Published by Ravan Press (Pty) Ltd PO Box 31134 Braamfontein 2017 South Africa

© Susan Bazilli, 1991

First published 1991

ISBN 0 86975 422 X

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted by any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without he prior permission of the copyright owner.

Cover by Ravan Press Typesetting and design by Ravan Press Printed and bound by Clyson Printers, Cape Town

Contents

Preface Contributors	vii ix
Introduction	1
Putting Women on the Agenda Jacklyn Cock	27
Putting Women into the Constitution Christina Murray and Catherine O'Regan	33
Theories of Equality: Some Thoughts for South Africa Linda Zama	57
Women and the Elephant: The Need to Redress Gender Oppression Frene Ginwala	62
Promoting Gender Equality in South Africa Brigitte Mahandla	75
The ANC Constitutional Guidelines in Process: A Feminist Reading Dorothy Driver	82
Capitalising on African Strengths: Women, Welfare and the Law	
Sandra Burman	103

vi	Conten
Women's Rights and the Family in Traditional and Customary Law Thandabantu Nhlapo	111
The Family in South African Politics: Conceptualising Progressive Change Nolulamo N Gwagwa	124
A Critical Discussion of the Law on Rape in Namibia Dianne Hubbard	134
Working Against Violence Against Women: Recommendations from Rape Crisis (Cape Town) Desirée Hansson	180
Paying for Stolen Kisses? The Law and Sexual Harassment in South Africa Carla Sutherland	194
Women and Reproductive Rights Helen Rees	209
Women and Law in Post-independence Zimbabwe: Experiences and Lessons Mary Maboreke	217
Namibian Independence Bience Gawanas	248
Gender Equality under the Botswana Constitution Unity Dow	256
Women and Equality Rights in Canada: Sobering Reflections, Impossible Choices Elizabeth A Sheehy	262
,	
Appendix 1	277
Appendix 2	282
Appendix 3	286

Preface

The contributions to this book originated as papers presented at a conference entitled *Putting Women on the Agenda*, organised by Lawyers for Human Rights, and held at the University of the Witwatersrand during Johannesburg in November 1990.

Some of the papers appear in the form in which they were presented at the conference; others have been revised by the authors to include some of the discussion that occurred at the conference itself. The length and style of the papers varies greatly. However, that should not detract from the importance of this collection. Rather, it should be seen in the context of the various debates and discussions taking place in South and Southern Africa about feminism, women and law, and the constitutional dispensation.

Many more people participated in presentations at the conference than are represented here, and their contributions should be acknowledged regardless of the fact that they did not prepare formal papers.

This book is not addressed specifically to lawyers, to academics, or to women alone. The current debate to formulate policies on gender issues involves everyone. But first and foremost, this contribution hopes to empower women to participate in all the crucial aspects of the transformation of South Africa.

It is hoped that these essays will be used as a basis for discussion and education in analysing the complexities of gender, race and class in the South African context. They should be seen as a contribution to the putting of women on the agenda for change.

Thanks is due to DANIDA (Denmark), the Canadian Embassy, the French Embassy, and Lawyers for Human Rights, who provided the financial support necessary to organise the conference; and to Interfund, which assisted in meeting the costs of publishing these essays.

Susan Bazilli Johannesburg

Contributors

SUSAN BAZILLI holds degrees in sociology and a law degree from Osgoode Hall Law School in Toronto, Canada. She has worked as a community and feminist activist and has practised law in the areas of labour, sex discrimination and gender equality. After spending some time as a legal researcher and journalist in South Africa, she organised the *Putting Women on the Agenda* conference.

SANDRA BURMAN is a Wingate Research Fellow at Queen Elizabeth House, University of Oxford, and holds a research fellowship at the University of Cape Town, where she directs the Socio-Legal Unit. Her publications have included books on the imposition of law, on women and work, and on childhood in South Africa. Over the past decade her research has focused on the effects of urbanisation and apartheid legislation on legal and family structures.

JACKLYN COCK is an associate professor of sociology at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg. She has been involved in struggles around feminist issues, the environment, and militarism for many years. An activist in the Black Sash, the End Conscription Campaign and Earthlife Africa, she is the author of numerous publications, including *Maids and Madams*.

UNITY DOW practises law in Gaborone, Botswana. Recently, she successfully challenged the citizenship laws of Botswana, forcing legislators to give equal citizenship rights to women and children. She is presently setting up a human rights centre in Gaborone.

DOROTHY DRIVER is a senior lecturer in the Department of English Language and Literature at the University of Cape Town. Besides the contribution in this volume, and a previous essay on women and the ANC, she has published essays on South African women writers, and was recently awarded the Pringle Prize for Literary Articles for "Woman" as Sign in the South African Colonial Enterprise', *Journal of Literary Studies*, 1, 1988, pp1–20. Her book on Pauline Smith is forthcoming from David Philip Publishers.

BIENCE GAWANAS is a Namibian advocate who spent many years in exile before independence. She worked at the Legal Assistance Centre before taking up a recent appointment as one of only two women on the new Public Service Commission. She is, however, first and foremost an activist who has worked for many years with Swapo and the Swapo Women's Council in exile.

FRENE GINWALA holds several law degrees and is a member of the British Bar. She also has a PhD in political economy. Presently she is the Director of Research for the Office of the President of the African National Congress and has written extensively on policy issues for the ANC.

NOLULAMO GWAGWA studied at the University of the Transkei, completed her MSc at the London School of Economics, and is currently working on a PhD on low income resource allocation for housing and urban planning. Her research involves gender and policy issues with regard to housing, local government, and urban planning.

DESIRÉE HANSSON holds a BSc Hons (Natal); M Soc Sc (Cape Town); and MA Clin Psych (Cape Town). She is a senior lecturer in the Institute of Criminology at the University of Cape Town and the chair of the Social Justice Resource Project. A registered clinical psychologist, a consultant in areas of women and law, and an active member of Rape Crisis (Cape Town), she is also a co-editor of *Towards Justice? Crime and State Control in South Africa*.

DIANNE HUBBARD received her law degree from Harvard Law School. Her publications include *Crisis in Crossroads: A Report on Human Rights in South Africa*, published by the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights in New York. She is presently a legal researcher in Namibia and is involved in a number of projects relating to women and the law. She is a member of Women's Solidarity, an activist women's organisation in Windhoek.

BRIGITTE MABANDLA, who holds a law degree from the University of Zambia, is a member of the constitutional committee of the African National Congress and the convenor of a sub-committee on gender and children. She is presently a human rights research officer in the Community Law Centre at the University of the Western Cape, focusing on gender in constitution making and researching the legal status of children in South Africa.

MARY MABOREKE teaches in the Faculty of Law at the University of Zimbabwe in Harare. She completed her MPhil in Zimbabwe, in association with the University of Oslo, on a study of custody and maintenance and their effects on women. She teaches Women's Law, amongst other courses, and is a member of the Women and Law in Southern Africa Research Project.

CHRISTINA MURRAY is an associate professor in the Department of Public Law at the University of Cape Town. Her main interests are in constitutional law, human rights law, women and law and contract. She is an editor of the South African Journal on Human Rights and co-edited No Place to Rest: Forced Removals and the Law in South Africa with Catherine O'Regan.

THANDABANTU NHLAPO has a BA (Law) from the University of Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, an LLB from the University of Glasgow, and a DPhil from the University of Oxford for his research on 'Women's Rights in Traditional Family Law'. He is presently a senior lecturer at the University of Cape Town, teaching family and customary law. His primary area of interest is human rights in domestic law with an emphasis on women and children. He has published numerous articles, and was co-author, with Alice Armstrong, of Law and the Other Sex: The Legal Position of Women in Swaziland.

CATHERINE O'REGAN is a senior lecturer in the Department of Criminal and Procedural Law at the University of Cape Town, specialising in the areas of procedure, labour and gender. She holds a PhD from the London School of Economics, is the present editor of the IMSSA Arbitration Digest and was the co-editor, with Christina Murray, of No Place to Rest: Forced Removals and the Law in South Africa.

HELEN REES is a medical practitioner in Johannesburg, the women's health representative of the National Medical and Dental Association, and a lecturer in Family Medicine at the University of the Witwatersrand. She serves on the board of the Women's Health Project and is a regular contributor to *Speak* magazine.

ELIZABETH SHEEHY is an associate professor of Law at the University of Ottawa, Canada, where she teaches Criminal Law and Women and the Law. She is co-editor of the *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* and is on the Board of Directors of Lawyers Against Apartheid (Ottawa). She has written extensively on women and the law, and her article 'Canadian Judges and the Law of Rape: Should the Charter Insulate Bias?' was awarded the Marion Porter prize for the most significant feminist research article in 1990.

CARLA SUTHERLAND is a researcher for the Committee of Enquiry into Sexual Harassment at the University of Cape Town. This committee, established in 1990, was the first of its kind in Southern Africa. As such she is recognised as one of the experts in this field in South Africa.

LINDA ZAMA is a practising human rights attorney in Durban, and a member of several organisations and commissions. She is secretary of the National Association of Democratic Lawyers, and works with grassroots organisations on issues affecting human rights.