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INFLUENCE OF URBANIZATION ON THE ROLE
AND STATUS OF HUSBAND AND WIFE IN THE
TSWANA FAMILY

SAMUEL RANTSHABELE MOTSHOLOGANE
B.A. (S.A.), B.A. Hons. (North)

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Supervisor: Professor Dr W.H.J. Scholten

To my parents, Phillemon Melato and Dorcas Mmaenene,
who in their simple way, taught me so many valuable
things

I declare that the dissertation handed in herewith for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of the North has not been submitted by me for a degree before in this or another University; and that it is my own work both in conception and execution.

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SUMMARY

Introduction

The aim of this study was to establish whether any significant difference existed in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families. The study is based on the assumption that as a result of the modernizing influence of urbanization on the traditional role and status of husband and wife in the Tswana family there is a difference in structure and function between rural and urban Tswana families.

Areas studied

As this is a study in social change, and hence comparative in orientation, the data was collected from two samples drawn from two socio-culturally different areas, namely, rural Pilansberg in Rustenburg district and urban Ga-Rankuwa near Pretoria.

Subjects interviewed

A total of two-hundred subjects were interviewed during the field-work. These subjects were all married Tswana couples who had lived together in their respective areas of residence for a period of not less than twenty consecutive years and who had spent the greater part of their lives in such an area. Fifty couples were selected from each area.

Research method

The question-answer method was used in the collection of data for this study. All the interviews were conducted by the researcher himself.

The structure of the dissertation

This dissertation runs in five chapters.

CHAPTER 1 is basically an outline of the study. It further deals with the aim and extent of the study, the hypotheses, the definition of concepts used in the study, and methodology.

CHAPTER 2 deals with urbanization and the family and it also covers aspects such as the family as a universal institution, universal functions of the family as well as the traditional role and status of husband and wife in the African family.

CHAPTER 3 comprises a survey of related studies as well as Parsons' interpretation of role differentiation in the family, and social change and family role-differentiation.

CHAPTER 4 deals with the tabulation, analysis and interpretation of the data for the study.

CHAPTER 5 consists of the summary of the findings of the study, a comparative survey of these findings and those discussed in chapter 3, implications of the findings of the study and, finally, suggestions for further research.

Significant findings

On the basis of data pertaining to four out of five variables investigated by this study, namely,

1. authority in the family;
2. economic activity;
3. care and upbringing of children; and
4. ownership of property,

there seems to be ample justification for concluding that a real difference does exist in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families. In this regard urbanization and concomitant modernizing agents such

as formal education seem to have changed the traditional superordinate-subordinate relationship between husband and wife into a partnership of equals in which the husband and the wife share their lives and responsibility for major decisions in consultation.

When viewed against Parsons' interpretation of the basic role division in the nuclear family, however, the urban Tswana family, like its rural counterpart, is still essentially patriarchal in orientation in spite of the modernizing influences to which it is constantly subjected. This is easily discernible in the recognition of the husband as the indisputable head and the chief breadwinner in both rural and the urban families.

OPSOMMING

Inleiding

Die oogmerk met hierdie projek was om vas te stel of daar - in terme van die rol en status van die man en die vrou - 'n betekenisvolle verskil in die struktuur en funksie van die plattelandse en die stedelike Tswana-gesin voorkom. Die uitgangspunt was dat, as gevolg van die moderniserende invloed van verstedeliking op die tradisionele rol en status van die man en die vrou in die Tswana-gesin, daar wel 'n verskil in die struktuur en funksie van die plattelandse en die stedelike Tswana-gesin sal voorkom.

Ondersoekgebiede

Aangesien die onderhawige projek 'n studie in sosiale verandering (en derhalwe vergelykend van aard) is, is gegewens ingesamel van twee sosio-kultureel verskillende gebiede, naamlik Pilansberg (platteland) in die Rustenburgse distrik, en Ga-Rankuwa (stedelik) naby Pretoria.

Respondente

Tweehonderd respondente is in die ondersoek betrek. Almal was Tswana-egpare wat vir nie minder nie as twintig opeenvolgende jare in hul onderskeie gebiede saamgewoon het, en wat die grootste deel van hul lewens in so 'n gebied woonagtig was. Uit elke ondersoekgebied is vyftig egpare ewekansig gekies.

Navorsingsprosedure

Vir die insameling van die gegewens is 'n gestruktureerde en voorafgekodifiseerde vraelys gebruik. Al die onderhoude is deur die navorser persoonlik gevoer.

Samestelling van verhandeling

Die verhandeling bestaan uit die volgende vyf

hoofstukke:

HOOFSTUK 1 gee basies die hooftrekke van die projek. Dit handel verder oor die doel en omvang van die ondersoek, hipoteses, begripsomskrywings en metodologie.

HOOFSTUK 2 handel oor verstedeliking en die gesin; en dek voorts aspekte soos die gesin as universele instelling, universele funksies van die gesin, sowel as die tradisionele rol en status van die man en die vrou in die gesin van die Swartman.

HOOFSTUK 3 bestaan uit 'n oorsig van verwante navorsingsdata; asook Parsons se vertolking van roldifferensiasie in die gesin, en sosiale verandering en gesinsroldifferensiasie.

HOOFSTUK 4 bied die tabellering, ontleding en vertolking van die verkreë data.

HOOFSTUK 5 bestaan uit 'n opsomming van die navorsingsbevindings, 'n vergelyking tussen genoemde bevindings en dié wat in hoofstuk 3 bespreek is, die implikasies van die bevindings van die huidige studie, en, laastens, voorstelle vir verdere navorsing.

Betekenisvolle bevindings

Op grond van die responsies op vier uit die vyf veranderlikes wat in die onderhawige projek ondersoek is, te wete:

1. gesag in die gesin;
2. ekonomiese bedrywigheid;
3. sorg vir en opvoeding van kinders; en
4. eiendomsbesit,

wil dit voorkom asof daar voldoende regverdiging bestaan om te konkludeer dat, in terme van die rol en status van man en vrou, daar wel 'n wesenlike verskil in die gesinstruktuur en -funksie tussen die plattelandse en die stedelike Tswanagesin bestaan. In hierdie verband wil dit

voorkom asof verstedeliking en meegaande moderniserende agense, soos formele onderwys, die tradisionele superordinaat-subordinaat-verhouding tussen man en vrou verander het in 'n vennootskap van gelykes waarin die man en die vrou, vir sover dit meerdere beslissings betref, hul lewens en verantwoordelikhede met mekaar deel.

Wanneer hierdie bevinding egter gesien word teen die agtergrond van Parsons se vertolking van die basiese rolverdeling in die kerngesin, blyk dit dat die stedelike Tswanagesin, ewenas sy plattelandse teenstuk (nieteenstaande moderniserende invloede waaraan dit voortdurend onderhewig is) in essensie nog patriargaalgeoriënteerd is. Hierdie situasie is maklik kenbaar uit die posisie van die man as die onbetwisbare gesinshoof en hoofbroodwinner in beide die plattelandse en die stedelike gesin.

CHAPTER 1

OUTLINE OF STUDY AND METHODOLOGY

1.1 Introduction

'The influence of urbanization on the role and status of husband and wife in the Tswana family' is a study in social change. Since the close of the first world war there has been a great intensification of modern influences upon the Africans. They have experienced the impact of alien political, religious, cultural and economic organizations and of various other factors which have shaken the foundations of their community life. The result has been a wide-spread disintegration of the bonds and sanctions of the traditional African society. As Schapera (23,xi) rightly points out, "Native culture in South Africa is everywhere in contact with everwidening channels of European civilization, which are gradually but effectively modifying its traditional manifestations. The customs of the Natives are being altered by the action of the European economic system, through the teachings of missionaries and educators, and through contact with Whites in innumerable other ways". Schapera (23,xii) also states that: "Bantu culture will change and develop, drawing most of its impetus from the elements of our own civilization, no matter what we can now do or how we attempt to control it. The best we can hope to achieve is so to regulate our active participation in the process of change as to avoid conflict and disaster".

However, despite the wealth of documented evidence on the inevitability of change in the African way of life as a result of contact with the White man, and the numerous occasions on which this has been publicly emphasized, it is still only too frequently assumed by politicians and publicists, and even by some academics, that the Africans are a fairly homogeneous community, tradition bound, and completely insensitive to any modernizing influence. This is more or less the attitude adopted by Engelbrecht (3,13),

in his *Tyd en Neurose by die Bantoe*, characterised by generalizations such as the following: "Die Bantoe-vrou heg weinig waarde aan water wat met pype na 'n huis aangelê is. Vir haar is dit belangrik om 'n entjie te stap, met ander vrouens bymekaar te kom en te klets. Om die pot met water op die kop te plaas, dit te balanseer en stadig daarmee te stap, is nie net 'n belangrike prestasie van die vrou nie; dit is 'n rite - 'n lewenspatroon". This, of course, seems to be an oversimplified analysis and interpretation of any situation in which two different cultures are in contact. It sounds like a blatant violation of all the principles underlying the processes of cultural diffusion and acculturation.

The point to emphasize here is that contact between Whites and Africans in South Africa has produced changes in the traditional life of the Africans. There is at the present hardly a single ethnic group which does not already show signs of having been affected, if only superficially, by the economic, political, religious and cultural institutions of the Whites. Schapera (23,ix) is apparently right when he says: "Under the influence of European civilization many of the Natives have abandoned their original tribal customs, and their social life is being re-organized on a new basis by the adoption of European habits and customs and by their introduction to the economic, religious and political systems of the Europeans". Aidan Southall (26,2) confirms this thought with the following words: "Recent research has revealed over and over how fluid the traditional situation is. Most tribal boundaries lack definition and the identification of tribes is highly relative. Despite the conditions of political and economic insecurity, individuals and groups are constantly on the move, communities dissolving and crystallizing again in new patterns. The apparent homogeneity and stability are an illusion".

Indeed, this seems to be an age of development and change, the first challenge to stir all mankind, and

no less than the awakening of man's first universal civilization. It seems to be recreating every culture with a new and common mould, penetrating all parts of every continent, restructuring the pattern of all settlements, remaking the very means to sustain life, even transforming life purposes themselves. This is, apparently, the age of change and gone are the days of ethnocentrism and the purity of traditional culture.

It is in recognition of this world of change that it was decided to investigate the influence of one modernizing factor, namely, urbanization, on the role and status of husband and wife in the Tswana family.

1.2 Aim and extent of the study

From what has been said above it should be evident that the main aim of this study is the description and assessment of the changes which have occurred in the traditional roles and statuses of husband and wife in the Tswana family as a result of the process of urbanization. There is considerable documentation of the growth of towns, of the size of employed labour forces, the differentiation of incomes and the main directions of migrations. What seems to be much less accurately understood, as pointed out above, is the precise changes in the social relationships and roles of individuals which accompany these major events.

The present study is, therefore, an attempt to shed some light on the precise changes in the roles and statuses of individuals which accompany the process of urbanization, using the Tswana family as the unit of analysis. The family is chosen among all the other social institutions because this institution has been observed in almost all social groups as an institution not likely to disappear as a result of contact and which would, therefore, be more likely to reflect social changes resulting from contact and also retain traits not affected by cultural

diffusion and acculturation.

This study will confine itself to the description and comparison of the roles and statuses of husbands and wives in the Tswana families located in two socio-culturally and geographically different areas in order to assess whether there has been any change in these aspects of family life as a result of the process of urbanization.

It is hoped that the findings of this study will provoke more sociological research into the precise changes in the social relationships and roles of individuals, among other African groups, brought about by contact with the Whites.

1.3 Hypotheses

The main hypothesis of this study is that there is a difference in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families. This hypothesis holds -

- (i) that the traditional Tswana family is a patriarchal family with the man fulfilling the "instrumental" role, i.e. external adaptation of the family and exercising supreme disciplinary authority in the family, while the woman's role is "expressive", i.e. concerned with the emotional needs and the internal integration of the family, and subordinate to that of the man;
- (ii) that the influence of urbanization is changing this basic "role-status" division to such an extent that there is now considerable overlapping between the roles and statuses of husband and wife, especially in the sphere of authority, economic activity, and, to a certain extent, household duties; and
- (iii) that as a result of urbanization the role and

status of the woman in the Tswana family is assuming the "partner-equal" pattern with regard to the exercise of authority in the family, economic activity and ownership of property.

1.4 Definition of terms

Definitions of concepts are basically operational and limited to the theoretical framework within which they are used. Thus no definition of a concept, especially in the social sciences, can be regarded as final.

With this in mind, an attempt shall be made to define certain concepts as they are used in this study.

1.4.1 Urbanization

A number of definitions state that basically X urbanization is the rate at which people move from a rural to an urban area. Thompson (30,5) puts it this way: "In its most simple and demographic sense, urbanization is the process whereby population tends to agglomerate in clusters of more than a designated size. (It is) the movement of people from communities concerned chiefly or solely with agriculture, to other communities, generally larger, whose activities are primarily centered in government, trade, manufacture or allied interests." This definition tends to exclude too much. Urbanization entails much more than the shifting of people from country to city and from land-bound work to urban types of work.

Hilda Kuper's (9,1) definition seems to be the most appropriate for the purpose in view. She says: "... Xurbanization is ... more than a shifting of people from country to city, from land-bound to urban occupations, and more than increasing population density and economic differentiation. It entails also changes in distribution of power, interests, institutional arrangements, norms of conduct, and social values, and as a particular process of

increasing complexity, cannot be isolated from the more general context of social growth."

Merely moving a man to the city does not necessarily urbanize him, although it helps; a rural man may be very much urbanized and never leave his rural work or habitat. Urbanization usually involves basic changes in the thinking and behaviour of people and changes in their social values. It is not merely a matter of an individual or group changing from one kind of work to another, but involves changes in attitudes towards work. Urbanization, therefore, means a changeover from one way of life to another. It corresponds in the variety of its application to "detrribalization", a term used by students of social change in Africa.

1.4.2 Role and Status

There is an interdependent relationship between the concepts "status" and "role" in which status contains the structural aspects and role the dynamic aspects of an individual's participation in an interaction relationship. According to Parsons (1954, 25-26), the participation of an actor in a patterned interactive relationship has two principal aspects. "On the one hand there is the positional aspect - that of where the actor in question is located in the social system relative to other actors. This is what we call his status, which is his place in the relationship system considered as a structure, that is a patterned system of parts. On the other hand there is the processual aspect, that of what the actor does in his relations with others seen in the context of its functional significance for the social system. It is this which we shall call his role."

X Status, therefore, indicates the position occupied by a person in a specific social system in relation to the positions of other persons in the same system, while role

indicates the organized actions of a person corresponding to his given status. The way in which a person acts or shall act in a given position determines his role in the specific system.

Steyn (27,20-21) defines these concepts in more or less the same terms as Parsons. She writes:

- "(i) Status - dit is struktureel van aard, en is die fokale posisie wat 'n handelende persoon beklee in 'n interaksiesisteem in vergelyking met die kontraposisies in dieselfde interaksiesisteem.
- (ii) Rol - dit is dinamies van aard, en kan omskryf word as geaktiveerde status. Dit dui dus op die werklike gedrag van 'n persoon teenoor ander persone in 'n spesifieke interaksiesisteem waarin hulle almal posisies beklee."

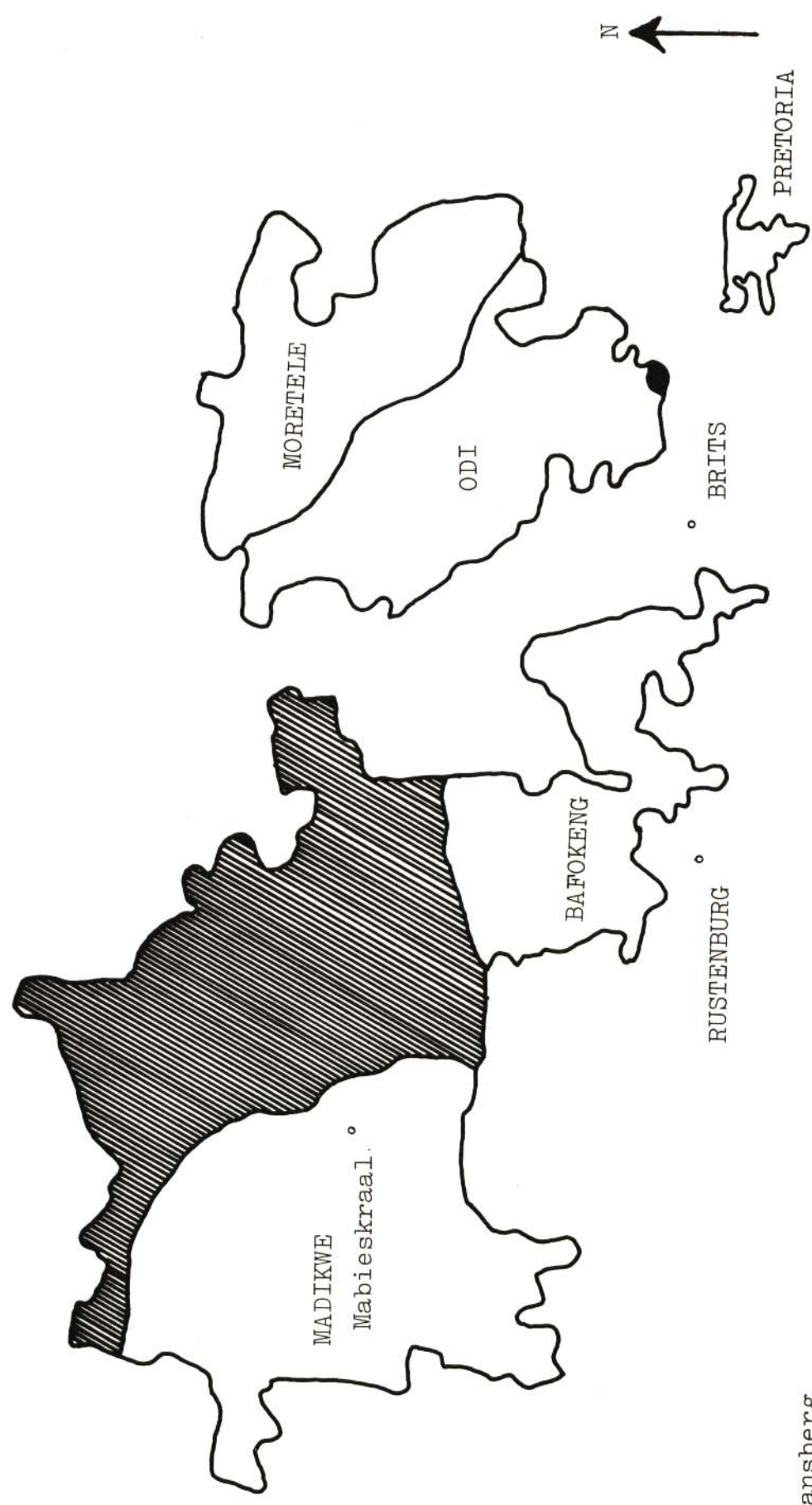
1.4.3 The Tswana


According to Schapera (22,9), "the Tswana are one of the three major divisions into which ethnologists and linguists usually classify the Sotho group ... of central South Africa. The two others are distinguished as 'Southern Sotho' and 'Northern ... Sotho;' the Tswana, correspondingly, are sometimes also termed 'Western Sotho'." All members of this latter group accept and use 'Batswana' as a common name.

Although local variations do occur, both in dialect and in social organization and other aspects of culture, on the whole the Tswana seem to be sufficiently homogeneous in terms of their broad traditional culture to be classed as a single group in relation to the other people of South Africa.

In this study the focus will fall solely on the Tswana resident in the Pilansberg area near Rustenburg, where the rural sample was drawn, and the Ga-Rankuwa Township adjoining Pretoria, where the urban sample was taken.

THE PILANSBERG AND GA-RANKUWA AREAS



 Pilansberg
Ga-Rankuwa

Scale 1: 954 000

S.R.M.

According to the 1970 census the total Tswana population in Bophuthatswana and the two areas covered by the present study were as follows:

Bophuthatswana	Pilansberg		Ga-Rankuwa	
Total Population	Population	Families	Population	Families (Tswana)
1719367	50681	8140	30000	5000

1.4.4 The Family

Marriage, which determines the relationship between two members of opposite sexes and their sexual intercourse, is only one dimension of the kinship system. It leads to the creation and development of a social group called a family, i.e. a group of persons bound together by ties of blood and marriage.

Murdock (15,1) defines the family as "a social group characterized by common residence, economic co-operation, and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual relationship, and one or more children, own or adopted, of the sexually cohabiting adults."

Murdock and MacIver include in their definitions of the family more or less similar elements. MacIver's (13,238) definition is as follows: "The family is a group defined by a sex relationship sufficiently precise and enduring to provide for the procreation and upbringing of children. It may include collateral or subsidiary relationships, but it is constituted by the living together of mates, forming, with their offspring, a distinctive unity."

It is in this sense that the concept is used in this study.

1.4.5 Urban area

For this study an urban area shall refer to an African township situated next to a city, the residents of which not only have easy access to such a city, but are wholly exposed and subjected to its economic, cultural and political influences.

1.4.6 Rural area

A rural area shall refer to a place relatively far from the nearest city or town, whose residents have no easy access to such a city or town and are thus not as readily exposed to its influences as those Africans living in the townships.

1.5 Methodology

Every scientific research project has, as its basic aim, the acquisition of new knowledge and understanding. To arrive at this objective one or more research procedures and techniques may be used. The research procedures used in a research project are usually determined by its nature. In this project use was made of the socio-historical method, the comparative method, the 'verstehende' method in the use of schedules and the statistical method in the form of sampling and the construction of frequency tables.

1.5.1 The Sample

Essentially, sampling consists in obtaining information from a portion of a larger group or universe. It aims at getting information which can be regarded as representative of the whole. This representativeness implies possession of the essential characteristics of the whole. Random sampling is conventionally regarded as the most reliable sampling technique if every significant characteristic of the universe is to be represented in the sample.

However, as the research techniques for any scientific research project are determined by the nature of the project, it is not always possible for the researcher to follow convention in the choice of his methodological techniques and procedures. Because of the nature of the populations from which the samples for this study had to be drawn, random sampling became practically impossible. In Ga-Rankuwa, for example, though the five zones from which the urban sample was drawn are built according to the modern South African township pattern - i.e. in blocks divided by streets - the Tswana families are not concentrated in the same street or zone. They are interspersed among other ethnic groups in every street and zone. This arrangement rules out the possibility of selecting every second, third or so house as is the case in random sampling. In Pilansberg, also, the villages are not built in any particular pattern. They are scattered all over the area. Another problem was that in some families in this area the men are migrant workers either in Rustenburg town or in Johannesburg. Such families had to be omitted because they did not satisfy the criterion for the choice of subjects for this study.

In the face of all these problems it was decided to resort to what Lennon calls "purposive sampling" as the most appropriate sampling procedure. Lennon (10,179) says of purposive sampling: "A sample can be drawn from the universe in some purposive, meaningful fashion". Although Lennon here refers to the sampling of items, this same technique can also be applied to human beings with a measure of success. Purposive sampling is one arbitrarily selected because there is good evidence that it is very representative of the total population. The basic assumption underlying this procedure is that inhabitants of certain areas come so close to the attributes of the total population that they can conveniently be used as a "barometer" for the total population. This implies that from

a study of such subjects one can generalize one's findings to the entire population from which the sample was drawn.

So accordingly, for the selection of the subjects for this study purposive sampling was used. It was decided to limit the size of the sample to 100 married couples, namely 50 couples from each of the rural and urban areas. Such a sample was considered to be sufficiently representative for the purposes of this study - the rural sample representing the "old" and the urban sample the "new".

1.5.1.1 The choice of subjects

A prerequisite for this study was that all subjects had to be married Tswana couples living together in a rural area or an urban area. A criterion for "ruralism" and "urbanism" had thus to be established. It was decided, therefore, that the number of years the subjects had spent in their particular area of residence would be the most appropriate criterion. Any subject who had lived in the respective area for a period of not less than twenty consecutive years and who had spent the greater part of his/her life in such an area was regarded as a typical resident of the area and thus qualified to be interviewed.

1.5.1.2 The rural sample

In selecting the rural sample the universe was divided arbitrarily into five zones, namely the eastern zone, western zone, northern zone, southern zone and the central zone. From each of these zones ten families were selected at random according to purposive sampling procedure.

1.5.1.3 The urban sample

The same procedure of purposive sampling was followed as in the case of the rural sample. At the time of the field-work for this study, Ga-Rankuwa Township consisted of five complete zones. There were other zones

in which people were still being settled, but the research project was limited to the five in which the people had already settled and were thus more or less stable in their social life in general. Ten families were selected at random from each zone.

1.5.1.4 Tabulation of data

The data for this study is presented in comparative frequency tables. These tables were compiled with the aid of the N.C.R. Century 100 computer of Pietersburg Municipality.

1.5.2 The schedule

The schedule used in this project is divided into two sections - A and B (cf. Annexure A). Section A is concerned mainly with identification and personal data and includes items such as place of birth, period spent in a rural area, period spent in an urban area, occupation, standard of education, and related matters.

Section B is devoted to data pertaining to the role and status of husband and wife. Five main areas of family life are covered by this section of the schedule, namely, the exercise of authority, economic activity, care and upbringing of children, household duties and ownership of property.

It should be mentioned here that it was not considered necessary to make use of all the data obtained by means of the schedules to complete this study.

1.5.3 Procedure followed in the use of the schedule

The interviewer started every interview by introducing himself to the interviewee. The following statement was used as a prelude to the interview: "I am Motshologane, a lecturer at the University of the North. As a Motswana, I am interested in knowing a few things about the Tswana family. The things I want to know are, however, not written

in books but are known by married Tswana couples like you. To make our task easy, I have a few questions to ask you and what I require from you are honest and candid answers to these questions. Everything you tell me will be treated confidentially. Even as you can see, your name and address will not appear anywhere on this form." At the end of every interview the researcher expressed a word of thanks to the subject for co-operating.

All the two hundred subjects selected were interviewed individually. Possible answers to each question were listed in rectangular blocks below the question. Provision was also made for any other answer. All the researcher had to do was to indicate the interviewee's response by means of a cross (X) in the appropriate space. The reason for each answer was fully written down in the space provided for this purpose in the schedule.

1.5.4 Problems encountered in the field-work

The major problem facing a research worker in an African community, especially in the urban area, is the suspicion with which the subjects regard him. This makes the establishment of rapport difficult. The present study was no exception to this problem.

During the course of the field-work the researcher was quite often suspected to represent the Security Police coming to fish for information from the interviewees, or to be an agent connected with "government removal schemes" by mere reference to items in the schedule such as "place of birth", "period spent in an urban area", and similar items. This problem necessitated a lengthy and convincing, but time-consuming explanation from the researcher to assure the subjects that his was a purely scholarly project having nothing to do with either the police or government projects.

Quite often to secure an interview the researcher

had to offer some financial inducement, especially to the urban male subjects.

Another problem encountered, again in the urban area in particular, was that in a number of cases the researcher had to visit the same family twice or even thrice because of the problem of not finding either the husband or the wife, but mostly the husband, at home. Fortunately there were no rejections.

However, in spite of these problems, in the ultimate the field-work in both areas covered by this study came out a worthwhile experience for the researcher with regard to the practical implications of social research.

1.5.5 Validity of the data

When assessed on the basis of the research techniques and procedures employed in the collection of data, the data for this study can safely be said to be reasonably objective and therefore reasonably valid. However, the factor which seems to militate strongly against this assertion is the suspicion, if not a discovery, by the researcher that in most cases the interviewees were inclined to give what they considered an ideal answer to a particular question instead of that which actually obtains in their families. Quite often this necessitated the lengthening of an interview to enable the researcher to probe the world of the interviewee in a less formal manner in order to obtain reasonably accurate information.

1.5.6 Reference to sources

Sources of information in the text are indicated by means of the author's surname, the number of the work cited, and the page number in the cited work, thus Southall (26,2).

The Arabic numeral placed immediately after the author's surname refers to a numbered list of references arranged alphabetically by author at the end of the text.

CHAPTER 2
URBANIZATION AND THE FAMILY

2.1 Introduction

As was pointed out in the first chapter, this study is concerned with the investigation of the distinctive characteristics of the Tswana family pertaining to the position and role of husband and wife. Both structurally and functionally the family is of great significance in all human societies. It is the basic unit of social organization and constitutes man's first experience of social life. For most men, if not all, the family is the most enduring and permanent social group. Its structure and function can only be modified to a certain extent by currents of social change no matter what their nature.

As a point of reference and basis for comparison for the present study, a brief exposition of the family as a universal institution and of the functions of the family is given in this chapter. Attention will also be given to how this universal institution has been influenced and modified by the closely related processes of industrialization and urbanization.

2.2 The family as a universal institution

Sociologists define an institution as a social unit, recognised and approved by society, maintaining itself for purposes that are important to the continuity of society. The family is the most basic such social unit, the most important 'molecule' in any society. Families maintain the continuity of society by producing new individuals in each generation and by passing on through these new members not only physical life, but also knowledge, customs, traditions, as well as intellectual, emotional, and spiritual endowments. Assessing its nature on the basis of the purposes it fulfils in human society, the family

can be seen, on the one hand, as essentially a biological unit, centred on the function of reproduction and geared to perpetuating the species; and, on the other, as a cultural and social institution.

Viewed as a biological unit the family, regarded as a cohesive group consisting of two parents and their offspring, is not peculiar to man, but is to be found also among a variety of mammals and birds. In this context the family is a 'natural' association arising out of the need to care for the young while they are dependent. Human children are produced rather infrequently and in small numbers compared with those of other species and are helpless for a longer period. There is, therefore, need for continuous care if enough are to survive to perpetuate the human species.

While all this may indeed be so, the human family is peculiar in that it is reinforced by institutions that are indubitably social: it is the existence of these social institutions, with their embodiment of social norms - together with certain cognitive attributes of its members - which principally distinguish the human family from the so-called families of other species.

Although the human family is linked to a whole network of social institutions, its closest association is with the supporting institution of marriage which formalises and regularises the relationships between family members. The institution of marriage is essential to the idea of the family as generally known, and the two are indeed often almost indistinguishable, and difficult to separate even for purposes of analysis. Westermarck (31,1) defines marriage as "a relation of one or more men with one or more women which is recognised by custom or law, and which involves certain rights and duties, both in the case of the parties entering the union and in the case of the children born of it".

Westermarck's definition depicts marriage as unquestionably social and clearly distinguishable from mere biological mating. It highlights the features which constitute the essence of marriage in all societies and in particular that it must be recognised, with institutionalised rights and duties attached.

A wide variety of practices are allowed for in Westermarck's definition. It accommodates group marriage, polyandry and polygamy, which in the past was a prevalent form of marriage in most African communities. It also embraces a wide range of family forms or structures. It covers patriarchy, that is where authority is in the hands of men, particularly where it is vested in the oldest male member of the family - a characteristic feature of family organization in most African societies. Also found, but less common, is matriarchy where power is in the hands of women.

From Westermarck's definition it is apparent that the modern conception of the nature of marriage and of the family is only one of a variety of possibilities. The ideal-type marriage in modern societies is defined as a voluntary union for life of one man and one woman to the exclusion of all others.

Although the family is an extremely varied social institution, it does possess a solid core of universal features. Green (6,389) has the following to say in this connection: "What is universal in the human family stems from two facts. First, man's problem of survival is much more a group than it is an individual matter. Care of the children and the sexual activity which precedes their birth are in all times and places a matter of public control. Second, man is one species, and the peculiarities of his biology impose certain limits on the range of variation in his behaviour."

As Murdock (15,2) rightly points out, "the nuclear

family is a universal social grouping. Either as the sole prevailing form of the family or as the basic unit from which more complex familial forms are compounded, it exists as a distinct and strongly functional group in every known society."

Lowie (12,3) supports this idea of the universality of the family when he says: "It does not matter whether marital relations are permanent or temporary; whether there is polygyny or polyandry or sexual license; whether conditions are complicated by the addition of members not included in our family circle; the one fact stands out beyond all others that everywhere the husband, wife and immature children constitute a unit apart from the remainder of the community".

Indeed, a great variety of family types and of customs connected with the family can be distinguished in various societies. However, the nuclear family, with its component relationships, seems to be basic to all of them. Anna Steyn (28,1) puts it aptly as follows: "Die eenvoudigste gesinstipe bestaan uit 'n man en vrou wat getroud is, met hulle afhanklike kinders. Dit is by uitstek die heersende vorm in die westerse samelewing, en daar word na verwys as die nukleêre of kerngesin. Hierdie gesin is 'n universele groepering, want hoewel daar ander gesinsvorme in ander samelewings gevind word, blyk dit by nadere beskouing dat ook hierdie ander vorme basies uit verskillende kombinasies van nukleêre gesinne saamgestel is."

While on the basis of the evidence adduced above the universality of the family seems to be an indisputable fact, for the purpose of this study we are inclined to follow Gillin and Gillin's (5,140) line of thought, namely that "the family is not everywhere the same; the family is universal, but the behaviour of the members differs according to the culture of the

society in which they live". While the Tswana family may share the general characteristics of the family as a universal institution it will have its own peculiarities in terms of the behaviour patterns of its members within the Tswana culture. It is these details of behaviour pertaining to husband and wife in the Tswana family located in two socio-culturally different areas which this study sets out to assess in relation to the process of urbanization.

2.3 Universal functions of the family

As indicated above, the forms and expressions of family life vary from one society to another and even within the history of a given society. Nevertheless, owing to the universal pressure for group survival, the family everywhere meets a number of universal requirements. Murdock (15,10) asserts thus: "In the nuclear family or its constituent relationships we ... see assembled four functions fundamental to human social life - the sexual, the economic, the reproductive, and the educational. Without provision for the first and the third, society would become extinct; for the second, life itself would cease; for the fourth, culture would come to an end."

Sorokin *et al* (25,4) reiterate the above-mentioned functions in somewhat different terms: "The fundamental bio-social functions of the family have been

1. the production of human beings;
2. the procuring of the means of subsistence;
3. the education, training and preparation - through religious, moral, mental, physical and occupational training - of the children for life in society as its adult socii;
4. the protection of its members from enemies and dangers;
5. the mitigation of their psycho-social isolation; and
6. the facilitating of their happiness and comfort.

While performing these functions, the family at the same time has carried on important activities necessary to the welfare and existence of any super-family group - tribe, nation, state, church and so forth."

It seems evident from the foregoing survey of the literature on the structure and functions of the family, that in every society childbirth can occur outside the family, but that no society approves of illegitimacy. Only within the family, within a body of recognized and accepted rules, can the duties of parents to children be regulated from one generation to the next. It seems, therefore, safe to conclude that reproduction as a mere biological event is never sanctioned in human society; if it were, society could not be maintained in the form it is known today.

It would seem also that the enforcement of legitimacy is closely linked with the necessity for rearing the children to near adulthood. Even as Westermarck points out in his classic definition of the family, during the child's prolonged period of infancy certain delegated persons must feed, shelter, and clothe him. They must protect him from bodily harm and nurture him through illness.

The family further assures itself of biological as well as social survival by giving status to newborn children. A child acquires from his family a name and a lineage, a recognized place in the scheme of things. He may also acquire social rank, occupation, property, education, religion, and political affiliation because of this status. Something more is implied in the child's status - the duty to maintain, in the given community, his family's reputation and good name, if it has one. As Green (6,392) rightly points out, "the family gets the child first. The very conception of self is largely derived from early-life contacts within the family. The child is thus bound to acquire many subtle facets of personality, revealed by manners, attitudes, and emotional reactions. The folklore,

the moral and religious traditions and the customs and sentiments of the group are likewise transmitted within the family. It is the family's interpretation of the culture which is transmitted to, and acquired by, the growing child. Individual differences in personality are in part explainable on this basis."

Suffice it to mention that these are some of the universal functions which the family performs on behalf of both the individual and society as a whole. It is these functions in particular and the manner in which they are fulfilled which determine the role and status of the members of the family in any society. The Tswana family shares most of the universal features of the family described above. It also performs most, if not all, of the basic functions of the family mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the main contention of this study is that these universal functions of the family will differ in their fulfilment from society to society because of cultural influence. This should be particularly the case in the African communities whose traditional form of social organization has been, and is still being, greatly influenced by Western Civilization. In Schapera's (23,61-62) words, "through the action of the administration and of the European economic system, through the teachings of missionaries and educators, and through contact with Europeans in many other ways, the customs of the natives are daily being altered. Some elements of culture succumb more readily than others, but none remains entirely unaffected."

It may be proper to emphasize that it is not the aim of this study to investigate the extent to which the entire structure and functional features of the Tswana family have been changed by modernizing influences. The chief interest in this study is the role and status of husband and wife and how these have been affected by the phenomenon of urbanization.

2.4 The traditional role and status of husband and wife in the African family

Viewed in its typical traditional set-up the African family or household was an outstanding social unit within the African society. It was basically polygynous, patriarchal, patrilocal, pastoral, rural and economically self-supporting. Everything in the African society was related to family life and the family as a cultural unit permeated every facet of African social and cultural life. Schapera (23,9-10) sums up the nature and organization of family life in the African community as follows: "The family, in addition to its biological function of producing and rearing children, provided for their education in their early years. It was also the centre of the ceremonies connected with birth, marriage, death, and the worship of the ancestral spirits; and it was to a considerable extent a self-sufficient unit for the production and consumption of food. Among members of the same family there was a strong feeling of solidarity and interdependence. They helped one another in all domestic arrangements and difficulties, freely shared their belongings, and consulted together in matters of importance." From this description it seems evident that in its unadulterated traditional form the African family life was characterized by communalism. This was also true of community life.

In this set-up the father was the undisputed head of his family or household and was respected by his wife or wives and respected and feared by his children. He occupied a position of unquestionable authority in his family, and was the upholder of discipline both in respect of his wife or wives and children. Schapera (23,10) describes the role and status of husband/father in the traditional African family as follows: "The head of the household occupied a position of great dignity. He kept order and maintained discipline within the limits of his household, and in this direction exercised considerable

authority. All the property of the household was under his control, and none of the other inmates could alienate any of it without his consent. He was, in matters affecting the tribe at large, responsible for the conduct of all his dependants and theoretically answerable in law for their misdeeds; he acted as their legal representative at the tribal court, and was the medium through which communications were made to them by higher authorities." More clearly, therefore, the role of the husband/father was to protect his wife and children, treat them well, provide them with food, clothing and a hut and to cohabit regularly with his wife. He was to provide the household with arable land for cultivation, and cattle for use.

A woman, whether married or unmarried, was regarded as minor in the African society. A wife was subservient to her husband in terms of authority and decision-making within the family. Her role was to do all the household duties, to cultivate her own piece of arable land and to provide her children and husband with food from her crops. She was to obey her husband in all things and to cohabit with him regularly.

From this brief exposition it seems evident that role differentiation in the traditional African family was also a matter of the division of labour between the two sexes, the husband's activities being fundamentally instrumental, those of the wife remaining consummatory and expressive in orientation.

Tswana family and community life in Pilansberg, as experienced by the present writer who was born and bred in this area, has many of the characteristic features of the general traditional African family and community life described in the foregoing exposition. The Tswana family located in this area is generally monogamous, except for a few African doctors (witch doctors) who have more than one wife, patriarchal and patrilocal. For economic support

the family depends mainly on pastoral farming or, alternatively, on the remuneration of the husband/father who may take up employment as a migrant labourer in the cities far away from home, thus leaving the wife virtually in charge of all facets of the family unit.

Social distinctions of various kinds exist between men and women in the community. They sit apart at feasts and other social gatherings; certain spots in the village, like the council-place (kgotla), are normally reserved for the men. Sons are preferred as children for the perpetuation of the lineage of the father and the woman who bears daughters only is often despised. There is a well-defined division of labour between the sexes, certain tasks being traditionally allotted to each. For instance, life-stock and all matters pertaining to it is regarded as the exclusive world of the man and his sons.

In tribal law women are treated as perpetual minors, being subject for life to the authority of the husband/father. They are excluded from political assemblies, and all political offices are normally confined to men.

Contact with the White man's way of life is, however, both modifying these traditional patterns and introducing some new kinds of differentiation. Women nowadays occasionally do work formerly confined to men and several new occupations are common to both sexes. Owing largely to labour migration men are, on the whole, inclined more readily than women to discard old tribal practices. Some women, as teachers or nurses, have acquired an economic independence formerly unknown. In the main, however, the traditional forms of social, more especially legal and political, discrimination still persist.

By means of this study it is hoped to bring to light more clearly how sex roles, etc., have been and are changing as a result of the modernizing influence of urbanization.

2.5 Industrialization/urbanization and the family

The family, as described in the preceding paragraphs, responds to changes in the other parts of the social structure, and in most cases the sources or agents of this change are to be found outside rather than within the family. Most studies of the family seem agreed that the most dramatic modifications of the family structure in the western world and elsewhere were precipitated by the impact of industrialization and accompanying urbanization. In every instance the change seems to have followed the same trend, i.e. the remotely situated wholly self-sufficient type of rural family becoming virtually extinct when the domestic system of the early industrial revolution gave way to the factory system, and production in the economic sense moved out of the home. For the family members work-place and home were now separated with a degree of clarity which had rarely been the case in simpler forms of economic organization in the traditional set-up.

The separation of home and work had profound effects on the day-to-day family life. It broke up the close and frequent interaction of husband and wife, parents and children. As the process of industrialization and concomitant urbanization intensified, and as the systems of public transport developed, it became feasible to travel long distances to work, or to school, and the daily dispersal of the family to office, factory, shop and school has now become institutionalised. Fathers commute ever greater distances to work and they may be absent during all or most of the waking hours of their children. This long daily absence of the father has had its effect on the internal authority structure of the family. The mother, particularly if she is at home rather than out at work, is frequently left to take entire responsibility for all the day-to-day decisions with regard to the management of the household and the children. Mary Farmer (4,23) has the following to say in this regard: "As the principal spender

and arbiter of taste, her status and authority have been enhanced, even when she works solely in the domestic sphere, and as a corollary, that of the father eroded".

Industrialization and urbanization have also altered the balance of power in the family in so far as the creation of new types of jobs are concerned, jobs which could be done by women. Farmer (4,23) puts it thus: "So, for women, jobs became a possible alternative to marriage, an alternative to subservience to husbands or fathers. A woman no longer needed to remain the ceremonial consumer of what her husband produced". This, too, has made for greater equality between the sexes and for a decline in male authority.

It can, therefore, be concluded that apparently in every society and culture where industrialization and concomitant urbanization have taken root, there has always been a great modification in the traditional structure and institutional functions of the family. The extent to which the Tswana family has been affected or changed by the process of urbanization in its structure and function, particularly with regard to husband-wife relationship, will be discussed in chapter 4.

CHAPTER 3
SURVEY OF RELATED STUDIES

3.1 Introduction

From what has been said in the preceding chapters, it should be evident that a study in social change is basically comparative. To achieve this objective it must start its analysis with the exploration of what was, and end with the description of what is or what is in the process of becoming.

In this chapter, therefore, it is proposed to reflect on a few studies and research findings concerned with the analysis of the concept 'status-role' and social change, using mainly the family, but also other small groups, as the unit of analysis. Parsons' interpretation of the basic role division in the family will also be considered, and in conclusion a brief treatment of social change and family role differentiation in general will be given. The material is intended to serve as background, basis of comparison, and to illuminate aspects of the analysis of the research data in chapter four.

The basic premise here is that a social relationship is structured by the rights and obligations of the parties to it; that social change occurs when, and only when, new norms and values develop as to these rights and obligations, for until new ideas gain general acceptance and become norms, any infraction of the existing code will call forth sanctions and result in a reinforcement of the traditional pattern.

3.2 Overview of related studies

In his investigation of the correlation between trade and the role of the wife in Akan society, McCall (14,286) points out that in the traditional set-up the husband-wife relationship was one of superordination-

subordination. He states: "The husband was dominant and not only controlled the product of his wife's labour but expected to have maintained a supervision of his wife's behaviour". According to McCall, in the tradition bound Akan society a woman was primarily a farmer but had some experience in trading and was accustomed to the idea of taking charge of her own property; all the same she was under the dominance of her husband economically and sexually, her lineage being prepared to support the husband's rights.

However, as a result of change consequent upon contact with Whites, McCall observes that there has been a complete change in the means of obtaining a livelihood and hence in the role of the wife. Women are now full-time traders. His findings show further that the women support themselves; that they sometimes entirely support their children and always are contributors to that support; and that typically they do not give any money to their husbands. While they were farmers their husbands had complete control over the products of their labour; now that they are traders this control has almost completely disappeared. It is this type of economic activity which has enabled the woman to escape the supervision and dominance of her husband.

McCall points out further that the economic independence which the wife gained was accompanied by sexual independence. The farm activities of the woman were done, in the olden days, in company with other women to each of whom the wife had a definite relationship, either through her own lineage or through her husband's. All of these, to a greater or lesser extent, would protect the interests of the husband. In the small markets of that time, the wife would find the same women there to watch her.

However, observes McCall, the scale of the modern markets and the towns that they serve have so expanded that

the trader is often a stranger to her neighbour who has no interest in the welfare of the former's husband. The trader can pick her friends in the market by personal preference and is not restricted to relatives and affines. The lineage is now less effective in guaranteeing the interests of the husband. The members of the lineage are more scattered and less able to assert their controlling influence. In any event the woman herself is less ready to accept such direction from her lineage.

McCall's findings have a direct bearing on the aim of the present study in that he has attempted to demonstrate how the rise of towns, and hence urbanization, modified the role and status of the wife in the Akan society. The dominance of the husband with regard to his ability to control his wife economically and sexually has clearly diminished.

Another study closely related to the present project is one conducted by Little (11,16) on the position of women in Sierra Leone. Little points out that before contact with Whites the position of women was based on their traditional role in the common life as mothers, wives, and as workers on the farm. Their duties and obligations were defined in terms of the extended family and household group, and their rights and privileges were derived from hereditary and other offices in the 'secret societies', and from the status-structure of the larger group to which they belonged.

Little states, however, that this position is undergoing a change as a result of culture contact. He says: "Various events, mainly external, have helped to increase the use and distribution of money, and contact with European habits has given the women extra incentive to obtain cash for themselves. The general effect has been to place more value on the services of women, both as workers and in their relations with men, and is leading

to a break-down in the polygamous structure upon which the patriarchal control of native society formerly depended."

The above is another indication of how the adoption of certain aspects of European way of life by Africans has modified the position of both husband and wife in the community at large and the family in particular.

The change in the position of husband and wife in the African community as a result of modernizing influences is further elaborated by Simons (24,16) from a legal point of view. He makes the following observation: "Women, it is commonly said, have no legal capacity in African law. They are perpetual minors. They cannot own property in their own right, inherit, or act as the guardians of their children. They cannot enter into contracts, sue or be sued, without the aid of their male guardian. Regardless of their age and marital condition, women are always subject to the authority of men."

Simons points out, however, that many women living outside the bounds of tribal society today earn their own living, acquire property in their own right and often act as heads of families. He concludes that under modern changing conditions in the African communities a law that places women under male tutelage is unreal, creates hardships and cannot be effectively enforced. "African customary law", says Simons, "reflects the old society and has been poorly adapted to the changes in social conditions and human relations. The discrepancy between the old rules and new facts is greatest where women are concerned, and is most harmful to their interests. They are worse off, in terms of the customary law, than they were before industrialization set in. ... But the main reason for the unfavourable trend is that women have outgrown the status assigned to them in the traditional society. ... Women must now fend for themselves in a highly individualistic, competitive and acquisitive society. Perpetual tutelage

and a denial of proprietary capacity impose severe limitations on those who have been absorbed in the exchange economy." (24,9)

Phillips (20,24) corroborates Simons' argument in these words: "A marriage contracted under civil law gives the wife rights which she did not have under the Native custom, notably that of divorcing her husband for adultery. Women are allowed to appear in their own right as parties before European courts and are demanding this right in the native courts. Their right to share in the inheritance of their fathers' possessions, and even the right of a woman to succeed as the principal heir if there are no sons, is now recognized." Phillips concludes that these changes are the result of cultural diffusion and that they affect the role and status of the woman in the African community as well as the relationship between her and her husband.

In his analysis of the effect of cultural diffusion on the structure and functioning of the African family Colin Rip (21,124) also emphasizes the change which has occurred in the relationship between husband and wife as a result of contact with European habits and values. He writes as follows: "With the change in the make-up of the family and the decline of kin solidarity there is a growing tendency for man and wife to be companions". Rip concludes that this type of relationship, which is foreign to the African culture, has resulted in women refusing to submit themselves to the absolute control and authority of their husbands.

From the studies and research findings referred to above, it is apparent that the structure and function of the African family, more especially the role and status of the wife and the relationship between her and her husband, have been greatly modified by industrialization and urbanization in African countries including South Africa. Its traditional structure and function are, indeed,

splintering in the process of considerable change.

3.3 Parsons' Interpretation of Role-Differentiation in the Family

The most exhaustive analysis of the basic role structure of the nuclear family so far presented is probably that of Talcott Parsons. Its importance lies apparently in the consideration it gives to the interpretation of the family role structure in differing societies and cultures, and it is assumed, by way of extension, that this basic role-differentiation also applies to the Tswana family.

Parsons maintains that roles in the family are differentiated on the basis of two axes: the authority axis and the sex axis. On the authority axis he finds that a distinction is made between generations and that the parents, who are both adults, exercise authority over the children of both sexes, who are equally without authority. Differentiation along the sex axis is instrumental and expressive in character - a type of differentiation found in all social groups, more especially in small groups of approximately the same size as the nuclear family.

According to Parsons, in the family, as in the small group, the instrumental-consummatory difference is interpreted as differentiation of function in terms of the external and internal functions of the system. The instrumental functions which are undertaken mainly by the husband concern the relationship of the family with external situations and set the tone for the attitudes adopted by the family towards external aims. The consummatory sphere is mainly concerned with the internal affairs of the family, i.e. the maintenance of the integrating relationships among its members and the regulation of tension levels. Here the mother is the main figure.

There has been close co-operation and agreement among the investigators who handled role-differentiation

along these lines in both the family and the small group. It is thus possible to make cross references to these two fields of study. So, for example, Strodtbeck (29,3-11) tried to show that both sex and activity may be determinant in the task and socio-emotional specialization; his findings confirm the hypothesis that in jury deliberations sex role specialization is similar to the behaviour of the adults within the family. He puts it thus: "Our data indicates that the structural differentiation of sex role, relating as it does to the nuclear family experience, constitutes a slight, but persistent continuity and that over the range from family problem-solving to jury deliberations, sex-typed differentiation in interaction can be reliably demonstrated".

Grusky (7,215) labels this type of role differentiation "familial role differentiation" and makes the following observation in a study of role differentiation in the psychological clinic: "We have noted that there are two specialized roles that characterize the familial role structure, the 'father-like' role and the 'mother-like' role in the traditional sense of the terms. The typical father-like figure in a small group has a strong responsibility, a general interest in the control of the group process, and is efficient and highly task-oriented. The mother-like figure is characterized by her warmth and expressiveness in her social relationships. We expect the father-like figure to occupy a relatively high power position in the formal hierarchy and also to be perceived as an authority figure. On the other hand the mother-like figure should be in the middle or low in the formal power and clearly not be perceived as an authority figure. The mother-like figure's power arises from her being the most well-liked person. The function of the father-like figure centres around accomplishments of the group goals. The function of the mother-like figure centres around the prolongation of smooth and friendly interpersonal relations

in the group."

From the above statement it is apparent that Grusky is almost completely in agreement with Parsons' interpretation of role differentiation in the nuclear family. The male figure, in the small group as well as in the nuclear family, is task-oriented while the female remains basically expressive.

Parsons comes to the conclusion that the fundamental explanation for this allocation of roles in the nuclear family and the small group is contained in the biological fact that it is the woman who bears the children, feeds and cares for them during their early years. Since the man is not equipped to fulfil this biological function, he is forced to specialize in the alternative instrumental function. Parsons (19,13) sums it up as follows: "Of course ... he has other very important functions in relation to both the wife and the children, but it is fundamentally by virtue of the importance of his occupational role as a component of his familial role that ... we can unequivocally designate the husband-father as the 'instrumental leader' of the family as a system".

Parsons and Bales point out further that although the woman's activity may assume an instrumental character while the husband is away at work, she nevertheless still fulfils a consummatory role because by remaining at home she still symbolizes an integrative function for the family. Zelditch in (19,312) has the following to say in this connection: "... the mother very often stays at home symbolizing the integrative focus of the system (even though her activities may be primarily instrumental during this phase of family activity).... What is significant is that someone is in fact more responsible for integrative-expressive behaviour than the person who went off to work. Why after all, are two parents necessary? ... to be a stable focus of integration, the integrative-expressive

leader can't be off on adaptive-instrumental errands all the time."

For the purpose of this study Parsons' view of the basic role division in the nuclear family is considered the most apposite interpretation of the 'ideal' traditional role differentiation in the family in most societies, including the Tswana family in the African community. Suffice to mention that it was on the basis of this Parsonian interpretation of the role structure of the nuclear family that the hypothesis for the present study was formulated.

3.4 Social change and family role-differentiation

The basic question to be considered in this section is whether the role-division in the family as outlined by Parsons and his corroborators will remain unaffected in the face of a strong current of social change to which reference was made earlier in this study. This, in fact, is the question which this study will ultimately attempt to answer.

A number of writers and research workers have given attention to this same question. Burgess and Locke (1,475-476) maintain, for example, that the changing functions of the family, which on the whole reflect the changing social conditions, have also changed the relative positional relationships of the different members of the family.

Klein and Myrdal (8,25) point out that the woman is entering the labour market on a large scale, that her position in society as a whole has consequently changed, and that this change has affected her family role to a very great extent.

Parsons (16,5) does not fully agree with these observations. He is quite aware of social change in general and maintains that the woman's role in particular

has changed to a very great extent in terms of content, that it is now less clearly formulated and defined than before, and that it can oscillate between various possibilities in role-performance as she can now enter the labour market.

However, while recognizing these changes, Parsons still maintains that there has not been any drastic change in the basic role division within the family and that in spite of it all role differentiation is still along the authority and instrumental-consummatory axes. He (19,14-15) observes as follows: "It seems quite safe in general to say that the adult feminine role has not ceased to be anchored primarily in the internal affairs of the household, while the role of the adult male is primarily anchored in the occupational world, in his job and through it by his status-giving and income-earning functions for the family. Even if, as seems possible, it should come about that the average married woman had some kind of job, it seems most unlikely that this relative balance would be upset; that either the roles would be reversed, or their qualitative differentiation in these respects completely erased."

Reference will again be made to this argument in chapter five.

Cilliers (2,60) corroborates Parsons' argument. He points out that the emancipation of women in modern society and other factors have not destroyed the differentiation of female and male roles in the family; instead such changes have only served to accentuate the differentiation and to make it even clearer. Like Parsons, Cilliers does not deny the fact that social change does have an influence on the basic role division in the family and this is what he says in this regard (2,64-65): "Hierdie beskouing van die verhoogde differensiasie van geslagsrolle impliseer natuurlik nie dat ontken word dat belangrike veranderinge ingetree het in die tradisionele beskouings oor manlikheid

en vroulikheid nie. Dit sluit ook nie die verdere moontlikheid uit van 'n onderlinge oordraging van norme en waardes ten opsigte van geslagsrolle nie. Die neiging tot die professionalisering van die moeder-rol, deurdat wetenskaplike en rasionele standaarde van gedrag daarop toegepas word en die invoering van die sogenaamde benadering van menslike verhoudings in die handel en nywerheid, spreek duidelik van hierdie oordraging van waardes en norme. Indien ons die moeder-rol kan tipeer as fundamenteel ekspressief van aard, kan gesê word dat dit in die hedendaagse samelewing 'n definitiewe instrumentele karakter begin aanneem, terwyl die beroepsrol, wat fundamenteel instrumenteel van aard is, vandag al meer 'n ekspressiewe of affektiewe element behels."

We agree with Parsons, and with Cilliers in particular, that while it is true that there has been some modification in the traditional role division in the nuclear family as a result of external influences, the basic role differentiation between husband and wife remains. The husband is still fundamentally the instrumental leader of the nuclear family while the wife's activities are basically confined to the expressive-consummatory sphere. It must be pointed out, however, that while this is so it is also true, as Cilliers rightly points out, that the wife's role in modern society is beginning to assume a definite instrumental character, while the husband's role is becoming more expressive or affective. That this position also obtains in the Tswana family shall be demonstrated in the fourth chapter.

CHAPTER 4

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION OF DATA OBTAINED IN RURAL PILANSBERG AND URBAN GA-RANKUWA

4.1 Introduction

As was pointed out in the first chapter, this study is an investigation of the extent to which urbanization is changing the traditional role and status of husband and wife in the Tswana family. The research data to be analysed in this chapter pertains, therefore, to the activities and position of husband and wife with regard to five facets of Tswana family life, namely:-

- (i) Authority in the family,
- (ii) Economic activity,
- (iii) Care and upbringing of children,
- (iv) Household duties, and
- (v) Ownership of property.

While the data obtained from both the rural and urban samples is tabulated according to the occupational status and level of education of the interviewees, only the tables based on the level of education of both husband and wife are used in the text of the dissertation for analysis and interpretation of the data. This is done because the level of education attained by the subjects is considered the most objective and reliable criterion on the basis of which social change may be assessed, in contradistinction to their occupational status. It is sometimes difficult to establish the actual occupational status of African workers, especially in the urban areas, because they are often classified as unskilled workers when in actual fact they may be doing skilled work. For this reason occupational status is regarded as a somewhat unreliable criterion for the purposes of analysis and interpretation of the data for this study. However, most of the tables based on this criterion are presented as an Annexure at the back of the

dissertation and are referred to only where necessary in the interpretation of the data in the text.

The discussion of the five facets of Tswana family life will be undertaken in the order listed above.

4.2 Authority in the family

Viewed in terms of status and role the concept 'authority' implies, among other things, that a person occupying a position so designated within a particular social system has the right to define or prescribe the behaviour of the individuals in contra-positions within the same system in so far as this behaviour has a bearing on the system as such or on the attainment of system goals; it also implies that the individuals in the contra-positions have the obligation to execute these behaviour prescriptions.

One of the most important factors which can be used as criteria for determining the degree and direction of authority within a specific interaction system is 'decision-making'. The right which a person has to take binding decisions within an interaction system implies authority because, depending on the nature of the decision, other individuals in contra-positions of the system are obliged to behave or act in a specific prescribed manner. Parsons (44,39) puts it aptly as follows: "Authority is the way in which the binding character of decisions is defined. It is an institutionalized feature of a reciprocal role relationship; there is hence always a double question. First, in what respects and how far is alter bound by ego's decisions and, second, how far and in what respect is ego bound by alter's decisions? We tend to speak of authority only when the relation is relatively onesided."

It is precisely on the basis of the meaning expressed above that the pattern of authority in the Tswana family is investigated here. The assumption of this study in this respect is: that while the traditional Tswana

TABLE 4.1

Alleged head of family analysed according to the educational status of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	8	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	8	16	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	28
Form I - Form III	6	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	12	21	42	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	42
Matric and over	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	15	30	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	30
TOTAL	50	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	100	50	100	-	-	-	-	-	-	50	100

TABLE 4.2

Alleged head of family analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE										
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	Total	%
No schooling	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	14	28	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	17	34	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	17	34
Form I - Form III	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	25	50	-	-	-	-	-	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	-	-	5	10
TOTAL	50	100	-	-	-	-	-	50	100	50	100	-	-	-	-	-	50	100

family is characterized by 'male dominance' in almost every facet of family life, this pattern of authority appears to be changing due to the influence of urbanization and a new 'partner-equal' pattern seems to be emerging in its place.

4.2.1 Alleged head of the family

4.2.1.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.1 (cf. p.40)

According to the data in Table 4.1, 36% of the males in the rural sample who allege to be heads of their families received formal education up to the lower primary school level, while 34% had no schooling at all; 16% went up to the higher primary school level, while 12% and 2% went up to the secondary school level and matric and above respectively.

In the urban sample 42% of these males received formal education up to the secondary school level, while 30% went as far as matric and above and 28% only up to the higher primary school level.

The rural and urban data analysed above seems to suggest that neither the level of education¹ of the subjects nor the influence of the urban environment has had any significant effect on their conception of the traditional position of the husband as head of the Tswana family.

4.2.1.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.2 (cf. p.41)

In the rural sample of Table 4.2, 34% of the females who allege that their husbands are heads of their

1. In the African system of education in South Africa the following terms are generally used to designate the various grades:

Lower Primary School	= Sub.A - Std.II
Higher Primary School	= Std.III - Std.VI
Secondary School	= Form I - Form III
Matric	= Form IV - Form V
Over matric	= University or equivalent education

TABLE 4.3

Decisions concerning family affairs in general analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	16	32	-	-	1	2	-	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	7	14	-	-	1	2	-	-	8	16	6	12	-	-	8	16	-	-	14	28
Form I - Form III	3	6	-	-	3	6	-	-	6	12	8	16	-	-	13	26	-	-	21	42
Matric and over	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	15	30	-	-	15	30
TOTAL	45	90	-	-	5	10	-	-	50	100	14	28	-	-	36	72	-	-	50	100

families received formal education up to the higher primary school level, while 28% went up to the lower primary school, and another 28% had no schooling at all. 10% of these females went as far as the secondary school level.

In the urban sample 50% of the females who allege that their husbands are heads of their families received formal education up to the secondary school level, while 34% went up to the higher primary school, and 10% went up to matric and above. A further 6% of these females received formal education up to the lower primary school level.

The data in this Table show the same statistical significance as the data in Table 4.1. There seems to be no indication that either the level of education of the female interviewees in both rural and urban samples or the influence of the urban environment on the urban sample has had any significant effect on their alleged conception of the traditional status of the husband as head of the Tswana family.

Suffice it to mention that the research findings as reflected in the foregoing analysis do not seem to corroborate the hypothesis stated above. According to the data in the two Tables discussed above all the respondents in both rural and urban samples, their level of education notwithstanding, allege that the husband is the indisputable head of the Tswana family. These findings are further borne out by the data in Tables 4.1B and 4.2B in Annexure B.

4.2.2 Decision-making concerning family affairs in general, e.g. involvement in kinship affairs

4.2.2.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.3 (cf. p.43)

According to the rural sample in Table 4.3, 36% of the males who allege to be responsible for decision-making received formal education up to the lower primary school level, while 32% had no schooling at all, and 14%

went as far as the higher primary school level; a further 6% had secondary school education, while 2% had matric and over. It is significant to note further that 6% of these males with formal education up to the secondary school level, 2% with higher primary school education, and another 2% with no schooling at all, claim that decision-making in this sphere is the equal responsibility of both the husband and his wife.

In the urban sample, in contradistinction to the rural sample, 30% of the males with formal education up to matric and over, followed by 26% with formal education up to the secondary school level, and 16% with formal education up to the higher primary school level in the third place, claim that decision-making in family affairs in general is the equal responsibility of both the husband and the wife. There are, however, 16% males in this sample with formal education up to the secondary school level, and 12% with formal education up to the higher primary school level who claim that the husband is solely responsible for decision-making in family affairs in general.

From the facts analysed above there seems to be a definite difference between the responses of the interviewees in the rural sample and those in the urban sample. There also appears to be a positive correlation between the responses and the level of education of the respondents. Most of the interviewees in the rural sample with relatively low educational qualifications maintain, in accordance with Tswana tradition, that the husband is responsible for making decisions in family affairs in general, while most of the respondents in the urban sample with, comparatively speaking, better qualifications in formal education maintain, contrary to tradition, that decision-making in this sphere of family life is the product of mutual consultation between husband and wife. It is, however, significant to note that just as there are 6% males with formal education up to the secondary school level, followed by 2% with

TABLE 4.4

Decisions concerning family affairs in general analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	11	22	-	-	3	6	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	13	26	-	-	1	2	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	10	20	-	-	17	34
Form I - Form III	3	6	-	-	2	4	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	-	25	50	-	-	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	5	10
TOTAL	44	88	-	-	6	12	-	-	50	100	-	-	-	41	82	-	-	50	100	

higher primary school education and another 2% with no schooling in the rural sample who claim that decision-making in family affairs in general is the equal responsibility of both the husband and his wife, there is also 16% males with formal education up to the secondary school level and 12% with formal education up to the higher primary school level in the urban sample who maintain that the husband is solely responsible for making decisions concerning family affairs in general. Therefore, there appears to be an indication of a slight infiltration of urbanism into the rural areas, but also an indication of the fact that some of the rural patterns, attitudes and conceptions are still lingering on in the urban areas.

4.2.2.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.4
(cf. p.46)

The facts in Table 4.4 are as follows: in the rural sample 34% of the females who allege that their husbands are responsible for making decisions concerning family affairs in general received formal education up to the higher primary school level, while 26% went as far as the lower primary school and 22% had no schooling; 6% went as far as the secondary school. However, there are a further 6% females with no schooling, 2% with lower primary school education, and 4% with secondary school education who maintain that the husband and the wife decide together in such matters.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (50%) of the females with formal education up to the secondary school level, followed by 20% with formal education up to the higher primary school level, 10% with matric and above in the third place, and 2% with lower primary school education in the fourth place, allege that decision-making concerning family affairs in general is the equal responsibility of both husband and wife, while 14% with a higher primary school education and 4% with a lower primary school

education maintain, on the contrary, that this is the responsibility of the husband alone.

The facts in this Table seem to corroborate the findings in Table 4.3. There is a difference between the responses of the interviewees in the rural sample and those of the respondents in the urban sample. This difference seems also to show a positive correlation with the difference in the educational level between rural and urban subjects. The majority of the respondents in the rural sample have a primary school or no educational qualifications and they lay no claim to decision-making process in their families. In the urban sample, however, the majority of the subjects have secondary school educational qualifications and they claim that decision-making in their families is the equal responsibility of both husband and wife. This seems to be indicative of the influence of both the level of education of the subjects and the urban environment to which they are subjected, on their conception of the traditional status of the husband in the decision-making machinery in the Tswana family.

According to the research findings in the two Tables analysed above there is a definite difference between the responses of the interviewees in the rural sample and those of the respondents in the urban sample. In Table 4.3 a total of 90% of the males in the rural sample allege that decision-making in family affairs in general is the sole responsibility of the husband, while in the urban sample a total of 72% of the males interviewed maintain, on the contrary, that decision-making in family affairs in general is the product of mutual consultation between husband and wife. According to Table 4.4 in the rural sample a total of 88% of the females interviewed allege that their husbands alone are responsible for making decisions concerning family affairs in general, while in the urban sample a total of 82% of the females interviewed maintain that both the husband and wife decide together in such matters.

TABLE 4.5

Decisions upon the general family increase analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	1	2	1	2	1	2	14	28	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	-	-	-	-	-	18	36	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	-	-	1	2	7	14	8	16	-	-	-	-	8	16	6	12	14	28
Form I - Form III	2	4	-	-	2	4	2	4	6	12	-	-	-	-	16	32	5	10	21	42
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	15	30	-	-	15	30
TOTAL	3	6	1	2	5	10	41	82	50	100	-	-	-	39	78	11	22	50	100	

These findings are corroborated by the data in Tables 4.3B and 4.4B in Annexure B.

It seems evident from these findings, in so far as the item being considered here is concerned, that male dominance in the urban Tswana family is changing in favour of the 'partner-equal' relationship between husband and wife.

4.2.3 Decision-making concerning general family increase, i.e. increase in the size of the family

4.2.3.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.5 (cf. p.49)

According to Table 4.5 in the rural sample 36% of the males who received formal education up to the lower primary school level, followed by 28% who had no schooling, then 14% who received formal education up to the higher primary school level in the third place, and 4% with secondary school education in the fourth place, allege that decision-making concerning increase in the size of the family is the responsibility of some person¹ outside the family. 2% of the males with no schooling maintain, on the contrary, that it is the husband who decides, while a further 2% in the same category allege that decision-making in this facet of family life is the sole responsibility of the wife. There is another 2% males still with no schooling who maintain that decision-making concerning increase in the size of the family is the product of mutual consultation between husband and wife.

In the urban sample 32% of the males with formal education up to the secondary school level, followed by 30% who went as far as matric and above, and 16% who received formal education up to the higher primary school level in the third place, maintain that decision-making upon the general family increase is a matter of mutual agreement

1. By some other person is understood some supernatural power.

TABLE 4.6

Decisions upon the general family increase analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	2	4	1	2	1	2	10	20	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	-	-	-	-	14	28	28	14	28	-	-	-	-	2	4	1	2	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	-	-	1	16	32	17	34	34	-	-	-	-	6	12	11	22	17	34
Form I - Form III	-	-	-	-	3	2	4	5	10	10	-	-	-	-	25	50	-	-	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	5	10
TOTAL	2	4	1	2	5	10	42	84	50	100	-	-	-	38	76	12	24	50	100	

between the husband and his wife. It is significant to note, however, that 12% of these males with formal education up to the higher primary school level, and 10% who went up to the secondary school level, maintain that the husband and his wife do not decide upon such issues, but some other person outside the family.

4.2.3.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.6
(cf. p.51)

In the rural sample of Table 4.6, 32% of the females with formal education up to the higher primary school level, followed by 28% who went as far as the lower primary school, then 20% who had no schooling at all in the third place, and 4% with secondary school education in the fourth place, allege that decision-making concerning the general family increase is neither the responsibility of the husband nor the wife in the Tswana family. However, 6% of these females with secondary school education, followed by 2% with higher primary school education, and another 2% with no schooling in the third place, maintain, on the contrary, that decision-making in this facet of family life is the equal responsibility of both husband and wife. A further variability of opinion on this matter is shown by the fact that 4% of the females with no schooling maintain that their husbands decide on matters of this nature, while 2% with no schooling allege that decision-making concerning increase in the size of the family is the sole responsibility of the wife.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (50%) of the females with formal education up to the secondary school level, followed by 12% who went up to the higher primary school level, then 10% with matric and above in the third place, and 4% with lower primary school education in the fourth place, maintain that decisions upon the general family increase are a matter of mutual agreement between the husband and his wife. However, 22% of the

females with formal education up to the higher primary school level and 2% with lower primary school education allege that neither the husband nor the wife, but some other person, decide upon this issue.

On the basis of the research data analysed above it seems evident that in the Tswana tradition and custom neither the husband nor the wife is responsible for making decisions concerning increase in the size of the family. The most common reason advanced for this type of response by the majority of the subjects in the rural sample is that matters of child-birth are beyond man's control.

In the urban sample, however, quite a different picture appears. In both Table 4.5 and 4.5B (cf. Annexure B) a total of 78% of the males interviewed allege that decision-making upon the general family increase is a matter of mutual agreement between the husband and his wife. The data in Tables 4.6 and 4.6B (cf. Annexure B) support this statement. In the rural sample a total of 84% of the females interviewed claim that neither the husband nor the wife is responsible for deciding upon matters pertaining to this facet of family life, while a total of 76% of the females interviewed in the urban sample maintain that the husband and his wife decide together.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to conclude on the basis of the facts above, especially on the strength of the data from the urban sample, that even in this aspect of Tswana family life the husband-wife relationship appears to be assuming a new 'partner-equal' pattern which can reasonably be said to be the outcome of urbanization.

TABLE 4.7

Decisions concerning the buying of big household articles analysed
according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	12	24	2	4	3	6	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	15	30	1	2	2	4	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	6	12	2	4	-	-	8	16	4	8	-	-	10	20	14	28
Form I - Form III	3	6	1	2	2	4	6	12	5	10	-	-	16	32	21	42
Matric and over	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	15	30	15	30
TOTAL	37	74	6	12	7	14	50	100	9	18	-	-	41	82	50	100

4.2.4 Decision-making concerning the buying of big household articles, e.g. big pieces of furniture in the house

4.2.4.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.7 (cf. p.54)

According to the data in Table 4.7 there seems to be some degree of variability of opinion in the rural sample concerning this item. 30% of the males with formal education up to the lower primary school level, followed by 24% with no schooling, then 12% who went up to the higher primary school level, followed by 6% with secondary school education, and 2% with matric and over, allege that they are responsible for making decisions in the buying of big household articles in their families. However, 4% of these males with no schooling, and another 4% with higher primary school education, followed by 2% with lower primary school education, and another 2% with secondary school education, allege, on the contrary, that decision-making in this facet of Tswana family life is the sole responsibility of the wife; while a further 6% of the males with no schooling, followed by 4% with lower primary school education, and another 4% with secondary school education, maintain that the husband and his wife decide together in matters of this nature.

In the urban sample variability of opinion does not seem to be as pronounced as is the case in the rural sample. 32% of the males who received formal education up to the secondary school level, followed by 30% who went up to matric or above, and 20% with a higher primary school education in the third place, maintain that the husband and his wife buy these articles by mutual agreement. However, 10% of the males with formal education up to the secondary school level, and 8% with higher primary school education, allege that decisions concerning the buying of big household articles is the responsibility of the husband alone.

TABLE 4.8

Decisions concerning the buying of big household articles analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	10	20	3	6	1	2	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	12	24	1	2	1	2	14	28	2	4	-	-	1	2	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	10	20	2	4	5	10	17	34	6	12	-	-	11	22	17	34
Form I - Form III	1	2	1	2	3	6	5	10	-	-	-	-	25	50	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	5	10
TOTAL	33	66	7	14	10	20	50	100	8	16	-	-	42	84	50	100

While recognising the variability of opinion among the subjects in both rural and the urban samples concerning this item, it seems reasonable to conclude, on the whole, that there is a significant difference between the responses of the interviewees in the two samples. This difference seems to show a positive correlation with the level of education of the subjects. In the rural sample most of the males whose responses are in keeping with Tswana tradition have either received formal education up to the lower primary school level only (30%), or they have had no schooling at all (24%); in the urban sample, however, the majority of the males who allege, contrary to tradition, that decision-making in this sphere of family life is a matter of mutual agreement between husband and wife, received formal education up to the secondary school level (32%) and matric or above (30%).

The facts analysed above seem to lead, therefore, to the conclusion that even in this facet of Tswana family life the husband-wife relationship in the urban family appears to be assuming a 'partner-equal' pattern as a result of the modernizing influences to which the family is subjected.

4.2.4.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.8 (cf. p.56)

According to Table 4.8 in the rural sample 24% of the females with formal education up to the lower primary school level, followed by 20% with formal education up to the higher primary school level, then another 20% with no schooling, and 2% with secondary school education, allege that their husbands are responsible for deciding on the buying of big household articles in their families. Variability of opinion among the subjects in this sample is borne out by the fact that 6% of the females with no schooling, followed by 4% with a higher primary school education, then 2% with a lower primary school education,

and another 2% with a secondary school education, allege that decision-making in this sphere of Tswana family life is the sole responsibility of the wife, while 10% with a higher primary school education, followed by 6% with a secondary school education, then 2% with a lower primary school education, and another 2% with no schooling at all, maintain that the husband and the wife decide together in matters of this nature.

In the urban sample 50% of the females with a formal education up to the secondary school level, followed by 22% who went up to the higher primary school level, then 10% with matric and above, and 2% with a lower primary school education, maintain that decision-making in this sphere of family life is a matter of mutual consultation between husband and wife. However, 12% of the males in this sample with a formal education up to the higher primary school level and 4% with a lower primary school education maintain that it is the husband alone who decides in these matters.

The data in this Table seem to corroborate the findings in Table 4.7. There appears to be a definite difference between the responses of the interviewees in the two samples and this difference seems to be in accordance with the difference in educational level of the subjects in the two samples. In the rural sample the majority of the females who seem to accept male dominance in their families have either very low formal educational qualifications or have had no schooling at all, while in the urban sample most of the females with comparatively higher formal educational qualifications appear to reject male dominance in favour of 'partner-equal' relationship to their husbands. This seems to be the product of the influence of the urban environment on the Tswana family.

The research findings derived from the data in the two Tables discussed above seem to be, more or less, corroborated by the data in Tables 4.7B and 4.8B in Annexure B.

TABLE 4.9

Decisions concerning the granting of children permission to take part in organizations and sport activities outside the family analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	12	24	1	2	4	8	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	14	28	-	-	4	8	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	7	14	-	-	1	2	8	16	2	4	-	-	12	24	14	28
Form I - Form III	6	12	-	-	-	-	6	12	6	12	-	-	15	30	21	42
Matric and over	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	15	30	15	30
TOTAL	40	80	1	2	9	18	50	100	8	16	-	-	42	84	50	100

4.2.5 Decision-making concerning granting children permission to take part in organizations and sport activities outside the family

4.2.5.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.9 (cf. p.59)

The data in Table 4.9 more or less like the data in Tables 4.7 and 4.8, show some variability in opinion among the interviewees in both the rural and the urban samples. In the rural sample the highest single percentage (28%) of males who allege to be responsible for making decisions in this respect have received formal education up to the lower primary school level, while 24% have had no schooling, and 14%, 12% and 2% went up to the higher primary school, the secondary school, and matric or over level respectively. 2% of the males without schooling maintain, on the contrary, that decision-making in this facet of Tswana family life is the sole responsibility of the wife, while 8% with lower primary school education, followed by another 8% with no schooling and 2% with higher primary school education in the third place, allege that husband and wife should decide by mutual consultation.

In the urban sample 30% of the males with matric or above, followed by another 30% with secondary school education, and 24% with a higher primary school education in the third place, maintain that decisions in these issues are a matter of mutual agreement between husband and wife. However, 12% of the males with a secondary school education, and 4% who had a higher primary school education, maintain, on the contrary, that only the husband decides upon such issues.

From this data it is apparent that with regard to this item most of the subjects in the rural sample allege male dominance in the Tswana family. The level of education of the subjects seems to have had little influence on their traditional conception of the position of the husband in

TABLE 4.10

Decisions concerning the granting of children permission to take part in organizations and sport activities outside the family analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	9	18	2	4	3	6	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28	1	2	-	-	2	4	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	16	32	-	-	1	2	17	34	7	14	-	-	10	20	17	34
Form I - Form III	5	10	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	-	25	50	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	5	10
TOTAL	44	88	2	4	4	8	50	100	8	16	-	-	42	84	50	100

the family. In the urban sample, however, the respondents who reject male dominance in favour of 'partner-equal' relationship between husband and wife have, comparatively speaking, high educational qualifications. This seems to be an indication that, in addition to urban influence, formal education has had an influence on their conception of the traditional position of the husband in the Tswana family.

4.2.5.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.10
(cf. p.61)

According to the data in Table 4.10 variability in opinion among the subjects is still to be observed. In the rural sample 32% of the females who allege that their husbands are responsible for decision-making in this facet of family life received formal education up to the higher primary school level, while 28% went up to the lower primary school level; 18% had no schooling at all, and 10% went up to the secondary school level. 4% of the females without schooling maintain, on the contrary, that they are solely responsible for making decisions in matters of this nature, while 6% with no schooling and 2% with a higher primary school education allege that the husband and his wife are equally responsible for decision-making in this respect.

In the urban sample 50% of the females with a secondary school education, followed by 20% with a higher primary school education, then 10% with matric and above and 4% with a lower primary school education, maintain that decision-making in these matters is a question of mutual agreement between husband and wife. There is, however, a significant 14% with a higher primary school education and a further 2% with a lower primary school education who maintain that decision-making in this facet of Tswana family life is the sole responsibility of the husband.

The data in this Table seem to confirm the findings in Table 4.9.

In sum the research findings pertaining to this item reveal a significant statistical difference between the responses of the interviewees in the rural sample and those of the respondents in the urban sample. According to Table 4.9 (and Table 4.9B - cf. Annexure B) the majority of the males in the rural sample (80%) claim dominance in the control of their children and the reason they give is that according to Tswana custom the wife has no authority over the children because they are not her s - traditionally the children belong to the husband. In the urban sample, however, a total of 84% of the males interviewed allege that the husband and his wife decide together in granting the children permission to take part in organizations and sport activities outside the family because the children belong to both parents and they, therefore, have equal authority over them. The data in Table 4.10 (and Table 4.10B - cf. Annexure B) seem to corroborate the picture depicted above. In the rural sample a total of 88% of the females interviewed, mostly housewives, seem to acknowledge that it is the husband who has absolute authority over the children, while in the urban sample a total of 84% of the females interviewed, mostly unskilled and skilled workers, maintain that the husband and the wife have equal authority over their children.

In conclusion let it be noted that the statistical findings in 8 out of the ten Tables (4.3 - 4.10) discussed above seem to corroborate the hypothesis that in the urbanized Tswana family the relationship between husband and wife, with regard to authority in the family, seems to be assuming a 'partner-equal' pattern mainly as a result of the modernizing influences to which the urban Tswana family is subjected. However, negligible statistical facts in almost all the Tables referred to above seem to suggest the emergence of this pattern even in the rural Tswana family.

TABLE 4.11

Alleged breadwinner for the family analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	17	34	-	-	-	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	18	36	-	-	-	-	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	8	16	-	-	-	-	8	16	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28
Form I - Form III	5	10	-	-	1	2	6	12	20	40	-	-	1	2	21	42
Matric and over	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	15	30	-	-	-	-	15	30
TOTAL	49	98	-	-	1	2	50	100	49	98	-	-	1	2	50	100

4.3 Economic activity

The extension of the hypothesis to be tested here is that urbanization has influenced the traditional role division between husband and wife in the Tswana family that there is now considerable overlapping between their roles in the sphere of economic activity.

According to Tswana tradition the husband is the sole breadwinner of the family; he alone controls the finances of the family. The wife reports the various necessities of the family to him and he in turn gives her the necessary amount of money to buy whatever the family requires.

4.3.1 The breadwinner of the family

4.3.1.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.11 (cf. p.64)

According to this Table in the rural sample 36% of the males who allege to be the breadwinners of their families received formal education up to the lower primary school level, 34% had no schooling at all, while 16% received formal education up to the higher primary school level, whereas 10% and 2% went up to the secondary school level and matric or above respectively. There is, however, a further 2% with secondary school education who maintain that both the husband and the wife are the breadwinners of the family.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (40%) of the males who claim to be the breadwinners of their families received formal education up to the secondary school level, while 30% have matric or above and 28% a higher primary school education. Only 2% of the males who have a secondary school education maintain that both parents could be the breadwinners.

From the data analysed above there seems to be no

TABLE 4.12

Alleged breadwinner for the family analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	13	26	-	-	1	2	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28	3	6	-	-	-	-	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	17	34	-	-	-	-	17	34	12	24	-	-	5	10	17	34
Form I - Form III	5	10	-	-	-	-	5	10	15	30	-	-	10	20	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	4	8	5	10
TOTAL	49	98	-	-	1	2	50	100	31	62	-	-	19	38	50	100

difference between the responses of the interviewees in both the rural and the urban samples. Almost all the males interviewed in both samples allege, irrespective of their level of education and in confirmation of Tswana tradition, that the husband is the breadwinner of the family. There is, therefore, apparently no ground for assuming that either urbanization or the level of education attained by the subjects has had any influence on their conception of the traditional role of the husband in this sphere of Tswana family life.

4.3.1.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.12
(cf. p.66)

The facts in this Table are as follows: in the rural sample 34% of the females who allege that their husbands are the breadwinners of their families received formal education up to the higher primary school level; 28% went up to the lower primary school level, while 26% and 10% had no schooling and secondary school education respectively. Only 2% of the females with no schooling maintain that both the husband and the wife are the breadwinners of their families.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (30%) of the females who allege that their husbands are the breadwinners in their families have secondary school education; 24% have a higher primary school education while 6% and 2% have a lower primary school education and matric or above respectively. A significant variability in opinion among the interviewees here is observed in the fact that 20% of the females with secondary school education, followed by 10% with a higher primary school education, and 8% with matric or above in the third place, allege that both the husband and the wife are the breadwinners of the family.

In the rural sample formal education seems to have had no effect on the women's conception of the traditional

role division in this sphere of Tswana family life. Almost all the subjects, irrespective of their level of education, maintain, in keeping with Tswana tradition, that the husband is the sole breadwinner of the family. In the urban sample the majority of the subjects do not yet show a marked deviation from tradition. It is only a small percentage with a secondary school and a higher primary school education who allege that because they contribute something to the finances of the family they too are the breadwinners of their families. This seems to be an indication of the influence of urbanization, and to a certain extent of formal education, on the traditional roles of husband and wife in this sphere of family life.

In conclusion it should be sufficient to mention that according to statistical facts in Tables 4.11 and 4.12 - also in Tables 4.11B and 4.12B in Annexure B - there is no significant statistical difference between the responses of the respondents in the rural sample and those in the urban sample with regard to this particular item. 98% of the males in the rural sample and 98% of the males in the urban sample allege that the husband is the breadwinner of the family. This is, indeed, the traditional role of the husband in the Tswana family, and, according to these findings, urbanization seems to have had very little effect, if any, on it. 98% of the female interviewees in the rural sample and 62% in the urban sample maintain, also, that the husband is the breadwinner of the family. However, there is a significant 38% of the female interviewees in the urban sample who allege that both the husband and the wife are the breadwinners of the family. This 38% seems to corroborate the assumption that there is a tendency for the roles of husband and wife to overlap in the sphere of economic activity in the urban Tswana family.

TABLE 4.13

Control of the finances of the family analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	11	22	3	6	3	6	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	18	36	-	-	-	-	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	6	12	1	2	1	2	8	16	10	20	-	-	4	8	14	28
Form I - Form III	5	10	-	-	1	2	6	12	8	16	-	-	13	26	21	42
Matric and over	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	-	-	14	28	15	30
TOTAL	41	82	4	8	5	10	50	100	19	38	-	-	31	62	50	100

4.3.2 Control of the finances of the family

4.3.2.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.13 (cf. p.69)

According to this Table 36% of the male interviewees in the rural sample who allege to be in charge of the family finances have a lower primary school education; 22% have had no schooling at all, while 12% received formal education up to the higher primary school only. 10% and 2% of these males went up to the secondary school level and matric or above respectively. There is, however, another 6% of the males with no schooling, and 2% with a higher primary school education who allege that it is the wife who is in charge of the finances of the family, while yet another 6% with no schooling, followed by 2% with a higher primary school education and another 2% with a secondary school education, maintain, on the contrary, that the husband and the wife have equal say in the finances of the family.

In the urban sample 28% of the males with matric or above, followed by 26% with a secondary school education, and 8% with a higher primary school education in the third place, allege that the husband and his wife are equally in charge of the finances of the family. 20% with a higher primary school education, followed by 16% with a secondary school education and 2% with matric or over, claim, on the contrary, that the husband is solely in charge of the finances of the family.

The data in this Table show a clear difference between the responses of the subjects in the rural sample and those in the urban sample. Most of the respondents in the rural sample maintain, their level of education notwithstanding, that the husband is in control of the finances of their families - again a confirmation of Tswana tradition. In the urban sample, however, there is a tendency to deviate from tradition as the majority of the respondents allege

TABLE 4.14

Control of the finances of the family analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	10	20	2	4	2	4	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	10	20	3	6	1	2	14	28	2	4	-	-	1	2	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	15	30	2	4	-	-	17	34	3	6	2	4	12	24	17	34
Form I - Form III	4	8	1	2	-	-	5	10	1	2	-	-	24	48	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	5	10
TOTAL	39	78	8	16	3	6	50	100	6	12	2	4	42	84	50	100

that the husband and the wife are equals in this facet of family life. There are, however, a few males (38%) in this sample who, in spite of their relatively higher level of education and urban circumstances, still show no break with tradition in their responses.

4.3.2.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.14
(cf. p.71)

In the rural sample of this Table 30% of the females who allege that their husbands are in control of the finances of the family, received formal education up to the higher primary school level, 20% have the lower primary school education, another 20% have had no schooling at all, and 8% have a secondary school education. 6% with the lower primary school education, followed by 4% with a higher primary school education, then another 4% with no schooling, and 2% with a secondary school education, allege, on the contrary, that it is the wife who is in charge of finances in the Tswana family, while 4% of the females with no schooling and 2% with the lower primary school education, maintain that the husband and the wife are equally responsible for the finances in the family.

In the urban sample 48% of the females with a secondary school education, followed by 24% with a higher primary school education, then 10% with matric or above, and 2% with the lower primary school education, maintain that the control of the finances of the family is a matter of mutual agreement between the husband and the wife. However, 6% of the females with higher primary school education, followed by 4% with the lower primary school education, and 2% who went up to the secondary school level in the third place maintain, on the contrary, that it is the husband who is solely in charge of the finances in the Tswana family. On the other hand 4% of the females with a higher primary school education allege that the wife alone controls the finances.

The data in this Table also show a significant statistical difference between the responses of the interviewees in the two areas investigated. In the rural sample more than 75% of the respondents allege, without regard to their level of education but in accordance with Tswana tradition, that the husband is in charge of the family finances. There is, however, a clear break with tradition in as far as the responses of the majority of the subjects in the urban sample are concerned, because in this sample the wife is presented as a 'partner' and 'equal' in matters of this nature. Similar to the conclusion drawn from the data in Table 4.13, this seems to be an indication of the extent to which urbanization and education have influenced the traditional division of labour in this sphere of Tswana family life.

In conclusion, it should be noted that in the two Tables analysed above - and also in Tables 4.13B and 4.14B in Annexure B - the research findings pertaining to this item seem to show a significant statistical difference between the responses of the interviewees in the rural sample and those in the urban sample. The findings further seem to corroborate the findings in Table 4.1 with regard to the pattern of authority in the Tswana family. According to Table 4.13 (and also Table 4.13B) a total of 82% of the males interviewed in the rural sample allege, in confirmation of Tswana tradition, that they control the finances of their families, while a total of 62% of the males interviewed in the urban sample allege, contrary to tradition, that the husband and the wife control the finances of the family on an equal basis - once more an indication of the emergence of the 'partner-equal' pattern in the husband-wife relationship in the urbanized Tswana family. The research findings reflected in Table 4.14 (and also Table 4.14B) seem to confirm what has been said above. The responses of a total of 84% of the females approached in the urban area present the wife as a 'partner' and 'equal'

TABLE 4.15

Buying of various necessities of the family analysed according to the educational status of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE					URBAN SAMPLE								
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	2	4	15	30	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	1	2	17	34	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	8	16	8	16	-	-	14	28	-	-	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	-	1	2	1	2	-	-	21	42	-	-	21	42
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	15	30	-	-	15	30
TOTAL	3	6	47	94	50	100	-	-	50	100	-	-	50	100

to her husband in so far as control over the finances of the family is concerned because she also contributes to the family finances by virtue of her being profitably employed outside the home.

4.3.3 Buying of various necessities for the family

4.3.3.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.15 (cf. p.74)

According to this Table 34% of the males in the rural sample who allege that their wives are responsible for this facet of family life received formal education up to the lower primary school level: 30% had no schooling, while 16% and 2% went as far as the higher primary school level and the secondary school level respectively. However, 4% of the interviewees with no schooling and 2% with the lower primary school education allege, on the contrary, that this is the responsibility of the husband.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (42%) of the males with secondary school education, followed by 30% with matric or over, and 28% with a higher primary school education in the third place, allege that the buying of various necessities for the family is clearly the responsibility of the wife.

From the data analysed above there is hardly any significant difference between the responses of the subjects in the two samples. Almost all the respondents in the two samples, except for 6% in the rural sample, allege that the wife is responsible for buying the various necessities for the family. This seems to suggest that urbanization has not had any effect on the traditional role of the wife in this facet of Tswana family life.

TABLE 4.16

Buying of various necessities of the family analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	1	2	13	26	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	-	14	28	-	-	14	28	-	-	3	6	-	-	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	17	34	-	-	17	34	-	-	17	34	-	-	17	34
Form I - Form III	-	-	5	10	-	-	5	10	-	-	25	50	-	-	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	5	10
TOTAL	1	2	49	98	-	-	50	100	-	-	50	100	-	-	50	100

4.3.3.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.16
(cf. p.76)

The facts in this Table are as follows: in the rural sample 34% of the females who allege to be responsible for buying the various necessities for the family received formal education up to the higher primary school level; 28% went up to the lower primary school level, while 26% had no schooling and 10% went as far as the secondary school level. However, 2% of the females with no schooling allege, on the contrary, that the buying of various necessities for the family is the sole responsibility of the husband.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (50%) of the females who claim responsibility for buying various necessities for the family have a secondary school education: 34% have the higher primary school education, while 10% have matric and above and 6% went up to the lower primary school level.

The findings in this Table seem to confirm the findings in Table 4.15. There is no significant indication of the influence of either the educational level of the subjects in the two samples or the difference in the environmental circumstances to which they are subjected on their view of the traditional role of the wife in this facet of Tswana family life.

Suffice to say, in conclusion, that according to the findings reflected in the two Tables analysed above, and also Tables 4.15B and 4.16B in Annexure B, there seems to be no significant statistical difference between the responses of the subjects in the rural sample and those in the urban sample. The findings point, almost in all cases, to the fact that the wife is responsible for buying the various necessities for the family. There seems, therefore, to be no question of overlapping of roles between husband and wife in this facet of Tswana family life as a result of urban or educational influences.

TABLE 4.17

Teaching the children how to behave towards relatives, friends, acquaintances and strangers analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	3	6	8	16	6	12	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	2	4	5	10	11	22	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	3	6	5	10	8	16	-	-	3	6	11	22	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	8	16	13	26	21	42
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	13	26	15	30
TOTAL	5	10	22	44	23	46	50	100	-	-	13	26	37	74	50	100

4.4 Care and upbringing of children

According to Tswana tradition and custom the care and upbringing of children while they are still too young to play any definite roles in either the family or community life is the responsibility of the wife. It is she who is supposed to teach them acceptable behaviour and good manners. It is only when the children are old enough to learn their respective roles in both the family and community life that the father comes in as the upholder of discipline in general and, in particular, to teach the boys what is expected of them by both the family and the community.

4.4.1 Responsibility for teaching the children how to behave towards relatives, friends, acquaintances and strangers

4.4.1.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.17 (cf. p.78)

In the rural sample of this Table 16% of the males who allege that their wives are responsible for teaching the children good behaviour, had no schooling; 10% went as far as the lower primary school level, while 6% and 2% went up to the higher primary school level and the secondary school level respectively. However, 22% of the males with the lower primary school education followed by 12% with no schooling, then 10% with a higher primary school education in the third place, maintain, on the contrary, that both the husband and the wife are responsible for teaching the children good behaviour, while 6% of the males with no schooling and 4% with the lower primary school education allege that the husband is solely responsible for teaching the children good behaviour.

In the urban sample 26% of the males with matric or above, followed by another 26% with a secondary school education and 22% with a higher primary school education in

the third place maintain that this is the equal responsibility of the husband and the wife. On the contrary, 16% of these males with a secondary school education, followed by 6% with a higher primary school education and 4% with matric or above claim that it is solely the wife's responsibility to teach the children good behaviour.

According to Tswana tradition the wife is responsible for teaching the children acceptable behaviour and good manners because most of the time she is with them at home while the husband is out hunting or looking after the cattle at the cattle-post. However, the data analysed above seem to show a clear deviation from this traditional pattern in the rural as well as the urban Tswana family. In the rural sample a total of 44% of the males interviewed allege, in accordance with Tswana tradition, that the wife is responsible for teaching the children acceptable behaviour and good manners. There is, however, another 46% who claim that the husband and his wife are equally responsible for teaching the children good behaviour and the reason given for this response is that the children belong to both parents and the parents, therefore, have equal responsibility in as far as their care and upbringing is concerned. This seems to be an indication of the extent to which urbanism and a new division of labour are infiltrating into rural Tswana communities. In the urban sample the responses of the majority of the respondents (74%) seem to show a clear break with tradition. The husband and the wife are seen as equally responsible for teaching the children good behaviour. There seems to be, therefore, a clear overlapping of the roles of husband and wife in this facet of Tswana family life mainly as a result of urbanization and also the level of formal education attained by the subjects.

TABLE 4.18

Teaching the children how to behave towards relatives, friends, acquaintances and strangers analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	-	-	11	22	3	6	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	2	4	9	18	3	6	14	28	-	-	2	4	1	2	3	6
Std. III - Std. VI	2	4	14	28	1	2	17	34	-	-	6	12	11	22	17	34
Form I - Form III	-	-	5	10	-	-	5	10	-	-	4	8	21	42	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	5	10
TOTAL	4	8	39	78	7	14	50	100	-	-	12	24	38	76	50	100

4.4.1.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.18
(cf. p.81)

According to the data in this Table in the rural sample 28% of the females who allege to be responsible for teaching the children acceptable behaviour and good manners received formal education up to the higher primary school level, 22% had no schooling, while 18% and 10% had a lower primary school and a secondary school education respectively. However, 6% of the females with the lower primary school education, followed by another 6% with no schooling and 2% with the higher primary school education in the third place maintain, on the contrary, that both the husband and the wife are equally responsible for teaching the children good behaviour, while 4% with the higher primary school education and another 4% with a lower primary school education allege that this is solely the duty of the husband.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (42%) of the females who claim that both the husband and the wife are equally responsible for this facet of family life received formal education up to the secondary school level; 22% went up to the higher primary school level, while 10% went as far as matric or above and 2% had only the lower primary school education. However, 12% of these females with the higher primary school education, followed by 8% with the secondary school education and 4% with the lower primary school education in the third place maintain, that the wife alone is responsible for teaching the children acceptable behaviour and good manners.

The data in this Table more or less confirm the data in Table 4.17 (and also the data in Tables 4.17B and 4.18B in Annexure B). There is, on the whole, a significant difference between the responses of the subjects in the rural sample and those in the urban sample. The majority of the respondents in the rural sample (78%) still accept the traditional division of labour between husband and

TABLE 4.19

Responsibility for seeing to it that the children help with work in and around the house analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	3	6	7	14	7	14	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	1	2	6	12	11	22	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	2	4	6	12	8	16	-	-	3	6	11	22	14	28
Form I - Form III	1	2	5	10	-	-	6	12	-	-	7	14	14	28	21	42
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	-	-	-	-	15	30	15	30
TOTAL	5	10	20	40	25	50	50	100	-	-	10	20	40	80	50	100

wife in this facet of Tswana family life, while most of the interviewees in the urban sample (76%) show a tendency to reject the traditional pattern in their responses - a phenomenon which can reasonably be said to be the outcome of the influence of urbanization and education on the traditional role division in the Tswana family.

4.4.2 Responsibility for seeing to it that children help with work in and around the house

4.4.2.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.19 (cf. p.83)

In the rural sample 22% of the males with formal education up to the lower primary school level, followed by 14% who had no schooling at all, then 12% with a higher primary school education, followed by 2% with matric and over, allege that seeing to it that the children help with work in and around the house is the equal responsibility of both husband and wife. In the same sample 14% of the males with no schooling, 12% with the lower primary school education, 10% and 4% with the secondary school and the higher primary school education respectively, allege that this is the sole responsibility of the wife, while 6% of these males with no schooling, followed by 2% with the lower primary school education and another 2% with the secondary education in the third place, allege, on the contrary, that seeing to it that the children help with work in and around the house is solely the responsibility of the husband.

In the urban sample 30% of the males with matric and above, followed by 28% with the secondary school education, and 22% with a higher primary school education in the third place, allege that both the husband and his wife are responsible for teaching their children this type of responsibility. However, 14% of the males with a secondary school education and 6% with a higher primary

TABLE 4.20

Responsibility for seeing to it that the children help with work in and around the house analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	1	2	8	16	5	10	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	1	2	9	18	4	8	14	28	-	-	3	6	3	6	6	12
Std. III - Std. VI	1	2	12	24	4	8	17	34	-	-	6	12	8	16	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	-	4	8	1	2	5	10	-	-	-	-	25	50	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	5	10
TOTAL	3	6	33	66	14	28	50	100	-	-	9	18	41	82	50	100

school education maintain, on the contrary, that this is the sole responsibility of the wife.

According to the data analysed above - and also the data in Table 4.19B - it is significant to note that in the rural sample the total percentage of the interviewees who seem to support tradition is more or less the same as that of the interviewees who reject the traditional division of labour in this aspect of Tswana family life, i.e. 40%:50%. In the urban sample, however, the majority of the respondents (80%) seem to confirm the notion that the roles of husband and wife are inclined to overlap.

4.4.2.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.20 (cf. p.85)

The facts in this Table are as follows: in the rural sample 24% of the females who allege to be responsible for seeing to it that the children help with work in and around the house received formal education up to the higher primary school level; 18% went as far as the lower primary school level, while 16% had no schooling at all and 8% went as far as the secondary school level. On the other hand 10% of the females with no schooling, followed by 8% with a lower primary school education, then another 8% with the higher primary school education, and 2% with the secondary school education maintain that this is the equal responsibility of both husband and wife, while 2% of the females with no schooling, followed by another 2% with the lower primary school education, and a further 2% with the higher primary school education maintain that this is the sole responsibility of the husband.

In the urban sample 50% of the females with a secondary school education, followed by 16% with a higher primary school education, then 10% with matric or above and 6% with a lower primary school education allege that the husband and the wife are equally responsible for seeing to it that the children help with work in and around the

TABLE 4.21

Responsibility for punishing the children analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	17	34	-	-	-	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	18	36	-	-	-	-	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	8	16	-	-	-	-	8	16	5	10	-	-	9	18	14	28
Form I - Form III	4	8	1	2	1	2	6	12	9	18	-	-	12	24	21	42
Matric and over	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	15	30	15	30
TOTAL	48	96	1	2	1	2	50	100	14	28	-	-	36	72	50	100

house. In contradistinction to this view, 12% of the females with a higher primary school education and 6% with a lower primary school education allege that this is the sole responsibility of the wife.

From the data analysed above - as well as the data in Table 4.20B (cf. Annexure B) - there seems to be a significant statistical difference between the responses of the interviewees in the two samples. The majority of the respondents in the rural sample (66%) allege, in keeping with Tswana tradition, that the wife is solely responsible for this facet of family duties. In the urban sample the majority of the subjects (82%) maintain, contrary to tradition, that this is the equal responsibility of both the husband and his wife. Here, too, there seems to be an overlapping of roles due to modernizing influences on the urban Tswana family.

4.4.3 Responsibility for punishing the children when they are naughty

4.4.3.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.21 (cf. p.87)

In the rural sample of this Table 36% of the males who claim to be responsible for punishing the children when they are naughty received formal education up to the lower primary school level; 34% had no schooling at all, while 16% went up to the higher primary school level, and 8% and 2% had the secondary school education and matric or above respectively. However, 2% of these males with a secondary school education allege that punishing the children when they are naughty is the sole responsibility of the wife, while a further 2% within the same category allege, on the contrary, that this is an equal responsibility of both husband and wife.

In the urban sample 30% of the males with matric or above allege that the responsibility for punishing the

TABLE 4.22

Responsibility for punishing the children analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	13	26	-	-	1	2	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28	4	8	-	-	2	4	6	12
Std. III - Std. VI	17	34	-	-	-	-	17	34	7	14	-	-	7	14	14	28
Form I - Form III	4	8	1	2	-	-	5	10	2	4	-	-	23	46	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	5	10
TOTAL	48	96	1	2	1	2	50	100	13	26	-	-	37	74	50	100

children when they are naughty is shared equally between husband and wife in the Tswana family. This view is held also by 24% of the males with a secondary school education and 18% with a higher primary school education. On the contrary, 18% of the males with a secondary school education and 10% with a higher primary school education maintain that this is the sole responsibility of the husband.

According to Tswana tradition, as was pointed out at the beginning of this section, the father is the upholder of discipline in the family. It is he who is supposed to punish the children for any misdeed. In confirmation of this traditional role of the father almost all the respondents (96%) in the rural sample maintain, irrespective of their level of education, that the father is solely responsible for punishing the children in the family (cf. also Table 4.21B in Annexure B). In the urban sample, however, the responses of the majority of the interviewees (72%) show a clear deviation from the traditional pattern. Both the husband and the wife are alleged to be equally responsible for punishing the children. This difference between the responses of the subjects in the rural sample and those in the urban sample seems to be an indication of the extent to which urbanization has influenced the traditional roles of husband and wife in the Tswana family in this respect. The responses of the interviewees in the urban sample seem to suggest that there is an overlapping of roles between husband and wife in this sphere of family life.

4.4.3.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.22 (cf. p.89)

The facts of this Table are as follows: in the rural sample 34% of the females who claim that their husbands are responsible for punishing the children when they are naughty received formal education up to the higher primary school level, 28% went up to the lower primary school level, while 26% had no schooling at all and 8% went

up to the secondary school level. However, 2% of these females also with a secondary school education, allege that this is the sole responsibility of the wife, while another 2% with no schooling maintain that punishing the children when they are naughty is the equal responsibility of both husband and wife.

In the urban sample 46% of the females with a secondary school education, followed by 14% with a higher primary school education, then 10% with matric or above and 4% with a lower primary school education allege that both the husband and the wife are equally responsible for punishing the children when they are naughty. However, 14% of the females with a higher primary school education, followed by 8% with a lower primary school education and 4% with a secondary school education in the third place, allege, on the contrary, that punishing the children when they are naughty is the sole responsibility of the father.

From the facts analysed above there seems to be sufficient grounds for concluding that formal education has had very little, if any, influence on the rural interviewees' conception of the traditional role of the husband as the disciplinarian in the Tswana family. Almost all the females in this sample (96%), their level of education notwithstanding, recognise the husband as the upholder of discipline in the family. However, education and the urban environment as a whole seem to have had a definite effect on the urban subjects' view of the traditional roles of husband and wife in this facet of Tswana family life. A total of 74% of these subjects maintain that both parents are equally responsible in this respect. Consequently there seems to be an overlap between their roles.

In conclusion it should be noted that the statistical findings in the six Tables discussed above (Tables 4.17 - 4.22) - and also the corresponding 6 Tables in Annexure B (Tables 4.17B - 4.22B) - seem to corroborate

TABLE 4.23

Responsibility for cleaning the house analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE					
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	%	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	
No schooling	-	17	34	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	18	36	-	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	-	8	16	-	8	16	-	14	28	-	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	6	12	-	6	12	-	21	42	-	21	42
Matric and over	-	1	2	-	1	2	-	6	12	9	15	30
TOTAL	-	50	100	-	50	100	-	41	82	9	50	100

the hypothesis that there is considerable overlapping between the roles of husband and wife in the sphere of the care and upbringing of children as a result of the moder- nizing influence of urbanization and education on the Tswana family.

4.5 Household duties

In the Tswana tradition and custom, household duties are the sole responsibility of the wife. It is she who must see to the cleanliness of the house, the prepara- tion of food for the family and also the washing for the entire family.

The extension of the hypothesis to be tested here, like was the case with economic activities and the care and upbringing of the children, is that urbanization has influenced the traditional roles of husband and wife in this sphere of Tswana family life to an extent that there is now considerable overlapping between them.

4.5.1 Responsibility for cleaning the house

4.5.1.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.23 (cf. p.92)

The facts in this Table are as follows: in the rural sample the highest single percentage (36%) of males who allege that their wives are solely responsible for cleaning the house received formal education up to the lower primary school level; 34% had no schooling, while 16% went up to the higher primary school level: 12% and 2% had a secondary school education and matric or above respectively.

In the urban sample 42% of the males with a secondary school education, followed by 28% with a higher primary school education, and 12% with matric or over in the third place allege that their wives are entirely responsible for cleaning the house. However, 18% of these

TABLE 4.24

Responsibility for cleaning the house analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28	-	-	6	12	-	-	-	-	6	12
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	17	34	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	19	38	-	-	6	12	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	3	6	5	10
TOTAL	-	-	50	100	-	-	-	-	50	100	-	-	41	82	-	-	9	18	50	100

males with matric or above maintain, on the contrary, that this is the responsibility of some other person - somebody hired for this purpose.

From the facts analysed above there is very little difference between the responses of the subjects in the rural sample and those in the urban sample. The responses of all the males (100%) interviewed in the rural sample indicate, in confirmation of Tswana tradition and without regard to their level of education, that keeping the house clean is the sole responsibility of the wife as the homemaker in the Tswana family. This fact is confirmed by most of the males (82%) interviewed in the urban sample - an indication that in this facet of Tswana family life the level of education of the subjects and urban environment do not seem to have had a marked influence on the subjects' understanding of the traditional role of the wife.

4.5.1.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.24
(cf. p.94)

According to the facts presented in this Table 34% of the females in the rural sample who allege to be responsible for keeping their houses clean received formal education up to the higher primary school level; 28% went up to the lower primary school, while another 28% had no schooling at all: 10% had a secondary school education.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (38%) of the females who claim to be responsible for cleaning their houses received formal education up to the secondary school level; 28% went up to the higher primary school level, while 12% had the lower primary school education and 4% had matric or over. However, 12% of the females with a secondary school education and 6% with matric and above maintain, on the contrary, that to keep their houses clean is the responsibility of some other hired person.

TABLE 4.25

Responsibility for the preparation of food analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE					
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	%	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	
No schooling	-	17	34	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	18	36	-	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	-	8	16	-	8	16	-	14	28	-	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	6	12	-	6	12	-	21	42	-	21	42
Matric and over	-	1	2	-	1	2	-	14	28	1	15	30
TOTAL	-	50	100	-	50	100	-	49	98	1	50	100

The data analysed above, as well as the data in Tables 4.23B and 4.24B (cf. Annexure B), seem to confirm the findings in Table 4.23. There seems to be no significant difference between the responses of the females in the rural sample and those in the urban sample. All the females interviewed in the rural sample (100%) seem to accept their traditional roles as cleaners of the house. Their level of education seems to have had no effect on their conception of the traditional role of the wife in this facet of Tswana family life. The responses of the majority of females in the urban sample (82%) seem to suggest that in spite of the urban influences to which the urban Tswana family is constantly subjected and, to a certain extent, also in spite of the level of education of the urban Tswana wife, she still takes pride in her traditional role as the 'keeper' of the household.

In conclusion, it should be noted, that from the data in all the Tables pertaining to this item there seems to be no question of overlapping of roles between husband and wife in this facet of Tswana family life.

4.5.2 Responsibility for the preparation of food in the family

4.5.2.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.25 (cf. p.96)

According to the data in Table 4.25 in the rural sample 36% of the males who allege that their wives are responsible for the preparation of food in their families received formal education up to the lower primary school level; 34% had no schooling at all, while 16% went up to the higher primary school level: 12% and 2% had the secondary school education and matric or above respectively.

In the urban sample 42% of the males who claim that their wives are responsible for the preparation of food had a secondary school education, 28% had matric or

TABLE 4.26

Responsibility for the preparation of food analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28	-	-	6	12	-	-	-	-	6	12
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	17	34	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	24	48	-	-	1	2	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	5	10	-	-	-	-	5	10
TOTAL	-	-	50	100	-	-	-	-	50	100	-	-	49	98	-	-	1	2	50	100

over, while another 28% went up to the higher primary school level only. However, 2% of the males with matric or above maintain, on the contrary, that this is the sole responsibility of some other (hired) person.

The data in this Table seem to corroborate the findings in Tables 4.23 and 4.24 - also Tables 4.23B and 4.24B (cf. Annexure B) - pertaining to item 4.5.1.

4.5.2.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.26
(cf. p.98)

According to this Table in the rural sample 34% of the females who claim responsibility for the preparation of food have a higher primary school education; 28% have a lower primary school education, another 28% have had no schooling at all, while 10% have a secondary school education.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (48%) of these females received formal education up to the secondary school level; 28% have a higher primary school education, while 12% went up to the lower primary school and 10% up to matric or above. However, 2% of these females with secondary school education maintain, contrary to Tswana tradition, that the preparation of food in their families is the duty of some other (hired) person.

From the data analysed above it seems evident that neither the level of education of the interviewees nor the process of urbanization has had any significant effect on the subjects' conception of the traditional role of the wife in this sphere of Tswana family life. All the females interviewed in the rural sample (100%) see the wife as solely responsible for the preparation of food in the family. A total of 98% of the females interviewed in the urban sample confirm this view.

Finally the findings in the two Tables discussed above, are, more or less, corroborated by the data in

Tables 4.25B and 4.26B in Annexure B. An overview of the data in all these Tables shows clearly that there is no question of the overlapping of roles between husband and wife as a result of either the level of education of the subjects or the modernizing influence to which the urban Tswana family is constantly subjected.

4.5.3 Responsibility for the family washing (laundry)

4.5.3.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.27 (cf. p.100)

According to this Table in the rural sample 36% of the males who allege that their wives are solely responsible for the family washing have a lower primary school education; 34% have had no schooling at all, while 16% went up to the higher primary school level: 12% and 2% have a secondary school education and matric or above respectively.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (42%) of these males have a secondary school education; 28% have a higher primary school education, while 12% went up to matric or over. However, 18% of the males with matric or over allege, on the contrary, that washing for their families is done neither by the husband nor his wife but by some other (hired) person outside the family.

In the rural sample all the males (100%), without exception and in keeping with Tswana tradition, maintain, irrespective of their level of education, that the wife is solely responsible for washing for the family. While this seems to be also true from the responses of the majority of the males in the urban sample (82%), there is a small percentage (18%) of males with matric or above whose responses seem to be an indication of the influence of the employment of the wife outside the home on the traditional role division in this facet of family life.

TABLE 4.28

Responsibility for washing for the family analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE							
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %
No schooling	-	14	28	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	14	28	-	14	28	-	6	-	6	-	-	-	-	12
Std. III - Std. VI	-	17	34	-	17	34	-	14	-	14	-	-	-	-	28
Form I - Form III	-	5	10	-	5	10	-	19	-	19	-	6	-	6	25
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	-	2	-	3	-	3	10
TOTAL	-	50	100	-	50	100	-	41	-	41	-	9	-	9	100

4.5.3.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.28
(cf. p.102)

The facts in Table 4.28 are as follows: in the rural sample 34% of the females who claim responsibility for the washing of their families received formal education up to the higher primary school level; 28% went up to the lower primary school, while another 28% had no schooling at all: 10% went up to the secondary school level.

In the urban sample 38% of the females who allege to be responsible for the washing of their families went up to the secondary school level in formal education; 28% went as far as the higher primary school level, while 12% went up to the lower primary school level and 4% went up to matric or above. However, 12% of these females with a secondary school education and 6% with matric or over claim that washing in their families is the responsibility of some other person.

According to the data analysed above there seems to be no significant difference between the responses of the interviewees in the rural and the urban samples. The level of education, too, seems to have had very little influence on the responses of almost all the subjects in the two samples. All the females interviewed in the rural sample (100%) seem to accept the traditional role of the wife as being solely responsible for the washing of the family. While this seems to be true of the majority of the subjects in the urban sample (82%), there is a small percentage (18%) of females with matric or over whose responses seem to be an indication of the extent to which opportunities for employment have influenced the traditional role of the wife in the urban Tswana family.

Suffice it to mention, in conclusion, that on the basis of the data in the 6 Tables (4.23 - 4.28) analysed in this section, as well as the data in the corresponding Tables (4.23B - 4.28B) in Annexure B, there seems to be

TABLE 4.29

Alleged owner of the house analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	11	22	3	6	3	6	-	-	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	15	30	-	-	3	6	-	-	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	7	14	-	-	1	2	-	-	8	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	28	14	28
Form I - Form III	3	6	1	2	1	2	1	2	6	12	-	-	-	-	-	-	21	42	21	42
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	7	14	8	16	15	30
TOTAL	36	72	4	8	9	18	1	2	50	100	-	-	-	7	14	43	86	50	100	

ample justification for concluding that urbanization and the accompanying modernizing agents such as formal education have had little effect on the traditional division of labour, between husband and wife, pertaining to household duties in the Tswana family.

4.6 Ownership of property

In the traditional Tswana family the husband as the head of the household, occupies a position of great dignity. He keeps order and maintains discipline within the limits of his household, and in this direction exercises considerable control and authority over all the members of his household, his wife included, and also over everything else falling within the ambit of the household. In other words the husband monopolises ownership of literally all the property of the family which usually ranges from the house, the furniture in the house, the cattle, sheep and goats, the fields ploughed by the family, etc. This means that no other member of the household can alienate any of these things without the consent of the husband/father.

The assumption of this study with regard to ownership of property in the Tswana family is that as a result of the modernizing influence of urbanization the traditional husband-wife relationship is changing in favour of the 'partner-equal' pattern.

4.6.1 Ownership of the house

4.6.1.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.29 (cf. p.104)

The data in this Table show some degree of variability of opinion among the interviewees in the rural sample. 30% of the males who allege to be owners of the houses in which their families live have lower primary school education; 22% have had no schooling at all, while 14% and 6% have a higher primary school and secondary school

education respectively. 6% of the males with no schooling and 2% with a secondary school education allege that the house is owned by the wife, while 6% of the males without any schooling, followed by another 6% with a lower primary school education, then 2% with a higher primary school education, followed by another 2% with a secondary school education, and yet another 2% with matric or above, maintain that the house is owned equally by both husband and wife. There is only 2% of the males with a secondary school education who allege that the houses in which their families live are owned by some other person.

In the urban sample 42% of the males with a secondary school education, followed by 28% with a higher primary school education, and 16% with matric or above in the third place allege that neither the husband nor the wife owns the house in which they live but somebody else. Only 14% of the males with matric or over claim that the house is owned equally by the husband and the wife.

From the data analysed above it does not seem easy to assess either the modernizing influence of urbanization or of formal education on the traditional status of husband and wife in this facet of Tswana family life because the majority of the interviewees approached in the urban sample (86%) are renting the houses in which they live. While the responses of the majority of the males in the rural sample (72%) seem to show adherence to tradition, the level of education of the subjects notwithstanding, it is significant to note that the responses of a total of 18% of these males show a tendency to break with tradition. This could be the influence of either formal education or some other factor which needs to be investigated by further research into Tswana family life. In the urban sample the emergence of the 'partner-equal' pattern between husband and wife, as a result of the modernizing influence of urbanization and formal education, seems to be borne out

TABLE 4.30

Alleged owner of the house analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
No schooling	4	8	4	8	6	12	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	8	16	6	12	-	-	-	-	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	6	12	6	12	12
Std. III - Std. VI	11	22	5	10	1	2	-	-	17	34	-	1	2	-	-	13	26	14	28	28
Form I - Form III	2	4	-	-	2	4	1	2	5	10	-	-	-	-	3	6	22	44	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	4	8	1	2	5	10
TOTAL	25	50	15	30	9	18	1	2	50	100	-	1	2	7	14	42	84	50	100	100

by the responses of a total of 14% of the males with matric or above who claim that the houses in which their families live belong equally to both the husband and the wife.

4.6.1.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.30
(cf. p.107)

The data in this Table, more or less like the data in Table 4.29, show some degree of variability of opinion among the subjects in both rural and the urban samples. In the rural sample 22% of the females who allege that their husbands are the owners of the houses in which they live received formal education up to the higher primary school level; 16% went as far as the lower primary school level, while 8% had no schooling at all and 4% went up to the secondary school level. However, 12% of these females with a lower primary school education, followed by 10% with a higher primary school education and 8% with no schooling in the third place allege that the house belongs exclusively to the wife, while 12% of the females with no schooling, followed by 4% with a secondary school education, and 2% with a higher primary school education in the third place maintain that the house is owned equally by the husband and the wife. Only 2% of the females with a secondary school education in this sample allege that the house is owned by somebody else.

In the urban sample 44% of the females with a secondary school education, followed by 26% with a higher primary school education, then 12% who went up to the lower primary school, followed by 2% with matric or above claim that the houses in which they live are owned by some other person. However, 8% of the females with matric or over and 6% with a secondary school education allege that the houses in which their families live belong equally to both the husband and the wife, while a further 2% of the females with a higher primary school education claim that the house belongs exclusively to the wife.

TABLE 4.31

Alleged owner of the furniture in the house analysed according to the educational standard of the males

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
No schooling	1	2	14	28	2	4	17	34	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	1	2	14	28	3	6	18	36	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. III - Std. VI	-	-	8	16	-	-	8	16	-	-	9	18	5	10	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	-	4	8	2	4	6	12	-	-	8	16	13	26	21	42
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	-	-	4	8	11	22	15	30
TOTAL	2	4	40	80	8	16	50	100	-	-	21	42	29	58	50	100

The data in this Table seem to confirm the findings in Table 4.29, especially in the urban sample. It is significant to note, however, that while the responses of the majority of the females in the rural sample (50%) show adherence to tradition irrespective of their level of education, a total of 30% of these females claim exclusive right of ownership of the house and a further total of 18% allege that both the husband and the wife have equal right of ownership with regard to the house in which they live - a phenomenon which necessitates further investigation.

4.6.2 Ownership of the furniture in the house

4.6.2.1 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.31 (cf. p.109)

In the rural sample of this Table 28% of the males who claim that their wives own the furniture in the house received formal education up to the lower primary school level; another 28% have had no schooling at all, while 16% and 8% went up to the higher primary school level and the secondary school level respectively. 6% of the males with a lower primary school education, followed by 4% with a secondary school education, then another 4% with no schooling at all and 2% with matric or over allege, on the contrary, that the husband and the wife have equal right of ownership of the furniture in the house, while 2% of the males with a lower primary school education and another 2% with no schooling maintain that this is the exclusive right of the husband.

In the urban sample 26% of the males with a secondary school education, followed by 22% with matric or above and 10% with a higher primary school education in the third place, maintain that the furniture in their houses is owned equally by both the husband and the wife. However, 18% of these males with a lower primary school, followed by 16% with a secondary school education and 8% with matric

TABLE 4.32

Alleged owner of the furniture in the house analysed according to the educational standard of the females

Educational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE					
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %
No schooling	-	10	4	8	14	28	-	-	-	-	-	-
Sub. A - Std. II	-	14	-	-	14	28	-	5	10	2	6	12
Std. III - Std. VI	-	14	3	6	17	34	-	9	18	5	14	28
Form I - Form III	-	2	3	6	5	10	-	7	14	18	25	50
Matric and over	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	3	5	10
TOTAL	-	40	10	20	50	100	-	23	46	27	54	100

or above in the third place, allege that the right of ownership of the furniture in the house belongs exclusively to the wife.

The data in this Table, in both rural and urban samples, does not seem to corroborate the alleged traditional view that the husband has the monopoly of ownership of all the property in the family unit. In the rural sample a total of 80% of the males interviewed claim, without any regard to their level of education, that ownership of the furniture in the house is the exclusive right of the wife and the reason they give is that as the homemaker and 'keeper' of the household the wife owns everything inside the house. The husband's duty is to provide these things. While a total of 42% of the males interviewed in the urban sample seem to confirm this view, it is significant to note that 58% of these males allege, on the contrary, that the right of ownership of the furniture in the house belongs equally to both husband and wife. This seems to be an indication of the emergence of the 'partner-equal' relationship between husband and wife as a result of the modernizing influence of urbanization and formal education on the traditional status of husband and wife in the Tswana family.

4.6.2.2 Analysis and interpretation of data in Table 4.32
(cf. p.111)

According to this Table in the rural sample 28% of the females who claim the exclusive right of ownership of the furniture in the house received formal education up to the higher primary school level; another 28% went up to the lower primary school level, while 20% had no schooling at all and 4% went up to the secondary school level. However, 8% of these females with no schooling, followed by 6% with a secondary school education and another 6% with a higher primary school education in the third place, maintain that the furniture in their houses belongs equally to both husband and wife.

In the urban sample the highest single percentage (36%) of the females who allege that the furniture in the house belongs equally to the husband and the wife received formal education up to the secondary school level; 10% went up to the higher primary school level, while 6% have matric or above and 2% went up to the lower primary school level. However, 18% of these females with a higher primary school education, followed by 14% with a secondary school education, then 10% with a lower primary school education, followed by 4% with matric or over allege, on the contrary, that this is the exclusive right of the wife.

The data in this Table as well as the data in the corresponding Tables in Annexure B seem to corroborate the findings in Table 4.31. In the rural sample a total of 80% of the females interviewed claim the exclusive right of ownership of the furniture, while the remaining 20% maintain that the husband and the wife have equal right of ownership of these things. This data, as was pointed out with regard to Table 4.31 above, does not seem to confirm the alleged traditional view that the husband has the monopoly of ownership of all the property in his household. In the urban sample while a total of 46% of the females interviewed seem to corroborate the view expressed by 80% of the females in the rural sample, it is of interest to note that 54% of these females maintain, on the contrary, that the right of ownership of the furniture in the house belongs equally to both husband and wife. This seems to be an indication of the emergence of the 'partner-equal' relationship between husband and wife in the urban Tswana family as a result of the modernizing influence of urbanization on the traditional statuses of husband and wife in the Tswana family.

As has been pointed out in the discussion of the four foregoing Tables (4.29 - 4.32) pertaining to the variable being investigated here, the data collected from the rural sample, except for a total of 4% males in Tables

4.31 and 4.31B, does not seem to corroborate the alleged traditional view that the husband has the monopoly of the right of ownership of all the property in his household. Instead, the majority of the respondents in this sample (80%), regardless of sex and their level of education, regard this as the exclusive right of the wife. This seems to be an issue for further research. On the basis of the data from the urban sample, however, while a substantial percentage of both male and female interviewees (42% and 46% respectively) seem to confirm the view expressed by the majority of the respondents in the rural sample, there seems to be sufficient grounds for concluding that the findings in all the four Tables discussed above point to the emergence of the 'partner-equal' relationship between husband and wife in the urban Tswana family and that this can reasonably be said to be the product of the modernizing influence of urbanization and concomitant forces such as formal education.

CHAPTER 5

SUMMARY AND IMPLICATIONS OF THE FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give a summary of the main findings deriving from the data analysed in the preceding chapter with regard to the five variables investigated, namely authority in the family, economic activity, care and upbringing of children, household duties and ownership of property. These findings are further compared with the findings of related studies discussed in Chapter 3. The comparison is followed by a brief discussion of the implications of the findings of the present study and, finally, suggestions for further research.

5.2 Summary of the main findings

As was pointed out in Chapter 1, the aim of this study was to establish whether any significant difference existed in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families. This difference was investigated and analysed in terms of the five variables referred to above. The main findings deriving from the data pertaining to each of these variables are as follows:

5.2.1 Authority in the family

On the basis of the data pertaining to this variable there seems to be a real difference in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families. In the rural family the husband still occupies a position of great power and exercises supreme authority in almost all facets of family life, while in the urbanised Tswana family the husband-wife relationship seems to be assuming a 'partner-equal' pattern in decision-making pertaining to

almost every sphere of familial life such as increase in the size of the family, buying of big household articles, etc.

5.2.2 Economic activity

According to the data relating to this variable the husband is still regarded as the chief breadwinner of the family, while the wife is regarded as solely responsible for buying the various necessities of the family, in both rural and urban Tswana families. There seems, therefore, to be no significant difference in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families in as far as these two facets of family life are concerned. However, in the control of family finances the relationship between husband and wife in the rural family seems to retain the traditional superordinate-subordinate pattern, while in the urban family it seems to be assuming the pattern of 'equal' and 'partner'.

5.2.3 Care and upbringing of children

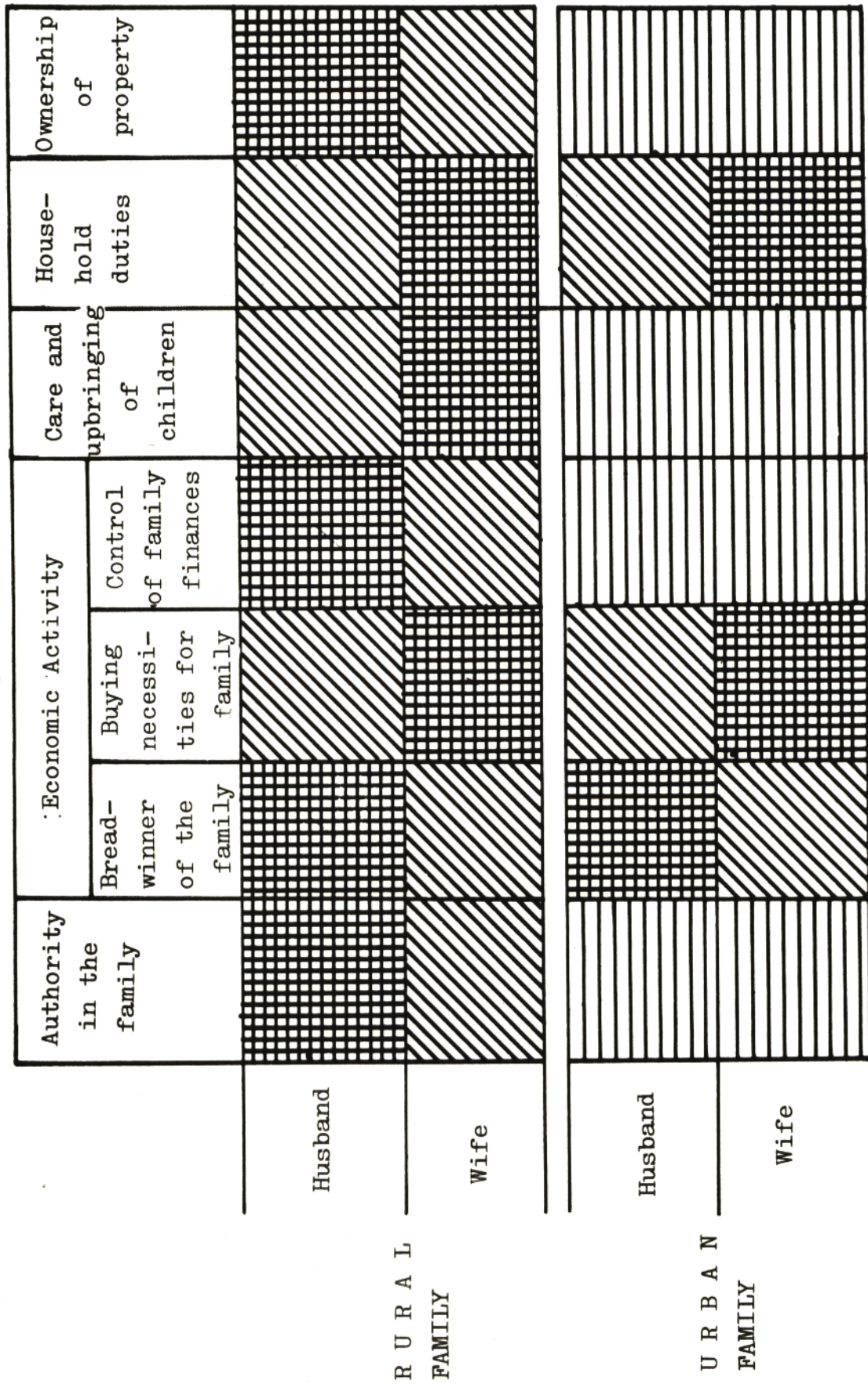
From the data pertaining to this variable there seems to be a significant difference in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families. In the rural family care and upbringing of the children is alleged to be the sole responsibility of the wife, while in the urbanised Tswana family this responsibility is alleged to be shared equally between husband and wife - again an indication of the emergence of the 'partner-equal' relationship between husband and wife as a result of the modernizing effects of the urban environment.




5.2.4 Household duties

The data relating to this variable show no sig-

**FIGURE 5.1 : The Change In The Role And Status of Husband And Wife
In the Tswana Family**

Facets of family life



 = DOMINANT
 = SUBORDINATE
 = PART-NER
 NEQ-EQUAL

nificant difference in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families. Household duties are, in accordance with Tswana tradition, the exclusive responsibility of the wife and this position remains unchanged in both rural and urban Tswana families.

5.2.5 Ownership of property

According to the data pertaining to this variable there seems to be a definite difference in the family structure and function, in terms of the role and status of husband and wife, between rural and urban Tswana families. In the rural family the husband-wife relationship seems to retain the traditional superordinate-subordinate pattern, while in the urbanised Tswana family this relationship seems to be changing in favour of the 'partner-equal' pattern.

From the foregoing summary it seems reasonable to conclude that urbanization and concomitant modernizing agents such as formal education have changed the traditional superordinate-subordinate relationship between husband and wife into a partnership of equals in which the husband and wife share their lives and the responsibility for major decisions in consultation. This has further resulted in an apparent blurring of the former traditional distinction between the role and status of husband and wife in the Tswana family.

Figure 5.1 gives a visual impression of the foregoing discussion.

5.3 A comparative survey of the findings

The findings of a few related studies discussed in Chapter 3 of this study seem to compare more or less positively with the findings summarised above.

For instance, in his study of the correlation

between trade and the role of the wife in the Akan society, McCall (cf. pp.27-29) found, like the present study, that in the traditional set-up the husband-wife relationship was one of superordination-subordination, but that this relationship was, however, changing in favour of a 'partner-equal' pattern as a result of the rise of towns - hence urbanization - which led to a marked change in the economic activities of the wife resulting in her liberation from the husband's supervision and dominance.

Little (cf. pp.29-30) also arrived at more or less the same findings as the present study in his investigation of the effect of modernization on the role of the woman in Sierra Leone. He found that while in the traditional organization the woman was almost completely subordinate to the man, her status was being greatly enhanced as a result of contact with certain aspects of the western mode of life.

Change in the role and status of husband and wife in the African family and the African communities at large as a result of modernizing influences, as established by the present study with regard to the Tswana family, is further corroborated by Simons (cf. pp.30-31) from a legal point of view. He points out that in the African legal tradition women are perpetual minors, but that as a result of modernization they are being accorded more or less the same legal status with men, especially in the urban areas.

Finally, in his investigation of the effect of civil marriage on the traditional husband-wife relationship in African communities, Phillips (cf. p.31) also corroborates the findings of the researchers quoted above, including the findings of the present study. He found that as a result of marriage contracted under civil law the traditional superordinate-subordinate relationship between husband and wife is changing in favour of a 'partner-equal' pattern.

From the above comparison it seems evident that

the status and authority of the woman in the African family and the African community at large, are being greatly enhanced as a result of urbanization and concomitant modernizing agents, while, as a corollary, the status and authority of the husband are being eroded.

The findings referred to in the foregoing discussion seem to confirm the hypotheses of this study in almost all respects, except in the sphere of household duties. The data pertaining to this facet of family life seem to disprove the assumption that there is considerable overlapping between the roles of husband and wife as a result of the modernizing influence of urbanization. The findings seem to show, on the contrary, that household duties is the exclusive terrain of the wife in both the rural and urban Tswana family.

5.4 Implications of the findings

Viewed against Parsons' (cf. pp.32-33) interpretation of the basic role division in the nuclear family one of the main implications of the findings of this study seems to be that the urban Tswana family, like its rural counterpart, is still essentially patriarchal in orientation in spite of the modernizing influences to which it is constantly subjected. This is easily deduced from the recognition of the husband as the indisputable head and the chief breadwinner in both rural and the urban family. In other words the basic role division in the urban Tswana family seems also to follow the Parsonian polarity of authority and the sex axes.

Along the authority axis the husband's traditional authoritarian and exalted status in relation to his wife seems to be waning, while the traditional subordinate status of the wife is, on the contrary, being enhanced as a result of the modernizing influences of urbanization.

Along the sex axis the husband, by virtue of his

biological make-up, is still the instrumental leader of the family concerned mainly with its external adaptation, while the wife, also in keeping with her biological nature, still specializes in the consummatory-expressive role mostly preoccupied with internal integration of the family.

These facts seem to suggest that in spite of the change in the traditional role and status of husband and wife consequent upon the urbanization of the Tswana family the basic traditional role division remains largely undisturbed.

On the whole, therefore, the findings of this study seem to corroborate the views expressed by Parsons and Cilliers on 'social change and family role-differentiation' already referred to in Chapter 3 (cf. pp.35-37). The essence of the findings of these two researchers - and this seems to be the essence of the findings of this study - is that the emancipation of women in modern society and other agents of modernization have not quite succeeded in destroying the basic differentiation of male and female roles in the nuclear family.

In concluding this section, therefore, one can do no better than restate Parsons' (cf. p.36) conclusion in this respect: "It seems quite safe in general to say that the adult feminine role has not ceased to be anchored primarily in the internal affairs of the household, while the role of the adult male is primarily anchored in the occupational world, in his job and through it by his status-giving and income-earning functions for the family. Even if, as seems possible, it should come about that the average married woman had some kind of job, it seems most unlikely that this relative balance would be upset; that either the roles would be reversed, or their qualitative differentiation in these respects completely erased."

5.5 Suggestions for further research

As regards future research on subjects related, in one way or another, to the present study, there seems to be a need for researchers to anticipate the problem of the establishment of rapport in the interview situation. This seems to mean that the researcher needs to have a full grasp of the cultural background of his potential interviewees if he should be in a position to anticipate all possible reactions in the interview situation.

Another issue flowing directly from this study which also seem to merit further attention is the legal position of women in the African communities. There seems to be a need for future researchers to concentrate more on the extent to which modernizing influences and other agents of social change have affected the legal status of African women.

5.6 Conclusion

The justification for this study lies, in the ultimate, entirely in the contribution which the research findings delineated in Chapter 4, as well as the suggestions mentioned above, can make towards provoking further sociological research among Africans in South Africa with a view to gaining a better understanding of their socio-cultural circumstances which in turn may lead to better human relations in the South African multinational society.

ANNEXURE A

THE SCHEDULE

The Influence of Urbanization on the Role and Status
of Husband and Wife in the Tswana Family

Number of Schedule (For office use only)

--

1-3

Response to be indicated by means of a cross (X)
in the appropriate space.

A. PERSONAL INFORMATION

1. Place of Birth

1.1 Husband

Urban area	Semi-Urban	Rural area	Any other - specify
1	2	3	4

4

1.2 Wife

Urban area	Semi-Urban	Rural area	Any other - specify
1	2	3	4

5

2. Religious Affiliation

2.1 Husband

Dutch Reformed	Methodist	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Lutheran
01	02	03	04	05

Presbyterian	Apostolic Faith	Zionist Church	No Church
06	07	08	09

Any other - specify
10

6-7

2.2 Wife

Dutch Reformed	Methodist	Roman Catholic	Anglican	Lutheran
01	02	03	04	05

Presbyterian	Apostolic Faith	Zionist Church	No Church
06	07	08	09

Any other - specify
10

8-9

3. Residential Data

3.1 Period spent in urban area

3.1.1 Husband

Never been	1 - 10yrs.	11 - 20yrs.	21 - 30yrs.	31yrs. & over
1	2	3	4	5

10

3.1.2 Wife

Never been	1 - 10yrs.	11 - 20yrs.	21 - 30yrs.	31yrs. & over
1	2	3	4	5

11

3.2 Period spent in rural area

3.2.1 Husband

Never been	1 - 10yrs.	11 - 20yrs.	21 - 30yrs.	31yrs. & over
1	2	3	4	5

12

3.2.2 Wife

Never been	1 - 10yrs.	11 - 20yrs.	21 - 30yrs.	31yrs. & over
1	2	3	4	5

13

3.2.3 Do you live together?

Yes	No
1	2

14

3.2.4 If not, why? 15

3.2.5 Where does the family stay?

Urban area	Semi-Urban area	Rural area
1	2	3

16

4. Occupation

4.1 Husband

Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Unemployed Skilled
1	2	3	4

Unemployed Semi-Skilled	Unemployed Unskilled
5	6

Unemployed due to other factors - specify
7

17

4.2 Wife

Skilled	Semi-Skilled	Unskilled	Unemployed Skilled
1	2	3	4

Unemployed Semi-Skilled	Unemployed Unskilled
5	6

Unemployed due to other factors - specify
7

18

5. Education

5.1 Husband

No Schooling	Sub.A-Std.II	Std.III-VI	Form I-III
1	2	3	4

Matric and over
5

19

5.2 Wife

No Schooling	Sub.A-Std.II	Std.III-VI	Form I-III
1	2	3	4

Matric and over
5

20

6. Ideals for Children

6.1 Husband

6.1.1 Boys

Primary Education	Secondary Education	Matric and over
1	2	3

21

6.1.2 Girls

Primary Education	Secondary Education	Matric and over
1	2	3

22

6.2 Wife

6.2.1 Boys

Primary Education	Secondary Education	Matric and over
1	2	3

23

6.2.2 Girls

Primary Education	Secondary Education	Matric and over
1	2	3

24

7. Family Composition

7.1 How was your marriage contracted?

Christian rites	African custom	Both	Any other - specify
1	2	3	4

25

7.2 Number of children according to sex

Boys

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and more	26
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Girls

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and more	27
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

7.3 How many children do you wish to have?

7.3.1 Husband

Boys

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and more	28
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Girls

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and more	29
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Why?
 30

7.3.2 Wife

Boys

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and more	31
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Girls

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9 and more	32
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	

Why?
 33

B. ROLE AND STATUS OF HUSBAND AND WIFE

1. Authority

1.1 Who is the head of the family?

1.1.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both in various roles	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

34

Why?
 35

1.1.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both in various roles	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

36

Why?
 37

1.2 Who takes important decisions concerning family affairs in general?

1.2.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both in various roles
1	2	3

38

Why?
 39

1.2.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both in various roles
1	2	3

40

Why?
 41

1.3 Who decides upon the general family increase?

1.3.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

42

Why?
 43

1.3.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

44

Why?
 45

1.4 Who decides in the buying of big household articles?

1.4.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

46

Why?
 47

1.4.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

48

Why?
 49

1.5 Who decides and grants the children permission to take part in organizations and sport activities outside the family?

1.5.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

50

Why?
..... 51

1.5.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

52

Why?
..... 53

1.6 From whom would your sons ask for permission if they wanted to marry?

1.6.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

54

Why?
..... 55

1.6.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

56

Why?
..... 57

1.7 From whom would your daughters ask for permission if they wanted to marry?

1.7.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

58

Why?
..... 59

1.7.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

60

Why?
 61

1.8 From whom do the children get permission to visit friends, relatives, etc.?

1.8.1 Husband

N.A.	Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3	4

62

Why?
 63

1.8.2 Wife

N.A.	Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3	4

64

Why?
 65

2. Economic Activity

2.1 Who is the breadwinner for the family?

2.1.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

66

Why?
 67

2.1.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

68

Why?
 69

2.2 Who controls the finances of the family?

2.2.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

70

Why?
 71

2.2.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

72

Why?
 73

2.3 Who does the buying of the various necessities of the family?

2.3.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

74

Why?
 75

2.3.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

76

Why?
 77

3. Care and Upbringing of Children

3.1 Who teaches the children how to behave towards relatives, friends, acquaintances and strangers?

3.1.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

78

Why?
 79

3.1.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both
1	2	3

80

Why?
 1

3.2 Who teaches the boys what they need to know as members of the community?

3.2.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

2

Why?
 3

3.2.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

4

Why?
 5

3.3 Who teaches the girls what they need to know as members of the community?

3.3.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

6

Why?
 7

3.3.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

8

Why?
 9

3.4 Who teaches the children eating habits?

3.4.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

10

Why?
 11

3.4.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

12

Why?
 13

3.5 Who is responsible for waking up, washing and dressing the children in the morning?

3.5.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

14

Why?
 15

3.5.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both	Other person - specify	16
1	2	3	4	

Why?
 17

3.6 Who sees to it that the children help with work in and around the house?

3.6.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both	18
1	2	3	

Why?
 19

3.6.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both	20
1	2	3	

Why?
 21

3.7 Who punishes the children when they are naughty?

3.7.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both	22
1	2	3	

Why?
 23

3.7.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both	24
1	2	3	

Why?
 25

3.8 Who consoles and comforts the children when they are hurt or when they have had mishaps?

3.8.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

26

Why?
 27

3.8.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

28

Why?
 29

3.9 Who settles quarrels and squabbles among the children in the family?

3.9.1 Husband

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

30

Why?
 31

3.9.2 Wife

Father	Mother	Both
1	2	3

32

Why?
 33

4. Household Duties

4.1 Who cleans the house?

4.1.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify	
1	2	3	4	34

Why?
 35

4.1.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify	
1	2	3	4	36

Why?
 37

4.2 Who is responsible for the preparation of food in the family?

4.2.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify	
1	2	3	4	38

Why?
 39

4.2.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify	
1	2	3	4	40

Why?
 41

4.3 Who does the washing for the family?

4.3.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

42

Why?
 43

4.3.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

44

Why?
 45

4.4 Who is responsible for the ploughing of the fields?

4.4.1 Husband

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4	5

46

Why?
 47

4.4.2 Wife

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4	5

48

Why?
 49

4.5 Who does the hoeing and the harvesting?

4.5.1 Husband

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4	5

50

Why?
 51

4.5.2 Wife

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4	5

52

Why?
 53

4.6 Who is responsible for gardening in the family?

4.6.1 Husband

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4	5

54

Why?
 55

4.6.2 Wife

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4	5

56

Why?
 57

5. Ownership of Property

5.1 Who owns the house?

5.1.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person -specify
1	2	3	4

58

Why?
 59

5.1.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

60

Why?
 61

5.2 Who owns the furniture in the house?

5.2.1 Husband

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

62

Why?
 63

5.2.2 Wife

Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4

64

Why?
 65

5.3 Who owns the farm or the fields you plough?

5.3.1 Husband

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4	5

66

Why?
 67

5.3.2 Wife

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	Other person - specify
1	2	3	4	5

68

Why?
 69

5.4 Who owns the livestock?

5.4.1 Husband

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	70
1	2	3	4	

Why?
 71

5.4.2 Wife

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	72
1	2	3	4	

Why?
 73

5.5 Who owns and controls the car in the family?

5.5.1 Husband

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	74
1	2	3	4	

Why?
 75

5.5.2 Wife

N.A.	Husband	Wife	Both	76
1	2	3	4	

Why?
 77

78-80 Vacant

ANNEXURE B

TABLE 4.1B

Alleged head of family analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE														
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%		
Skilled	8	16	-	-	-	-	-	8	16	16	16	32	-	-	-	-	-	16	32	16	32	
Semi-skilled	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	
Unskilled	4	8	-	-	-	-	-	4	8	8	33	66	-	-	-	-	-	33	66	33	66	
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	28	56	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	7	14	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	50	100	-	-	-	-	-	50	100	100	50	100	-	-	-	-	-	50	100	50	100	

TABLE 4.2B

Alleged head of family analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE						
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %				
Skilled	4	8	-	-	4	15	30	-	-	15	30			
Semi-skilled	2	4	-	-	2	1	2	-	-	1	2			
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	24	48	-	-	24	48			
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-			
Unemployed due to other factors	44	88	-	-	44	10	20	-	-	10	20			
TOTAL	50	100	-	-	50	50	100	-	-	50	100			

TABLE 4.3B

Decisions concerning family affairs in general analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
Skilled	5	10	-	-	3	6	-	-	8	16	-	-	-	-	16	32	-	-	16	32
Semi-skilled	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	4	8	-	-	-	-	-	4	8	-	14	28	-	-	19	38	-	-	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	26	52	-	-	2	4	-	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
Unemployed due to other factors	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	
TOTAL	45	90	-	-	5	10	-	50	100	-	14	28	-	-	36	72	-	-	50	100

TABLE 4.4B

Decisions concerning family affairs in general analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
Skilled	2	4	-	-	2	4	-	-	4	8	-	-	-	-	15	30	-	-	15	30
Semi-skilled	1	2	-	-	1	2	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	23	46	-	-	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	41	82	-	-	3	6	-	-	44	88	8	16	-	-	2	4	-	-	10	20
TOTAL	44	88	-	-	6	12	-	-	50	100	9	18	-	-	41	82	-	-	50	100

TABLE 4.5B

Decisions upon the general family increase analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE								URBAN SAMPLE											
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
Skilled	2	4	-	-	3	6	3	6	8	16	-	-	-	-	16	32	-	-	16	32
Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	1	2	2	4	3	6	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	1	2	1	2	2	4	4	8	-	-	-	-	22	44	11	22	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	1	2	-	-	-	-	27	54	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	-	-	-	-	-	7	14	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	3	6	1	2	5	10	41	82	50	100	-	-	-	-	39	78	11	22	50	100

TABLE 4.6B

Decisions upon the general family increase analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE						
	Husband	Wife	Both	Other Person	Total	%		Husband	Wife	Both	Other Person	Total	%	
Skilled	-	1	2	4	2	4	8	-	-	15	-	15	30	30
Semi-skilled	-	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	-	1	-	1	2	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	4	24	48	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	2	4	-	2	41	82	88	-	-	2	8	10	20	20
TOTAL	2	4	5	10	42	84	100	-	-	38	12	50	100	100

TABLE 4.7B

Decisions concerning the buying of big household articles analysed
according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	4	8	2	4	2	4	8	16	-	-	-	-	16	32	16	32
Semi-skilled	1	2	2	4	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	3	6	-	-	1	2	4	8	9	18	-	-	24	48	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	23	46	1	2	4	8	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	6	12	1	2	-	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	37	74	6	12	7	14	50	100	9	18	-	-	41	82	50	100

TABLE 4.8B

Decisions concerning the buying of big household articles analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Standard	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	2	4	-	-	2	4	4	8	-	-	-	-	15	30	15	30
Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	2	4	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	48	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	31	62	7	14	6	12	44	88	8	16	-	-	2	4	10	20
TOTAL	33	66	7	14	10	20	50	100	8	16	-	-	42	84	50	100

TABLE 4.9B

Decisions concerning the granting of children permission to take part in organizations and sport activities outside the family analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	8	16	-	-	-	-	8	16	-	-	-	-	16	32	16	32
Semi-skilled	2	4	-	-	1	2	3	6	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	2	4	1	2	1	2	4	8	8	16	-	-	25	50	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	23	46	-	-	5	10	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	5	10	-	-	2	4	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	40	80	1	2	9	18	50	100	8	16	-	-	42	84	50	100

TABLE 4.10B

Decisions concerning the granting of children permission to take part in organizations and sport activities outside the family analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	3	6	1	2	-	-	4	8	-	-	-	-	15	30	15	30
Semi-skilled	2	4	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	-	23	46	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	39	78	1	2	4	8	44	88	7	14	-	-	3	6	10	20
TOTAL	44	88	2	4	4	8	50	100	8	16	-	-	42	84	50	100

TABLE 4.11B

Alleged breadwinner for the family analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	7	14	-	-	1	2	8	16	16	32	-	-	-	-	16	32
Semi-skilled	3	6	-	-	-	-	3	6	1	2	-	-	-	1	2	
Unskilled	4	8	-	-	-	-	4	8	32	64	-	-	1	2	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	28	56	-	-	-	-	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	7	14	-	-	-	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	49	98	-	-	1	2	50	100	49	98	-	-	1	2	50	100

TABLE 4.12B

Alleged breadwinner for the family analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	3	6	-	-	1	2	4	8	7	14	-	-	8	16	15	30
Semi-skilled	2	4	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	28	-	-	10	20	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	44	88	-	-	-	-	44	88	10	20	-	-	-	-	10	20
TOTAL	49	98	-	-	1	2	50	100	31	62	-	-	19	38	50	100

TABLE 4.13B

Control of the finances of the family analysed according to the
occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	6	12	1	2	1	2	8	16	2	4	-	-	14	28	16	32
Semi-skilled	2	4	1	2	-	-	3	6	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	3	6	1	2	-	-	4	8	16	32	-	-	17	34	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	23	46	1	2	4	8	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	7	14	-	-	-	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	41	82	4	8	5	10	50	100	19	38	-	-	31	62	50	100

TABLE 4.14B

Control of the finances of the family analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	3	6	1	2	-	-	4	8	1	2	-	-	14	28	15	30
Semi-skilled	2	4	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2	22	44	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	34	68	7	14	3	6	44	88	4	8	1	2	5	10	10	20
TOTAL	39	78	8	16	3	6	50	100	6	12	2	4	42	84	50	100

TABLE 4.15B

Buying of various necessities of the family analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	-	-	8	16	-	-	8	16	-	-	16	32	-	-	16	32
Semi-skilled	-	-	3	6	-	-	3	6	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	2	4	2	4	-	-	4	8	-	-	33	66	-	-	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	28	56	-	-	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	1	2	6	12	-	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	3	6	47	94	-	-	50	100	-	-	50	100	-	-	50	100

TABLE 16B

Buying of various necessities of the family analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	1	2	3	6	-	-	4	8	-	-	15	30	-	-	15	30
Semi-skilled	-	-	2	4	-	-	2	4	-	-	1	2	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	48	-	-	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	-	44	88	-	-	44	88	-	-	10	20	-	-	10	20
TOTAL	1	2	49	98	-	-	50	100	-	-	50	100	-	-	50	100

TABLE 17B

Teaching the children how to behave towards relatives, friends, acquaintances and strangers analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	-	-	7	14	1	2	8	16	-	-	2	4	14	28	16	32
Semi-skilled	2	4	-	-	1	2	3	6	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	1	2	2	4	1	2	4	8	-	-	11	22	22	44	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	1	2	10	20	17	34	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	1	2	3	6	3	6	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	5	10	22	44	23	46	50	100	-	-	13	26	37	74	50	100

TABLE 4.18B

Teaching the children how to behave towards relatives, friends, acquaintances and strangers analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	-	-	4	8	-	-	4	8	-	-	2	4	13	26	15	30
Semi-skilled	-	-	2	4	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	21	42	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	4	8	33	66	7	14	44	88	-	-	7	14	3	6	10	20
TOTAL	4	8	39	78	7	14	50	100	-	-	12	24	38	76	50	100

TABLE 4.19B

Responsibility for seeing to it that the children help with work in and around the house analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE					
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %
Skilled	1	6	1	8	16	-	16	32	16	-	16	32
Semi-skilled	1	1	1	3	6	-	6	2	1	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	1	3	4	8	-	8	6	23	10	46	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	2	10	16	28	56	-	56	32	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	1	2	4	7	14	-	14	8	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	5	20	40	50	100	-	100	50	40	10	80	100

TABLE 20B

Responsibility for seeing to it that the children help with work in and around the house analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	-	-	2	4	2	4	4	8	-	-	-	-	15	30	15	30
Semi-skilled	-	-	2	4	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	23	46	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	3	6	29	58	12	24	44	88	-	-	8	16	2	4	10	20
TOTAL	3	6	33	66	14	28	50	100	-	-	9	18	41	82	50	100

TABLE 4.21B

Responsibility for punishing the children analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE							
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %		
Skilled	6	12	1	2	2	8	16	-	-	-	16	32	16	32
Semi-skilled	3	6	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	4	8	-	-	-	4	8	14	28	-	19	38	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	28	56	-	-	-	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	7	14	-	-	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	48	96	1	2	1	2	50	100	14	28	36	72	50	100

TABLE 22B

Responsibility for punishing the children analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	3	6	1	2	-	-	4	8	-	-	-	-	15	30	15	30
Semi-skilled	2	4	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	21	42	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	43	86	-	-	1	2	44	88	10	20	-	-	-	10	20	
TOTAL	48	96	1	2	1	2	50	100	13	26	-	-	37	74	50	100

TABLE 4.23B

Responsibility for cleaning the house analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE								
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	
Skilled	-	8	16	-	8	16	-	7	14	8	-	18	-	9	16	32
Semi-skilled	-	3	6	-	3	6	-	1	2	3	-	-	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	4	8	-	4	8	-	33	66	4	-	-	-	-	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	28	56	-	28	56	-	-	-	28	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	7	14	-	7	14	-	-	-	7	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	-	50	100	-	50	100	-	41	82	50	-	18	-	9	50	100

TABLE 4.24B

Responsibility for cleaning the house analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE							
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %
Skilled	-	4	8	-	4	8	-	6	12	-	9	18	-	15	30
Semi-skilled	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	48	-	-	-	-	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	44	88	-	44	88	-	10	20	-	-	-	-	10	20
TOTAL	-	50	100	-	50	100	-	41	82	-	9	18	-	50	100

TABLE 4.25B

Responsibility for the preparation of food analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE						
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %				
Skilled	-	8	16	-	8	16	15	30	-	1	16	32		
Semi-skilled	-	3	6	-	3	6	1	2	-	-	1	2		
Unskilled	-	4	8	-	4	8	33	66	-	-	33	66		
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Unemployed Unskilled	-	28	56	-	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-		
Unemployed due to other factors	-	7	14	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-		
TOTAL	-	50	100	-	50	100	49	98	-	1	50	100		

TABLE 4.26B

Responsibility for the preparation of food analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE							
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %
Skilled	-	4	8	-	4	8	-	14	28	-	-	1	2	15	30
Semi-skilled	-	2	4	-	2	4	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	48	-	-	-	-	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	44	88	-	44	88	-	10	20	-	-	-	-	10	20
TOTAL	-	50	100	-	50	100	-	49	98	-	-	1	2	50	100

TABLE 4.27B

Responsibility for washing for the family analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE							
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Other Person %	Total %
Skilled	-	8	16	-	8	16	-	7	14	-	9	18	-	16	32
Semi-skilled	-	3	6	-	3	6	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	4	8	-	4	8	-	33	66	-	-	-	-	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	28	56	-	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	7	14	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	-	50	100	-	50	100	-	41	82	-	9	18	-	50	100

TABLE 4.28B

Responsibility for washing for the family analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE												
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%
Skilled	-	-	4	8	-	-	-	-	4	8	-	-	6	12	-	-	9	18	15	30
Semi-skilled	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	1	2	-	-	-	-	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	48	-	-	-	-	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	-	44	88	-	-	-	-	44	88	-	-	10	20	-	-	-	-	10	20
TOTAL	-	-	50	100	-	-	-	-	50	100	-	-	41	82	-	-	9	18	50	100

TABLE 4.29B

Alleged owner of the house analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE											
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total
Skilled	4	8	1	2	2	4	1	2	8	16	-	-	-	7	14	9	18	16	32
Semi-skilled	2	4	1	2	-	-	-	3	6	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	3	6	-	-	1	2	-	4	8	-	-	-	-	-	-	33	66	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	21	42	2	4	5	10	-	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	6	12	-	-	1	2	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	36	72	4	8	9	18	1	2	50	100	-	-	-	7	14	43	86	50	100

TABLE 4.30B

Alleged owner of the house analysed according to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE							URBAN SAMPLE											
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Other Person	%	Total
Skilled	-	-	-	3	6	1	2	4	8	-	-	-	-	7	14	8	16	15	30
Semi-skilled	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	2	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	48	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	23	46	15	30	6	12	-	44	88	-	-	1	2	-	-	9	18	10	20
TOTAL	25	50	15	30	9	18	1	50	100	-	-	1	2	7	14	42	84	50	100

TABLE 4.31B

Alleged owner of the furniture in the house analysed according to the occupational status of the males

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE									
	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%	Husband	%	Wife	%	Both	%	Total	%
Skilled	-	-	5	10	3	6	8	16	-	-	5	10	11	22	16	32
Semi-skilled	-	-	2	4	1	2	3	6	-	-	-	-	1	2	1	2
Unskilled	1	2	2	4	1	2	4	8	-	-	16	32	17	34	33	66
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	1	2	24	48	3	6	28	56	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	-	7	14	-	-	7	14	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	2	4	40	80	8	16	50	100	-	-	21	42	29	58	50	100

TABLE 4.32B

Alleged owner of the furniture in the house analysed according
to the occupational status of the females

Occupational Status	RURAL SAMPLE						URBAN SAMPLE						
	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	Husband %	Wife %	Both %	Total %	
Skilled	-	-	4	4	8	-	4	8	15	4	8	15	30
Semi-skilled	-	2	-	2	4	-	-	-	1	-	1	1	2
Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	24	10	14	24	48
Unemployed Skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Semi-skilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed Unskilled	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Unemployed due to other factors	-	38	6	44	88	-	9	18	10	9	1	10	20
TOTAL	-	40	10	50	100	-	23	46	50	23	27	50	100

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