

THE AFRICAN FAMILY TODAY

In South Africa, as elsewhere in Africa - and indeed throughout the world - traditional kinship systems are changing extensively in response to the new conditions set by a modern industrial economy. New needs have been awakened by the availability of a whole new range of material goods, services and amenities. Money has to be earned, chiefly in the towns which are the centres of production, to meet these new needs. This new impersonal medium of exchange is replacing the traditional system of personal reciprocities and stimulating an individualism which is characteristic of the modern world. Modern medicine in its widest sense is reducing the death rate and prolonging the life span. The African population in the Republic, which was $3\frac{1}{2}$ million at the beginning of the century, is now estimated to be $12\frac{3}{4}$ million and to reach 28 million by the year 2,000. Increasing population pressure in the Reserves has brought about an acute shortage of land and made the people ever more dependent on wage-earning elsewhere for basic necessities. The traditional subsistence economy, upon which the extended family was based and which enabled it to be a self-sufficient economic unit, is unable to support the family under modern conditions and meet its cash requirements for tax, school fees and other essentials. Consequently there has been a large-scale redistribution of the African population. Whereas at the beginning of the century 10% of the African people were in the urban areas, today the proportion is almost one third, some $3\frac{1}{2}$ million persons.

Before attempting to describe the shape of the present-day African family, it might be helpful briefly to outline the main characteristics of the traditional family as it functioned in tribal society in South Africa. I realize, of course, that there was no one traditional family and that the different tribal groups varied in a number of ways. But it is generally agreed that these differences were of minor significance compared with the predominant features common to them.

To begin with the establishment of a new family: in traditional society marriage was primarily a contract between two groups of kin, a contract that was sealed by the transfer of lobolo from the family of the bridegroom to that of the bride. This does not mean that the personal wishes of the bride and bridegroom played no part, but it does mean an entirely different emphasis from that of today where individual choice based on personal compatibility and feelings of romantic love are the main-spring of modern marriage. Traditional marriage meant that the family of the bridegroom was acquiring a new member for its group, who would live in the homestead of her husband's father and bear children who would be members of his lineage. Unlike today, where marriage usually means setting up a new unit which lives on its own, traditional marriage meant enlarging and perpetuating the husband's homestead. If a woman was unable to have children, her kin had to provide another woman or forfeit the lobolo - for the main function of lobolo was to transfer to the husband's group the right to the children born of the marriage. Fertility was a primary value in traditional society, a value which is still of importance to many Africans, particularly to the men.

The homestead consisted of a group of people: a man, his wives, one or more of their married sons with their wives and children, unmarried daughters and frequently one or more additional relatives, forming an extended family. Within this extended family, husband, wife and children - the elementary family - formed one segment among others. Unlike the modern western family which consists of a nucleus or core of husband, wife and their children surrounded by a fringe of blood relatives on both the mother's and the father's side, the traditional family consisted of a core of blood relations of the father's line surrounded by a fringe of wives (1). This obviously affected the nature of the marriage relationship which did not prescribe the close inter-action, emotional dependency, shared activity and companionship which are the ideal standards of partners in a modern elementary family. In a traditional household it was more important for the young wife to get on well with her mother-in-law, with whom she was more closely associa-

ted than with her husband.

The traditional system emphasised the principles of seniority, authority passing down the patrilineal line, male domination and female subordination. The extended family, in addition to being a residential unit, was economically self-sufficient, itself producing practically all its own requirements, and a religious unit, with the head of the household acting as priest and maintaining the all-important connection between the dead ancestors and their living descendants.

The two points I would like to emphasize, because I think they particularly influenced the nature of people's lives and also the process of moulding and shaping the oncoming generation are, first, the opportunities the extended family gave for forming a relatively wide range of close personal attachments and, secondly, the clear definition of behaviour patterns between different categories of kin. Broadly, it was the father and his relatives who exercised authority, and to them deference and respect had to be given. The mother's relatives, particularly her brother, were indulgent and close, showing open affection and inviting intimacy and familiarity. While I do not want to give the impression that behaviour was automatically regulated or that differences of personality were not of great importance, it does seem that the child was, from earliest childhood, brought into contact with a widening circle of people, first in the homestead and then in the wider kinship group, linked to him by a precise relationship, to whom he knew how to behave and from whom he could in turn expect certain predictable forms of behaviour. Holleman says, "In the traditional social pattern, the life of an individual, man, woman or child, is wrapped up in an intricately woven, carefully balanced and very widespread fabric of kinship relations. In this 'web of kinship' ... a person's social position is more or less nicely balanced between relatives (by blood or by marriage) who are superior, and those who are subordinate. This is not merely a matter of formality, of taking care to use the correct form of address. It involves a code of behaviour and a

pattern of social order in which every person meeting another person within this web of kinship, is either expected to extend service, obedience or courtesy to the other, or is entitled to receive it. Depending on the particular type or nearness of the relationship, these social obligations are discharged with varying measures of familiarity. The point to remember is that these relations are so widespread that they involve most of the people with whom a person regularly comes into contact with the neighbourhood" (2). Holleman happened to be speaking at the time of Africans in Southern Rhodesia, but I think that his remarks are equally applicable in South Africa, where kinship likewise formed the basis of the social structure.

Apart from the period boys and girls spent at initiation schools, which were held in most tribes, education was an informal process, chiefly learning by doing, predominantly in the home and on the fields in the company of the mother and other female relatives for girls, and in the cattle-kraals and pastures in the company of their own and older age groups for boys. The child's own age and play group and that of the next older group seemingly exerted a determining influence in securing conformity to the prevailing rules. Studies of the Xhosa have analysed how these groups controlled the expression of two of the individual's strongest instinctual drives - aggression and sex - and prevented young men in their regular stick fights and in their sex relations with girls from over-stepping socially approved boundaries. In keeping with the attitude which held that regular sexual satisfaction was the normal requirement of every adult, whether married or unmarried, pre-marital sex intercourse was a recognised institution. But, as illegitimacy was strongly condemned and subject to various sanctions, only external intercourse was permitted (ukusoma in Zulu, ukunetsha in Xhosa). Krige (3) reports that among the Zulu and Mpondo, defilement brought shame on the whole age group of girls, who would maltreat the guilty girl as punishment. The taunts, mockery and other forms of punishment inflicted by the age group on a young man or woman who went further than the per-

mitted form of pre-marital sex relations, together with periodic examinations of the girl to see if she was still intact, and the fine levied on the man, appear to have ensured that few children were born out of wedlock.

The extended family, together with other relatives on both the paternal and the maternal side, many of whom lived nearby, formed a large section of the people with whom an individual associated. It was not the only group to which he belonged. He associated with neighbours, drank with them, hunted with them, joined them in occasional work parties, he went to an initiation school, he might belong to a regiment. But the extended family fulfilled, in addition to its primary purpose of procreation, educational, economic and religious functions which the family of today shares with specialized agencies, such as schools and churches, which did not exist in traditional society. Consequently the individual carried out far more of his activities within the family than today and the traditional family exercised a greater degree of control over its members than can the modern family. On the one hand, this type of system restricted choice and freedom of action, because without the family and the support of the kin, on whom a man depended for his lobolo cattle and a wife for her allocation of land, a person would be alone indeed. On the other hand, it offered protection, emotional and economic security. The system was, obviously, not free of strains and tensions. No group composed of human beings with their diverse endowments and differing temperaments can be free of strains. The many accounts of witchcraft accusations, particularly among co-wives, of rivalries between sons for the succession, of married sons being driven out of the family homestead or themselves defiantly leaving, point to conflicts and tensions. But from the accounts that have been written, it appears that the traditional family was a relatively stable unit, and that children on the whole grew up to accept the patterns of the society and to become as their mothers and fathers were before them.

Nowhere, neither in country but more parti-

cularly in town, has this traditional family system been maintained unchanged, but the incidence of change varies considerably. The general tendency is for the homestead to become smaller, the extended family to shrink, and the wider kinship bonds to weaken. Reader, for example, says "Visible changes are taking place in the traditional Zulu kinship system which the Makhanya have always observed" (4). He found an average number of seven persons per homestead in the Makhanya tribal area and that 44% of the homestead consisted solely of parents and children (5). People tended, he says, to be concerned only with their immediate relations - parents, father's brother and mother's brother, brother and sister, wife and parents-in-law. All the remaining relatives were receding into the background, unless a close association developed because of the accident of living near together or because of purely individual preference.

This likewise appears to be true of the towns where, as Wilson says, (6) "It appears that only primary and secondary relationships are of much importance, that is, parents and children, grandparents and grandchildren, brothers and sisters and their children". But it must be stressed that even more distant relations who normally see little of each other do come together and help each other when a family is in distress, particularly at times of death and illness. This appears to be the case in town and country and to maintain the connection between rural and urban kin. While the wider kin group no longer co-operates closely as it did formerly, kinship relationship even among the wider kin group have not dissolved and relationships which have long lain dormant can be, and often are, re-activated in times of need. Prosperity, it may be added, also often has the same effect as many a successful businessman, saddled by a horde of newly discovered relations clamouring for help, will ruefully attest.

One of the reasons for the smaller homestead in the country is the infrequency of polygyny nowadays. Christian marriage is by definition monogamous, but it is becoming increasingly rare for non-Christians to have more than one wife (about 5% among

the Makhanya). Furthermore, shortage of land often prevents the homestead from supporting married sons and their families. Moreover many present-day husbands and wives do not want to live with the husband's parents, the wife particularly objecting to live under the supervision of her mother-in-law. In this respect, as in many others, there are marked differences between what are called the School people, that is people, the majority of whom are Christians, who have had some education and have broadly accepted the values associated with Christianity and the modern world, the conservative section - the so-called Red or Blanket people - who reject Christianity and resist, to the maximum extent possible, the forces of modernization (17). Vilakazi, in his book, Zulu Transformations, described many differences between Christian and non-Christian families living in the Nyuswa Reserve not only in religious practices and ritual, but in family relationships and the rearing of children. The patriarchal pattern is more evident in non-Christian families, while in many Christian families wives are resentful of male authority, family interference and want to be treated as their husband's equals. Vilakazi found that the 14% of homesteads which consisted only of mother, father and children, with no other relatives living there were mostly Christian (8).

Migrant labour has, obviously, important effects on the family, more pronounced in reserves far away from centres of employment than in those, such as the one Vilakazi deals with in the Valley of the Thousand Hills near to Durban, where workers can commute home at least for week-ends. In Keiskammahoek it was found that 45% of the adult men and 15% of the adult women were away working (9). To each square mile of land there were 53 children and aged persons, 19 adult women and 8 adult men workers (10). This affects, firstly, the composition of the family which shows, not only abnormality in structure because of the absence of nearly half the adult men, but also a wide range of variation. Working wives or unmarried mothers leave their children with relatives while they are away. A man may likewise prefer to have his wife and children stay in the homestead of relatives during his absence. Further, as these people come and go,

there is constant change in the membership of the families. What effects this has on the emotional security of the children has not, to my knowledge, been studied. That prolonged separation of husband and wife imperils the marriage requires no emphasis. The effects are reflected in the finding in Keiskamma-hock that slightly more than two-fifths of the homesteads had female heads, most of them said to be widows, the remainder divorced, deserted or unmarried mothers (11).

As one would expect, it is in the towns that changes in the composition and functions of the family and in the patterns of behaviour between its members are most marked. In the rural areas, change came gradually. In towns it was more sudden and all-encompassing. Housing in towns is designed for the elementary family and makes no provision for settlement on a kin basis, even if the kin are present and if differences in education and economic standard are not great enough to make the different elementary families want to live apart from each other. While it is true that in the rural areas the kinship structure is disintegrating, the process has proceeded much further in the towns. There the family is on its own, no longer embedded in the web of kinship which was the basis of the traditional system, one amongst thousands of other separate units differing in origin and customs, in standard of living and level of education, in the values they hold and the beliefs they profess. Before every member of a family, a vast choice of personal relationships presents itself: and also of membership of different groups or associations. "For the townsman", says Wilson, "the transformation from a society based primarily on kinship to one based on association is complete (12)."

The emphasis here is on the structure of the total society, today composed of a multitude of different organisations and groupings, formal and informal. It does not mean that the family as such, in this case the elementary family, has lost its primacy. In all societies the family is the basic social unit and its functions are of supreme importance. Although formal

education is given in schools and universities the child is largely shaped within the family. The pattern of personal relationships formed within the family is regarded as influencing the nature of the relationships an individual will form throughout his life. The degree of emotional support found within the family is of vital importance. Furthermore, although the family is no longer a unit of production, it remains a unit of consumption, the household depending on the earnings brought in by its members for shared essentials.

Implicit in what I have already said is what I regard as the urban family's most noticeable characteristic: its variety. There is no one pattern of urban African family life. There are many changing patterns of behaviour within the family, many different adaptations between the traditional and the modern. Income, occupation and education, length of urban residence - quite apart from personal attributes - affect these patterns.

That it is, on average, somewhat smaller in size than even the present-day rural family is shown by available figures. In June 1966, the size of families in Soweto varied from 3.39 persons for sub-tenants to 5.29 for registered tenants, with an overall-average of 5.16 (13). Surveys conducted by the Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa have shown slightly higher averages, varying from 5.6 in Johannesburg's south-western townships in 1962 to 6.3 in Pretoria.

Of the actual composition of these families we know very little, certainly as far as Johannesburg is concerned because this type of investigation has not been undertaken. In the past there was certainly considerable fluctuation in the family, children being sent to relatives in the country and children from the country being sent to towns: similarly wives moved around going to the country on extended visits or for the birth of a baby. Obviously this free movement took place before women were required to carry passes and before the present rigid application of influx control. It is my impression that there is today far

less mobility within the family and that most of the families consist of parents and children frequently, however, augmented by grandchildren, particularly the children of daughters. The Market Research Survey found only an average of .33 people per household who were not members of the elementary family.

In East London, where Pauw carried out a detailed survey of 105 urban-born households, the picture is rather different. Only one-fifth of the families consisted solely of mother, father and children and there was considerable variety in the household composition. There were 86 people, of whom only 9 were not kin, other than mothers, fathers, children or grandchildren attached to the household - a higher proportion than is apparently present in Johannesburg. He found that nearly half the families consisted of more than two generations, with the large number of 101 grandchildren present, the majority children of daughters. As in Keiskammahoek, more than two-fifths of the family heads were women, of whom one quarter were unmarried mothers. His main conclusions were that, contrary to the traditional pattern, families tended to extend by the addition of the mother's, not the father's relatives. And, more important, that while the elementary family was the basic type, it showed a strong tendency to lose the father at an early stage, (14) in other words, unstable marriage and a considerable proportion of broken families.

Judging by the returns for Soweto, which show that 18% of the families had female heads, the situation may be different in Johannesburg. On the other hand, in the older-established Eastern Bantu Township, 41% of its 660 families have women as family heads. Possibly this is an indication of a trend that will become more marked in Soweto at a later stage.

The contraction in the size of the family and the likelihood that most families consist only of parents and children means a much greater emotional interdependence within the small family nucleus. Parents are called on to accept responsibilities and

functions - educational, economic and emotional - that were formerly carried out by a group of kin.

In a number of families, new patterns of behaviour between husband and wife and between parents and children have developed which meet the demands of these new conditions. In such households, there is close co-operation between husband and wife, consultation about money matters, the children's education, and other concerns. There are shared activities, such as visiting or going to church together. In some families, the children are drawn into this companionable atmosphere and encouraged to talk freely with their parents. The father helps them with their homework and regards himself as jointly responsible with his wife for their upbringing. It seems to me that this pattern is regarded as the ideal to be aimed at by professional and middle class women, although by no means all men of the same status share this aspiration, and its attainment is very infrequent, confined chiefly to middle class families in which husband and wife have similar levels of relatively good education.

It is far more common to find families under strain because of the unresolved conflict between the husband's patriarchal conduct and the wife's new role as wage-earner, manager of the household budget and educator of the children. Men, including educated men, seem to resist the emancipation of women which modern conditions promote. The cry of many women is that husbands continue to exercise an aloof authority and to demand unquestioning obedience from wife and children, while at the same time refusing to co-operate in bringing up the children and, in many cases, making their fair contribution to household expenditure. There is little evidence of a desire by women to usurp the man's position as head of the home, but what they want is more communication and co-operation, particularly in regard to the children's upbringing. Women seem, on the whole, more willing to adapt to the new situation than the men, who appear to fear that a more equal relationship and a more permissive attitude will mean the loss of position and authority. And, in some families where the wife is

more educated than her husband, particularly if she earns more than he does, this fear is not groundless for the husband is made to feel inferior.

I think it would be generally agreed that it is the women more than the men who bear the brunt of the inevitable strain of transition. Their difficulties are increased by their ambiguous status: legally the majority are still subject to Bantu customary law while in fact they conduct their activities, economic particularly, within the framework of the common law. In Natal, but only in Natal, unmarried, widowed and divorced African women can apply to the Court of the Bantu Commissioner to be emancipated from the control of a father or guardian which, if granted, enables them to exercise the same rights as a man, own property, make contracts and so on. Elsewhere women remain perpetual minors in law, subject to the control of a guardian who is the husband if the woman is married, her father if she is unmarried or one of a number of other male relatives determined by traditional laws of succession if the husband or father has died. This can have the effect of entitling a distant relative of the husband to claim the property a widow bought with her own earnings. Women could be protected if, before they married under the common law, an ante-nuptial contract were drawn up by a lawyer giving the woman the right of independent control of her earnings and property. If, moreover, the practice of drawing up written wills were to be followed by more people, a great deal of hardship could be avoided*

* In order to ensure that the estate - for example of a man married out of community of property or by Native Customary Union to his wife or of a father to his daughter - does not fall under the control of the legal guardian in the first case or of the husband in the second, the testator must explicitly state in his will that what is bequeathed shall be in the sole control of the beneficiary and not subject to the husband's marital power or to the control of any other person. This will prevent the estate becoming subject to the control of the man who, in terms of Bantu law, is the guardian of the beneficiary.

In many cases - in civil marriages out of community of property, in Native Customary Unions, as well as in longstanding unions not formalized by traditional or common law - on the death of the husband, women together with their children find themselves deprived of property and savings because the man did not make a will. This particular cause of suffering could be prevented if the husband is co-operative and is prepared to have a will drawn up.

From time to time women have pointed to the need to make the registration of a Native Customary Union compulsory so that women not married under the common law of the country can prove they are married. There are occasions when it is necessary to be able to prove that they are or were married. The fact that men have been reluctant to support this proposal - the Johannesburg Joint Advisory Board, for instance, not having done so - is one of the signs of the differing attitudes of men and women today. On the other hand, a number of Advisory Boards, including the Joint Board in Johannesburg, have vehemently protested against a directive issued by the Department of Bantu Administration some two years ago, instructing local authorities to remove all widowed, divorced and separated women from the waiting lists for municipal houses. The men, in this regard, have made common cause with the women and have shown their understanding of the hardship caused to women - all of whom have qualified to reside in the town in terms of the Natives Urban Areas Act - by restricting them to being subtenants of registered occupiers. For many women, particularly those with more than one or two children, this virtually means expulsion from the town, for there are, understandably enough, very few registered occupiers prepared to sub-let within their small four-roomed houses to another large family.

Lobelo, chiefly in the form of money, is still paid not only in Native Customary Unions but in the majority of marriages contracted by civil and/or Christian rites. It is clear that it no longer serves, as it did in traditional society, to involve two sets of kin in joint concern to safeguard the marriage. Nor do the former rules relating to repay-

ment if the wife misbehaves apply. "Cattle stay, money melts", is the terse comment of today. It is, I understand, practically impossible for a man to obtain repayment of the lobolo, even if the break-up of the marriage is entirely his wife's fault. Moreover, in many Christian marriages, the bride's parents spend the total amount of the lobolo on clothes for the bride and the wedding reception. A number of African women are of the opinion that lobolo accentuates a man's self-assertiveness and his determination, as one woman put it, "to get his money's worth". Such women emphatically declare that lobolo serves no useful purpose whatsoever, and that the sooner it is done away with, the better. On the other hand, many women, including professional and career women, feel that lobolo - the amount of which is now related to the bride's education and occupation - is a recognition of their worth. They feel that marriage without lobolo lessens a woman's prestige and dignity. The debate about lobolo is an old one and the conflicting points of view are likely to persist. I think there is no doubt that the custom is being commercialized. It is also clear that insistence on payment of all or the major part of the lobolo before marriage often causes its lengthy postponement and, not infrequently, is followed by the break-up of the relationship, leaving an unmarried mother and her children with her parents.

I said earlier that polygynous marriages are very infrequent: it is practically unknown for a man to have more than one legal wife present in town with him. But while marriages may be monogamous in form, polygynous attitudes are still widely held. The belief that a man is entitled to access to a number of women is still widespread. Marital unfaithfulness is said to be of common occurrence, chiefly among men, but with many married women likewise having lovers. This form of strain on an already difficult relationship undoubtedly contributes to what appears to be a high rate of separations. Whereas until fairly recently, separations among the elite appear to have been infrequent - middle class status in fact denoting respectability and stability - the divorce rate now seems to be rising sharply within

this group. Looking at the positively glowing reports, of divorces of "socialites", complete with descriptions of what was worn in Court, in some of the African newspapers, one is tempted to believe that today a fashionable divorce is a status symbol.

Relations between parents and children also suffer from the carry-over of traditional roles into a new and changed family situation. As I have already indicated, many fathers are excessively authoritarian and aloof. Vilakazi, discussing father-son relationships among the Zulu, talks of the "tenseness of atmosphere in a house when the father is there which nearly always means that the son must leave the house; the severity with which he talks to them and the general happiness in the whole family when the father is away" (15). Mothers are much closer to their children but, in general, after lavishing indulgent care on the baby and the toddler, they seem to expect a docile obedience and respect from growing children. Later, when the children are in their 'teens, mothers feel constrained and shy with them, particularly in regard to discussion of sex, and have great difficulty in communicating with their children on a basis of easy familiarity. This experience they share with parents the world over. The pace of change today widens the gap between the generations. This gap is even wider when parents are unschooled, illiterate and rural in outlook and the children have been able to go to school and have acquired the smart gloss of town sophistication. The low average earnings of the men - still about R40 per month - not only compel wives who should be at home with young children to go out to work, but often mean that parents are unable to meet basic requirements of children for school fees, books and uniform, let alone their desire for fun and sweets.

For these and many other reasons with which it is not possible to deal now, many children fail to find in their homes the emotional security they need or in their parents the models with whom they will want to identify themselves. Moreover, the environment itself is a defective one. Despite a massive increase in school enrolment, particularly in the lower

primary schools made possible by means of a system of double sessions, schooling is neither compulsory nor free. Despite the increasing activities of some local authorities and of voluntary agencies, recreational facilities, youth centres and other constructive endeavours to meet the needs of children and young people are inadequate.

Children are today growing up in an environment in which public opinion carries little weight, in which general norms of behaviour have not yet developed and in which, moreover, there is acute awareness of the extent of racial discrimination in the laws to which they are subject. Many, especially boys, have become scornful of all law and all authority. Parental control has weakened and youthful indiscipline has grown. The sexual morality of traditional society is no longer acceptable or observed. Pre-marital relations today are not confined to external intercourse. The result is evident in the high incidence of illegitimacy* - something which is generally deplored but accepted as inevitable. The leadership of the women's groups - religious and secular - are increasingly making their concern articulate and are seeking more appropriate ways of dealing with children in the present situation. They ask, for instance, for the introduction of sex education in schools which would, of course, have to be preceded by special training courses for teachers - something which, as far as my knowledge goes, is not yet being planned.

* Pauw found that more than 40% of the children (alive and dead) of the women in his sample were born of extra marital union (p. 137) and that more than one half of the unmarried women in the sample were mothers (p. 118). The Keiskammahook Rural Survey (Vol. 3, p. 99) showed that one quarter of all births were illegitimate and gave other figures relating to the high incidence of illegitimacy. Reports of Medical Officers of Health on the Reef show a similar high incidence of illegitimate births ranging from 40% of all live African births in Pretoria (1964) to 60% in Springs (1965).

In a brief paper, over-generalization is unavoidable. I am aware that I have over-generalized. I fear that I may, moreover, have high-lighted symptoms of disorganisation in family life and have failed to deal with those developments which give promise of re-organisation deriving primarily, I suggest, from the new roles women are assuming not only as wives and mothers but in church and voluntary organisations and generally in community service.

In the economically advanced, that is the highly industrialised and urbanised countries, the strains to which the elementary family are subject in the impersonal individualistic, competitive, materialistic environment that is characteristic of modern towns are being increasingly understood. In many such countries a complex of network of services to meet the diverse needs of the urban family and to help it in difficulties is being developed.

South Africa has not developed economically to the same extent as these countries and lacks the means, even if this is its intention, to provide this range of services to each of the four racial groups of its population. In regard to the African community, further factors inherent in the official policy of separate development have to be considered. This is not the place or the time to embark on an analysis of the manifold implications of separate development. I believe, however, that I would be misrepresenting the situation in its totality if I did not at least refer to some of the additional difficulties due to official policies. African townpeople, instead of being helped to take root in the new and different urban environment, are actively discouraged from considering themselves as permanent residents of the town: the right to ownership of land in freehold is denied them: the development of commercial enterprise is curbed and hindered. The deep feelings of anxiety caused by a series of directives from Pretoria imposing new restrictions and the threats of further controls are bound to be reflected in the individual family, continually reactivating a sense of insecurity and undermining the will to purposive effort because its future in the towns is so uncertain. In addition there is

the determined effort the Government is making to confine new employment outside the homelands and the border industries to migrant workers and to limit the number of Africans entitled to live in towns to those already qualified to do so and their natural increase. Men from rural areas are only being allowed into towns for the duration of their employment to a specific employer, and the entry of women from rural areas has been stopped. Even a man qualified to live in town does not get permission to have his wife live with him if she comes from a homeland. These measures are likely to increase the proportion of men to women in the towns and to raise the masculinity rate - a rate which, we had all noted with satisfaction, has of recent years been declining.

Enforced migrancy is not the sole cause of family instability. If it were, family disruption would not be as widely reported throughout the towns of Africa as it today is. But it is a contributory cause to the break-down of marriages, disruption of families, promiscuity, the setting up of temporary relationships and illegitimacy. By no stretch of imagination can the concentration of an excess of men in the towns and the prolonged absence of husband and wife from each other be regarded as other than undesirable in the extreme. And the measure of this country's advance should be the degree to which migrant labour can be reduced, influx control relaxed and stability promoted.

Many South Africans, belonging to every section of our diverse population support these aims, and are committed to the endeavour to bring about their fulfilment. It would be as mistaken to regard migrant labour and influx control as irrelevant to the problems of modern African family life as to regard them as the sole operative causes of maladjustment. And it would be equally mistaken to believe that no basic readjustments, no improvements in the quality of family life particularly in the sense of emotional security it gives, can be brought about while these conditions prevail. I believe that the African people are aware that there is great scope for constructive effort within their own community and that they are directing thought, concern and their endeavour to this end.

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12. Op. cit. p. 74.
13. Population Tables prepared by the Non-European Affairs Department (Research Section), Johannesburg City Council.
14. Pauw, B.A. The Second Generation, Cape Town, 1963, p. 149.
15. Op. cit., p. 38.