of people, feminists cannot speak of liberation or 'socialism'.

### **Subordination of Women, Nature and Colonies: The underground of capitalist patriarchy or civilized society**

In the following, I shall try to trace the contradictory process, briefly sketched out above, by which, in the course of the last four or five centuries women, nature and colonies were externalized, declared to be outside civilized society, pushed down, and thus made invisible as the under-water part of an iceberg is invisible, yet constitute the base of the whole.

Methodologically, I shall try as far as possible to undo the division of those poles of the exploitative relations which are usually analysed as separate entities. Our understanding of scholarly work or research follows exactly the same logic as that of the colonizers and scientists: they cut apart and separate parts which constitute a whole, isolate these parts, analyse them under laboratory conditions and synthesize them again in a new, man-made, artificial model.

I shall not follow this logic. I shall rather try to trace the '**underground connections**' that link the processes by which nature was exploited and put under man's domination to the processes by which women in Europe were subordinated, and examine the processes by which these two were linked to the conquest and colonization of other lands and people. Hence, the historical emergence of European science and technology, and its mastery over nature have to be linked to the persecution of the European witches. And both the persecution of the witches and the rise of modern science have to be linked to the slave trade and the destruction of subsistence economies in the colonies.

This cannot be a comprehensive history of this whole period, desirable though this might be. I shall mainly highlight some important connections which were crucial for the construction of capitalist patriarchal production relations. One is the connection between the persecution of the witches in Europe and the rise of the new bourgeoisie and modern science, and the subordination of nature. This has already been dealt with by several researchers (Merchant, 1983; Heinsohn, Knieper, Steiger, 1979; Ehrenreich, English, 1979; Becker *et al.*, 1977). The following analysis is based on their work.

The historical connections between these processes and the subordination and exploitation of colonial peoples in general, and of women in the colonies in particular, has not yet been adequately studied. Therefore, I shall deal with this history more extensively.



## The Persecution of the Witches and the Rise of Modern Society Women's productive record at the end of the Middle Ages

Among the Germanic tribes who occupied Europe, the house-father (*pater familias*) had power over everything and everybody in the house. This power, called *mund* (Old High German) (*mundium* = *manus* = hand), implied that he could sell, bill, etc., wife, children, slaves, etc. The *mund* of the man over the woman was established through marriage. The relationship was one of property rights over things, which was founded on occupation (kidnapping of women), or purchase (sale of women). According to Germanic law, the marriage was a sales-contract between the two families. The woman was only the object in this transaction. By acquiring the *mund*-power, the husband acquired the right over the wife's belongings, as she was his property. Women were lifelong under the *mund* of their men – husband, father, son. The origin of this *mund* was to exclude women from the use of arms. With the rise of the cities since the thirteenth century and the emergence of an urban bourgeoisie – the 'whole house' – the earlier Germanic form of the extended family and kinship – began to dissolve. The old *potestas patriae*, the power of the father over sons and daughters, ended when they left the house. Wives were put under the *mund* or guardianship of the husband. However, if unmarried women had property of their own, they were sometimes considered *minhdig* (major) before the law. In Cologne, unmarried women who followed some craft were called *selbsmündig* in 1291 (Becker *et al.*, 1977: 41). The laws prevailing in the cities, as well as some laws for the countryside, freed women in the crafts from the *mund* or dependence on a father or husband.

The reason for this liberalization of sexual bondage has to be seen in the need to allow women in the cities to carry on their crafts and businesses independently. This was due to several factors:

1. With the extension of trade and commerce the demand for manufactured goods, particularly clothes and other consumer goods, grew. These goods were almost exclusively produced in the household of craftsmen and women. With the growth of money-supply in the hands of the patricians, their consumption of luxury goods also grew. Costly clothes of velvet and silk, lace collars, girdles, etc., became the fashion. In many of these crafts women were predominant.

However, in Germany, married women were not allowed to carry out their business or any property transaction without the consent of their husband, who continued to be their guardian and master. However, craftsmen or businesswomen could appear before a court as witnesses or complainants, without a guardian. In some cities the businesswomen or market-women were given equal rights with the men. In Munich it was stated that 'a woman who stands in the market, buys and sells, has all rights her husband has'. But she could not sell his property.

The independence of the medieval crafts- and market-women was not unlimited; it was a concession given to them because the rising bourgeoisie needed them. But within the family the husband retained his master role.

2. The second reason for this relative freedom for women in commerce and crafts was a shortage of men at the end of the Middle Ages. In Frankfurt the sex

ratio was 1,100 women for 1,000 men, according to a thirteenth-century census; in Nuremberg (fifteenth century), the sex ratio was 1,000 men to 1,207 women. The number of men had diminished due to the crusades and constant warfare between the feudal states. Moreover, male mortality seems to have been higher than female mortality because of the men's intemperance in all sorts of revelries' (Bücher, quoted in Becker *et al.*, 1977: 63).

Among the peasants in South Germany, only the eldest son was allowed to marry because otherwise the land would have been divided into holdings too small to be viable. Journeymen were not allowed to marry before they became masters. The serfs of the feudal lords could not marry without the consent of their lords. When the cities opened their doors, many serfs, men and women, ran away to the cities; 'city air makes men free' was the slogan. The poor people in the countryside had to send their daughters away to fend for themselves as maidservants because they could not feed them until they were married.

This all resulted in an increase in the number of unattached, single or widowed women who had to be economically active. The cities, in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries did not exclude women from any craft or business which they wanted to take up. This was necessary as, without their contribution, trade and commerce could not have been expanded. But the attitude towards the economically independent women was always contradictory. In the beginning the crafts' guilds were exclusively men's associations. It seems they had to admit some craftsmen later. In Germany this did not occur before the fourteenth century. Mainly weaver-women and spinners and women engaged in other branches of textile manufacture were allowed to join guilds. Weaving had been in the hands of the men since the twelfth century, but women did a number of ancillary jobs, and later also female master weavers are mentioned for certain branches like veil-weaving, linen-weaving, silk-weaving, gold-weaving, etc., which were only done by women. In Cologne there were even female guilds from the fourteenth century.

Apart from the crafts, women were mainly engaged in *peiry trade* in fruits, chicken, eggs, herrings, flowers, cheese, milk, salt, oil, feathers, jams, etc. Women were very successful as peddlers and hawkers, and constituted a certain challenge to male traders. But they did not engage in foreign trade though they advanced money to merchants who traded with the outside markets.

The silk-spinners of Cologne often were married to rich merchants who sold the precious products of their wives in far-off markets in Flanders, England, at the North Sea and the Baltic Sea, at the big fairs in Leipzig and Frankfurt (Becker *et al.*, 1977: 66–67).

Only one merchant woman is mentioned who herself travelled to England in the fifteenth century: Katherine Ysemengende from Danzig (Becker *et al.*, 1977: 66–67). In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, however, the old European order collapsed and 'there came to be a European world economy based on the capitalist mode of production' (Wallerstein, 1974: 67). This period is characterized by a tremendous expansion and penetration of the rising bourgeoisie into the 'New Worlds', and by pauperization, wars, epidemics and turbulence within the old core states.



According to Wallerstein this world economy included, by the end of the sixteenth century, north-west Europe, the Christian Mediterranean, Central Europe, the Baltic region, certain regions of America, New Spain, the Antilles, Peru, Chile and Brazil. Excluded at that time were India, the Far East, the Ottoman Empire, Russia and China.

Between 1535 and 1540, Spain achieved control over more than half the population of the Western Hemisphere. Between 1670–1680, the area under European control went up from about three million square kilometres to about seven million (Wallerstein, 1974: 68). The expansion made possible the large-scale accumulation of private capital 'which was used to finance the rationalization of agricultural production' (Wallerstein, 1974: 69). 'One of the most obvious characteristics of this sixteenth century European World Economy was a secular inflation, the so-called price revolution' (Wallerstein, 1974: 69). 'This inflation has been attributed, in one way or the other, to the influx of precious metals, bullion, from Hispano America. Its effect was mainly felt in the supply of foodgrains available at cheaper prices. In those countries where industry expanded, it was necessary to turn over a larger proportion of the land to the needs of horses'. Grain then had to be bought in the Baltic at higher prices. At the same time, wages remained stagnant in England and France because of institutional rigidities, and even a decline in real wages took place. This meant greater poverty for the masses.

According to Wallerstein, sixteenth-century Europe had several core areas: northern Europe (Netherlands, England, France) where trade flourished, and where land was used mainly for pastoral purposes, not for grain. Rural wage-labour became the dominant form of labour control. Grain was imported from Eastern Europe and the Baltics – the periphery – where 'secondary serfdom' or 'feudalism' emerged as the main labour control. In northern and central Europe this process led to great pauperization of peasants. There seems to have been population growth in the sixteenth century and the pressure on the towns grew. Wallerstein sees this population pressure as reason for out-migration. 'In Western Europe there was emigration to the towns and a growing vagabondage that was "endemic"' (Wallerstein, 1974: 117). There was not only the rural exodus due to eviction and the enclosure system (of the yeomen in England), 'there was also the vagabondage "caused by the decline of feudal bodies of retainers and the disbanding of the swollen armies which had flocked to serve the kings against their vassals"' (Marx, quoted by Wallerstein, 1974: 117).

These wanderers – before they were recruited as labourers into the new industries – lived from hand to mouth. They were the impoverished masses who flocked around the various prophets and heretic sects. Most of the radical and utopian ideas of the time are concerned with these poor masses. Many poor women were among these vagabonds. They earned their living as dancers, tricksters, singers and prostitutes. They flocked to the annual fairs, the church councils, etc. For the Diet of Frankfurt, 1394, 800 women came; for the Council of Constance and Basle, 1500 (Becker *et al.*, 1977: 76). These women also followed the armies. They were not only prostitutes for the soldiers but they also had to dig trenches, nurse the sick and wounded, and sell commodities.

These women were not despised in the beginning, they formed part of medieval

society. The bigger cities put them into special 'women's houses'. The church tried to control the increasing prostitution, but poverty drove too many poor women into the 'women's houses'. In many cities these prostitutes had their own associations. In Church processions and public feasts they had their own banners and place – even a patron saint, St Magdalene. This shows that up to the fourteenth century prostitution was not considered a bad thing. But at the end of the fourteenth century, the Statutes of Meran rule that prostitutes should stay away from public feasts and dances where 'burgers women and other honorable women are'. They should have a yellow ribbon on their shoes so that everyone could distinguish them from the 'decent women' (Becker *et al.*, 1977: 79).

The witch-hunt which raged through Europe from the twelfth to the seventeenth century was one of the mechanisms to control and subordinate women, the peasant and artisan, women who in their economic and sexual independence constituted a threat for the emerging bourgeois order.

Recent feminist literature on the witches and their persecution has brought to light that women were not passively giving up their economic and sexual independence, but that they resisted in many forms the onslaught of church, state and capital. One form of resistance were the many heterodox sects in which women either played a prominent role, or which in their ideology propagated freedom and equality for women and a condemnation of sexual repression, property and monogamy. Thus the 'Brethren of the Free Spirit', a sect which existed over several hundred years, established communal living, abolished marriage, and rejected the authority of the church. Many women, some of them extraordinary scholars, belonged to this sect. Several of them were burnt as heretics (Cohn, 1970).

It seems plausible that the whole fury of the witch-hunt was not just a result of the decaying old order in its confrontation with new capitalist forces, or even a manifestation of timeless male sadism, but a reaction of the new male-dominated classes against the rebellion of women. The poor women 'freed', that is, expropriated from their means of subsistence and skills, fought back against their expropriators. Some argue that the witches had been an organized sect which met regularly at their 'witches' sabbath', where all poor people gathered and already practised the new free society without masters and serfs. When a woman denied being a witch and having anything to do with all the accusations, she was tortured and finally burnt at the stake. The witch trial, however, followed a meticulous thought-out legal procedure. In protestant countries one finds special secular witch-commissions and witch-commissars. The priests were in constant rapport with the courts and influenced the judges.

One prosecutor, Benedikt Carpzov, first a lawyer in Saxonia, later professor in Leipzig, signed 20,000 death sentences against witches. He was a faithful son of the protestant church (Dross, 1978: 204).

If someone denounced a woman as a witch, a commission was sent to that place to collect evidence. Everything was evidence: good weather or bad weather, if she worked hard or if she was lazy, diseases or healing powers. If under torture the witch named another person, this person was also immediately arrested.



### The Subordination and Breaking of the Female Body: Torture

Here are the minutes of the torture of Katherine Lips from Betzlesdorf, 1672:

After this the judgement was again read to her and she was admonished to speak the truth. But she continued to deny. She then undressed willingly. The hangman bound her hands and hung her up, let her down again. She cried: woe, woe. Again she was pulled up. Again she screamed, woe woe, lord in heaven help me. Her toes were bound . . . her legs were put into Spanish boots – first the left then the right leg was screwed . . . she cried, 'Lord Jesus come and help me . . .' She said she knew nothing, even if they killed her. They pulled her up higher. She became silent, then she said she was no witch. Then they again put the screws on her legs. She again screamed and cried . . . and became silent . . . she continued to say she knew nothing . . . She shouted her mother should come out of the grave and help her . . .

They then led her outside the room and shaved her head to find the stigma. The master came back and said they had found the stigma. He had thrust a needle into it and she had not felt it. Also, no blood had come out. Again they bound her at hand and feet and pulled her up, again she screamed and shouted she knew nothing. They should put her on the floor and kill her, etc., etc., etc. . . . (quoted in Becker *et al.*, 1977: 426ff).

In 1631 Friedrich von Spee dared to write an anonymous essay against the tortures and the witch-hunt. He exposed the sadistic character of the tortures and also the use the authorities, the church and the secular authorities made of the witch hysteria to find a scapegoat for all problems and disturbances and the unrest of the poor people, and to divert the wrath of the people from them against some poor women.

31 October 1724: Torture of Enneke Frisenares from Coesfeld (Münster)  
After the accused had been asked in vain to confess, Dr Goggravius announced the order of torture . . . He asked her to tell the truth, because the painful interrogation would make her confess anyway and double the punishment . . . after this the first degree of torture was applied to her.

Then the judge proceeded to the second degree of torture. She was led to the torture chamber, she was undressed, tied down and interrogated. She denied to have done anything . . . As she remained stubborn they proceeded to the third degree and her thumbs were put into screws. Because she screamed so horribly they put a block into her mouth and continued screwing her thumbs. Fifty minutes this went on, the screws were loosened and tightened alternately. But she pleaded her innocence. She also did not weep but only shouted, 'I am not guilty. O Jesus come and help me.' Then, 'Your Lordship, take me and kill me.' Then they proceeded to the fourth degree, the Spanish Boots . . . As she did not weep Dr Goggravius worried whether the accused might have been made insensitive against pain through sorcery. Therefore he again asked the executioner to undress her and find out whether there was anything suspicious about her body. Whereupon the executioner reported he had examined everything meticulously but had not found anything. Again he was ordered to apply the Spanish Boots. The accused however continued to assert her innocence and screamed 'O Jesus I haven't done it, I haven't done it, Your Lordship kill me. I am not guilty, I am not guilty!' . . .

This order went on for 30 minutes without result.

Then Dr Goggravius ordered the fifth degree:  
The accused was hung up and beaten with two rods – up to 30 strokes. She was so exhausted that she said she would confess, but with regard to the specific accusations she continued to deny that she had committed any of the crimes. The executioner had to pull her up till her arms were twisted out of their joints. For six minutes this torture lasted. Then she was beaten up again, and again her thumbs were put into screws and her legs into the Spanish Boots. But the accused continued to deny that she had anything to do with the devil.

As Dr Goggravius came to the conclusion that the torture had been correctly applied, according to the rules, and after the executioner stated the accused would not survive further torturing Dr Goggravius ordered the accused to be taken down and unbound. He ordered the executioner to set her limbs in the right place and nurse her (quoted in Becker *et al.*, 1977: 433–435, transl. M.M.).

### Burning of Witches, Primitive Accumulation of Capital, and the Rise of Modern Science

The persecution and burning of the midwives as witches was directly connected with the emergence of modern society: the professionalization of medicine, the rise of medicine as a 'natural science', the rise of science and of modern economy. The torture chambers of the witch-hunters were the laboratories where the texture, the anatomy, the resistance of the human body – mainly the female body – was studied. One may say that modern medicine and the male hegemony over this vital field were established on the base of millions of crushed, maimed, torn, disfigured and finally burnt, female bodies.<sup>2</sup>

There was a calculated division of labour between Church and State in organizing the massacres and the terror against the witches. Whereas the church representatives identified witches, gave the theological justification and led the interrogations, the 'secular arm' of the state was used to carry out the tortures and finally execute the witches on the pyre.

The persecution of the witches was a manifestation of the rising modern society and not, as is usually believed, a remnant of the irrational 'dark' Middle Ages. This is most clearly shown by Jean Bodin, the French theoretician of the new mercantilist economic doctrine. Jean Bodin was the founder of the quantitative theory of money, of the modern concept of sovereignty and of mercantilist populationism. He was a staunch defender of modern rationalism, and was at the same time one of the most vocal proponents of state-ordained tortures and massacres of the witches. He held the view that, for the development of new wealth after the medieval agrarian crisis, the modern state had to be invested with absolute sovereignty. This state had, moreover, the duty to provide for enough workers for the new economy. In order to do so, he demanded a strong police which above all would fight against witches and midwives who, according to him, were responsible for so many abortions, the infertility of couples, or sexual intercourse without conception. Anyone who prevented the conception or the birth of children he considered as a murderer, who should be persecuted by the



state. Bodin worked as a consultant of the French government in the persecution of the witches, and advocated torture and the pyre to eradicate the witches. His tract on witchcraft was one of the most brutal and sadistic of all pamphlets written against witches at that time. Like Institoris and Sprenger in Germany he singled out women for his attack. He set a ratio of 50 women to one man for the witch persecutions (Merchant, 1983: 138). This combination of modern rationality, the propagation of the new state and a direct violent attack on the witches we also find with another great master of the new era of European civilization, namely Francis Bacon (cf. Merchant, 1983: 164-177).

Similarly, there is a direct connection between the witch pogroms and the emergence of the professionalization of law. Before that period, the German law followed old Germanic custom; it was people's law or customary law, but not a discipline to be studied. But now Roman law was introduced, most of the universities established a law faculty and several universities, like the university of Frankfurt, consisted in fact only of the law faculty. Some contemporaries complain about the universities:

They are good for nothing and train only parasites who learn how to confuse the people, how to make good things bad and bad things good, who withhold what is rightful from the poor and give what is not his right to the rich (Jansen, 1903, quoted in Hammes, 1977: 243; transl. M.M.).

The reason why the sons of the rising urban class were flocking to the law faculties was the following: 'In our times jurisprudencia smiles at everybody, so that everyone wants to become a doctor in law. Most are attracted to this field of studies out of greed for money and ambition' (ibid.).

The witch trials provided employment and money for a host of lawyers, advocates, judges, councils, etc. They were able, through their complicated and learned interpretations of the authoritative texts, to prolong the trials so that the costs of the trial would go up. There was a close relationship between the worldly authorities, the church, the rulers of the small feudal states and the lawyers. The latter were responsible for an inflation of fees, and filled their coffers by squeezing money from the poor victims of the witch-hunt. The fleeing of the people was so rampant that even a man like the Elector of Trier (the Archbishop of Trier was one of the seven princes who elected the German Kaiser), Johann von Schoenburg, who had himself had several hundred people executed as witches and sorcerers, had to check the robbing of the widows and orphans by the learned jurists and all others connected with the witch trials. Some of the rulers set up accountants to check what the various officials had done with the money extracted and the fees they had demanded. Among the costs for a trial were the following:

- for the alcohol consumed by the soldiers who pursued a witch;
- for the visit the priest paid to the witch while in prison;
- for the maintenance of the private guard of the executioner. (Hammes, 1977: 243-257).

According to Canon Law, the property of the witch was to be confiscated, irrespective of whether there were heirs or not. The bulk of the confiscated property, never less than 50 per cent, was appropriated by the government. In

many cases, all that was left over after the deduction of the costs for the trial went to the state treasury. This confiscation was illegal, as the 'Constitutio Criminalis' of Emperor Charles V proclaims in 1532. But this law had only paper value.

The fact that the witch-hunt was such a lucrative source of money and wealth led in certain areas to the setting up of special commissions which had the task of denouncing ever more people as witches and sorcerers. When the accused were found guilty, they and their families had to bear all the costs of the trial, beginning with the bills for alcohol and food for the witch commission (their *per diem*), and ending with the costs for the firewood for the stake. Another source of money was the sums paid by the richer families to the learned judges and lawyers in order to free one of their members from the persecution if she was accused as a witch. This is also a reason why we find more poor people among those who were executed.

Manfred Hammes has brought to light yet another dimension of the 'political economy' of the witch-hunt, namely, the raising of funds by the warring European princes to finance their wars, particularly the Thirty-Year War from 1618-1648. From 1618 onwards, the Law of Charles V, prohibiting the confiscation of property of witches and sorcerers, was virtually abandoned and witch-hunts were specifically organised or encouraged by some of the princes in order to be able to confiscate the property of their subjects.

Hammes gives us the example of the city of Cologne and the dispute that arose between the city fathers and the Elector Ferdinand of Bavaria - the ruler of the diocese. The city of Cologne, a rich centre of trading and industries, had remained neutral for a long time during the Thirty-Years War. (In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the city had seen a flourishing trade - mainly in silk and textiles.)<sup>3</sup> Nevertheless, the city had paid considerable sums into the war fund of the Emperor. This was made possible by an increase in taxes. When foreign armies were marauding and looting the villages, many rural people fled into the free and neutral city. The result was a scarcity of food supplies which led to tensions among the people and even to open riots. At the same time the witch trial against Catherine Hernot<sup>4</sup> started, which was followed by an intense witch-hunt. When the first judgements were pronounced, the Elector Ferdinand of Bavaria, who had to pay his armies, presented a bill to the city authorities. In this bill he claimed that all the property of executed witches should be confiscated and go to the exchequer. The city council tried with all means to prevent the implementation of this ordinance. They asked their lawyers to make an expert study of the law. But the Elector and his lawyers finally proclaimed that the bill was an emergency measure. Since the evil of witchcraft had assumed such dimensions in recent times, it would be politically unwise to follow the letter of the law (namely, *Constitutio Criminalis* of Charles V prohibiting confiscations) word by word. However, the lawyers of the city were not convinced and they suggested a compromise. They said it was fair and just that the persons who had been involved in the witch trial, the lawyers, executioners, etc., would get a fee as compensation 'for their hard work and the time they had spent on the trial'. The Elector, as he could not press money out of the urban witch-hunt, confiscated all the property of the witches executed in the rural areas of the diocese.



But not only the **feudal class** (particularly the smaller princes who could not compete with the rising bourgeoisie in the cities, or the bigger lords), but also the **propertied classes in the cities were using the confiscation of witch-property as a means for capital accumulation.**

Thus, in Cologne itself in 1628, ten years after the beginning of the war, the city authorities had introduced the confiscation of witch-property. One of the legitimations forwarded by the lawyers of Cologne was that the witches had received a lot of money from the devil and that it was perfectly in order that this devil's money be confiscated by the authorities to enable them to eradicate the evil breed of sorcerers and witches. In fact, it seems that in some cases the cities and the princes used witch-pogroms and confiscations as a kind of development aid for their ruined economies. The city fathers of Mainz did not make much fuss about legal niceties and simply asked their officials to confiscate all property of the witches. In 1618, the Monastery of St Clare of Hochheim had donated them 2,000 guilders for the 'eradication of witches'.

There is a report of the Bailiff Geiss who wrote to his Lord of Lindheim asking him to allow him to start with the persecution because he needed money for the restoration of a bridge and the church. He noted that most of the people were disturbed about the spreading of the evil of witchcraft:

If only your Lordship would be willing to start the burning, we would gladly provide the firewood and bear all other costs, and your Lordship would earn so much that the bridge and also the Church could be well repaired.

Moreover, you would get so much that you could pay your servants a better salary in future, because one could confiscate whole houses and particularly the more well-to-do ones (quoted in Hammes, 1977: 254; transl. M.M.).

Apart from the big bloodsuckers – the religious authorities, the worldly governments, the feudal class, the urban authorities, the fraternity of jurists, the executioners – there grew up a whole army of smaller fry who made a living out of the burning witches. Begging monks wandered around and sold pictures of the saints which, if swallowed by the buyers, would prevent them from being afflicted by witchcraft. There were many self-appointed witch-commissars. Since the authorities paid fees for the discovery, the arrest and the interrogation of witches, they accumulated money by wandering from place to place instigating the poor people to see the cause of all their misery in the workings of the witches. Then, when everybody was in the grip of the mass psychosis, the commissar said he would come to eradicate the pest. First, the commissar would send his collector who would go from house to house to collect donations to prove that the peasants themselves had invited him. Then the commissar would come and organize two or three burnings at the stake. If someone was not ready to pay, he was suspected of being a sorcerer or a witch or a sympathizer of the witches. In some cases the villages paid a sum to the commissar in advance, so that he would not visit their village. This happened in the Eifel village of Rheinbach. But five years later the same commissar came back and, since the peasants were not ready to yield a second time to this blackmail, he added more death sentences to the record of 800 he had already achieved.

The hope of financial gains can be seen as one of the main reasons why the witch hysteria spread and why hardly any people were acquitted. The witch-hunt was **business**. This is clearly spelt out by Friedrich von Spee who finally had the courage, in 1633, to write a book against this sordid practice. He notes:

- the lawyers, inquisitors, etc., use torture because they want to show that they are not superficial but responsible lawyers;
- they need many witches in order to prove that their job is necessary;
- they do not want to lose the remuneration the princes have promised for each witch.

To summarize we can quote Cornelius Loos who said the witch trials 'were a new alchemy which made gold out of human blood' (Hammes, 1977: 257). We could add, out of female blood. The capital accumulated in the process of the witch-hunt by the old ruling classes, as well as by the new rising bourgeois class is nowhere mentioned in the estimates and calculations of the economic historians of that epoch. The blood-money of the witch-hunt was used for the private enrichment of **bankrupt princes, of lawyers, doctors, judges and professors, but also for such public affairs as financing wars, building up a bureaucracy, infrastructural measures, and finally the new absolute state**. This blood-money fed the original process of capital accumulation, perhaps not to the same extent as the plunder and robbery of the colonies, but certainly to a much greater extent than is known today.

But the persecution and torture of witches was not only motivated by economic considerations. The interrogation of witches also provided the model for the development of the new scientific method of extracting secrets from Mother Nature. Carolyn Merchant has shown that Francis Bacon, the 'father' of modern science, the founder of the inductive method, used the same methods, the same ideology to examine nature which the witch-persecutioners used to extract the secrets from the witches, namely, torture, destruction, violence. He deliberately used the imagery of the witch-hunt to describe his new scientific method: he treated 'nature as a female to be tortured through mechanical inventions'. (Merchant, 1983: 168), as the witches were tortured by new machines. He stated that the method by which nature's secrets might be discovered consisted in investigating the secrets of witchcraft by inquisition: 'For you have but to follow and as it were hound out nature in her wanderings, and you will be able when you like to lead and drive her afterward to the same place again . . .' (quoted by Merchant, 1983: 168). He strongly advocated the breaking of all taboos which, in medieval society, forbade the digging of holes into Mother Earth or violating her: 'Neither ought a man to make scruple of entering and penetrating into these holes and corners, when the inquisition of truth is his whole object . . .' (Merchant, 1983: 168). He compared the inquisition of nature to both the interrogation of witches and to that of the courtroom witnesses:

I mean (according to the practice in civil causes) in this great plea or suit granted by the divine favour and providence (whereby the human race seeks to recover its right over nature) to *examine nature herself* and the arts upon interrogatories . . . (Merchant, 1983: 169).



Nature would not yield her secrets unless forcibly violated by the new mechanical devices:

For like as a man's disposition is never well known or proved till he be crossed, nor Proteus ever changed shapes till he was *strained* and *held fast*, so nature exhibits herself more clearly under the *trials* and *vexations* of art (mechanical devices) than when left to herself (quoted by Merchant, 1983: 169).

According to Bacon, nature must be 'bound into service', made a 'slave', put 'in constraint', had to be 'dissected'; much as 'woman's womb had symbolically yielded to the forceps, so nature's womb harboured secrets that through technology could be wrested from her grasp for use in the improvement of the human condition' (Merchant, 1983: 169).

Bacon's scientific method, which is still the foundation of modern science, unified knowledge with material power. Many of the technological inventions were in fact related to warfare and conquest, like gunpowder, navigation, the magnet. These 'arts of war' were combined with knowledge – like printing. Violence, therefore, was the key word and key method by which the New Man established his domination over women and nature. These means of coercion 'do not, like the old, merely exert a gentle guidance over nature's course; they have the power to conquer and subdue her, to shake her to the foundations' (Merchant, 1983: 172).

Thus, concludes Carolyn Merchant:

The interrogation of witches as symbol for the interrogation of nature, the courtroom as model for its inquisition, and torture through mechanical devices as a tool for the subjugation of disorder were fundamental to the scientific method as power (emphasis added) (Merchant, 1983: 172).

The class which benefited from this new scientific patriarchal dominance over women and nature was the rising protestant, capitalist class of merchants, mining industrialists, clothier capitalists. For this class, it was necessary that the old autonomy of women over their sexuality and reproductive capacities be destroyed, and that women be forcibly made to breed more workers. Similarly, nature had to be transformed into a vast reservoir of material resources to be exploited and turned into profit by this class.

Hence the church, the state, the new capitalist class and modern scientists collaborated in the violent subjugation of women and nature. The weak Victorian women of the nineteenth century were the products of the terror methods by which this class had moulded and shaped 'female nature' according to its interests (Ehrenreich, English, 1979).

### Colonization and Primitive Accumulation of Capital

The period referred to so far has been called the period of *primitive accumulation of capital*. Before the capitalist mode of production could establish and maintain itself as a process of extended reproduction of capital – driven by the motor of surplus value production – enough capital had to be accumulated to start this

process. The capital was largely accumulated in the colonies between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Most of this capital was not accumulated through 'honest' trade by merchant capitalists but largely by way of brigandage, piracy, forced and slave labour.

Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, English merchants went out to break the Venetian monopoly of the spice trade with the East. Most of the Spanish-Portuguese discoveries were inspired by the motive to find an independent sea-route to the Orient. In Europe, the result was a price revolution or inflation due to 1. the technical invention of separating copper from silver; 2. the plundering of Cuzco and the use of slave labour. The cost of precious metal fell. This led to the ruination of the already exhausted feudal class and of the wage earning craftsmen. Mandel concludes:

The fall in real wages – particularly marked by the substitution of cheap potatoes for bread as the basic food of the people – became one of the main sources of the primitive accumulation of industrial capital between the sixteenth and eighteenth century (Mandel, 1971: 107).

One could say that the first phase of the *Primitive Accumulation* was that of merchant and commercial capital ruthlessly plundering and exploiting the colonies' human and natural wealth. Thus, there had been 'a marked shortage of capital in England' about 1550:

Within a few years, the pirate expeditions against the Spanish fleet, all of which were organised in the form of joint stock companies, changed the situation. . . . Drake's first pirate undertaking in the years 1577–1580 was launched with a capital of £5,000. . . . it brought in about £600,000 profit, half of which went to the Queen. Beard estimates that the pirates introduced some £12 million into England during the reign of Elizabeth (Mandel, 1971: 108).

The story of the Spanish Conquistadores, who depopulated regions like Haiti, Cuba, Nicaragua completely, and exterminated about 15 million Indians is well known. Also, Vasco da Gama's second arrival in India in 1502–1503 was marked by the same trial of blood.

It was a kind of crusade . . . by merchants of pepper, cloves and cinnamon. It was punctuated by horrible atrocities; everything seemed permissible against the hated Moslems whom the Portuguese were surprised to meet again at the other end of the world. . . . (quoted from Hauser in Mandel, 1971: 108).

Commercial expansion from the beginning was based on *monopoly*. The Dutch drove out the Portuguese, the English, the Dutch.

It is, therefore, not to be wondered that the Dutch merchants, whose profits depended on their monopoly of spices obtained through conquests in the Indonesian archipelago went over to mass destruction of cinnamon trees in the small islands of the Moluccas as soon as prices began to fall in Europe. The 'Hongi Voyages' to destroy these trees and massacre the population which for centuries had drawn their livelihood from growing them, set a sinister mark on the history of Dutch colonization, which had, indeed, begun in the same style. Admiral J.P. Coen did not shrink from the extermination of all the male inhabitants of the Banda islands (Mandel, 1971: 108).



The trading companies – the Oost-Indische Compagnie, the English East India Company and Hudson Bay Company and the French Compagnie des Indes Orientales – all combined the spice trade with the slave trade:

Between 1636 and 1645 the Dutch West India Company sold 23,000 Negroes for 6.7 million florins in all, or about 300 florins a head, whereas the goods given in exchange for each slave were worth no more than 50 florins. Between 1728 and 1760 ships sailing from Le Havre transported to the Antilles 203,000 slaves bought in Senegal, on the Gold Coast, at Loango, etc. The sale of these slaves brought in 203 million livres. From 1783 to 1793 the slavers of Liverpool sold 300,000 slaves for 15 million, which went into the foundation of industrial enterprises (Mandel, 1971: 110).

Mandel and others, who have analysed this period, do not say much about how the colonizing process affected women in the newly-established Portuguese, Dutch, English and French colonies in Africa, Asia and Latin and Central America. As the merchant capitalists depended mainly on brute force, outright robbery and looting, we can assume that the women were also victims of this process.

The recent work done by feminist scholars has shed more light on to these hidden sides of the 'civilizing process'. Rhoda Reddock's work on women and slavery in the Caribbean shows clearly that the colonizers used a diametrically opposed value system *vis-à-vis* the women of the subjugated peoples as that *vis-à-vis* their 'own' women. Slave women in the Caribbean for long periods were *not* allowed to marry or to have children; it was cheaper to import slaves than to pay for the reproduction of slave labour. At the same time, the bourgeois class domesticated its 'own' women into pure, monogamous breeders of their heirs, excluded them from work outside their house and from property.

The whole brutal onslaught on the peoples in Africa, Asia and America by European merchant capitalists was justified as a *civilizing mission* of the Christian nations. Here we see the connection between the 'civilizing' process by which poor European women were persecuted and 'disciplined' during the witch-hunt, and the 'civilizing' of the 'barbarian' peoples in the colonies. Both are defined as uncontrolled, dangerous, 'savage' nature', and both have to be subdued by force and torture to break their resistance to robbery, expropriation and exploitation.

### Women under Colonialism

As Rhoda Reddock (1984) has shown, the colonizers' attitude to slavery and slave women in the Caribbean was based clearly on capitalist cost-benefit calculations. This was particularly true with regard to the question whether slave women should be allowed to 'breed' more slaves or not. Throughout the centuries of the modern slave trade and slave economy (from 1655 to 1838), this question was answered not according to the principles of Christian ethics – supposedly applicable in the 'Motherlands' – but according to the accumulation considerations of the capitalist planters. Thus, during the first period, from 1655 to the beginnings of the eighteenth century, when most estates were smallholdings with few slaves, these planters still depended, following the peasant model of reproduction, on the natural reproduc-

tion of the slave population. The second period is characterized by the so-called *sugar-revolution*, the introduction of large-scale sugar production in big plantations. In this period, beginning around 1760 and lasting till about 1800 slave women were actively discouraged from bearing children or forming families. The planters, as good capitalists, held the view that it was cheaper to purchase than to breed'. This was the case in all sugar colonies whether they were under catholic (French) or protestant (British, Dutch) dominion. In fact, slave women who were found pregnant were cursed and ill-treated. Moreover, the backbreaking work in the sugar plantations did not allow the slave women to nurse small babies. The reason behind this anti-natalist policy of the planters are expressed in the statement of one Mr G.M. Hall on Cuban planters:

During and after pregnancy the slave is useless for several months, and her nourishment should be more abundant and better chosen. This loss of work and added expense comes out of the master's pocket. It is he who has to pay for the often lengthy care of the newborn. This expense is so considerable that the negro born on the plantation costs more when he is in condition to work than another of the same age bought at the public market would have cost (G.M. Hall, quoted by Reddock, 1984: 16).

In the French colony of St Dominique the planters calculated that a slave woman's work over a period of 18 months was worth 600 Livres. The 18 months were the time calculated for pregnancy and breast feeding. During such a time the slave woman would be able to do only half her usual work. Thus, her master would lose 300 Livres. 'A fifteen month old slave was not worth this sum' (Hall, quoted by Reddock, 1984: 16). The effect of this policy was, as many observers have found, that the 'fertility' of slave women was extremely low during this period and far into the nineteenth century (Reddock, 1984).

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, it became evident that Western Africa could no longer be counted upon as fertile hunting ground for slaves. Moreover, the British colonizers saw it as more profitable to incorporate Africa itself into their empire as a source of raw material and minerals. Therefore, the more 'progressive' sections of the British bourgeoisie advocated the abolition of the slave trade – which happened in 1807 – and the encouragement of 'local breeding'. The colonial government foresaw a number of incentives in the slave codes of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to encourage local breeding of slaves by slave women on the plantations. This sudden change of policy, however, seems to have had little effect on the slave women. As Rhoda Reddock points out, in the long years of slavery the slave women had internalized an anti-motherhood attitude as a form of resistance to the slave system; they continued a kind of birth strike till about the middle of the nineteenth century. When they became pregnant, they used bitter herbs to produce abortions or, when the children were born, many were allowed to die out of the women's natural dislike for bearing them to see them become slaves, destined to toil all their lives for their master's enrichment' (Moreno-Fraginals, 1976, quoted by Reddock, 1984: 17). Rhoda Reddock sees in this anti-motherhood attitude of the slave women an example of 'the way in which the ideology of the ruling classes



could, for different though connected material reasons, become the accepted ideology of the oppressed' (Reddock, 1984: 17).

The colonial masters now reaped the fruits – or rather the failures – of treating African women as mere conditions of production for capital accumulation. The problem of labour shortage on the plantations in the Caribbean became so acute, due to the slave women's birth strike, that in Cuba virtual 'stud farms' were established and slave breeding became a regular business (Moreno Fraginals, quoted by Reddock, 1984: 18). Rhoda Reddock summarizes the changing policy of the colonizers regarding slave women's procreative capacities in the following manner:

As long as Africa was incorporated in the capitalist world economy only as a producer of human labour, there was no need to produce labour locally. Through the use of cost-benefit analysis the planters had taken the most profitable line of action. When this was no longer profitable for them, they were surprised by the resistance shown by the slave women who... recognized clearly their position as the property of the plantation owners. The fact is, that for more than 100 years, the majority of slave women in the Caribbean were neither wives nor mothers and by exercising control over their reproductive capabilities were able to deeply affect the plantation economy (Reddock, 1984: 18).

These more than a hundred years that 'slave women in the Caribbean were neither wives nor mothers' were exactly the same period that women of the European bourgeoisie were domesticated and ideologically manipulated into wifehood and motherhood as their 'natural' vocation (Badinter, 1980). While one set of women was treated as pure labour force, a source of energy, the other set of women was treated as 'non-productive' breeders only.

It is, indeed, an irony of history that later in the nineteenth century the colonizers tried desperately to introduce the nuclear family and the monogamous marriage norm into the ex-slave population of the Caribbean. But both women and men saw no benefit for themselves in adopting these norms, and rejected marriage. Now their own double-faced policy boomeranged on the colonizers. In order to be able freely to exploit the slaves, they had for centuries defined them outside humanity and Christianity. In this they were supported by the ethnologists who said that the negroes did not belong to the same 'species' as the Europeans (Caldecott, 1970: 67). Hence, slaves could not become Christians because, according to the Church of England, no Christian could be a slave.

When, around 1780, the new Slave Codes began to encourage marriage among the slaves as a means to encourage local breeding of slaves, the slaves only ridiculed this 'high caste' thing and continued with their 'common law' unions. This meant that each woman could live with a man as long as she pleased; the same also applied to the man. Slave women saw the marriage tie as something that would subject them to the control of one man, who could even beat them. The men wanted more than one wife and therefore rejected marriage. The missionaries and planters who tried to introduce the European middle-class model of the man-woman relationship were exasperated. A church historian, Caldecott, eventually found an explanation for this resistance to the benefits of civilization in the

fact that negroes were not able to 'control their fancy' (their sexual desires), and therefore shrank from constancy: 'With them it is the women as much as the men who are thus constituted; there is in the Negro race a nearer approach to equality between the sexes than is found in the European races...'. (Caldecott, quoted by Reddock, 1984: 47). 'Equality between the sexes', however, was seen as a sign of a primitive, backward race, a notion which was common among nineteenth-century colonizers and ethnologists.

That equality of men and women is a sign of backwardness and that it is part of the 'civilizing mission' of the British colonialists to destroy the independence of colonized women, and to teach the colonized men the 'virtues' of sexism and militarism are also clearly spelt out by one Mr Fielding Hall in his book, *A People at School*.<sup>5</sup> Mr Hall was Political Officer in the British colonial administration in Burma between 1887–91. He gives a vivid account of the independence of Burmese women, of the equality between the sexes, and of the peace-loving nature of the Burmese people which he ascribes to Buddhism. But, instead of trying to preserve such a happy society, Mr Hall comes to the conclusion that Burma has to be brought by force on the road of progress: 'But today the laws are ours, the power, the authority. We govern for our own subjects and we govern in our own way. Our whole presence here is against their desires.' He suggests the following measures to civilize the Burmese people:

1. The men must be taught to kill and to fight for the British colonialists: 'I can imagine nothing that could do the Burmese so much good as to have a regiment of their own to distinguish itself in our wars. It would open their eyes to new views of life' (*A People at School*, p. 264).
2. The women must surrender their liberty in the interests of man.

Considering equality of the sexes a sign of backwardness, this colonial administrator warned: 'It must never be forgotten that their civilization is relatively a thousand years behind ours.' To overcome this backwardness, the Burmese men should learn to kill, to make war and to oppress their women. In the words of Mr Hall: 'What the surgeon's knife is to the diseased body that is the soldier's sword to the diseased nations'. And again:

... the gospel of progress, of knowledge, of happiness... is taught not by book and sermon but by spear and sword... To declare, as Buddhism does, that bravery is of no account; to say to them, as the women did, you are no better and no more than we are, and should have the same code of life; could anything be worse?

He also seeks the help of ethnologists to defend this ideology of Man the Hunter: 'Men and women are not sufficiently differentiated yet in Burma. It is the mark of a young race. Ethnologists tell us that. In the earliest peoples the difference was very slight. As a race grows older the difference increases.' Then Mr Hall describes how Burmese women are eventually 'brought down' to the status of the civilized, dependent housewife. Local home-industries, formerly in the hands of women, are destroyed by the import of commodities from England. Women are also pushed out of trade: 'In Rangoon the large English stores are undermining the



Bazaars where the women used to earn an independent livelihood.'

After their loss of economic independence, Mr Hall considers it of utmost importance that the laws of marriage and inheritance be changed, so that Burma, too, may become a 'progressive' land where men rule. Woman has to understand that her independence stands in the way of progress:

With her power of independence will disappear her free will and her influence. When she is dependent on her husband she can no longer dictate to him. When he feeds her, she is not longer able to make her voice as loud as his is. It is inevitable that she should retire. . . . The nations who succeed are not feminine nations but the masculine. Woman's influence is good provided it does not go too far. Yet it has done so here. It has been bad for the man, bad too for the woman: It has never been good for women to be too independent, it has robbed them of many virtues. It improves a man to have to work for his wife and family, it makes a man of him. It is demoralising for both if the woman can keep herself and, if necessary, her husband too. (*A People at School*, p. 266).

That the African women brought to the Caribbean as slaves were not made slaves because they were 'backward' or less 'civilized' than the colonizers, but on the contrary were made 'savages' by slavery itself and those colonizers is now brought to light by historical research on women in Western Africa. George Brooks, for example, shows in his work on the *signares* – the women traders of eighteenth-century Senegal – that these women, particularly of the Wolof tribe, held a high position in the pre-colonial West African societies. Moreover, the first Portuguese and French merchants who came to Senegal in search of merchandise were totally dependent on the cooperation and goodwill of these powerful women, who entered into sexual and trade alliances with these European men. They not only were in possession of great wealth, accumulated through trade with the inferior parts of their regions, but had also developed such a cultured way of life, such a sense for beauty and gracefulness, that the European adventurers who first came into contact with them felt flabbergasted. Brooks quotes one Rev. John Lindsay, chaplain aboard a British ship, as having written:

As to their women, and in particular the ladies (for so I must call many of those in Senegal), they are in a surprising degree handsome, have very fine features, are wonderfully tractable, remarkably polite both in conversation and manners; and in the point of keeping themselves neat and clean (of which we have generally strange ideas, formed to us by the beastly laziness of the slaves) they far surpass the Europeans in every respect. They bathe twice a day. . . . and in this particular have a hearty contempt for all white people, who they imagine must be disagreeable, to our women especially. Nor can even their men from this very notion, be brought to look upon the prettiest of our women, but with the coldest indifference, some of whom there are here, officers' ladies, who dress very showy, and who, even in England would be thought handsome (Brooks, 1976: 24).

The European men – the Portuguese and French who came to West Africa first as merchants or soldiers – came usually alone, without wives or families. Their alliances with the 'ladies' or *signares* (from the Portuguese word *senhoras*) were so attractive to them that they married these women according to the Wolof style,

and often simply adopted the African way of life. Their children, the EuroAfricans, often rose to high positions in the colonial society, the daughters usually became *signares* again. Obviously, the Portuguese and the French colonizers did not yet have strong racist prejudices against sexual and marriage relationships with West African women, but found these alliances not only profitable, but also humanly satisfying.

With the advent of the British in West Africa, however, this easy-going, catholic attitude towards African women changed. The British soldiers, merchants and administrators no longer entered into marriage alliances with the *signares*, but turned African women into prostitutes. This, then, seems to be the point in history when racism proper enters the picture: the African woman is degraded and made a prostitute for the English colonizers, then theories of the racial superiority of the white male and the 'beastliness' of the African women are propagated. Obviously, British colonial history is as discreet about these aspects as the Dutch. Yet Brooks says that the institution of 'signareship' did not take root in Gambia because it was stifled by the influx of new arrivals from Britain, few of whom, whether traders, government officials, or military officers – deviated from 'proper' British behaviour to live openly with EuroAfrican or African women, whatever they might do clandestinely. British authors are discreet about such matters, but it can be discerned that in contrast to the family lives of traders and their *signares*, there developed . . . a rootless bachelor community of a type found elsewhere in British areas of West Africa. Open and unrepentant racism was one characteristic of this community; two others were reckless gambling and alcoholism (Brooks, 1976: 43).

These accounts corroborate not only Walter Rodney's general thesis that 'Europe underdeveloped Africa', but also our main argument that the colonial process, as it advanced, brought the women of the colonized people progressively down from a former high position of relative power and independence to that of 'beastly' and degraded 'nature'. This 'naturalization' of colonized women is the counterpart of the 'civilizing' of the European women.

The 'defining back into nature', or the 'naturalization' of African women who were brought as slaves to the Caribbean is perhaps the clearest evidence of the double-faced, hypocritical process of European colonization: while African women were treated as 'savages', the women of the white colonizers in their fatherlands 'rose' to the status of 'ladies'. These two processes did not happen side by side, are not simply historical parallels, but are intrinsically and causally linked within this patriarchal-capitalist mode of production. This creation of 'savage' and 'civilized' women, and the polarization between the two was, and still is, the organizing structural principle also in other parts of the world subjected by capitalist colonialism. There is not yet enough historical research into the effects of the colonizing process on women, but the little evidence we have corroborates this observation. It also explains the shifts in colonial policy towards women – following the fluctuations of the accumulation process – which Rhoda Reddock observed.

Thus, Annie Stoler (1982) has found that, at the other end of the globe in Sumatra in the early 20th century, the Dutch followed a similar double-faced policy regarding women:



At certain junctures in estate expansion, for example, women ostensibly recruited from Java as estate coolies were in large part brought to Sumatra to service the domestic, including sexual, needs of unmarried male workers and management. Prostitution was not only sanctioned but encouraged... (Stoler, 1982: 90).

The driving motive for these planters, as was the case with the French or English in the Caribbean, was profit-making, and this motive, as Annie Stoler remarks, explains the fluctuations in Dutch colonial policy *vis-à-vis* women. In the colonial records, the 'issues of marriage contracts, sickness, prostitution, and labour unrest appear as they relate to profit; married workers during the first decade of the century were considered too costly and therefore marriage contracts were difficult to obtain' (Stoler, 1982: 97).

Obviously, to make women prostitutes was cheaper, but then, when almost half of the female workers in North Sumatra were racked with venereal disease, and had to be hospitalized at the company's expense, it became more profitable to encourage marriage among the estate workers. This was between the 1920s and 1930s. Whereas in the first phase, migrant women were good enough to do all hard labour on the plantations, now a process of housewifization took place to exclude resident women from wage-labour on the estates. Annie Stoler writes:

At different economic and political junctures in plantation history, the planters contended that (1) permanent female workers were too costly to maintain, because of the time they took off for child-birth and menstruation, (2) women should not and could not do 'hard' labour, and (3) women were better suited to casual work (Stoler, 1982: 98).

That this introduction of the image of the 'weak woman' was a clear ideological move which served the economic purpose of lowering women's wages and creating a casual female labour force becomes evident from the statistics. Thus, in the Coolie Budget Report of 1903, it is stated that only one per cent of total available working-days were missed because of pregnancy (Stoler, 1982: 98).

Rhoda Reddock also, in the later parts of her study, gives ample evidence of this process – around the same time, in the British Crown Colony of Trinidad – of excluding women from wage-labour proper and of defining them as 'dependents' (Rhoda Reddock, 1984).

Also, in the case of the Dutch colonizers, profit-making was the overall objective, and the contradictory values and policies regarding their own 'civilized' women back home and the 'savage' women in Sumatra constituted the best mechanism to ensure this. The fact that they used two diametrically opposed sets of values to the two sets of women obviously did not give them any pangs of conscience. Prostitution became a public issue only when it was no longer profitable to recruit women as prostitutes. Again here we have to stress that the emergence of the Dutch housewife, the stress on family and homemaking 'back home', was not just a temporal coincidence but was causally linked to the disruption of families and homes among estate workers in the Dutch colonies.

### Women under German Colonialism

Whereas the examples of British and Dutch colonial policy regarding women given above mainly focus on the colonial side of the picture, the following example, based on Martha Mamozai's study of the impact of German colonialism on women, includes the effect of this process also on the German women 'back home'. This account will, therefore, help us to perceive more fully the double-faced process of colonization and housewifization.

Germany entered the race for the looting and distribution of the world rather late. The German Colonial Society was founded in 1884, and from then until the beginning of World War I – a direct result of the inter-imperialist scramble for hegemony among the European nations – the government of the German Reich encouraged the establishment of German colonies, particularly in Africa.

Mamozai's study shows that colonization did not affect men and women in the same way, but used the particular capitalist sexual division of labour to bring the labour power of Africans under the command of capital and the White Man. As usually happens with conquerors, invaders and colonizers, the Germans who first came to West Africa as planters around the 1880s came mostly as single men. As had happened with the Portuguese and French men in West Africa, they entered into sexual and matrimonial relations with African women. Many formed regular families with these women. After some time, it became evident that these marriages would eventually lead to a new generation of 'mixed blood' EuroAfricans who, following the patriarchal and bourgeois family laws in Germany, would be Germans with full economic and political rights. There were heated debates about the 'colonial question' or the 'native question' in the German Reichstag which centered, on the one hand, on the question of 'mixed marriages' and 'bastards' – hence on the concern for the privileges of the white race – on the other, on the production, subjugation and disciplining of sufficient African labour power for the German estates and projects.

Governor Friedrich von Lindquist expressed the 'bastard-question in South West Africa' in the following manner:

The considerable preponderance of the white male over the white female population is a sorry state of affairs, which, for the life and the future of the country will be of great significance. This has led to a considerable number of mixed relations, which is particularly regrettable because, apart from the ill-effects of the mixing of races, the white minority in South Africa can preserve its dominance over the coloureds only by keeping its race pure (quoted by Mamozai, 1982: 125; transl. M.M.).

Therefore, in 1905 a law was passed which prohibited marriages between European men and African women. In 1907, even those marriages which had been concluded prior to this law were declared null and void. Those who lived in such unions, including their 'bastards', lost the rights of citizens in 1908, including the voting right. The objective of this law was clearly the preservation of property rights in the hands of the white minority. Had the Afro-Germans had the rights of German citizens and voting rights, they could, in the course of time, have outnumbered the



'pure' whites in the elections. The laws, however, prohibiting marriages between European men and black women did not mean that the Reichstag wanted to put restrictions on the sexual freedom of the colonizing men. On the contrary, the German men were even advised by doctors to recruit African women as concubines or prostitutes. Thus, one Dr Max Bucher, representative of the German Reich wrote:

Regarding the free intercourse with the daughters of the land – this has to be seen as advantageous rather than as damaging to health. Even under the dark skin the 'Eternal Female' is an excellent fetish against emotional deprivation which so easily occurs in the African loneliness. Apart from these psychological gains there are also practical advantages of personal security. To have an intimate black girl-friend means protection from many dangers (quoted by Mamozai, 1982: 129).

This means black women were good enough to service the white men as prostitutes and concubines, but they should not become proper 'wives' because this would, in the long run, have changed the property relations in Africa. This becomes very clear in a statement of one Dr Karl Oetker who was Health Officer during the construction of the railroad between Dar-es-Salaam and Morogoro:

It should be a matter of course, but may be stressed again, that every European man who has intercourse with black females has to take care that such a union remains sterile in order to prevent a mixture of races, such a mixture would have the worst effect for our colonies, as this has been amply proved in the West Indies, Brasil and Madagaskar. Such relationships can and should only be considered as surrogates for marriage. Recognition and protection by the state, which marriages among whites enjoy, have to be withheld from such unions (quoted by Mamozai, 1982: 130).

Here the double-standard is very clear: marriage and family were goods to be protected for the whites, the 'Master Men' (Dominant Men). African families could be disrupted, men and women could be forced into labour gangs, women could be made prostitutes.

It is important not to look at this hypocritical colonial policy towards women only from a moralistic point of view. It is essential to understand that the rise and generalization of the 'decent' bourgeois marriage and family as protected institutions are *causally* linked to the disruption of clan and family relations of the 'natives'. The emergence of the masses of German families from 'proletarian misery', as one colonial officer put it, was directly linked to the exploitation of colonies and the subordination of colonial labour power. The development of Germany into a leading industrial nation was dependent, as many saw it in those years, on the possession of colonies. Thus, Paul von Hindenburg, the later Reichskanzler wrote: 'Without colonies no security regarding the acquisition of raw materials, without raw materials no industry, without industry no adequate standard of living and wealth. Therefore, Germans, do we need colonies' (quoted by Mamozai, 1983: 27; transl. M.M.).

The justification for this logic of exploitation was provided by the theory that the 'natives' had 'not yet' evolved to the level of the white master race, and that

colonialism was the means to develop the slumbering forces of production in these regions and thus make them contribute to the betterment of mankind. A colonial officer from South West Africa wrote:

A right of the natives, which could only be realised at the expense of the development of the white race, does not exist. The idea is absurd that Bantus, Sudan-negroes, and Hottentots in Africa have the right to live and die as they please, even when by this uncounted people among the civilized peoples of Europe were forced to remain tied to a miserable proletarian existence instead of being able, by the full use of the productive capacities of our colonial possessions to rise to a richer level of existence themselves and also to help construct the whole body of human and national welfare (quoted by Mamozai, 1983: 58; transl. M.M.)

The conviction that the white master men had the god-given mission to 'develop' the productive capacities in the colonies and thus bring the 'savages' into the orbit of civilization was also shared, as we shall see later, by the Social Democrats who likewise believed in the development of productive forces through colonialism.

The refusal of the 'native' women of South West Africa to produce children for the hated colonial masters was, therefore, seen as an attack on this policy of development of productive forces. After the rebellion of the Herero people had been brutally crushed by the German General von Trotha, the Herero women went on a virtual birth-strike. Like the slave women in the Caribbean, they refused to produce forced labour power for the planters and estate owners. Between 1892 and 1909, the Herero population decreased from 80,000 to a mere 19,962. For the German farmers this was a severe problem. One of them wrote:

After the rebellion the native, particularly the Herero, often takes the stand not to produce children. He considers himself a prisoner, which he brings to your notice at every job which he does not like. He does not like to make new labour force for his oppressor, who has deprived him of his golden laziness. . . .

While the German farmers have been trying for years to remedy this sad state of affairs by offering a premium for each child born on the farm, for instance, a she-goat. But mostly in vain. A section of today's native women has been engaged for too long in prostitution and are spoiled for motherhood. Another part does not want children and gets rid of them, when they are pregnant, through abortion. In such cases the authorities should interfere with all severity. Each case should be investigated thoroughly and severely punished by prison, and if that is not enough by putting the culprit in chains. (quoted by Mamozai, 1982: 52; transl. M.M.).

In a number of cases the farmers took the law into their own hands and brutally punished the recalcitrant women. In the Herero women's stand we see again, as in the case of the slave women, that African women were not just helpless victims in this colonizing process, but understood precisely their relative power within the colonial relations of production, and used that power accordingly. What has to be noted, however, with regard to the comments of the German farmer quoted above, is that although it was the Herero women who went on a birth-strike, he refers only to the Herero (man). Even in their reporting, the colonizing men denied the subjected women all subjectivity and



initiative. All 'natives' were 'savages', wild nature, but the most savage of all were the 'native' women.

### White Women in Africa

Martha Mamozai also provides us with interesting material about the 'other side' of the colonizing process, namely, the impact the subordination of Africans, and African women in particular, had on the German women 'back home' and on those who had joined the colonial pioneers in Africa.

As was said before, one of the problems of the white colonialists was the reproduction of the white master race in the colonies itself. This could be achieved only if white women from the 'fatherland' were ready to go to the colonies and marry 'our boys down there', and produce white children. As most planters belonged to that band of 'adventurous bachelors', a special effort had to be made to mobilize women to go to the colonies as brides. The German advocates of white supremacy saw it as a special duty of German women to save the German men in the colonies from the evil influence of the 'Kaffir females' who in the long run would alienate these men from European culture and civilization.

The call was heard by Frau Adda von Lilientron, who founded the 'Women's League of the German Colonial Society'. This association had the objective of giving girls a special training in colonial housekeeping and sending them as brides to Africa. She recruited mainly girls from the peasant or working class, many of whom had worked as maidservants in the cities. In 1898 for the first time 25 single women were sent to South West Africa as a 'Christmas gift' for 'our boys down there'. Martha Mamozai reports how many of these women 'rose' to the level of the white memsahib, the bourgeois lady who saw it as her mission to teach the African women the virtues of civilization: cleanliness, punctuality, obedience and industriousness. It is amazing to observe how soon these women, who not long ago were still among the downtrodden themselves, shared the prejudices against the 'dirty and lazy natives' which were common in colonial society.

But not only did the few European women who went to the colonies as wives and 'breeders for race and nation' rise to the level of proper housewives on the subordination and subjection of the colonized women, so too did the women 'back home'; first those of the bourgeoisie, and later also the women of the proletariat, were gradually domesticated and civilized into proper housewives. For the same period which saw the expansion of colonialism and imperialism also saw the rise of the housewife in Europe and the USA. In the following I shall deal with this side of the story.

### Housewifization

#### 1st Stage: Luxuries for the 'Ladies'

The 'other side of the story' of both the violent subordination of European women during the witch persecution, and of African, Asian and Latin American women

during the colonizing process is the creation of the women first of the accumulating classes in Europe, later also in the USA, as consumers and demonstrators of luxury and wealth, and at a later stage as housewives. Let us not forget that practically all the items which were stolen, looted or traded from the colonies were not items necessary for the daily subsistence of the masses, but luxury items. Initially these items were only consumed by the privileged few who had the money to buy them: spices from the Molluccan islands; precious textiles, silk, precious stones and muslin from India; sugar, cacao and spices from the Caribbean; precious metals from Hispano America. Werner Sombart, in his study on *Luxury and Capitalism* (1922), has advanced the thesis that the market for most of these rare colonial luxury goods had been created by a class of women who had risen as mistresses of the absolutist princes and kings of France and England in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. According to Sombart, the great cocottes and mistresses were the ones who created new fashions in women's dress, cosmetics, eating habits, and particularly in furnishing the homes of the gentlemen. Neither the war-mongering men of the aristocracy nor the men of the merchant class would have had, if left to themselves, the imagination, the sophistication and the culture to invent such luxuries, almost all centred around women as luxury creatures. It was this class of women, according to Sombart, who created the new luxury 'needs' which gave the decisive impetus to capitalism because, with their access to the money accumulated by the absolutist state, they created the market for early capitalism.

Sombart gives us a detailed account of the development of luxury consumption at the Italian, French and English courts of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He clearly identifies a trend in luxury-spending, particularly during the reign of Louis XIV. Whereas the luxury expenses of the king of France were 2,995,000 Livres in 1542, these had steadily risen and were 28,813,955 in 1680. Sombart attributes this enormous display of luxury and splendour to the love of these feudal lords for their courtresses and mistresses. Thus, the king's fancy for La Vallière prompted Louis XIV to build Versailles. Sombart is also of the opinion that Mme de Pompadour, the representative of the culture of the *ancien régime*, had a bigger budget than any of the European queens ever had had. In 19 years of her reign she spent 36,327,268 Livres. Similarly Comtesse Dubarry, who reigned between 1769-1774, spent 12,481,803 Livres on luxury items (Sombart, 1922: 98-99).

Feminists will not agree with Sombart who attributes this development of luxury which first centred around the European courts and was later imitated by the *nouveaux riches* among the European bourgeoisie, to the great courtresses with their great vanity, their addiction for luxurious clothes, houses, furniture, food, cosmetics. Even if the men of these classes preferred to demonstrate their wealth by spending on their women and turning them into showpieces of their accumulated wealth, it would again mean to make the women the villains of the piece. Would it not amount to saying that it was not the men - who wielded economic and political power - who were the historical 'subjects' (in the Marxist sense), but the women, as the real power behind the scenes who pulled the strings and set the tune according to which the mighty men danced? But, apart from this,



Sombart's thesis that capitalism was born out of luxury consumption and not in order to satisfy growing subsistence needs of the masses has great relevance for our discussion of the relationship between colonization and housewifization. He shows clearly that early merchant capitalism was based practically entirely on trade with luxury items from the colonies which were consumed by the European elites. The items which appear in a trading-list of the Levant trade include: *oriental medicines* (e.g., aloes, balm, ginger, camphor, cardamon, myrobalam, saffron, etc.); *spices* (pepper, cloves, sugar, cinnamon, nutmeg); *perfumes* (benzoin, musk, sandalwood, incense, amber); *dyes for textiles* (e.g., indigo, lac, purple, henna); *raw materials for textiles* (silk, Egyptian flax); *precious metals and jewellery* and *stones* (corals, pearls, ivory, porcelain, glass, gold and silver); *textiles* (silk, brocade, velvet, fine material of linen, muslin or wool).

In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries many more items were added to this list, particularly items systematically produced in the new colonial plantations like sugar, coffee, cacao and tea. Sombart gives an account of the rising tea consumption in England. The average tea consumption of an English family was 6.5 pounds in 1906. This level of consumption could be afforded in:

1668 by	3 families
1710 by	2,000 families
1730 by	12,000 families
1760 by	40,000 families
1780 by	140,000 families

(Source: Sombart, 1922: 146)

What did this tremendous deployment of luxury among the European rich, based on the exploitation of the peoples of Africa, Asia and America, mean for the European women? Sombart identifies certain trends in the luxury production, which he, as we have seen, attributes to the passions of a certain class of women. They are the following:

1. *a tendency towards domesticity*: Whereas medieval luxury was public, now it became private. The display of luxury does not take place in the market place or during public festivals, but inside the secluded palaces and houses of the rich.
2. *a tendency towards objectification*: In the Middle Ages wealth was expressed in the number of vassals or men a prince could count upon. Now wealth is expressed in goods and material items, commodities bought by money. Adam Smith would say: 'one moves from "unproductive" to "productive" luxury, because the former personal luxury puts "unproductive" hands to work, whereas the objectified luxury puts "productive" hands to work' (in a capitalist sense, that is, wage-workers in a capitalist enterprise) (Sombart, 1922: 119). Sombart is of the opinion that leisure class women had an interest in the development of objectified luxury (more items and commodities), because they had no use for more soldiers and vassals.

Similar trends can be observed with regard to sugar and coffee. For most people in Europe in the eighteenth century, sugar had not yet replaced honey. Sugar remained a typical luxury item for the European rich until far into the nineteenth century (Sombart, 1922: 147).

Foreign trade between Europe, America, Africa and the Orient was, until well into the nineteenth century, mainly trade in the above-mentioned luxury goods. Imports from East India to France in 1776 were to the value of 36,241,000 Francs, distributed as follows:

coffee	3,248,000 fr.
pepper and cinnamon	2,449,000 fr.
muslin	12,000,000 fr.
Indian linen	10,000,000 fr.
porcelain	200,000 fr.
silk	1,382,000 fr.
tea	3,399,000 fr.
saltpetre	3,380,000 fr.
<i>Total</i>	<i>36,241,000 fr.</i>

(Source: Sombart, 1922: 148)

Sombart also includes the profits made by the slave trade in the figures for luxury production and consumption.<sup>6</sup> The slave trade was totally organized along capitalist lines.

The development of wholesale and retail markets in England followed the same logic from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The first big urban shops which came up to replace the local markets were shops dealing with luxury goods.

3. *a tendency towards contraction of time*: Whereas formerly luxury consumption was restricted to certain seasons because the indigenous production of a surplus needed a long time, now luxuries could be consumed at any time during the year and also within the span of an individual life.

Sombart again attributes this tendency – in my opinion, wrongly – to the individualism and the impatience of leisure class women who demanded immediate satisfaction of their desires as a sign of the affection of their lovers.

Of the above tendencies, the tendency towards domestication and privatization certainly had a great impact on the construction of the new image of the 'good woman' in the centres of capitalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, namely, woman as *mother* and *housewife*, and the family as her arena, the privatized arena of consumption and 'love', excluded and sheltered from the arena of production and accumulation, where men reign. In the following, I shall trace how the ideal of the domesticated privatized woman, concerned with 'love' and consumption and dependent on a male 'breadwinner', was generalized, first in the bourgeois class proper, then among the so-called petty-bourgeoisie, and finally in the working class or the proletariat.

## 2nd Stage: Housewife and Nuclear Family: The 'Colony' of the Little White Men

While the Big White Men – the 'Dominant Men' (Mamozai) – appropriated land, natural resources and people in Africa, Asia and Central and South America in order to be able to extract raw materials, products and labour power which they themselves had not produced, while they disrupted all social relations created by the local people, they began to build up in their fatherlands the patriarchal nuclear



family, that is, the monogamous nuclear family as we know it today. This family, which was put under the specific protection of the state, consists of the forced combination of the principles of kinship and cohabitation, and the definition of the man as 'head' of this household and 'breadwinner' for the non-earning legal wife and their children. While in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the marriage and family form were possible only among the propertied classes of the bourgeoisie – among peasants, artisans and workers women had always to share all work – this form was made the norm for all by a number of legal reforms pushed through by the state from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. In Germany – as in other European countries – there existed a number of marriage restrictions for people without property. These were only abolished in the second half of the nineteenth century, when the state intervened to promote a pro-natalist policy for the property/less working class (Heinsohn and Knieper, 1976).

Recent family history has revealed that even the concept 'family' became popular only towards the end of the eighteenth century in Europe, particularly in France and England, and it was not before the middle of the nineteenth century that this concept was also adopted for the households of the workers and peasants because, contrary to general opinion, 'family' had a distinct class connotation. Only classes with property could afford to have a 'family'. Property/less people – like farm servants or urban poor – were not supposed to have a 'family' (Flandrin, 1980; Heinsohn and Knieper, 1976). But 'family' in the sense in which we understand it today – that is, as a combination of co-residence and blood-relationship based on the patriarchal principle – was not even found among the aristocracy. The aristocratic 'family' did not imply co-residence of all family members. Co-residence, particularly of husband and wife and their offspring, became the crucial criterion of the family of the bourgeoisie. Hence our present concept of family is a bourgeois one (Flandrin, 1980; Luz Tangango, 1982).

It was the bourgeoisie which established the social and sexual division of labour, characteristic of capitalism. The bourgeoisie declared 'family' a private territory in contrast to the 'public' sphere of economic and political activity. The bourgeoisie first withdrew 'their' women from this public sphere and shut them into their cosy 'homes' from where they could not interfere in the war-mongering, moneymaking and the politicking of the men. Even the French Revolution, though fought by thousands of women, ended by excluding women from politics. The bourgeoisie, particularly the puritan English bourgeoisie, created the ideology of romantic love as a compensation for and sublimation of the sexual and economic independence women had had before the rise of this class. Malthus, one of the important theoreticians of the rising bourgeoisie, saw clearly that capitalism needed a different type of woman. The poor should curb their sexual 'instincts', because otherwise they would breed too many poor for the scarce food supply. On the other hand, they should not use contraceptives, a method recommended by Condorcet in France, because that would make them lazy because he saw a close connection between sexual abstinence and readiness to work. Then Malthus paints a rosy picture of a decent bourgeois home in which 'love' does not express itself in sexual activity, but in which the domesticated wife sublimates the sexual 'instinct' in order to create a cosy home for the hard-working breadwinner who has

to struggle for money in a competitive and hostile world 'outside' (Malthus, quoted in Heinsohn, Knieper and Steiger, 1979). As Heinsohn, Knieper and Steiger point out, capitalism did not, as Engels and Marx believed, destroy the family; on the contrary, with the help of the state and its police, it created the family first among the propertied classes, later in the working class, and with it the housewife as a social category. Also, from the accounts of the composition and condition of the early industrial proletariat, it appears that the family, as we understand it today, was much less the norm than is usually believed.

As we all know, women and children constituted the bulk of the early industrial proletariat. They were the cheapest and most manipulable labour force and could be exploited like no other worker. The capitalists understood well that a woman with children had to accept any wage if she wanted to survive. On the other hand, women were less of a problem for the capitalists than men. Their labour was also cheap because they were no longer organized, unlike the skilled men who had their associations as journeymen and a tradition of organizing from the guilds. Women had been thrown out of these organizations long ago, they had no new organizations and hence no bargaining power. For the capitalists it was, therefore, more profitable and less risky to employ women. With the rise of industrial capitalism and the decline of merchant capitalism (around 1830), the extreme exploitation of women's and child labour became a problem. Women whose health had been destroyed by overwork and appalling work conditions could not produce healthy children who could become strong workers and soldiers – as was realized after several wars later in the century.

Many of these women did not live in proper 'families', but were either unmarried, or had been deserted and lived, worked and moved around with children and young people in gangs (cf. Marx, *Capital*, vol. I). These women had no particular material interest in producing the next generation of miserable workers for the factories. But they constituted a threat to bourgeois morality with its ideal of the domesticated woman. Therefore, it was also necessary to domesticate the proletarian woman. She had to be made to breed more workers.

Contrary to what Marx thought, the production of children could not be left to the 'instincts' of the proletariat, because, as Heinsohn and Knieper point out, the property/less proletariat had no material interest in the production of children, as children were no insurance in old age, unlike the sons of the bourgeoisie. Therefore, the state had to interfere in the production of people and, through legislation, police measures and the ideological campaign of the churches, the sexual energies of the proletariat had to be channelled into the strait-jacket of the bourgeois family. The proletarian woman had to be housewifized too, in spite of the fact that she could not afford to sit at home and wait for the husband to feed her and her children. Heinsohn and Knieper (1976) analyse this process for nineteenth-century Germany. Their main thesis is that the 'family' had to be forced upon the proletariat by police measures, because otherwise the property-less proletarians would not have produced enough children for the next generation of workers. One of the most important measures – after the criminalization of infanticide which had already taken place – was, therefore, the law which abolished the marriage prohibition for property/less people. This law was passed by the



North German League in 1868. Now proletarians were allowed to marry and have a 'family', like the bourgeois. But this was not enough. Sexuality had to be curbed in such a way that it took place within the confines of this family. Therefore, sexual intercourse before marriage and outside it was criminalized. The owners of the means of production were given the necessary police power to watch over the morality of their workers. After the Franco-Prussian War in 1870-71, a law was passed which made abortion a crime - a law against which the new women's movement fought, with only small success. The churches, in their cooperation with the state, worked on the souls of the people. What the secular state called a crime, the churches called a sin. The churches had a wider influence than the state because they reached more people, particularly in the countryside (Heinsohn and Knieper, 1976).

In this way the housewifization of women was also forced into the working class. According to Heinsohn and Knieper (1976) and others, the family had never existed among the propertyless farm servants or proletarians; it had to be created by force. This strategy worked because, by that time, women had lost most of their knowledge of contraception and because the state and church had drastically curbed women's autonomy over their bodies.

The housewifization of women, however, had not only the objective of ensuring that there were enough workers and soldiers for capital and the state. The creation of housework and the housewife as an agent of consumption became a very important strategy in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. By that time not only had the household been discovered as an important market for a whole range of new gadgets and items, but also scientific home-management had become a new ideology for the further domestication of women. Not only was the housewife called on to reduce the labour power costs, she was also mobilized to use her energies to create new needs. A virtual war for cleanliness and hygiene - a war against dirt, germs, bacteria, and so on - was started in order to create a market for the new products of the chemical industry. Scientific home-making was also advocated as a means of lowering the men's wage, because the wage would last longer if the housewife used it economically (Ehrenreich and English, 1975).

The process of housewifization of women, however, was not only pushed forward by the bourgeoisie and the state. The working-class movement in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries also made its contribution to this process. The organized working class welcomed the abolition of forced celibacy and marriage restrictions for propertyless workers. One of the demands of the German delegation to the 1863 Congress of the International Workingmen's Association was the 'freedom for workers to form a family'. Heinsohn and Knieper (1976) point out that the German working-class organizations, at that time headed by Lassalle, fought rather for the right to have a family than against the forced celibacy of propertyless people. Thus, the liberation from forced celibacy was historically achieved only by subsuming the whole propertyless class under bourgeois marriage and family laws. As bourgeois marriage and family were considered 'progressive', the accession of the working class to these standards was considered by most leaders of the working class as a progressive move. The struggles of the workers' movement for higher wages were often justified, particularly by the skilled workers

who constituted the 'most advanced sections' of the working class, by the argument that the man's wage should be sufficient to maintain a family so that his wife could stay at home and look after children and household.

From 1830-1840 onwards - and practically until the end of the nineteenth century - the attitude of the German male workers, and of those organized in the Social Democratic Party, was characterized by what Thönnessen called 'proletarian anti-feminism' (Thönnessen, 1969: 14). Their proletarian anti-feminism was mainly concerned with the threat the entry of women into industrial production would pose to the men's wages and jobs. Repeatedly, at various congresses of the workers' associations and party congresses, a demand was raised to prohibit women's work in factories. The question of women's work in factories was also discussed at the 1866 Congress of the First International in Geneva. Marx, who had drafted the instructions for the delegates of the General Council to the Geneva Congress, had stated that the tendency of modern industry to draw women and children into production had to be seen as a progressive tendency. The French section and also some of the Germans, however, were strongly opposed to women's work outside the house. The German section had in fact submitted the following memorandum:

Create conditions under which every grown-up man can take a wife, can found a family, secured by work, and under which none of the miserable creatures will exist any longer who, in isolation and despair, become victims, sin against themselves and against nature and tar by prostitution and trade in human flesh the civilisation. . . . To wives and mothers belongs the work in the family and the household. While the man is the representative of the serious public and family duties, the wife and mother should represent the comfort and the poetry of domestic life, she should bring grace and beauty to social manners and raise human enjoyment to a nobler and higher plane (Thönnessen, 1969: 19; trans. M.M.).

In this statement we find all the hypocrisy and bourgeois sentimentalism which Marx and Engels had castigated in the Communist Manifesto, this time, however, presented by male proletarians, who want to keep women in their 'proper' place. But neither did Karl Marx take a clear and unequivocal position regarding the question of women's work. Although in his instructions to the First International he had maintained that women's and children's work in factories be seen as a progressive tendency, he declared at the same time that night work, or work which would harm women's 'delicate physique' should be reduced. Of course, he also considered night work bad for men, but special protection should be given to women. The tendencies of 'proletarian anti-feminism' were most pronounced among the faction of the German Social Democrats led by Lassalle. At a party congress of the *Allgemeiner Deutscher Arbeiter-Verein* (ADAV) in 1866, it was stated:

The employment of women in the workshops and modern industry is one of the most outrageous abuses of our time. Outrageous, because the material conditions of the working class are not improved but deteriorated thereby. Due particularly to the destruction of the family, the working population ends up in such a miserable condition that they lose even the last trace of cultural and ideal



values they had so far. Therefore, the tendency to further extend the labour market for women has to be condemned. Only the abolition of the rule of capital will remedy the situation, when the wage relation will be abolished through positive and organic institutions and every worker will get the full fruit of his labour (*Social Democrat*, no. 139, 29 November 1867, vol. 3, app. 1; quoted in Niggemann, 1981: 40; transl. M.M.).

But it was not only the 'reformists' in the Social Democratic Party who held the view that the proletarians needed a proper family, the radicals who followed Marx's revolutionary strategy had no other concept of women and the family. August Bebel and Clara Zetkin who belonged to this wing and who, until then, had been, with Engels, considered the most important contributors to a socialist theory of women's emancipation, advocated the maintenance of a proper family with a proper housewife and mother among the working class. Also Bebel wanted to reduce women's employment so that mothers would have more time for the education of their children. He regretted the destruction of the proletarian family:

The wife of the worker who comes home in the evening, tired and exhausted, again has her hands full of work. She has to rush to attend to the most necessary tasks. The man goes to the pub and finds there the comfort he cannot find at home, he drinks, . . . perhaps he takes to the vice of gambling and loses thereby, even more than by drinking. Meanwhile the wife is sitting at home, grumbling, she has to work like a brute . . . this is how disharmony begins. But if the woman is less responsible she too, after returning home tired, goes out to have her recreation and thus the household goes down the drain and the misery doubles (Bebel, 1964: 157-8; transl. M.M.).

Bebel did not conceive of a change in the sexual division of labour nor a sharing of household tasks by men. He saw woman mainly as a mother, and did not envisage a change in her role in the future.

This is also the main view held by Clara Zetkin. In spite of her struggles against 'proletarian anti-feminism', she saw the proletarian woman as a wife and mother rather than as a worker. In 1896 she gave a speech at the party congress in Gotha where she formulated the following main points of her theory:

1. the struggle for women's emancipation is identical with the struggle of the proletariat against capitalism.
2. nevertheless, working women need special protection at their place of work.
3. improvements in the conditions of working women would enable them to participate more actively in the revolutionary struggle of the whole class.

Together with Marx and Engels, she was of the opinion that capitalism had created equality of exploitation between man and woman. Therefore, the proletarian women cannot fight against men, as bourgeois feminists might do, but must fight against the capitalist class together with men:

Therefore the liberation struggle of the proletarian woman cannot be a struggle like that of the bourgeois woman against the man of her class: on the contrary, it is a struggle together with the man of her class against the class of capitalists. She need not fight against the men of her class in order to break down the barriers which limit free competition. Capital's need for exploitation and the

development of the modern mode of production have done this for her. On the contrary, what is needed is to erect new barriers against the exploitation of the proletarian woman. What is needed is to give her back her rights as a wife, a mother, and to secure them. The final goal of her struggle is not free competition with man but the establishment of the political rule of the proletariat (quoted in Evans, 1978: 114; transl. M.M.).

What is striking in this statement is the emphasis on women's rights as mother and wife. She made this even more explicit later in the same speech:

By no means should it be the task of the socialist agitation of women to alienate women from their duties as mothers and wives. On the contrary, one has to see to it that she can fulfill these tasks better than hitherto, in the interest of the proletariat. The better the conditions in the family, her effectiveness in the home, the better she will be able to fight. . . . So many mothers, so many wives who inspire their husbands and their children with class consciousness are doing as much as the women comrades whom we see in our meetings (quoted in Evans, 1979: 114-115; transl. M.M.).

These ideas found a very positive echo in the party, which had in any case, as we have seen, a rather bourgeois concept of women's role as mother and wife. This process of creating the bourgeois nuclear family in the working class and of the housewifization of proletarian women also was not restricted to Germany, but can be traced in all industrialized and 'civilized' countries. It was pushed forward not only by the bourgeois class and state, but also by the 'most advanced sections' of the working class, namely the male skilled labour aristocracy in the European countries. Particularly for socialists, this process points to a basic contradiction, which has still not been solved, not even in socialist countries:

*If entry into social production is seen as a precondition for women's emancipation or liberation, as all orthodox socialists believe, then it is a contradiction to uphold at the same time the concept of the man as breadwinner and head of the family, of woman as dependent housewife and mother, and of the nuclear family as 'progressive'.*

This contradiction is, however, the result of a *de facto* class division between working-class men and women. I disagree with Heinsohn and Knieper (1976) when they say that the working class as a whole had no material interest in the creation of the nuclear family and the housewifization of women. Maybe working-class women had nothing to gain, but working-class men had.

Proletarian men do have a material interest in the domestication of their female class companions. This material interest consists, on the one hand, in the man's claim to monopolize available wage-work, on the other, in the claim to have control over all money income in the family. Since money has become the main source and embodiment of power under capitalism, proletarian men fight about money not only with the capitalists, but also with their wives. Their demand for a family wage is an expression of this struggle. Here the point is not whether a proper family wage was ever paid or not (cf. Land, 1980; Barrett and McIntosh, 1980), the point is that the ideological and theoretical consequence of this concept led to the *de facto* acceptance of the bourgeois concept of the family and of women by the proletariat.



Marx's analysis of the value of labour power is also based on this concept, namely, that the worker has a 'non-working' housewife (Mies, 1981). After this all female work is devalued, whether it is wage-work or housework.

The function of housework for the process of capital accumulation has been extensively discussed by feminists in recent years. I shall omit this aspect here. But I would like to point out that housewifization means the externalization, or ex-territorialization of costs which otherwise would have to be covered by the capitalists. This means women's labour is considered a natural resource, freely available like air and water.

Housewifization means at the same time the total atomization and disorganization of these hidden workers. This is not only the reason for the lack of women's political power, but also for their lack of bargaining power. As the housewife is linked to the wage-earning breadwinner, to the 'free' proletarian as a non-free worker, the 'freedom' of the proletarian to sell his labour power is based on the non-freedom of the housewife. Proletarianization of men is based on the housewifization of women.

Thus, the Little White Man also got his 'colony', namely, the family and a domesticated housewife. This was a sign that, at last, the propertyless proletarian had risen to the 'civilized' status of a citizen, that he had become a full member of a 'culture-nation'. This rise, however, was paid for by the subordination and housewifization of the women of his class. The extension of bourgeois laws to the working class meant that in the family the propertyless man was also lord and master.

It is my thesis that these two processes of colonization and housewifization are closely and causally interlinked. Without the ongoing exploitation of external colonies – formerly as direct colonies, today within the new international division of labour – the establishment of the 'internal colony', that is, a nuclear family and a woman maintained by a male 'breadwinner', would not have been possible.

## Notes

1. The same could be said about the colonial relationship. If colonies want to follow this model of development of the metropolises, they can achieve success only by exploiting some other colonies. This has, indeed, led to the creation of internal colonies in many of the ex-colonial states.
2. The number of witches killed ranges from several hundred thousand to ten million. It is significant that European historians have so far not taken the trouble to count the number of women and men burnt at the stake during these centuries, although these executions were bureaucratically registered. West German feminists estimate that the number of witches burnt equals that of the Jews killed in Nazi Germany, namely six million. The historian Gerhard Schormann said that the killing of the witches was the 'largest mass killing of human beings by other human beings, not caused by warfare' (*Der Spiegel*, no. 43, 1984).
3. The silk spinners and weavers in Cologne were mainly the women of the rich silk merchants who traded their merchandise with England and the Netherlands.

4. Catherine Hernot had been the postmistress of Cologne. The post office had been a business of her family for many generations. When the family of Thurn and Taxis claimed the monopoly over all postal services, Catherine Hernot was accused of witchcraft and eventually burnt at the stake.

5. I found the astounding extracts from Mr Hall's book in a text entitled *Militarism versus Feminism*, published anonymously in London in 1915 by George Allen and Unwin Ltd. The authors, most probably British feminists, had written this most remarkable analysis of the historical antagonism between militarism and feminism as a contribution to the Women's Movement, particularly the International Women's Peace Movement which tried, together with the International Suffrage Alliance, to bring European and American women together in an anti-war effort. Due to the war situation, the authors published their investigation anonymously. They do not give complete references of the books they quote. Thus Mr Fielding Hall's book, *A Nation at School*, is referred to only by its title and page numbers. The whole text, *Militarism versus Feminism*, is available at the Library of Congress, in Washington DC.

6. This is quite logical because the slaves produced luxury items like sugar, cacao, coffee.



- Almad, Z. & M. Loufi. *Women Workers in Rural Development* (ILO, Geneva, 1982).
- Allen van, J. 'Sitting on a Man: Colonialism and the Lost Political Institutions of Igbo Women', *Canadian Journal of African Studies*, vol. IV, no. 2, 1972.
- Amos, V. & P. Parmar. 'Challenging Imperial Feminism', *Feminist Review*, no. 17, July 1984.
- Andors, P. 'The Four Modernizations' and Chinese Policy on Women', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 13, no. 2, 1981, pp. 44-56.
- Arditti, R., Duelli-Klein, R. & S. Minden (eds). *Test-Tube Women: The Future of Motherhood* (Pandora Press, Boston & London, 1984).
- Ardrey, R. *The Territorial Imperative* (Atheneum, New York, 1976).
- . *The Hunting Hypothesis* (Atheneum, New York, 1976).
- Atkinson, T. G. 'Die Frauenbewegung hat versagt' (The failure of the women's movement), *Courage*, 9 September 1982.
- Attali, J. *L'Ordre Cannibale* (Paris, 1979).
- Aziz, Abdul. 'Economics of Bride Price and Dowry', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 9 April 1983.
- Badinter, E. *L'amour en plus* (Flammarion, Paris, 1980).
- Balasubrahmanyan, V. 'Medicine and the Male Utopia', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XVII, no. 43, 23 October 1982.
- Bandarage, A. 'Towards International Feminism', *Brandeis Review*, vol. 3, no. 3, Summer 1983.
- Barthan, P. 'Little Girls and Death in India', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XVII, no. 36, 4 September 1982.
- Barret, M. & M. McIntosh. 'The "Family Wage": Some Problems for Socialists and Feminists', *Capital and Class*, no. 11, Summer 1980.
- Bauer, M. *Deutscher Frauenspiegel* (München, Berlin, 1917).
- Bazin, J. 'Guerre et Servitude à Ségou', in Meillassoux, C. (ed.) *L'esclavage dans l'Afrique pré-coloniale* (Maspéro, Paris, 1975).
- Bebel, A. *Die Frau und der Sozialismus* (Dietz Verlag, (Ost)-Berlin, 1964).
- Becker, B., Bovenschen, S., H. Brackert et al. *Aus der Zeit der Verzweiflung: Zur Genese und Aktualität des Hexenbildes* (Frankfurt, 1977).
- Bennholdt-Thomsen, V. & A. Boehk. 'Zur Klassenanalyse des Agrarsektors', AG Bielefelder Entwicklungssozologischen Bd 5 (eds) (Breitenbach, Saarbrücken, 1979).
- Bennholdt-Thomsen, V. 'Investment in the Poor: Analysis of World Bank Policy', *Social Scientist*, vol. 8, no. 7, February 1980 (part I); vol. 8, no. 8, March 1980 (part II).
- . 'Subsistence Production and Extended Reproduction', in: Young, K. et al (eds): *Of Marriage and the Market* (Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, 1981, pp. 16-29).
- . 'Auch in der Dritten Welt wird die Hausfrau geschaffen, warum?' (Also in the Third World the housewife is being created. Why?) Deutsche Gesellschaft für Hauswirtschaft e. V. DGH Bericht ii. d. 33. Jahrestagung am 22/23 9 1983 in Bonn.
- . 'Zivilisation, moderner Staat und Gewalt. Eine feministische Kritik an Norbert Elias' Zivilisationstheorie'. (Civilization, modern state and violence: a critique of Norbert Elias) *Beiträge zur feministischen Theorie und Praxis*, Nr. 13, 1985, p. 23.
- Bock, G. & B. Duden. 'Labor of Love - Love as Labor', *Development*, Special Issue: Women: Protagonists of Change, no. 4, 1984, pp. 6-14.
- Bonté, P. 'Esclavage et relations de dépendance chez les Touareg de Kel Gress', in: Meillassoux, C. (ed.), *L'esclavage dans l'Afrique pré-coloniale* (Maspéro, Paris, 1975).
- Bornemann, E. *Das Patriarchat: Ursprung und Zukunft unseres Gesellschafts-systems* (S. Fischer, Frankfurt, 1975).
- Boserup, E. *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (St. Martin's Press, New York, 1970).
- Briffault, R. *The Mothers* (Atheneum, London, 1952).
- Brooks, G. E. 'The Signares of Saint-Louis and Gorée: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth Century Senegal' in: Hafkin, N. J. & E. B. Bay (eds) *Women in Africa* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1976).
- Brown, J. 'Economic Organisation and the Position of Women among the Iroquois', *Ethnohistory*, no. 17 (1970), pp. 151-67.
- Bunch, C. & S. Castley (eds). *Report of the Bangkok Workshop: Feminist Ideology and Structures in the First Half of the Decade for Women* (Bangkok, 23-30 June 1979).
- . *Developing Strategies for the Future: Feminist Perspectives*, Report of the International Workshop, Stony Point (New York, 20-25 April 1980).
- Caldwell, M. *The Wealth of Some Nations* (Zed Books, London, 1977).
- Capra, F. *The Turning Point* (1982).
- Carr, M. *Technology and Rural Women in Africa*, ILO World Employment Programme, Research and Working Paper (ILO, Geneva, 1980).
- Centre of Education and Documentation (eds). *Operation Flood: Development or Dependence?* (4 Battery Street, Bombay 400 039, India, 1982).
- Chaki-Sircar, M. *Feminism in a Traditional Society* (Shakti Books, Vikas Publishing House, Delhi, 1984, 3rd ed.).
- Chattopadhyaya, D. Lokayata: *A Study in Ancient Indian Materialism* (People's Publishing House, New Delhi, 1973, 3rd ed.).
- Childe, G. *What Happened in History* (Penguin Books, London, 1976).
- Cohn, N. *The Pursuit of the Millennium* (Paladin, London, 1970).
- Collins, J. & F. Moore Lappé. *Food First - Beyond the Myth of Scarcity* (Institute for Food and Development Policy, San Francisco, 1977).
- Corea, G. 'How the New Reproductive Technologies Could be used to Apply to Reproduction the Brothel Model of Social Control over Women', paper presented at 2nd International Interdisciplinary Congress on Women, Groningen, Holland, 17-21 April 1984.
- Croll, E. J. 'Socialist Development Experience: Women in Rural Production and Reproduction in the Soviet Union, China, Cuba and Tanzania', discussion



- paper, Institute of Development Studies at the University of Sussex (IDS), September 1979.
- *The Politics of Marriage in Contemporary China* (Cambridge University Press, London, 1981).
- *Chinese Women after Mao* (Zed Books, London, 1983).
- 'Chinese Women: Losing Ground', *Inside Asia*, February–March 1985, pp. 40–41.
- Dalla Costa, M.R. *The Power of Women and the Subversion of the Community* (Bristol, 1972).
- Daly, M. *Gyn-Ecology: The Metaethics of Radical Feminism* (Beacon Press, Boston, 1978).
- Daswani, M. 'Women and Reproductive Technology in India', paper presented at the congress 'Frauen gegen Gentechnik und Reproduktionstechnik', Bonn, 19–22 April 1985.
- Datar, C. 'The Anti-Rape Campaign in Bombay', paper submitted at the Anthropological Congress in Amsterdam, April 1981.
- In Search of Feminist Theory: A Critique of Marx's Theory of Society with Particular Reference to the British Feminist Movement (Masters Thesis, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1981).
- 'The Left Parties and the Invisibility of Women: A Critique', *Teaching Politics*, vol. X, Annual No., 1984, Bombay 1984, pp. 71–82.
- Davin, D. *Women-Work, Women and the Party in Revolutionary China* (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1976).
- Deere, C.D. 'Rural Women's Subsistence Production in the Capitalist Periphery', *The Review of Radical Political Economy* (URPE), vol. 8, no. 1, Spring 1976, pp. 9–17.
- Diamond, N. 'Collectivization, Kinship and Status of Women in Rural China', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 7, no. 1, January–March 1975, pp. 25–32.
- Diwan, R. 'Rape and Terror', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XV, no. 28, 12 July 1980.
- Dodge, N. *Women in the Soviet Economy: Their Role in Economic, Scientific and Technical Development* (John Hopkins Press, USA, 1966).
- & M. Feshback. 'The Role of Women in Soviet Agriculture', in Korcz, J.F. (ed.) *Soviet and East European Agriculture* (University of California, USA, 1967).
- 'Recruitment and the Quality of the Soviet Agricultural Labour Force', in: Millar, J.R. (ed.) *The Soviet Rural Community* (Illinois Press, USA, 1971).
- Dross, A. *Die erste Walpurgisnacht: Hexenverfolgung in Deutschland* (Verlag Roter Stern, Frankfurt, 1978).
- Dualeh Abdalla, R.H. *Sisters in Affliction: Circumcision and Intribulation of Women in Africa* (Zed Books, London, 1982).
- Dube, L. 'The Seed and the Field: Symbolism of Human Reproduction in India', paper read at the Xth International Conference of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, New Delhi, 1978.
- Dumont, L. *Homo Hierarchicus: Essai sur le système des castes* (Gallimard, Paris, 1966).
- Dutt, P. *India Today* (Manisha, Calcutta, 1947, 2nd ed. 1970).
- Ehrenfels, O.R. *Mother-Right in India* (Hyderabad, 1941).
- Ehrenreich, B. & D. English. *Witches, Midwives and Nurses: A History of Women Healers* (Feminist Press, New York, 1973).
- 'The Manufacture of Housework', *Socialist Revolution*, 26, 1975.
- *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of the Experts' Advice to Women* (Pluto Press, London, 1979).
- Eisen, A. *Women and Revolution in Vietnam* (Zed Books, London, 1984).
- Eisenstein, Z. *Capitalist Patriarchy and the Case for Socialist Feminism* (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1979).
- Elias, N. *Über den Prozeß der Zivilisation* Bd. I & II (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1978).
- Elson, D. & R. Pearson. 'The Latest Phase of the Internationalisation of Capital and its Implications for Women in the Third World', discussion paper 150, Institute of Development Studies, Sussex University, June 1980.
- Engels, F. *Herr Eugen Dühring's Revolution in Science* (Anti-Dühring) (London, 1936).
- 'Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State' (abridged) in: Marx/Engels *Selected Works*, vol. 3 (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976).
- Epstein, S. *South India Yesterday, Today and Tomorrow* (Macmillan, London, 1973).
- Evans, R.J. *Sozialdemokratie und Frauenemanzipation im deutschen Kaiserreich* (Dietz Verlag, Berlin, Bonn, 1978).
- Farooqui, V. *Women: Special Victims of Police & Landlord Atrocities* (National Federation of Indian Women Publication, Delhi, 1980).
- Ferguson, M. *The Aquarian Conspiracy* (Los Angeles, 1980).
- First Congress of the Toilers of the Far East*, Reports, Moscow, 1922.
- Fisher, E. *Woman's Creation* (Anchor Press, Doubleday Garden City, New York, 1979).
- Flandrin, J.L. *Families in Former Times: Kinship, Household and Sexuality* (Cambridge University Press, 1980).
- Ford Smith, H. 'Women, the Arts and Jamaican Society', unpublished paper, Kingston, 1980.
- 'From Downpression Get a Blow up to Now: Becoming Sistren', paper presented at the workshop, 'Women's Struggles and Research', Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1980.
- Frank, A.G. *Capitalism and Underdevelopment in Latin America* (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1969).
- *World Accumulation 1492–1789* (Macmillan, London, 1978).
- Friedan, B. *The Feminine Mystique* (Penguin, London, 1968).
- Fröbel, F., Kreye, J. & O. Heinrichs. *The New International Division of Labour* (Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1980).
- Gandhi, N. 'Stree Shakti Sangahit Jhali Ho!', *Eve's Weekly*, 16–22 February 1985.
- Gay, J. A Growing Movement: Latin American Feminism', *NACLA Report*, vol. XVII, no. 6, November–December 1983, p. 44.
- Goodale, J. *Tiwi Wives* (University of Washington Press, Seattle and London, 1971).
- Gorz, A. *Les chemins du paradis* (Editions Galilée, Paris, 1983).
- Gough, K. 'The Origin of the Family', in Reiter, R. (ed.) *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1975).
- Government of India, Ministry of Education and Social Welfare, 'Towards Equality', report on the Committee on the Status of Women in India, December 1974.
- Griffin, S. *Woman and Nature: The Roaring Inside Her* (Harper Colophon Books, New York, 1980).



- Grossman, R. 'Women's Place in the Integrated Circuit', *South East Asian Chronicle*, no. 66, 1979, and *Pacific Research*, vol. 9, nos. 5-6, 1978.
- Guillamain, C. 'Pratique du pouvoir et idée de nature. "L'appropriation des femmes"', *Questions Feministes*, no. 2, Février 1978.
- . 'Le Discours de la Nature', *Questions Feministes*, no. 3, Mai 1978.
- Hammes, M. *Hexenwahn und Hexenprozesse* (Fischer, Taschenbuch, 1977).
- Handwerker, W. P. 'Changing Household Organisation in the Origins of Market Place in Liberia', *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, January 1974.
- Hartmann, H. et al. *The Unhappy Marriage of Marxism and Feminism: A Debate on Class and Patriarchy* (Pluto Press, London, 1981).
- Hawkins, E. K. *Patriarchy* (Behav. World Bank Group, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (Washington, 1968).
- Heinsohn, G. & R. Knieper. *Theorie des Familienrechts, Geschlechterrollenaufhebung, Kindesvernachlässigung, Geburtenrückgang* (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1976).
- , Knieper, R. & O. Steiger. *Menschenproduktion: Allgemeine Bevölkerungslehre der Neuzeit* (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1979).
- & O. Steiger. 'Die Vernichtung der weisen Frauen Hexenverfolgung, Menschenkontrolle, Bevölkerungspolitik', in: Schröder, J. (ed.), *Mannui*, März-Texte 1 & 2 (März Verlag, Herstein, 1984).
- Héritier, F. 'Des cauris et des hommes: production d'esclaves et accumulation de cauris chez les Samos (Haute Volta)' in: Meillassoux, C. (ed.): *L'esclavage dans l'Afrique pré-coloniale* (Maspéro, Paris, 1975).
- Honneger, C. (ed.). *Die Hexen der Neuzeit: Studien zur Sozialgeschichte eines kulturellen Deutungsmusters* (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1978).
- Hosken, F. 'Female Sexual Mutilations: The Facts and Proposals for Action', *Women's International Network News*, 1980.
- . 'The Hosken Report - Genital and Sexual Mutilation of Females' (2nd ed.) *Women's International Network News*, 1980.
- Illich, I. *Gender* (Pantheon, New York, 1983).
- Irrigaray, L. *Speculum, Spiegel des anderen Geschlechts* (Ed. Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1980).
- Jain, D. *Women's Quest for Power* (Vikas Publishing House, New Delhi, 1980).
- Janssen-Jurreit, M. L. *Sexismus* (Carl Hanser Verlag, München and Wien, 1976).
- Jelpe, U. (ed.). *Das höchste Glück auf Erden: Frauen in linken Organisationen* (Bunzbuch Verlag, Hamburg, 1981).
- Kagal, A. 'A girl is born', *Times of India*, 3 February 1985.
- Kapadia, K. M. *Marriage and Family in India* (Oxford University Press, London and Calcutta, 1968).
- Karve, I. *Kinship Organisation in India* (Asia Publishing House, Bombay, 1965).
- Khudokormov, G. N. (ed.). *Political Economy of Socialism* (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1967).
- Krishnakumari, N. S. & A. S. Geetha. 'Dowry - Spreading Among More Communities', *Manushi - A Journal about Women and Society*, vol. 3, no. 4, 1983.
- Kumar, D. 'Male Utopias or Nightmares', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XVIII, no. 3, 15 January 1983.
- Lakey, B. 'Women help Women - Berit Lakey of the WOAR talks to Vibhuti Patel', *Manushi - A Journal about Women and Society*, March-April 1979.
- Lalitha, K. 'Origin and Growth of POW, First ever Militant Women's Movement in Andhra Pradesh', *HOW*, vol. 2, no. 4, 1979, p. 5.
- Land, H. 'The Family Wage', *Feminist Review*, no. 6, 1980, pp. 55-78.
- Leacock, E. 'Women's Status in Egalitarian Society: Implications for Social Evolution', *Current Anthropology*, vol. 19, no. 2, June 1978.
- Lee, R. B. *The Kung San: Men, Women and Work in a Foraging Society* (Cambridge University Press, London, New York, New Rochelle, Melbourne, Sydney, 1980).
- Lenin, V. I. 'Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism', in Lenin, V. I., *Selected Works*, vol. I (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1970, p. 666).
- Leukert, R. 'Weibliche Sinnlichkeit', unpublished Diploma thesis, University of Frankfurt, 1976.
- Lorenz, K. *On Aggression* (Methuen, London, 1966).
- Luxemburg, R. *Die Akkumulation des Kapitals, Ein Beitrag zur ökonomischen Erklärung des Kapitalismus* (Berlin, 1923).
- . *Einführung in die Nationalökonomie*, Levi, P. (ed.) (Berlin, 1925).
- Mamoza, M. *Herrmenschen: Frauen im deutschen Kolonialismus* (rororo Frauen aktuell, Reinbeck, 1982).
- Mandel, E. *Marxist Economic Theory* (Rupa & Co., Calcutta, Allahabad, Bombay, Delhi, 1971).
- Mandelbaum, K. 'Sozialdemokratie und Imperialismus', in: Mandelbaum, K., *Sozialdemokratie und Leninismus, Zwei Aufsätze* (Wagenbach, Berlin, 1974).
- Manushi, 'Delhi - "Women's Safety is Women's Right" Beldiha, Bihar - Mass Rape - Police, the Culprits', *Manushi - A Journal about Women and Society*, March-April 1979.
- . 'Such Lotfy Sympathy For a Rapist! Manushi - A Journal about Women and Society', no. 5, May-June 1980.
- Marcuse, H. *Der eindimensionale Mensch* (Luchterhand, Neuwied-Berlin, 1970).
- Martin, M. K. & B. Voorhies. *Female of the Species* (Columbia University Press, New York, London, 1975).
- Marx, K. & F. Engels. 'The German Ideology', part one, with selections from parts two and three together with Marx's 'Introduction to a critique of political economy', Arthur, C. J. (ed.) (New York, 1970).
- Marx, K. *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*, Engels, F. (ed.), 3 vols (Lawrence & Wishart, London, 1974).
- . *Grundrisse* (Berlin, Dietz Verlag, 1974).
- & F. Engels. *Collected Works*, vol. V (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1976).
- & F. Engels. 'Feuerbach. Opposition of the Materialistic and Idealistic Outlook', Chapter I of the German Ideology, in: Marx, K. & F. Engels, *Selected Works*, vol. 1 (Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1977).
- Mass, B. *The Political Economy of Population Control in Latin America* (Women's Press, Montreal, 1975).
- . *Population Target: The Political Economy of Population Control in Latin America* (Women's Press, Ontario, 1976).
- May, R. M. 'Human Reproduction reconsidered', *Nature*, vol. 272, 6 April 1978.
- McKim, M. 'Little Communities in an Indigenous Civilisation', in: 'Village India, Studies in the Little Community', McKim, M. (ed.): *The American Anthropologist*, vol. 57(3), 1955, p. 181.
- Mehta, M. 'Urban Informal Sector Concepts, Indian Evidence and Policy Implications', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 23 February 1985, pp. 326-332.
- Meijer, M. J. *Marriage Law and Policy in the Chinese People's Republic* (Hong



- Kong University Press, Hong Kong, 1971).
- Meillassoux, C. *Femmes, Greniers et Capiaux* (Maspéro, Paris, 1974).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.), *L'esclavage dans l'Afrique pré-coloniale* (Maspéro, Paris, 1975).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Progeny of the Male', paper read at Xth International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, December 1978, New Delhi.
- Merchant, C. *The Death of Nature: Women, Ecology and the Scientific Revolution* (Harper & Row, San Francisco, 1983).
- Mies, M. 'Towards a Methodology of Women's Studies' (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague), *Occasional Papers*, no. 77, November 1979.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Indian Women and Patriarchy* (Concept Publishers, Delhi, 1980a).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Capitalist Development and Subsistence Reproduction: Rural Women in India', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 12, no. 1, 1980, pp. 2-14.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Social Origins of the Sexual Division of Labour', *JSS Occasional Papers*, no. 85, Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, January 1981.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Marxist Socialism and Women's Emancipation: The Proletarian Women's Movement in Germany', in: Mies, M. & K. Jayawardena, *Feminism in Europe: Liberal and Socialist Strategies 1789-1919* (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1981).
- \_\_\_\_\_. & R. Reddock (eds). *National Liberation and Women's Liberation* (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (ed.). *Fighting on Two Fronts: Women's Struggles and Research* (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *The Lacemakers of Narsapur: Indian Housewives Produce for the Worldmarket* (Zed Books, London, 1982).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Landless Women Organize: Case Study of an Organization in Rural Andhra', *Manushi*, vol. 3, no. 3, 1983a.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Geschlechtliche und internationale Arbeitsteilung', in Heckmann, F. & P. Winter (eds). *21. Deutscher Soziologentag 1982 Beiträge der Sektions und ad hoc Gruppen* (Westdeutscher Verlag, 1983b, p. 34).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Wer das Land besitzt, besitzt die Frauen des Landes. Klassenkämpfe und Frauenkämpfe auf dem Land. Das Beispiel Indiens' in: von Werthof, C., Mies, M. & V. Benholdt-Thomsen, *Frauen, die letzte Kolonie* (rororo, Reinbeck, 1983c, pp. 18-46).
- \_\_\_\_\_. (assisted by K. Lalita & K. Kumari). 'Indian Women in Subsistence and Agricultural Labour', World Employment Programme (WEP), Working Paper no. 34, International Labour Office, Geneva, 1984(2).
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'Frauenforschung oder feministische Forschung', *Beiträge zur Feministischen Theorie und Praxis*, no. 11, 1984b.
- Militarism versus Feminism*, an Enquiry and a Policy, demonstrating that Militarism involves the Subjection of Women (no author) (Allen & Unwin, London, 1915).
- Miller, B. D. *The Endangered Sex: Neglect of Female Children in Rural North India* (Cornell University Press, Ithaca & London, 1981, p. 201).
- Millert, K. *Sexual Revolution* (Doubleday & Company, New York, 1970).
- Mingmonkol, S. 'Official Blessing for the Brothel of Asia', *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, no. 78, pp. 24-25.
- Minkin, S. 'Bangladesh: The Bitter Pill', *Frontier*, Calcutta, 27 October 1979.
- Mitchell, J.** *Women's Estate* (Pelican, London, 1973).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Psychoanalysis and Feminism: Freud, Reich, Laing and Women* (Vintage Books, New York, 1975).
- Mitra, A. 'The Status of Women', *Frontier*, 18 June 1977.
- \_\_\_\_\_. & L. Pathak & S. Mukherji. *The Status of Women: Shifts in Occupational Participation 1961-71* (New Delhi, 1980).
- Mitra, M. 'Women in Dairying in Andhra Pradesh', term paper, Mimeo. Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1984.
- Möller, C. 'Ungeschützte Beschäftigungsverhältnisse - verstärkte Spaltung der abhängig Arbeitenden', Beiträge zur Frauenforschung am 21. Deutschen Soziologentag, Bamberg, München, 1982.
- Moraga, C. & G. Anzaldúa. *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Persephone Press, Watertown, Mass., 1981).
- Mosehina, L. M. 'Olongapo's R&R Industry: A Sociological Analysis of Institutionalized Prostitution', *Ang Makatao*, January-June 1981.
- Mukherjee, G. 'Laws discriminate against women', *Sunday*, 27 July 1980.
- Muktadar, S. *Report of the Commission of Inquiry* (Hyderabad, 1978).
- Niggemann, H. *Emanzipation zwischen Sozialismus und Feminismus Die Sozialdemokratische Frauenbewegung im Kaiserreich* (Peter Hammer Verlag, Wuppertal, 1981).
- Oakley, A. *Sex, Gender and Society* (Harper Colophon Books, London, 1972).
- Obbo, C. *African Women: Their Struggle for Economic Independence* (Zed Books, London, 1980).
- O'Faolain, J. & L. Martines. *Not in God's Image: Women in History from the Greeks to the Victorians* (Harper Torchbooks, New York, 1973).
- Ohse, U. 'Mädchenhandel und Zwangsprostitution asiatischer Frauen', *Evangelische Pressekorrespondenz*, no. 5, 1981.
- Omvedt, G. *We will smash this Prison: Indian Women in Struggle* (Zed Books, London, 1980).
- Orner, B. S. 'Is Female to Male as Nature is to Culture?' in: Rosaldo, M. Z. & L. Lamphere (eds), *Women, Culture and Society* (Stanford University Press, Stanford, 1973, p. 67).
- Pasquonelli, C. 'Feminism and Politics in Italy: Theoretical Aspects', paper presented at Women's Symposium of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), Intercongress, Amsterdam, 23-24 April 1981.
- Patel, V. 'Amniocentesis and Female Foeticide - Misuse of Medical Technology', *Socialist Health Review*, vol. 1, no. 2, 2 September 1984.
- Pearson, R. 'Women's Response to the Current Phase of Internationalisation of Capital', paper presented at Women's Symposium of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), Intercongress, Amsterdam, 23-24 April 1981.
- Pestalozzi, H. A. 'Der neue Konsument - Fiktion oder Wirklichkeit', in: *Der neue Konsument* (Fischer Alternativ, Frankfurt, 1979).
- Phongpachit, P. *From Peasant Girls to Bangkok Masseuses* (International Labour Office, Geneva, 1982).
- Radhakrishnan, P. 'Economics of Bride-Price and Dowry', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XXVIII, no. 23, 4 June 1983.
- Rajaraman, I. 'Economics of Bride-Price and Dowry', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XXVIII, no. 8, 19 February 1983.
- Rao, A., Vaid, S. & M. Juneja. 'Rape, Society and State', People's Union for Civil Liberties and Democratic Rights, Delhi, n.d.
- Ravatoli, C. *Frauenbewegung und Arbeiterbewegung Feminismus und die KPI* (VSA, Hamburg, West Berlin, 1977).



- Reddock, R. 'Women's Liberation and National Liberation: A Discussion Paper' in: Mies, M. & R. Reddock (eds): *National Liberation and Women's Liberation* (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1982).
- *Women, Labour and Struggle in 20th Century Trinidad and Tobago 1898–1960* (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1984).
- Reed, E. *Woman's Evolution from Patriarchal Clan to Patriarchal Family* (Pathfinder Press, New York, 1975).
- *Sexism and Science* (Pathfinder Press, New York and Toronto, 1978).
- Reiter, R. R. (ed.). *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (Monthly Review Press, New York and London, 1975).
- 'The Search for Origins', *Critique of Anthropology*, *Women's Issue*, 9&10, vol. 3, 1977.
- Richter, L. 'Tourism by Decree', *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, no. 78, 1981, pp. 27–32.
- Risseuw, C. *The Wrong End of the Rope: Women Coir Workers in Sri Lanka*. Research Project: Women and Development, University of Leiden, 1980.
- 'Organization and Disorganization: A Case of Women Coir Workers in Sri Lanka', paper presented at Women's Symposium of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), Intercongress, Amsterdam, 23–24 April 1981.
- Rowbotham, S. *Women, Resistance & Revolution: A History of Women and Revolution in the Modern World* (Vintage, New York, 1974).
- L. Segal & H. Wainwright. *Beyond the Fragments: Feminism and the Making of Socialism* (Merlin Press Ltd, London, 1980).
- Rushin, D. K. 'The Bridge', in Moraga, C. & G. Anzaldúa (eds): *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (Persephone Press, Watertown, Mass., 1981).
- Safa, H. I. 'Export Processing and Female Employment: The Search for Cheap Labour', paper prepared for Wenner Gren Foundation Symposium on: The Sex Division of Labour, Development and Women's Status, Burg Wartenstein, 2–10 August 1980.
- Sambrani, R. B. & S. Shreekant. 'Economics of Bride-Price and Dowry', *Economic and Political Weekly*, vol. XVIII, no. 15, 9 April 1983.
- Schergel, H. 'Aus Fernost ein "Kätzchen fürs Leben"', in *Tourismus, Prostitution, Entwicklung, Dokumente* (ed.: Zentrum für Entwicklungsbezogene Bildung, Stuttgart, 1983, pp. 89–92).
- Schmidt, A. *The Concept of Nature in Marx* (New Left Books, London, 1973).
- Schwarzer, A. *So fing es an* (Emma Buch, Köln, 1980).
- Singh, N. *Economics and the Crisis of Ecology* (Oxford University Press, Delhi, 1976).
- 'The Gaia Hypothesis: An Evaluation', discussion paper no. 9, Zakir Hussain Centre for Educational Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, 1980.
- Sistren Theatre Collective. 'Women's Theatre in Jamaica', *Grassroots Development*, vol. 7, no. 2, 1983, p. 44.
- Slocum, S. 'Woman the Gatherer', in Reiter, R. R. (ed.): *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1975).
- Sohn-Rehel, A. *Geistige und körperliche Arbeit* (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1972).
- *Warenform und Denkform* (Suhrkamp, Frankfurt, 1978).
- Sombart, W. *Liebe, Luxus und Kapitalismus: Über die Entstehung der modernen Welt aus dem Geist der Verschwendung* (Wagenbachs Taschenbücherei 103, Berlin, reprint from 1922: Luxus und Kapitalismus).
- Srinivas, M. N. 'A Note on Sanscritization and Westernization', *The Far Eastern Quarterly*, vol. XV, November 1955–August 1956, pp. 492–536.
- *Social Change in Modern India* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1966).
- Srivastava, A. 'Police did it again', *Frontier*, 9 December 1978.
- Stoler, A. 'Social History and Labour Control: A Feminist Perspective on Facts and Fiction', in Mies, M. (ed.): *Fighting on Two Fronts: Women's Struggles and Research* (Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1982).
- Tangargo, L. 'The Family in Western Science and Ideology: A Critique from the Periphery', Master's Thesis (Women and Development), Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, 1982.
- Than-Dam, T. 'Social Consciousness and the Vietnamese Women's Movement in the 20th Century', unpublished paper, Institute of Social Studies, Women & Development, 1984.
- Thomson, G. *Studies in Ancient Greek Society: The Prehistoric Aegean* (Clarendon Press, New York, 1965).
- Thompson, L. 'State, Collective and Household. The Process of Accumulation in China 1949–65', in: Smith, J., Wallerstein, I. & H. D. Evers (eds.): *Households and the World Economy* (Sage, London, 1984, pp. 180–198).
- Thönnessen, W. *Frauenemanzipation, Politik und Literatur der deutschen Sozialdemokratie zur Frauenbewegung 1863–1933* (Europäische Verlagsanstalt, Frankfurt, 1969).
- Tiger, L. *Men in Groups* (Random House, New York, 1969).
- & R. Fox. *The Imperial Animal* (Holt, Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1971).
- Tourismus, Prostitution, Entwicklung, Dokumente. Ed.: Zentrum für Entwicklungsbezogene Bildung (ZEB), Stuttgart, 1983.
- Turnbull, C. M. *The Forest People: A Study of the Pygmies of the Congo* (Simon and Schuster, New York, 1961).
- Ullrich, W. *Weltniveau* (EVA, Frankfurt, 1979).
- Unidad de Comunicación Alternativa de la Mujer – ILET, publicaciones alternativas de grupos de mujeres en america latina, Santiago, Chile, 1984.
- Urdang, S. *Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau* (Monthly Review Press, New York, 1979).
- Vargas-Valente, V. 'The Feminist Movement in Peru: Balance and Perspectives', paper presented at Women's Symposium of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences (IUAES), Intercongress, Amsterdam, 23–24 April, 1981.
- de Vries, P. 'Feminism in the Netherlands', *International Women's Studies Quarterly*, London, 1981.
- Wallerstein, I. *The Modern World-System: Capitalist Agriculture and the Origins of the European World Economy in the Sixteenth Century* (Academic Press, New York, San Francisco, and London, 1974).
- Weinbaum, B. 'Women in Transition to Socialism: Perspectives on the Chinese Case', *Review of Radical Political Economics*, vol. 8, no. 1, 1976, pp. 34–58.
- & A. Bridges. 'Die andere Seite der Gehaltsliste: Das Monopolkapital und die Struktur der Konsumtion', *Monthly Review*, no. 3, September 1976, pp. 87–103.
- von Werthof, C. 'Frauenarbeit, der blinde Fleck in der Kritik der Politischen



- Ökonomie', *Beiträge zur feministischen Theorie und Praxis*, no. 1, München, 1978.
- 'Women's Work: The Blind Spot in the Critique of Political Economy', *Journades D'Estudi sobre el Patriarcat*, Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona, 1980.
- \_\_\_\_\_, M. Mies & V. Bennhold-Thomsen. *Frauen, die letzte Kolonie* (tororo aktuell, Technik u. Politik, no. 20, Reinbeck, 1983).
- 'New Agricultural Co-operatives on the Basis of Sexual Polarization Induced by the State: The Model Co-operative "Cumaripa", Venezuela', *Boletín de Estudios Latino-americanos y del Caribe*, no. 35, Amsterdam, December 1983, pp. 39-50.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 'The Proletarian is Dead. Long live the housewife?' in: Wallerstein et al.: *Households and the World Economy* (Sage, New York, 1984).
- 'Der Weiße Mann versucht noch einmal durchzustarten. Zur Kritik dual-wirtschaftlicher Ansätze', *Kommune*, 2 Jhrg, no. 11, 2 November 1984, p. 61.
- Werner, J. 'Socialist Development: The Political Economy of Agrarian Reform in Vietnam', *Bulletin of Concerned Asian Scholars*, vol. 16, no. 2, 1984, pp. 48-55.
- White, C. 'Women and Socialist Development: Reflections on the Case of Vietnam', paper presented at PSA Conference, Exeter University, April 1980.
- Wolf-Graat, A. *Frauenarbeit im Absseits* (Frauenoffensive, München, 1981).
- Women and Fascism Study Group. *Breeders for Race and Nation: Women and Fascism in Britain Today* (Bread and Roses, London, 1982).
- Women in Russia. Almanac, Zamisdat, 1981.
- Wood, R.E. 'The Economics of Tourism', *Southeast Asia Chronicle*, no. 78, 1979.
- World Bank. *Integrating Women into Development* (Washington DC, 1975).
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Recognizing the 'Invisible' Woman in Development. The World Bank's Experience* (Washington DC, 1979).
- Yamben, S. 'The Nupi Lan: Women's War of Manipur 1939', *Economic and Political Weekly*, 21 February 1976.
- Youssef, N. & C.B. Heter. 'Rural Households Headed by Women: A Priority Concern for Development', World Employment Programme Research, working paper, WEP, 10/WP.31, ILO, Geneva, 1984.
- Zetkin, C. *Zur Geschichte der proletarischen Frauenbewegung Deutschlands* (Verlag Roter Stern, Frankfurt, 1971, reprint).
- Newspapers, Magazines, Documentation**
- Der Spiegel*, no. 43/1984.
- Economic and Political Weekly*, 26 July 1980.
- Indian Express*, 10 December 1980.
- Maitrey*, no. 1, April-May 1982.
- Maitrey*, no. 4, October-November 1982.
- Sunday*, 27 July 1980.
- Sunday Mail*, Harare, 27 November 1983.
- Sunday Statesman*, 10 August 1980.
- The Times of India*, 15 June 1980.

## Index

- abortion: liberalized 15; laws 24;  
campaigns for abolition of abortion  
laws 25-6  
13, 17, 34, 35, 49, 71,  
193, 197  
additions 208, 221  
agriculturalists 63-6  
agro-business 117, 133-4  
anti-imperialism 175, 177  
autarky 219-20  
autonomy: concept of 40-1; over bodies  
and life 212, 222; over consumption  
225-8; over production 228-9; economic-  
autonomy 70; sexual autonomy 70  
autonomous women's groups: 9, 24, 28,  
29; in Latin America 9; in India 9;  
organization 41  
Bacon, F. 75, 84-5, 87, 88  
Balasubrahmanyan, V. 152  
Bardhan, P. 159  
Bebel, A. 178  
Bennhold-Thomsen, V. 34, 131  
biological determinism 45, 52  
biological reductionism 11  
birth control, method 54 *see also* popula-  
tion  
Bishop, M. 204  
Bodin, J. 83-4  
body: female 24; as means of production  
170; politics 24, 26, 28, 230-2; as  
productive 53  
bourgeois revolution 17, 18, 20  
boycott 225-6  
Brahmins 161  
bride price 157, 161  
Buddhism 93  
Caldwell, Malcolm 219-21  
capital, reproduction of 34  
capital accumulation: 13, 17, 34, 49, 71;  
primitive: 83-90/and colonialism 88-96/  
ongoing 145, 170/and the witch-hunt  
83-8  
capitalist: accumulation process 17, 39;  
(or socialist) patriarchal production  
relations 23, 77; patriarchs 68; world  
economy 35, 39, 68, 112-13; -world  
market 39; -world-system 11, 35, 113  
capitalism: 11, 17, 38, 46, 67-71, 170;  
and luxury 100-103; and violence  
against women 170  
Caribbean Association for Feminist  
Research and Action (CAFRA) 9  
'Civilized Society' 13, 14, 26  
Childe, G. 55  
China: 124-5, 177, 181-8; anti-Confucius  
campaign 183; collectivization 183;  
cultural revolution 183; great leap  
forward 183; marriage reform 182;  
modernization 184, 185  
class: establishment of 66; struggle 8  
clitoridectomy 8, 165, 168  
coercion: 66; arms as means of 62, 63;  
economic 27, 71; extra-economic  
69-71  
colonies/colonialism/colonization:  
colonies 14, 89-90; German colonies  
97-9; internal and external 201;  
household as colony 32; women, the  
last colony 202; colonialism 11, 17,  
18; African women under 94-5, 97-100;  
women under British, French and  
Portuguese 90-5; women under Dutch  
95-6; women under German 87-100;  
colonization 74; and primitive accumu-  
lation 88-96, 99; and housewifization  
74-110, 102-103, 110  
commissions for the emancipation of  
women 15  
computerization 114, 215