

FAMILIES IN SA. THE EFFECTS OF APARTHEID.

1. Not simply academic question. Ap illuminates problems

Complicated by welding of 2 diff societies: Natives, colonisers.

Af family not as today - enlarged family, each with allotted role. But although structure totally disrupted, culture of tribal family life persists, largely in country but also among urban.

Colonisers took what was useful to them, discarded rest.

In past, did not want to see migration of women from country to town. Nor to see greater equality between sexes. It had vested interest in preserving white traditional junior role within Af F, since this was one of basic institutions of tribal society & tied women to rural areas. Thus subordinate status of women entrenched in system of customary law applied to Af's, making women perpetual minors & isolating them from main radical forces of Urban/industrialisation.

Not possible to give overall view of F in SA. Lines of development diverge geographically, economically, & most importantly, racially.

Early years of this century, F, B & W, founded largely on basis of domestic role of women. Few worked outside home, those who did mostly in D.S. Most women lived rural existence.

But domestic ex of women now diverging - a great wedge driven into F structure by migrant labour. In both town & country, ML system destroying traditional patterns of FL.

By 1920's Af F still broadly traditional tribal, patriarchal & extended family. But already contradictions. ML undermining basis of tribal society. Sexual imbalance in both town & c (one of most distinguishing features of Af FL in 20th century) was undermining stability & org of traditional F structure.

Customary law, legacy of days before Union, varied provincially. 1927 Native Administration Act imposed uniform system of tribal courts, endorsed subordinate position of women to preserve tribal F structures.

MIGRANT LABOUR = SINGLE BIGGEST FACTOR AFFECTING FL.

"We've been married 21 yrs & we've nevr hd a hse togethr."

Sibongile Mthembu: "To me t F is v importnt . . . to me t F cn nevr b divided. T wife suffrs - I take it t husbnd cn feel t pains. And t childrn suffr. It is such a unit tt it's nt poss fr one membr to suffr alone, . . . tt includes uncles, aunts, cousins - we hve a feelng nw fr t whole nation, as one big F, & whether they're Zulu, Xhosa or wht hve u is quite irrelevnt. It's irrespective o culture, custom - they're comng togethr nw to form one big family."

Structure o Ap built o ML & territorial segregation.

ML deeply disrupts FL i SA. FR many it means a more or less pèrmanent separation o Fs. Humn beings split into 2 parts: a "labour unit" workng i t towns, separatd frm othr part, a mn wth a family, hopes, aspirations. Split most clearly seen i division o t F imposd by ML. Bt a divided life is imposd on all blk people i SA. T townshp systm is bth a part o & extension o t ML systm. Togethr they profoundly shape t FL o all blk people.

ML (asotr communities hve found to their cost) hs an adverse effect o family life since men & wmn who shld b playng their part as membrs o Fs are absent fr long periods. In SA large sections wkrs permanently M wkrs. Froneman, 14. 15.

→ *Hostel accommodation*

ML makes it virtually illegal fr many Af wmn to live wth their husbands except durng annual 2-wk holiday, mn go bk to B/stns. Makes a mockery o FL, creatng impassable chasm btween Hus & wi

ML systm affects lives o mst people livng i B/stns, & indirect ly lives o all SA's, blk & w. Durng long periods o their ythful, sexially active lives, husbnds & wves mst live apart. For many, F unit is nevr formd.

FWilson's list o 31 argumnts against it..16.

Hsg & t F - simultaneous lecture. Total control o blk hsgng i all urbn areas makes it impossible fr families divided by ML to live togethr. Wmn nt permittd to come to towns. Men mst hve proper hsgng b4 families cn come.

Nature o SA's systm fr control & direction o Af labr essential fr understandg o FL i SA.

MARRIAGE LAWS & THE FAMILY

Customary law & Common law. - Marriages, majority i country undr customary (tribl); majority i towns under Common.

Wth decay o tribl life, legislation i 1927 endorsd subordinate position o w. Wmn deemd perpetual minors - at no stage cn w escape guardianshp o nearest male relative.

Af wmn mst hve parental consent ~~to~~ enter cu; marriages validate by lobola, transfr o cattle &/or money by husbnd to wife's fthr. Wife who wishes to leave husb. cant do so bcos rights to childrn are involvd. Unless fathr refunds lobola, she mst give up childrn. Evn today an Af mn may repudiate hs marriage unilaterally simply by forfeitng hs lobola rights, bt nt wmn. Wmn married by cust union cant own property, evn money she earns blongs husb. May nt make a valid contract, sue or be sued. Husbnd must tdo this on hr behalf.

Immoral wmn, p 36.

Common law; married w's rights depend on choice made by marriage partners. 'Community o property' or 'ante-nuptial contract.' Undr 1st, (blk & w) hsbnd acquires guardianshp ovr wife, who is considered minor. He holds 'marital power'. Ante-n contract excludes husband's marital powr, leaves wife i full legal capacity i most mattrs.

Majority o wmn do nt entr marriage wth a-n c, eithr thru ignorance, or expense o legal documnt.

FAMILY UNITS: SA teaches potent lessns, i bth town & c, in t meang o t family, patriarchy, t position o wmn. Convention morality relatng to F (by State, religion, laws & codes o conduct) unrelatd to reality. T establishmnt o B/stns, restricitions o movemnts, spread o ML all hve devastatng effects upon humn relationships as expressd i terms o F.

In towns, outside B/stns, destruction o F hs diff. roots bt equally disastrous consequences. Apart frm familiar effects o rapid industrialisation, laws may deny right o fmailies to l live togethr, & control o provision o family accomodation is one o main weapons i influx control.

Overcrowded hses: BL Adeline Pholosi: "I'm stll livng at home i my parents' hse (aft 21 yrs marraige) . . we are nw 18 peopl. Own 2 childrn, sister's 4, othr sistr 4, divorcd brothr 3 & mthrs' childrn & their 2 each."

She describes slpng arrangemnts. "It means I havnt got, really, a life wth my husbnd. He sleeps in t mines - he's a clerk there, bt there's no room fr us there. If I want to go to see hm or I want to make live I mst go to hm to discuss where we can go & get a room outside the location, next to t mines. We do tt afr 2 mths or 3 mths" bt, she explains, t peoplr they ask fr a room dont like it. Cant talk. Mst go outside - whole married life hs bene like ths, we hve nevr stayd togethr i 21 yrs.

So 3 or 4 families cram 'nuclear' F hse. Gross overcrowng leads to distortion o FL, evn to breakdown whn richest takes a hse bc bcos cn afford t biggest bribe.

Another outcome is growth o squatters townshps & buildg o shacks. Those families bcome victims o demolition - Crossroads - & they are ones who struggld hardest to maintain bonds o F. Oftn defeatd by ruthless determination o Ap state. Once a sheltr is demolishd, F is almost always divided bcos there is nowhere else they cn find space to stay togethr.

Family nt automatically reunite whn allocatd a hse. If childrn were away at school at time parents applies fr hse, their names wll nt b included o permit - othrs stayng wth relatives i rural areas. Oftn permission to hve childrn wth thm is refused.

Many unhappily married wmn suffr, unable to take any action, knowng tt if husbnds desert or divorce thm, they may lose their right to live wth childrn as well.

Children are illegal. No matter hw young, may nt live wth their mothrs if mothrs resident i one o t hostels or 'living in' as domestics i white family.

Wmn i Randburg, nr Jhbg, who come frm neighbouring B/tswana to w wk o contract, mst sign undertakng nt to 'introduce' their childrn into t area.

Once 16, childrn may nt continue to live wth parents unless they qualify fr urbn residence i their own right - nt bcos o parents' rights. They mst go to B/stns, evn if no relatives. Many childrn i towns nt registered fr numbr o reasons. 45/46

Frn ths abrogation o FL flows results tt are deeply destructive, diff to assess in any statistical sense. Some 60% urbn Af childrn illegitimate. Many forcd by poverty i rural areas to seek existence i alleys & doorways o cities.

THE DOMESTIC LIFE OF THE FAMILY

Urbn families - white & blk.

In Western society, predominant notion is ideology o domesticity - set o beliefs locatng diff roles fr men & wmn i F, wth w's role primarily i t home or relatd domestc roles..Ths is 'natural place' fr w, & their primary occupation, evn if she hs othr work.

Ap introduces a new dimension to domesticity. Dom service is largst area o paid employmnt fr wmn i SA. T blk domestc servnt fulfils classic female functions o housewife, cook, cleanr, nursemaid - bt nt i own home, fr benefit o own F. It is t furthest to which t false conception o 'family' cn go, & it is done withn context o extreme wexploitation o blk wmn.

Dom wkrs sit at t convergence o 3 lines along which social inequality is generated: sex, class & racial division. Nowhere else is it poss to find sch clear examples o hw racial & sexual factors facilitate & intensify exploitation & open up fr questionng t whole ideology o t F as t heart o society.

Blk w are, i fact, forcd to fulfil t role twice - own homes.

Blk w rear surrogate childrn; separatd frm own by Ap laws. W childrn learn place i Apsociety thru dom. servnts; assimilat racial attitudes thru parents treatmnt o DS.

J Cock's survey. 63/64

Contra: Subordinate position/ strong self-image

FAMILY LIFE UNDER AP - SUMMARY & CONCLUSIONS.

Enormous gap btween idealisd theory o t family & t brutal reality undr Ap hs resultd i emergence o t independnt wmn. In both town & country, Af wmn oftn find thmselves heads o households; particularly i urbn areas ths has had spreadng effects on social rleations & F. Still totally dependent i terms o law & o patriarchal custms, they find thmselves i actuality forcd into bittr independence, forcd to bncome decision-makrs, t responsible ones. & ths change o status will make importnt impact o F i future. Rejection o marriage 44/45

In examng F undr Ap, nt just a visit to anothr land, to study customs o diff society. Ap, bcos o simplicity o issues & crudity o intentions, exposes important facets o society as a whole, o our conceptions o FL here as well as there.

FIRST; reveals tt t position o w i a society is pivotal i determng F & FL. Yes, othr factors - men, housng, these are basic components o FL. Bt nt t existence o w, but t position o w, is t one single factor tt shapes FL

SECOND: tt while tradition, habit, cultural factors are all important & permanent features in shapng t F, it is i t end t economic structures o a society tt wll shape & condition FL.

THIRD: tt a false & idealisd conception o t F cn exist side by side wth factors tt are totally underming sch FL

FOURTH: H while same factors as i Western world operate o FL in SA, t over-ridg single factor is Ap. Rules & laws - econ

OSWESTRY (Shropshire AAM) 21/3/88. PEACE & VIOLENCE IN SA TODAY.

167 i 87, 7 at a time (Tues, Wed.)

Sharpeville 6

LEGAL VIOLENCE. Kobie Coetzee, M o Justice: In 1 yr, 84-85, 40,288 cases corporal punishmnt.

Vlok (law & Ø) 83 died i police custody 1st yr. Anothr 263 detaind by police takn to hospital.

2,000 shot dead i 1 yr. Mst nt reportd.

V against those detained, imprisond, i pol custody: evidence surfaces thru court cases, affidavits, inquests, ordrs made restrictng police frm torture & assaults, claims fr damages Millions o Rand paid i settlemnts.

Cry Freedm. Biko, 46. Now no tally. Releasd to die.

TOWNSHIP VIOLENCE CT analysis o those shot i 85: 50% wounded i bck, anothr 11½% i sides. 12% undr 15, youngest 7.

B/STAN VIOLENCE 'Nation states', so figures nt included; stooge chiefs undr SA tutelage, like Haiti, brutl, lawless.

VLO FORCED REMOVALS 4 m: wmn, childrn, disabld, old, & nw unemployd men - 'relocation' to remote areas, no wk, no land, thrown away; left to exist & die i conditions o complete powrlessnss, leadng to rape, apathy, assaults, increasng divisions, alienation. Trauma o loss o communities, impoverishmnt, plays major role i suppressng org opp to Ap.

ILLEGAL VIOLENCE: SA learnng frm Brits, CIA, S America: Dirty tricks: Imbokhotho vig posd as ANC reps, tk 10 Mamelodi shcoolbys to hse - AK-47 assault rifles, killd all. SA SÉcurity infiltratd grp o young blks, Duduza 7, booby-trappd hand grenades. Rhodesian army officer: "Ths is a v. efficient & cheap methd o eliminatg yr terrorist."

Vietnm ploys: Blks 5% o SADF troop strength bt 20% o troops deployd i opertional areas, use AK 47s; deth squad names: Green Berets, Marines, A-team, Omega, Rambo, Nat Guard.

DIRTY TRICKS: Cicelo Dhlomo, CBS interview, horrifyng a/c torture i detention; went into hidng, killd. (Make me nice meals)

Ribeiro yr b4, same, aftr interview.

- 78: Rick Turnr, 81 Griffiths Mxenge (civil rights lawyr)
- 82 Siphwe Mtinkulu; nat chair o COSAS - thalium poisong, thn killd o way to hospital;
- 85, 3 diff UDF activists 'disappeard' aftr message to meet someone at airport;
- 85 also Matthew Goniwe wth 3 othrs, Victoria Mxenge.
- 86 George De'Ath, ITN cameramn, filmg Xroads; 87, studnt activists: & so on.

Occasional court cases. Goosen & de Villiers, charges murdr, assault, defeatng ends o justice (Gettng othr unit members to lie) Squad cruisng, yth lyng peaceffly i grass, T-shirts; hit, suffocatd plastic bags. Constable conceded arrests were illegal "It ws pure luck i anytng ws obtaind frm those arrested bt you make them talk." "How" "As we did - assaults, plastic bags, & so on."

VIOLENCE AGAINST PEOPLE, LEGAL & ILLEGAL, FACTOR IN BRINGING INEVITABILITY O GREATER VIOLENCEZ

2. VIOLENCE AGAINST CHILDREN.

Greatest outrage to conscience o int community hs been ovr physicl & emotionl violence done by armd agents o Ap i streets, areas & police-cells & prisons. Death, injury, assault, torture, commonplace.

Nt talkg o total affects o Ap i fields o family life, migrant labr, education, health, removals, bt wth direct, brutal war.

SOWETO, 76, 1,000 died.

Statistics o repression: 84-86, o police action ag childrn:

312 killd by gunfire

1,000 wounded

18,000 arrestd o charges arisng frm protest

173,000 held awaitng trial i police cells o 'unrest-relatd' charge

Incomplete: pol vheicles, died i custody, killd by Municipl or SADF, & i B/stns.

Estimatd third o 30,000 ~~detaind~~ ^{parents often nt told} childrn - 10000 since June 86

Anothr 2,280 c undr 3 i prison wth mothrs.

Since 76 blk childrn at cuttg edge o country's history.

Harare conf. Rev Frank Chikane (gen sec SACC) 'Whn a state refuses to release an 11-yr-old child o bail bcos ths 11-y-o w wd b a dangr to t security o t state, thn there ~~must~~ ^{is} b somethng drastically wrong wth those adults. . . SA c denied their right to b c. C i our country are being-violently forcd to b adults b4 their time.'

~~40% o detaind undr S o E, childrn, parents oftn nt told.~~

57 days i life o Fanie Kuduka, 11 - kickd, hit, told he threw stones, lockd i wth 12 men, no bail, charge: public violence, nt guilty; nightmares.

Anothr 11 yr old, Gilly Nyathela, ~~takn frm mothr to pol stn, (see-ovr)~~

Wm Modibedi, facd battery o TV cameras, detaind fr 2 mths, torturd, 'electric chargd' In whispr: I nevr wrote my exams, I am back i t same class.'

Lawyers. Drs. Psychiatrists

Evidence givn o beatgs, electric torture, throttling, sjambok & rifle butts. Amensty, B lack Sash, UNICEF. Generation plugd into anarchy, knwg no othr way o life since birth. Detainees Counselling Service, offrs psycho help to rleasad detainees: whn realisd wld hve to deal wth c, searchd med. lit. fr info abt detaind c - there is none.

Answering 5

3. BLACK ON BLACK VIOLENCE.

Inherently racist concept.

Fr 3 yrs, no media i townshps: 5 more blk deaths - state hand-outs.

Hiddn frm view, obscurd frm history by censorship, inside t/shps 'destablition' refind. Vig wage campaigns against individs & orgs; assassinations, jungle justice, bcome features o pol life.

White on blk v systematically replacd by B on B.

Mistake to think vig & secret death squads hve emergd indepently o state apparatus, & cld continue murderous activities without control, guidance, Ap security. *Inevitable - to control majority u enlist agents from people themselves.*

Vig, Kitskonstabels & others: Supr powrs long ago perfectd use o surrogate forces to wage their wars. Long history i SA. Today agents o repressio n & control nw recruitsd frm blks i t/ships & b/stnas. Blk pol units replace SADF & SAP i t/shps

Kits: deployd since Sep 86, unemployd, yths frm school, 6 wks traing undr Dept o L & O, armd, sent to othr areas.

CT's Inst o Criminology researcd 500 residents, 80% said K's threat to people, drunk, ill-traind, 'de factor' vig licensd to terrorise.

INKATHA - T WAR I NATAL.

Dividng SA's blk community hs been basic mechanism where by W gvt always sought to retain powr. B/stns are part o ths.

Formation o UDF i 83 posd real threat, grass-roots org grew.

Remarkably consistent pattern o t violence i P/mbg where 500 died i 1 yr tells simple story o calculatd brutality against orgaisation.

T violence follws settng up o UDF o COSATU branches, or launchng o campaigns, sch as bus or consumer boycotts.

1st casualty hs been family. Armd men bang o doors at night demandg parents release their childrn fr night marches, or defence units. Whatever they do, lives i dangr, cannt refuse. Childrn i hidng, even evictd or disownd. *(500 i 2 mths dead)*

In mst bloody period 1st yr, nt 1 Ink membr or vig ws detaind, whn at least 200 UDF-linkd orgs people detaind. Legal applications bring high risk, people i hiding. *Why? Because...*

GB has built power structure - he is biggest 'war lord'. He supports capitalism, not Apartheid - antagonism to COSATU, involved in big business investment cos. GB 'I am coming to believing that only reconciliation there will ever be in this country is the reconciliation of the most powerful with those who pay homage to the powerful.' (WM, 11/12/87)

Most terrifying aspect today is banning of all orgs - except INK - what more evidence does the world want about his role in SA society today? Leaves field clear for murders, terror.

SA press report of woman who came to offices weeping, "This is unbearable. I cannot remember when I last had a good night's sleep. My 3-yr-old son wakes in the middle of the night screaming 'Mama, where is Inkatha?' What is going to become of my child?"

What will become of all the children, the ones in hiding, the ones forced to join this macabre play, the ones who gang up for safety & for reprisals armed with knives . . . as more & more of responsible leadership are detained, *banned, imprisoned*

Perhaps you will now reject, banish, the term 'black on black violence' - the connotations of which were encapsulated in Reagan's description of the Crossroads tragedy as a 'tribal situation.'

THIS ARMING, BUILDING & PAYING OF VIOLENCE BY A WIDE SPECTRUM OF BLACK AGENTS IS THE 4th FACTOR THAT MAKES GREATER VIOLENCE INEVITABLE.

Albany 7

4. VIOLENCE BEYOND SOUTH AFRICA.

To front-line states, to Africa, to t western world.

On sub-continent, nw common place fr free-lance assassins to hit & run, strikng activists, mainly ANC membrs, hunt'd down, murdered.

DULCIE . ALBIE

Scale o killngs jump'd i 85. Btween Jan & Oct 87 at least 12 ANC operatives assisnt'd i Swazilnd, includg Cassius Make, EC membr & Paul Dekeledi, MK commandr. At least 2 kidnapp'd frn SWaz - nw o trial i SA.

Range wide: attempt o life o Godfrey Motsepe, ANC rep i Benelux; Attacks o ANC personnel i Denmark, Italy, at the UN & i FRG. Thn ANC kidnap plot i Ldn. Offices i Ldng & Stockholm bomb'd.

Zimbabwe, Jeremy Brickhill & wife - SA gvt payng compensation to W SA who hird out cars left by invadr's.

Za,mbia, many attempts o individuals & ANC offices.

Destabilisation.

Matola: 13 died; Lesotho, invaded Dec 86, 41 died (29 SA's), includng ex- R I prisonrs, a dr vistng frind.

Mozambique; Situation nw. reducd to ruin by Renamo

Angola: SA went in b4 Cubans - troops withdrawn 1st yr?
Kassinga - 10th anniversary

This multi-varied use of death squads, raidg parties
assassination plots in sthn Af & extendg to western
wild is A factor in making future violence against

Ap inevitable

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