EMPLOYMENT AND URBANISATION: THE IMPACT OF THE ABOLITION OF INFLUX CONTROL IN THE WESTERN CAPE

Ceridwen Oliver-Evans

Saldu Working Paper No. 84

Cape Town

July 1993
ISBN 0 7992 1496 5

Copyrights. SALDRU.
All rights reserved.
Table of Contents

PREFACE ................................................................. iv
Notes on names ................................................................ v
Notes on terminology........................................................ v
Abbreviations .................................................................... vi

CHAPTER 1: THE ABOLITION OF INFLUX CONTROL LEGISLATION .... 1
Introduction ........................................................................ 1
Orderly Urbanisation .......................................................... 2
Urbanisation: Direct and Indirect Controls ......................... 3

CHAPTER 2: POLICY AND PRACTICE: GOVERNMENT, EMPLOYERS 
AND TRADE UNIONS ...................................................... 7
Introduction ........................................................................ 7
Government Policy and Practice ........................................... 7
Citizenship .......................................................................... 8
Orderly Urbanisation in the Western Cape ......................... 14
Employer Policy and Practice ............................................. 20
Trade Union Policy and Practice ....................................... 28

CHAPTER 3: THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE OF A COMPANY COMPOUND. .... 30
Introduction ....................................................................... 30
Physical Layout of the Compound ....................................... 31
Population Size ................................................................... 33
'Legal' Bed-holders: The World of Work .............................. 34

CHAPTER 4: THE WORLD OF WORK MATES ........................................... 54
Introduction ....................................................................... 54
The World of Work Mates .................................................. 54
The Dependants .................................................................... 70
Categories of Dependants ................................................... 72
Wives, Girlfriends and Children ......................................... 74
Extended Family and Home People ..................................... 82
The Social Organisation of Space ....................................... 85
Sleeping Arrangements ...................................................... 88
Daily Activities ................................................................... 89

CHAPTER 5: THE COMPOUND EXPERIENCE: EXTERNAL 
DETERMINANTS AND MULTIPLE DISCOURSES .................. 95
Introduction ....................................................................... 95
The Compound Experience: External Determinants and Multiple 
Discourses ....................................................................... 95
The Compound Experience: Being a Migrant ....................... 100
Conclusions ....................................................................... 103

BIBLIOGRAPHY ...................................................................... 105
List of Case Studies

Case 1: Passing the Buck ............................................. 23
Case 2: Muddling Through ........................................... 24
Case 3: Insider Networks ............................................. 25
Case 4: Invisible Women .............................................. 48
Case 5: Visit from the Labour Officer ............................... 48
Case 6: Upgrading ..................................................... 49
Case 7: Managing Director's Version ............................... 51
Case 8: Workers' Version ............................................. 51
Case 9: Labour Officer's Version ................................... 52
Case 10: Nolast's 'Temporary' Visit .................................. 75
Case 11: Yekelela Looks After His Son ............................. 76
Case 12: A Threatened Marriage ..................................... 78
Case 13: Rural Children .............................................. 79
Case 14: Separated Siblings .......................................... 80
Case 15: Sigxuduva in Control ....................................... 81
Case 16: Kinship as a Resource: Access to a Bed ............... 82
Case 17: Kinship as a Resource: Access to Jobs .................. 83
Case 18: Alternating Rooms ......................................... 88

Map

The Transkei .............................................................. 55

List of Tables

Table 3.1: Block, People by Ratio to Facilities ................... 34
Table 3.2: Worker Skill Levels ..................................... 36
Table 3.3: Worker Education Levels ................................ 36
Table 3.4: Weekly Wage Levels (Rands) ............................ 37
Table 3.5: Employment Position by Education Level ............ 37
Table 3.6: Weekly Wages (Rands) by Education Levels ........ 38
Table 3.7: Weekly Wages (Rands) by Length of Employment ... 38
Table 3.8: South African Identity Documents: Bed Holders by Year Applied and Year Received ...................... 42
Table 3.9: South African Identity Documents: Dependants by Year Applied and Year Received ...................... 43
Table 3.10: Bed-holders: Type of Prosecution by Year .......... 46
Table 4.1: Origins: District and Location .......................... 56
Table 4.2: Origin by Length of Employment ......................... 57
Table 4.3: Future Orientation by Age ................................ 64
Table 4.4: Future Orientation by Marital Status .................. 65
Table 4.5: Future Orientation by Rural Resources (Land) .... 66
Table 4.6: Future Orientation by Rural Resources (Livestock) .............................................................. 67
Table 4.7: Year of Arrival: Adult Dependents .................... 71
Table 4.8: Dependents by Age and Sex .............................. 72
Table 4.9: Dependents by Relation to Bed-Holders ............... 74
List of Diagrams

Diagram 1: Amakhaya Groupings: District and Location........58
Diagram 2: Future Orientation by Compound Blocks
and Rooms........................................69
Diagram 3: New Block - As provided by company.................86
Diagram 4: New Block - As improved by residents..............86
Diagram 5: Old Block - As improved by residents...............87

List of Figures

Figure 3.1: Length and Method of Employment.....................39
Figure 4.1: Dependancy Relations and Social Organisation......92
Figure 4.2: Dependancy Relations and Social Organisation......93
Figure 4.3: Dependancy Relations and Social Organisation......94
PREFACE

Influx control legislation was formally abolished in South Africa in 1986. This paper investigates the social processes set in motion with its abolition in the spheres of employment and urbanisation, and argues that, in the macro domain, while influx control in its narrow sense has been abolished, it has been replaced with far more complex and subtle forms of control. These ostensibly racially neutral measures, an 'orderly urbanisation' policy and a wide variety of laws existing on South African statute books continue to circumscribe African rights.

The paper focuses on a specific region, the Western Cape, an area where influx control has been more harshly implemented than elsewhere through the implementation of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy. This paper investigates on a micro-level, via the medium of a company compound, how people at both an individual and institutional level have interpreted the legislative changes and acted upon them. The particular range of actors include government officials, employers and employer organisations, union representatives, and migrant workers and their families living in the company compound. The evidence I present was obtained primarily through interviews and ethnographic field-research conducted in 1988.

A particular concern of the paper has been to examine the disjunction between policy and practice as pursued by government officials and the effects and implications arising from this among the actors mentioned above. The main themes which have emerged from this research are those of confusion and a lack of knowledge among many of the informants. It was found that high-ranking government officials lack consensus on vital issues of citizenship and employment which affect the lives of thousands of Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens. Employers, confused by the confusion in government departments, and confronted by a new situation and new sets of rules have either ignored these or succumbed to government policy. Equally, unions have been slow to respond or systematically adopt a policy on the 1986 legislative changes. Finally, it was found that migrant workers and their families are availing themselves of opportunities presented by the abolition of influx control legislation in terms of freedom of movement, although as I argue, this takes the form of a complex range of fluid and dynamic movement patterns between the compound, the rural areas and urban townships. This complexity, as the paper demonstrates, is reflected both in the attitudes and in the practical daily living arrangements of the workers as they respond to and interpret the macro-level forces which affect them.
Notes on names

In order to protect the identity of informants the use of pseudonyms has been adopted where names appear in the case studies.

Notes on terminology

African, Coloured and White
Capital letters have been used when referring to Africans, Coloureds and Whites to show that these are official designations rather than descriptive terms. My use of these terms does not imply support for any system which classifies people in racial or other ways for purposes of political and economic discrimination.

Homelands'
I have used inverted commas when referring to the 'homelands' because I do not accept that the 'homelands' necessarily constitute home for the people who are compelled to live in them. The choice of the term 'homeland' as opposed to 'national state' or 'bantustan' is due to this term being used almost exclusively by the people with whom I spoke. I have used inverted commas when referring to 'homeland' 'independence' because I do not recognise the Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei as independent states.

'White' South Africa
I have used this term to denote the 87% of South Africa's land which is not scheduled for African occupation in terms of the 1913 Natives Land Act and the 1936 Natives Trust and Land Act. My use of this term does not imply that Africans should not have full rights of citizenship and residence in these areas.
### Abbreviations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>CAWU</td>
<td>Construction and Allied Workers Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCC</td>
<td>Cape Town Chamber of Commerce</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CCI</td>
<td>Cape Chamber of Industries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CLPP</td>
<td>Coloured Labour Preference Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COSATU</td>
<td>Congress of South African Trade Unions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CP</td>
<td>Conservative Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPA</td>
<td>Cape Provincial Administration</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CPA (CS)</td>
<td>Cape Provincial Administration, Office of Community Services</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTCC</td>
<td>Cape Town City Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>DB</td>
<td>Development Board</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>FAWU</td>
<td>Food and Allied Workers Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>HSRC</td>
<td>Human Sciences Research Council</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ID</td>
<td>Identity Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NAD</td>
<td>Department of Native Affairs</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NHC</td>
<td>National Housing Commission</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PWV</td>
<td>Pretoria, Witwatersrand, Vaal Region</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SA ID</td>
<td>South African Identity Document</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SANTA</td>
<td>South African National Tuberculosis Association</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SAP</td>
<td>South African Police</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SATS</td>
<td>South African Transport Service</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TB</td>
<td>Tuberculosis</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TBVC</td>
<td>Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ULPP</td>
<td>Urban Labour Preference Policy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WCHDA</td>
<td>Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
ABOLITION OF INFLUX CONTROL LEGISLATION

Introduction
In 1985, in his opening speech to Parliament, State President, Mr. P.W. Botha, raised two major issues: the recognition of the permanent nature of African urbanisation in 'white' South Africa, coupled with a strategy for 'orderly urbanisation'.

The 'green light' given by the State President was followed by a report produced in a record five months by the President's Council Committee for Constitutional Affairs. This report, which among other things, advocated the abolition of influx control formed the basis of a White Paper on Urbanisation, tabled in April 1986, which set out the government's official policy as well as its future strategy for managing urbanisation. These were given legislative expression in a series of Acts which came into effect on 1 July 1986:

1. The Abolition of Influx Control Act (68 of 1986) repealed some thirty-four laws controlling Africans. Corder (1987:3) singles out the following as being most significant: the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act; Chapter IV of the Development Trust and Land Act of 1936, which determined, among other things, the setting of labour quotas; the Black Labour Regulations of 1968; Proclamation 270 of 1966, which dealt with the right of entry and search of Africans on private property; the Blacks (Prohibition of Interdicts) Act of 1927, which authorised the removal of tribes. At the same time, however, the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act (52 of 1951) was addressed, making its provisions applicable to all, and imposing harsher penalties for its infringement. In addition, the provisions of the Slums Act (76 of 1979) were extended to include areas controlled by Black local authorities.

2. The Identification Act (72 of 1986) repealed the Blacks (Abolition of Passes and Co-ordination of Documents) Act. In its place a new uniform identity document for all South African citizens over the age of sixteen was substituted. In terms of the Act all persons eligible for a document must apply for such at which time a full set of fingerprints (including palmprints) are taken. However existing identification documents and passes remain valid and present holders of existing identity documents ("non-Africans") are exempt from providing their fingerprints for the population register, unless they require new identity documents. Finally, people of all
population groups are required by law to carry an identity document and produce it on demand. Failure to do so "without lawful cause" constitutes a criminal offense with a penalty of R500 and/or six months imprisonment.

3. The Restoration of South African Citizenship Act (73 of 1986) provides for the restoration of citizenship to those citizens of Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (the "TBVC" countries) who are eligible by virtue of birth, descent, registration and naturalisation.

4. The Black Communities Development Amendment Act (74 of 1986) granted full property rights for Africans in urban areas.

5. The Abolition of Development Bodies Act (75 of 1986) abolished all Development Boards (formerly the Bantu Administration Boards).

**Orderly Urbanisation**

The legislation listed above represents a significant departure from the ideology of separate development which has dominated Nationalist policy for decades. The Abolition of Influx Control Act has removed many of the direct controls preventing African urbanisation, most notably the Urban Areas Act which contained the infamous Section 10(1) clause made effective through reference books or the 'dompas' system as it was widely known. However, the repeal of these laws has not taken place in a vacuum. In this regard two major points need to be considered: firstly, the demise of influx control had been coupled with an 'orderly urbanisation' policy which many critics perceive as a far more subtle form of control cloaked in an ostensibly racially neutral guise, and secondly, numerous laws remain on the statute books which ultimately control the rate and pace of African urbanisation as well as dictating where this should occur.

In this context the government's stated policy is very important. The White Paper already referred to defines 'orderly urbanisation' with the following qualifications:

> [It] implies the freedom of movement of all citizens and also refers to the operation of economic and social forces and the concomitant obligations. It means further that the process of urbanisation must be ordered, planned

---

1 Two subsequent amendments to this Act (No.47 of 1988 and No.81 of 1990) appear to have reintroduced development bodies by deleting the requirement that certain development bodies be abolished before a specific date; and allow for the establishment of further local areas; make provision for elections for development bodies as well as regulating the transfer of assets, staff etc.
and directed by predominantly indirect forms of control, such as incentive and restrictive measures, as well as by direct measures comprising legislation and ordinances (emphasis added, 1986:71).

Urbanisation: Direct And Indirect Controls

The numerous and mushrooming squatter camps on the peripheries of major metropolitan areas from the early 1970's onwards indicates that influx control was becoming ineffective as a means of preventing African urbanisation. By the mid-1970's some officials were privately acknowledging that influx control was ineffectual and artificial but this was openly acknowledged only a decade later. Nevertheless a range of legislation remains which fulfills, or can fulfill, the function of circumscribing African urbanisation.

The Land Acts of 1913 and 1936 have been singled out as the most important legislation limiting African urbanisation. Section 1 of the 1913 Act stipulates that purchase of land or any rights to land outside areas defined for African occupation is illegal (Robertson in Jankowitz, 1987). Land which falls outside this definition is subject to the provisions of the Group Areas Act (Jankowitz, 1987:38). The Land Acts restricted Africans to specific geographical areas which later formed the basis of the government's separate development policy. In terms of urban settlement, the Group Areas Act although applicable to Africans, was never utilised in this regard, primarily because the Blacks (Urban Areas) Act made provision for African settlement in government-approved accommodation on proclaimed land set aside for such purposes.

The actual allocation of land for African urban settlement is controlled by four Acts: the Group Areas, Black Communities Development, Black Administration, and Prevention of Illegal Squatting Acts (Jankowitz, 1987), with the provisions of the Illegal Squatting Act, the Trespass Act, the Health Act and the Slums Act all critical in determining the availability of housing for Africans. The control over housing supply is vested in three government departments: the Department of Constitutional Development and Planning, the Department of Health and various Black local authorities (Corder, 1987:6-7).

In terms of urbanisation, the above Acts all create a tight web of control over land and accommodation and constitute the direct measures alluded to in the government's definition of 'orderly urbanisation'. Given the twin legacies of separate development: namely a shortage of land and an enormous housing backlog, the release of land and the provision of housing are crucial in any positive urbanisation strategy. As Dewar and Watson (1986:23) point out, the real issue is the supply of serviced land to which the urban poor can afford access. In

---

2 This Act was repealed in 1991
this regard, although the concept of "informal settlements" has been embraced by the government as a means of coping with the acute housing shortage, in real terms this means the provision of infrastructure which consists of some form of basic sewerage and water supply, with the onus falling upon the site-dweller to erect his or her own accommodation.

Essentially, then, the process of urbanisation has been overshadowed by restrictive measures which can be invoked wherever urbanisation occurs which does not conform to the government's notions of what constitutes acceptable or 'orderly' urbanisation. Thus, in terms of the amendments to the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act, the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning is empowered to prohibit the owner of land not zoned for residential purposes from allowing squatting to occur. The onus of preventing squatting falls upon the land owner who may be prosecuted if he or she fails to evict squatters. As Schoombee and Davis (1986:13) point out, this may impose a duty on a land owner to evict thousands of squatters.

The Trespass Act (No. 6 of 1959) requires that any person who enters or remains on land must have the permission of the lawful occupier or owner to be there. Failure to obtain this renders the person liable to prosecution and penalties have been greatly increased. A convicted person now faces a maximum fine of R2 000 and/or a two year prison term. The Slums Act (No. 76 of 1979) empowers all local authorities or central government in terms of its default powers, to force owners to clear slums on their land and to eject occupants. Furthermore, lack of suitable alternative accommodation is not a mitigating factor in terms of the Act. In addition the Health Act (No. 63 of 1977) requires the prevention of possible health risks arising in urban township dwelling by the local authorities responsible. Municipal ordinances such as vagrancy and health regulations and various by-laws can also be invoked by the authorities as a means of controlling and monitoring urbanisation (Jankowitz, 1987:67).

Finally, despite the fact that the 1927 and 1936 legislation dealing with forced removals has been repealed, Africans living in established townships may still be forcibly relocated under the provisions of the Black Communities Development Act (No. 4 of 1984) which empowers the Minister to alter or disestablish any African township, relocate its inhabitants and demolish existing structures.

In addition proposed legislation such as the Borders of Particular States Extension Amendment Bill, will allow for the incorporation of established African communities into the

---

3 Act No.108 of 1991 repeals Act No.4 of 1984 with the exception of Chapters VI and VIA which deal with leasehold and the conversion of leasehold into ownership respectively.
'homelands' at the stroke of a pen. While the above constitutes one side of the 'orderly urbanisation' coin, the other side consists of indirect forms of control which are to serve as a means of more evenly distributing both population and economic activity on a national level. In this context the nine development regions, which encompass urban and rural areas and cut across the artificial political boundaries of the 'homelands', form integrated planning and administrative units and provide a framework within which incentive and restrictive measures are used to influence settlement patterns.

Incentives are used to encourage and support residential and industrial growth at various deconcentration points within the development regions. As Hindson remarks "where geography allows, new deconcentrated areas are at present being sited in locations which are at once on the metropolitan peripheries and on the bantustan borders, and old commuter areas already located in such areas are being redefined as deconcentrated areas" (1987a:94). Dewar and Watson point out that Africans will be affected almost exclusively by this deconcentration policy in that future urban population growth, both in terms of migration and natural increase, will be among Africans and not other population groups. The authors conclude that deconcentration "reflects a determination to divert African urbanisation away from close contact with existing (white-controlled) metropolitan areas" (1986:23-24). In keeping with this policy major metropolitan areas are disadvantaged by numerous restrictive measures which act to severely curtail urban growth and industrial development.  

The responsibility of financing and implementing the urbanisation process has devolved principally upon lower tiers of government, the individuals and communities concerned, as well as private enterprise. In terms of government structures, the Regional Service Councils (RSCs) created in 1985, are responsible for administering the metropolitan areas within the development regions. In the first instance the RSCs serve the purpose of subsidising infrastructure in African townships which fall within their ambit and taxes levied on businesses constitute the major financial means to achieve this (Hindson, 1987a). Once this has been achieved "the aim of metropolitan fiscal policy is to ensure the standard of services supplied in an area is tied directly to the level of contribution of the local authorities concerned, allowing for residential differentiation on the basis of wealth and expressed preferences of the communities concerned. The essence of the

---

4 This bill reached the Joint Committee on Constitutional and Foreign Affairs in 1990 and was withdrawn in 1991.

5 For a critique of deconcentration policy, see Dewar and Watson, 1986; Thomas and van der Horst, 1986; and City Planner's Department, City of Cape Town report, 1987.
policy is to privatise the supply of services and individualise the costs of their consumption" (Hindson, 1987a:91-92).

It has been pointed out that local authorities will become responsible for "... inter alia low-income housing, transport, trunk and social services; and implementation responsibilities for monitoring urbanisation. What is not devolved includes the power to set urbanisation policy and establish legislation, power to determine development priorities and the distribution of financial resources, and power to release land for industrial and residential development. Local authorities therefore become the administrative buffer between those who set policy in central government and the citizens who experience the policy at local level" (City Planner's Report, City of Cape Town, 1987:ii). Thus Black local authorities who have taken over from the now defunct development boards are to bear the burden of African urbanisation, despite such obstacles as lack of legitimacy, administrative experience and a sound financial base with which to effect the urbanisation process.

In summary, it is apparent that the government, whilst abolishing key legislation which served to restrict African mobility and urbanisation, has placed considerable emphasis on controlling and directing urbanisation under the guise of an 'orderly urbanisation' policy. In terms of this policy central government has shrugged off major responsibilities, including the financial burden of urbanisation, which have consequently devolved upon local government, the private sector and individuals concerned. When this is coupled with the fact that urbanisation is occurring almost exclusively among the African population who occupy the lowest rungs of the socio-economic ladder the 'reform' is seen in a new and disconcerting light.

The following chapter examines how the abolition of influx control legislation has affected key actors in the Western Cape. The impact of the changes on government officials, employers and trade unions is investigated.
hamba dompas' that was the message. It is actually incorrect. You don't need a pass book but you don't automatically get a SA ID book. The way it was made known ... the impression of restoration seemed to have much wider application than in reality. (Senior official, Department of Home Affairs).

Introduction
This chapter focuses on the impact and implications arising from the legislative changes discussed in Chapter One, and seeks to examine key actors such as government officials, employers and trade unions in the light of their understandings, perceptions and interpretations of the legislation, and their responses in terms of how these have been translated into practice.

In the field of political and administrative science it is well known that the aims or intentions of policy makers which are translated into law are often thwarted in practice; either through inaccurate or inept legislation, through lower level bureaucrats within the government administration failing to comply with or to execute policy, or through ignorance or defiance by those towards whom the policy is directed (see also Simon, 1965; Lindblom, 1970). This chapter attempts to reveal the divergence between policy and practice in the Western Cape and for purposes of analysis has been divided into three sections. The first section focuses on government policy and practice in the crucial areas of citizenship and orderly urbanisation, while the second and third sections explore the consequences of these policies and the ways in which they have influenced specific interest groups: namely employers and trade unions respectively.

Government Policy and Practice
This section attempts to illustrate Simon's observations that:

[i]n the first place the legislative body will often wish, for political reasons, to avoid making clear-cut policy decisions and ... pass these on to an administrative agency. In the second place the administrator ... may (and usually will) have his own very definite set of personal values that he would like to see implemented by his administrative organization, and he may resist attempts by the legislation to assume completely the function of policy determination, or he may sabotage their decisions by his manner of executing them (1965:58-59).
Citizenship

According to government policy, freedom of movement has been granted to those Africans with South African citizenship. This would appear to exclude the majority of TBVC citizens who lost their South African citizenship when their 'homelands' attained 'independence'. With the abolition of influx control legislation the issue of citizenship has become crucial. Although the Restoration of South African citizenship provides for the restoration or granting of South African citizenship to certain categories of TBVC citizens, as Schoombee and Davis (1986:8-10) point out, the legislation is fairly complex and the key issues revolve around whether and for how long the person in question has been "permanently resident" in the Republic and when he or she entered the Republic. In the latter case, the date of commencement of the Act serves as a cut-off point for those who qualify under this provision.

Initially it was estimated that only one and three-quarter million of the nine million people who lost their citizenship through 'homeland independence' would qualify in terms of these categories for restoration of citizenship (SAIRR, 1986). It has been suggested by Budlender, however, that the figure is closer to three million, although no test case has yet challenged the legislation: applicants who have been refused citizenship and who have threatened court action have been granted citizenship status without a court battle (Jankowitz, 1987:46). Research findings confirmed this. A senior official in the Department of Home Affairs, interviewed in 1988, stated that the government would settle before the case gets to court to avoid bad publicity and also to avoid testing the legislation in court. It was his opinion that several loopholes remained to be sorted out.

Critical to restoration of South African citizenship for TBVC citizens is that they can show that they were lawfully and permanently resident in South Africa. As Corder points out, an exemption under the Aliens Act makes all TBVC citizens in South Africa lawful residents for this purpose; all that is further required in theory is proof of at least five years of residence in South Africa prior to application:

The meaning of the phrase "lawful resident" requires that the person must be in the country legally, which means that all TBVC citizens qualify in this regard because all of them are at present exempted from the requirement of possession of a temporary residence permit by the Minister of Home Affairs, acting in terms of section 7 bis of the Aliens Act. As regards "permanent residence", it appears that five years residence with or without the rest of the applicant's family is sufficient to qualify in this regard. It must be pointed out however that the applicant must have entered South Africa before the 30th of June 1986 in order to qualify by virtue of birth, registration or descent, although the channel of
naturalization, as under the Citizenship Act, 44 of 1949, still remains open. It goes without saying that the chances of an African satisfying the requirements of naturalization are extremely slender, due mainly to the lack of availability of employment opportunity. According to the only statistics available, it is likely that approximately one million Transkeians and Ciskeians are potentially affected by these changed legal provisions (emphasis added, Corder, 1987:4).

The conflict between the legislation and official interpretations of it became clear during research. A senior official of the Department of Home Affairs in the Western Cape charged with these matters, claimed for example that no TBVC citizen with a family residing in an 'independent homeland' would be eligible for restoration of South African citizenship. In addition he stated that contract workers would also be ineligible since they would not be officially regarded as permanently employed. In another view, Laubscher, who conducted research in the Western Cape in 1987, found that Africans who qualify in terms of categories of restoration of South African citizenship and apply for such cannot be turned down: the Director General has no discretion in this regard (Corder, 1987:4).

In fact, however, senior officials were not clear on the new regulations and their interpretation. One Home Affairs official, when asked about the position of TBVC citizens under the Aliens Act pointed out he was still learning about it from the Departmental Procedural Manual. Yet another official mentioned his department had been receiving new directives almost weekly in early 1988. As he put it: "things have changed so fast and are still changing...".

Similarly senior Cape Provincial Administration (CPA) officials were found to be unsure about the Aliens Act and how it related to their area of jurisdiction: "We have a group of legal experts who translate the new legislation into 'layman's language' but it's totally confusing even to myself. I've had colleagues try and explain it to me and I've had to say 'hold on! - lets go back to the beginning'.'"

Despite differences in interpretation, an administrative procedure exists for the restoration of citizenship. The Restoration Act requires that TBVC citizens desirous of regaining South African citizenship must inform the Director-General of the Department of Home Affairs in writing. Basically, though, all a TBVC citizen has to do is fill out an Application for an Identity Document - form BI-9(E). This form serves the dual purpose of an application both for restoration of citizenship and for the new identity document. For purposes

---

6 This interpretation appears to ignore the rights of contract workers won in terms of the Rikhotso and Komani judgements.
of restoration, the document is stamped to this effect and then signed by the applicant. Finally, if a TBVC citizen is eligible for South African citizenship and applies for a South African passport this is the one case where he or she gets South African citizenship before applying for such via an identity document.

The application for an identity document must be accompanied by a birth certificate or photocopy thereof, or where unavailable a sworn declaration in lieu of a birth certificate, and two passport size photographs. The procedure is quite straightforward for South African citizens. In respect of TBVC citizens, however, an identity document is only granted "... to immigrants and to persons who were born in TBVC countries but now reside with their families permanently in the Republic" (B1-9 (E)). As has already been shown, this is a problematic interpretation. Superficially families appear to be the sole criterion, and a strict interpretation would apparently exclude single people. As already mentioned, though, no aspect concerning the restoration of citizenship had, at the time of writing, been tested in a court of law.

While experts and officials could argue about interpretations under the new law in terms of policy, investigations on the ground presented a rather different picture in practice.

In the Western Cape, in the case of Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens, practically everyone who applies for new identity documents does not experience any problem in having their applications accepted because the Department of Home Affairs has not been monitoring or checking the forms. One official stated that many people who handed in their forms had them rejected outright. When asked why, they were told by the clerks that they had not been in the Republic for the necessary five year period. The same people would return later in the day and fill out new forms correctly which were then accepted by the clerks. As the official pointed out: "look, these guys aren't stupid! A lot of guys get them [ID's] that way". So it seems that the issue of permanent residence is largely academic as no proof is required by the Department. In fact the official mentioned that the issuing of new identity documents had been a bureaucratic nightmare, particularly in 1986 when the legislation was first passed:

there were so many people in the halls that people couldn't get out of the lifts. We eventually had to close the building. Clerks were working practically twenty-four hours a day to try and process them. We were told by Pretoria that nobody should have to wait more than an hour to be processed. Practically its an impossible task to check ID applications, there are too many - the applicant - he's home and dry.
In the ensuing chaos, the Department of Home Affairs came under considerable pressure, and was ill-prepared to process all the applications. The South African Police were not prepared to undertake the finger-printing required, and Home Affairs had to set up systems for this. As the statement below reveals the Department had neither the expertise, the staff, nor the will to check applications. An official stated:

All I can tell you is its absolute madness. Here and in Observatory. Employers can't take fingerprints and the SAP refused to because its not a criminal matter. With the initial rush we had stand up battles when it first started. The guys who make the rules don't know what is going to happen in practice. We weren't allowed to increase our staff - our staff threatened to walk out, eventually they gave us five people. We had real hassles. It looks nice on paper but...

This raises another important issue regarding the bureaucracy. The administrators best able, in government terms, to deal with applications were those in the old Development Boards, with their inspectorate which had been responsible for the bulk of influx control enforcement over the years. The shift in policy entailed a shift to a different bureaucracy. The abolition of development boards saw many of the inspectorate seeking early retirement. Those that remained were transferred to various other government departments. In the Western Cape these people are now employed by the Departments of Home Affairs, Manpower, Education and Training and the South African Police, with the largest number having been transferred to Home Affairs (Hansard, 1987:1170). Apparently the latter transfer included the law enforcement personnel complete with uniforms, guns and radios. This was confirmed by a senior official in the Cape Provincial Administration who detailed some of the changes in the structure of government:

the old labour bureau in Nyanga has been taken over by the Department of Manpower. The law enforcement side of the DB has been taken over by the Department of Home Affairs - a chunk of personnel were moved over, everything moved over - uniforms, badges, guns, radios, personnel... The enforcement side of Home Affairs has been active opening up offices in Cape Town - taking over the old DB offices... going to start going out into the field and looking at ID's.

In 1987 forty-six inspectors were employed by Home Affairs (Hansard, 1987:1170-1172). One senior official in Home Affairs stated that the inspectors "are being used for all kinds of things everywhere. A lot are being used in clerical situations like checking marriage registers - there are far more inspectors than available work at the moment". The official further mentioned that many of the old Development Board inspectors were unhappy with the changes: "Yeah, I've spoken to a lot of these guys. They had quite exciting lives. Some are dissatisfied - no car to take home, no uniform allowance and lower salaries over here [Home Affairs]. Most are on the
top [of the salary scale] and can't go very far". The official was adamant, however, that none of the inspectorate were being used for checking identity document applications by Africans, but were concerned with the checking of what he referred to as 'real aliens'.

Before [the abolition] we had one immigration inspector for the whole area and he wasn't too successful in tracking down illegal, mainly white aliens. Now the old DB inspectors are now alien inspectors, they will be out looking for 'real aliens' - whites not blacks so much and they have ways and means of getting information that we don't have ... These alien inspectors will have some forms in the back of their cars. He gets to the factory - there is a form employers must fill in about aliens, the inspector would go back and get the forms and tell the employers what to do - like a 'walking guidance desk'.

From the above statement it is appears that the Home Affairs official was sending out contradictory signals concerning the role of the new alien inspectorate. On the one hand he hinted that their past experience as development board inspectors (in terms of their methods of getting information) would be useful in their future role within the department, yet on the other hand he took pains to emphasise the benign role the inspectorate would play in terms of their future duties. What is clear from the above, however, is the fact that the old development board inspectorate although transferred to Home Affairs were not being utilised by the department in checking applications for South African identity documents. According to the CPA official, however, the inspectorate would be checking on South African identity document holders at some future stage.

Likewise the records kept by the local Development Board have been transferred to the Department of Home Affairs who have also taken over their old offices. But the records have not been utilised in cross-checking applications. As the official mentioned "we have the old records that used to belong to the board, now they're part of our department. The old DB [office] in Observatory is now the district representative's office for the Department of Home Affairs. We're not adding to the files and we don't check ID applications against the files in Observatory". It does appear that random spot checks occur in Pretoria where all identity documents are processed. Occasionally an application is rejected, with no reason being given to the applicant and often none to the Department of Home Affairs itself. This same official was vague on the procedures which occurred in Pretoria:

You must remember we have records in Pretoria. I don't know what they do there. I think they must do random checks. Sometimes we get an ID back from Pretoria saying the guy does not qualify. Every ID goes to Pretoria. No reasons are given for rejecting the application. All the
laws state we don't have to give reasons. Pretoria often doesn't give us reasons.

As mentioned previously people who have been refused citizenship and taken issue with the department have had out of court settlements. The official was aware of these cases and suggested the strategy behind these actions: "I've noticed the government tends to settle before we get to court. Their lawyers say 'is it worth the publicity?' The problem is, to be honest with you, there are a lot of things to be sorted out - a lot of loopholes. We are not going to argue something in court at this stage".

Finally, the restoration of South African citizenship leads to a situation of dual citizenship, whereby the individual retains citizenship of one of the TBVC areas. The restoration of citizenship to residents of the TBVC states is subject to continuing negotiation between the South African government and the TBVC governments. In the meantime, however, all TBVC citizens are exempt from border control and visa requirements, although, as has been pointed out this is a precarious freedom as the exemption under the Aliens Act is a matter of administrative discretion which can be withdrawn at any time (Schoombee and Davis, 1986; Corder, 1987).

Africans with South African citizenship thus enjoy freedom of movement within the country. In the Western Cape, at least, citizens of the TBVC areas appear to be able to regain, or acquire, South African citizenship more or less at will, and at the time of writing were not subject to any effective restraints on their mobility.

Superficially freedom of movement has been achieved, although as Schoombee and Davis (1986) point out, passes for Africans have been done away with by requiring everyone in theory to carry a 'pass'. In concluding this section, it is important to emphasize that the issue of citizenship is still critical to mobility. TBVC citizens can be subjected immediately to normal aliens control legislation by a single administrative decision withdrawing exemption. Similarly, it is apparent that the influx control inspectorate is intact, and could be administratively deployed at any stage to resume its former activities, acting under different legislation. And finally, the restoration of citizenship procedures could be tightened administratively to exclude applicants.

What emerges is a picture of a Department ill-prepared and equipped to deal effectively with legislative change that preceded any administrative planning for its implementation. As senior officials within the department revealed, the department and its staff were hopelessly underprepared for their new role. Interviews with Department of Home Affairs officials revealed considerable variation in their interpretation of policy developments concerning citizenship and South African identity documents and they appeared unhappy.
at being thrust into the role of surrogate enforcers of influx control. It is evident that the major result of the factors described above was the practical implementation of restoration of citizenship applications, as research findings reveal.

Ultimately, though, freedom of movement is largely meaningless without adequate access to land and housing and, it is in this sphere that the state has concentrated its energies on an 'orderly urbanisation' strategy.

Orderly Urbanisation in the Western Cape

The Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning estimated that in 1985 there were 210,518 'legal' Africans in the Cape Town area. When 'illegal' Africans are included it has been estimated that prior to the abolition of influx control the African population numbered around half a million in 1986 (Interview, Cape Provincial Administration). Statistics on the de facto African population living and working in the Western Cape have always been notoriously difficult to establish, as those classified as 'illegal' in terms of influx control laws have evaded official population counts. In the post-abolition era reliable statistics are still unavailable and estimates of the African population in Cape Town have ranged from 500,000 to over 1 million.

In 1987 the Black local authorities in conjunction with the CPA were involved in conducting a population survey (Hansard, 1987:1168), but by 1988 the CPA had approached the Human Sciences Research Council to undertake a fuller demographic study. This study placed the African population of Greater Cape Town at about 462,989 (HSRC, 1988).

There have been mixed views as to whether or not the Western Cape has experienced a massive influx of Africans immediately after the abolition of influx control. It has been pointed out that the population in the Cape has doubled since 1985 and that Cape Town leads the country in terms of population growth; an estimated 30% compared with the national urban average of 5% (Africa Now, 1989:44). It should be noted that CPA officials who were interviewed in 1988 had conflicting views on the subject: the Director of Housing and Labour felt that in-migration was minimal, rather there had been a dramatic expansion coming from existing, seriously-overcrowded townships in the Cape Peninsula. In contrast, the Community Services official felt that many people were coming from

---

7 Cape Times, 9/4/86.
8 Wolfgang Thomas (1988) calculated that the African population in Planning Region 39 in 1987 was 780,600 or 28.67% of the total population (in Dewar et al., 1991:5).
outside the Peninsula. He mentioned that in the six month period ending in February 1988, the number of squatters had tripled in Crossroads and in Green Point in Khayelitsha: approximately 15 000 - 20 000 people had arrived between November 1987 and February 1988. Recent research findings, however, tend to support the former view that population growth in areas such as Khayelitsha represent a complex phenomenon comprising resettlement from existing townships, intra-urban migration, staged urbanisation as well as in-migration (Seekings et.al., 1990) and circulatory migration (Dewar et.al., 1991:4).

In the face of this increase or expansion, Khayelitsha has been clearly earmarked as the major residential area for Africans in the Peninsula. In 1986 the Minister of Information stated that 350 000 Africans would eventually live there.\(^9\)

According to the Community Services' official, by early 1988 the population was estimated to be in the region of 180 000 to 200 000. Of these 2 000 were classified by the CPA as forced removals - squatters from around the Peninsula, the rest were seen as 'voluntary' and there through 'free movement'. However, it should be borne in mind that the devastation of the Crossroads squatter camp in 1986 left thousands homeless and without many options other than to move to Khayelitsha (Cole, 1987).

The total area of Khayelitsha comprises 3 200 hectares of which 2 500 has been set aside for residential purposes. In line with the policy of providing basic infrastructure, approximately R98 million had been spent by early 1988 over an 18 month period for sewerage, earthworks, water and electricity reticulation, and a further R10 to R20 million had been earmarked for further development in the Blue Downs and Khayelitsha areas (Source: CPA officials).

In terms of housing in Khayelitsha, there were no plans for the state to erect any more housing beyond the initial 5 000 core houses which were built prior to the abolition of influx control. Provision of further housing would then devolve upon the private sector and upon individuals. A senior CPA housing official was pessimistic about private sector involvement. He felt that the private sector would not get involved due to low profit margins and that central government had read the market entirely incorrectly. Despite this, large amounts of residential land have been opened up for private sector development in Khayelitsha. Current policy means that the urban poor will continue to be relegated to site and service plots.

It should be mentioned that although the Black local authorities have in theory taken over the day-to-day

\(^9\) Cape Times, 18/9/86.
administration of African residential areas, in reality these bodies are ill-equipped to do so, at least in the Western Cape, due to a shortage of qualified staff (Corder, 1987:7). Thus the Community Services Branch of the CPA has been administering these areas for the last four years and continues to do so at present.\(^{10}\)

It appears that as far as the allocation of housing is concerned the CPA has changed its policy over time. A comparison of research findings shows that in 1987 allocation of housing was contingent upon two conditions: the applicant had to be a South African citizen or the holder of a South African identity document and housing had to be available (Corder, 1987). In 1988, however, the Community Services official stated there was no housing policy based on nationality. Furthermore he added that it would be too difficult to do so with the large influx of people and doubted whether it would happen in the future. As far as the allocation of sites is concerned, the CPA does register people, however. According to the Community Services official a plot is only given to a family group and dependants must be listed on the registration form.

The enhanced powers of local authorities over the control of the urbanisation process has raised the question of corruption: research undertaken in 1987 found that the allocation of sites for squatting purposes in areas such as sites B and C in Khayelitsha is "carried out by an informal system, in which local strong-arm tactics are used and fees are paid, not to the local authorities, but to the various so-called leaders in these areas" (Corder, 1987:7). The same situation prevailed at the time research was conducted in 1988. One official described the local leadership as a 'mafia' and stated the CPA were unable to control or stop them. The election of local authorities held in October 1988 further entrenched the power of some squatter leaders in Khayelitsha and Crossroads. Charges of corruption and violence have continued, restraining orders have been sought, and prosecutions have followed. These events continue to enjoy wide local publicity.\(^{11}\)

Black Local Authorities (BLA's) have been controversial from their inception for a variety of reasons. Regarding their role in housing policy, Hendler (1989:40) suggests that in general the role central government desires black local authorities to play in advancing state housing objectives does not appear to have met with widespread success. One of the primary reasons

---

\(^{10}\) The CPA was still involved in assisting Black local authorities in 1991.

\(^{11}\) See Cape Times 19/4/89, 15/6/89, 1/3/90; Argus 13/2/89, 9/9/89 for just a few examples of convictions for fraud and theft, interdicts, murder and attempted murder prosecutions and assassinations.
lies in the fact that black local authorities have been invested with significant powers and responsibility, particularly in terms of controlling developers' access to land and the building of township housing. Hendler argues that this formal power to dispense patronage and influence development has actually hindered central government's policy of housing delivery.

In this context it is useful to look at research undertaken in the Pretoria - Witwatersrand - Vaal (PWV) region which found that black local authorities had not made substantial headway in gaining the support of residents nor have they initiated any large scale self-help schemes. Rather allocation of land it seems has gone to private developers at exorbitant prices. Indeed "evidence ... suggests that BLAs are not using their powers to ensure that developers provide affordable housing: on the contrary, they appear to be driving up the price of land [and] inhibiting the delivery of affordable housing. This is likely to erode the BLAs' support and frustrate government housing goals" (Hendler, 1989:47). As Hendler concludes:

the developers' experience confirms that BLAs do use their formal powers independently, but not in ways which advance the spread of homeownership and the stability it might bring. Their narrow support base and low credibility have ensured that many councillors see their participation in the BLAs, as a means of advancing their own rather than their constituents' interests: this has given them an interest in encouraging upper income housing and in artificially increasing the cost to residents. The individual gains which councillors make by allocating 'elite' housing to developers may well, therefore, be made at the expense of further eroding their political support among potential township allies. Far from advancing central government housing goals, the BLAs' land allocation powers, and the way in which they have chosen to use them, appear to be frustrating them, adding to pressure for alternative solutions (1989:49).

While it is important to take cognisance of regional variations and differences it can safely be assumed that similar trends are occurring elsewhere in the country. To return the focus to the Cape Peninsula, it is evident that private companies involved in building upmarket homes in the African townships are not catering for the vast majority of residents. For example in 1989 hundreds of houses were being built in Crossroads at an average cost of R18 000 - well beyond the reach of most residents,17 and in Mfuleni, Khayelitsha, Guguletu, and Langa houses ranging in price from R29 000 to R90 000 have been built by developers and promoted through extensive advertising campaigns aimed at a minority of aspirant African homeowners.

17 Argus, 4/3/89, advertising campaign.
In strong contrast self-help schemes have been slow to get off the ground and have had little impact in the face of the vast housing backlog. For example, in Khayelitsha the Lingelethu West Town Committee obtained funds from the National Housing Commission (NHC) and made loans available for self-help housing. However only a hundred families benefited from the scheme, although apparently a further R1,05 million loan has been granted to the town committee by the NHC to continue the scheme.\textsuperscript{13}

In summary, it appears that critics' fears concerning black local authorities and their role in the urbanisation process have been confirmed to a large extent. In this context the role Regional Services Councils (RSC's) play in terms of the implementation of services which facilitate the urbanisation process is a crucial one. The RSC's, while theoretically sharing a horizontal relationship with primary local authorities, are in reality potentially more powerful as the control of hard services makes their relationship vis-a-vis primary local authorities essentially hierarchical.

In terms of the Regional Services Council Act members are nominated from the ranks of the primary local authority representation. Although no local authority can have more than 50\% of the votes in an RSC, the voting formula which is based on services used, has effectively ensured that the controlling power in the RSC's is vested with white local authorities. The 37 RSC's which have been established in three provinces so far (Transvaal 12, Free State 4, Cape 21) are all controlled by white local authorities. The break-down of representation on the Western Cape RSC is as follows: the 19 white-controlled municipalities wield 63.64\% of the voting power compared with the 26 coloured management committees (20.87\%) and the 7 black local authorities (15.49\%).\textsuperscript{14} As Hindson points out "[c]osts passed on to consumers within the RSCs will reduce the incentive of workers to move to these areas, and are intended to weigh most heavily on low income earners and people with large numbers of dependants - in short, African families who attempt to move from the rural areas to the core metropolitan areas" (1987a:91).

Squatting has occurred in the Western Cape throughout most of this century in the face of high costs of living and lack of formal, legal accommodation in the proclaimed urban areas. In the Cape Peninsula, apart from the large, high-profile squatter camps such as Crossroads and Modderdam which came into existence in the early 1970's, pockets of squatter communities such as those found in Hout Bay, Noordhoek, Fish Hoek, Red Hill and Ocean View for the most part represent

\textsuperscript{13} Cape Times, 20/6/89

\textsuperscript{14} Cape Times, 22/3/89
long-term settlements which are economically tied to employment in the local area and are characterised by dense kinship and affinal links (Boonzaier, pers. comm. 1990).

In terms of the Coloured Labour Preference Policy (CLPP), influx control has been harshly implemented in the Western Cape and both types of squatter settlements have been subjected to extreme forms of harassment ranging from dawn pass raids through to the destruction of shelters, forced removals and even mass deportation in the case of Crossroads residents (see Cole, 1987; West, 1982). In the wake of the abolition of the CLPP in 1985 and influx control legislation in 1986 the government embraced the idea of "orderly squatting"; however, this has not meant a reprieve for squatters who are squatting on unapproved sites. In this regard the plight of the Noordhoek squatters proves a useful case study insofar as it illustrates how the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act has been utilised by various government bodies.

In December 1987 the removal of some seven hundred Noordhoek squatters to Khayelitsha was carried out under the auspices of the CPA and accompanied by all the familiar trappings of the old pass raids. This large scale forced removal was preceded by numerous attempts on the part of the Divisional Council to invoke the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act. In terms of the Act squatters were issued with orders to dismantle their shacks and move to Khayelitsha and at the same time individual land owners were identified and forced to give squatters notice to vacate their property or face prosecution. Under these circumstances at least one land owner was reported to have laid formal charges of trespass with the South African police.  

Following the December removal three squatters brought a civil action suit against the CPA. The Supreme Court ruled in April 1988 that the removal to Khayelitsha was unlawful and that squatters be allowed to return to their original sites in Noordhoek. While the order was only legally binding in the case of the three applicants, the judge's findings that the removal was illegal was logically applicable to all the squatters who were removed at the time and most of the squatters returned to Noordhoek following the ruling. However some four months later the RSC laid charges with the SAP under both the Prevention of Illegal Squatting and Trespass Acts against the squatters for unauthorised occupation of RSC land and in mid-1989 the Noordhoek squatters were still complaining of harassment by RSC officials.  

\[^{15}\text{Cape Times, 2/3/87.}\]
\[^{16}\text{Cape Times, 25/5/89.}\]
Some actions carried out under the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act have been successfully challenged in courts of law. Among the more highly publicised have been the Noordhoek case discussed above and the Lawaaikamp case in which authorities were ordered to rebuild homes which had been demolished in terms of the Act's summary demolition procedure (which permits officials under certain circumstances to demolish squatter homes without a court order and without a notice).

In light of these successful court cases the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Bill, published in 1988, contained provisions which sought to remove the courts' jurisdiction to examine the activities of government officials as well as granting wide discretionary powers to officials to carry out government policy. The Bill, although widely criticised and hotly debated in Parliament, has nevertheless become law as the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Amendment Act (No. 104 of 1988).

It is apparent that the Prevention of Illegal Squatting Act has been refined in an attempt to eliminate squatting which fails to conform to the government's concept of orderly urbanisation, however, as Dewar et.al. suggest:

> the new squatting legislation has been used selectively in the urban areas, primarily to move people who have settled close to, or within, parts of the city set aside for "white" occupation. In Cape Town informal settlement in the vicinity of the African and coloured townships is now tolerated to a far higher degree and the approach of the state to these settlements appears to be shifting towards one of negotiation over land and service provision (Dewar et.al., 1991:17).

Despite the recent shift in policy described above, the government's failure to provide adequate land quickly enough to meet growing demands coupled with the unavailability of housing near places of employment means that 'illegal' squatting is destined to continue irrespective of legislative controls.

**Employer Policy and Practice**

With the abolition of influx control all Africans who are South African citizens are free to seek employment subject to the ordinary labour legislation of the country. This does not apply, however, to citizens of the TBVC states who are considered aliens.

It has been noted that 95% of all Africans living and working in the Western Cape are citizens of either Transkei or
in this regard it is important to understand how they are affected by changes in the legislation. For this purpose it is useful to take earlier research conducted in 1987 as a starting point and then proceed with a comparison of research undertaken in 1988 in order to highlight processes of change in perceptions and response on the part of employers, government officials and trade unions.

In the Western Cape context, the Coloured Labour Preference Policy ensured that industry drew heavily on an African workforce comprised primarily of contract migrant labour. With the abolition of influx control the status of Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens and the procedure for hiring them immediately became of great concern to employers. Government directives on this matter, however, have caused endless confusion amongst employers. Chief among these has been a Department of Manpower circular which was sent to all employers in the Western Cape in the latter half of 1986 stipulating that only South Africans and those with work permits were not subject to the provisions of the Aliens Act. Thus Transkeians and Ciskeians would be in the same position as all foreigners, that is subject to the Aliens Act, and penalties for their employment without a work permit are severe.

Research conducted by Laubscher in 1987 found that reaction to the circular on the part of advice office workers and employers proceeded along the lines that since Transkeians and Ciskeians were now regarded as aliens they would have little chance of getting a work permit unless it could be proven that no local or qualified labour was available, and in this process the Departments of Manpower and Home Affairs had to be consulted (Corder, 1987:5). In practice, however, the situation appears to be quite different.

From the point of view of the worker, Transkeians and Ciskeians are exempt from having work permits at present, and they can come spontaneously to work in the Republic. If they are recruited in the Transkei or Ciskei, however, they must attest a contract. There is no law under which they can be prosecuted for entry and/or working in the Republic at present. From the point of view of the employer, he or she is not liable to prosecution for employing Transkeians or Ciskeians because section 5 of the Aliens Act limits his or her liability to cases of employment of people in the Republic illegally. Transkeians and Ciskeians do not fall into this category

Cape Times, 17/4/87.

Although commonly referred to in the literature as the Department of Manpower circular it was actually sent out under the auspices of the Department of Home Affairs (document 86080602mb/ dated 30/9/86, Employment of Foreign Workers).
as they are at present exempt (Corder, 1987:5).

Furthermore the procedure for recruiting labour in the homelands was found to be conditioned by bilateral agreements:

> Several bilateral agreements exist between the Transkei and the Ciskei on the one hand and South Africa on the other hand which require the employer to have a permit to recruit labour in the Transkei or Ciskei, a permit which is obtained from the South African Department of Home Affairs and which will only be issued on proof of non-availability of local labour. The effect in practice of these bilateral agreements, however, is virtually nil, because they have not been incorporated into municipal law, and non-compliance by an individual with such an agreement does not amount to a contravention of a legal duty. What has happened, is that the circular from the Department of Manpower has resulted in an informal form of influx control, through uncertainty of their position on the part of employers. The vital importance of the continuation of exemption under the Aliens Act is obvious (Corder, 1987:6).

One high-ranking official within the Department of Home Affairs stressed that employers were at fault in their failure to understand government policy as he stated in no uncertain terms: "they've been pretty well informed with pamphlets and circulars but they don't study those bloody things!"

Uncertainty concerning the legality of hiring Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens was still very evident in 1988 when interviews were conducted with major industrial employers. It was found that the Department of Manpower circular had indeed played a decisive role in influencing employers' attitudes in a variety of ways.

For some employers the circular, distributed some four months after the widely hailed abolition of influx control, represented the last straw in terms of government interference with hiring practices, and many employers chose to ignore it. As one major employer stated "we got the government circular around October 1986 and we're ignoring it. It's such a mess. Business men today must run a business. With all the chopping and changing we're waiting until they [government] decide what they're doing". In adopting this kind of response employers stated that they were more concerned about running their companies than breaking the law.

The general feeling among employers was that they would deal with the consequences of their actions "when the time came", meaning when the Department of Home Affairs' alien inspectorate caught up with them. In fact, none of the employers interviewed had received any visits from inspectors in the seventeen months following the Department of Manpower circular and several had been told by senior officials in the Department of Home Affairs "not to worry about it because the
Department doesn't have any men to check up on illegal aliens at the moment". Elsewhere in the country, however, it was reported that in the first month of 1987 inspectors had visited some 3 000 companies to search for illegally employed foreign blacks and six employers had been prosecuted for contravening the Aliens Act.¹⁴

While one reaction on the part of employers was to ignore the circular, many sought clarification from the Department of Home Affairs concerning the employment of Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens. Two employers in the sample stated that they were told by very senior officials (the Director-General and the District Representative) that TBVC citizens were exempt from certain sections of the Aliens Act concerning temporary residence but had to follow the same procedure as aliens for getting work. The position espoused by these officials is contradicted not only by legal interpretations of the Aliens Act (see quote from Corder above) but by other high-ranking officials such as the Regional Representative and various experts on citizenship and temporary residence permits within the Department itself who adamantly stated that TBVC citizens did not need work or residence permits. The expert on temporary residence permits stated that "TBVC citizens do not require work permits [and that] this is a departmental interpretation of their exemption from Section 2(b) of the Aliens Act".

In light of the confusion and lack of consensus within the Department it is not surprising, therefore, to find that some employers are labouring under the misconception that Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens are persona non grata in terms of the Aliens Act. The degree of confusion and uncertainty generated amongst employers by the Department of Manpower circular and Aliens Act legislation is aptly illustrated by the following two case studies.

CASE 1: Passing the Buck
The Cape Chamber of Industries (CCI) has an extensive membership who look toward the Chamber for clarity concerning hiring practices and procedures. In this respect the Industrial Relations Advisor of the CCI is responsible for disseminating information on the legislative changes concerning employment of Africans. The advisor, however, regarded the procedure for employing Africans as so bureaucratically complex that he referred anyone wanting to employ Africans to an industrial relations employee of a major Cape Town company whom he claimed 'knew the correct procedures'.

As this case illustrates a major service organisation such as the CCI did not know the procedures involved in employing

¹⁴ Business Day, 4/3/87
Africans and thus directed their members to an alleged 'expert' on the subject, who, as it turned out, was following the procedures for hiring aliens as advised by the Department of Manpower circular to the letter.

The case below examines an employer who had resigned from membership of the CCI and struck out on his own in terms of what he considered to be legally correct procedures for hiring Transkeian contract workers.

CASE 2: Muddling Through

In 1981 the company was caught by the Development Board inspectorate and fined R2 000 for incorrect hiring procedures under influx control. With the abolition the employer wanted to be certain he was following the law to the letter. In this regard he approached a Nyanga Development Board official he had befriended and asked what the new procedure was and was told that there was no system for the renewal of contracts. At this time some of his fellow employers in the construction industry decided to ignore everything and employ whomever they liked.

The employer followed suit until the Department of Manpower circulars started floating around about hiring aliens. He then had his labour officer send workers to the Department of Home Affairs office in Observatory. One of these workers came back with a brown card from the Community Services branch of the CPA, presumably the employer felt, on the advice of Home Affairs. The employer contacted the CPA and was told to send any potential worker to them. The employer had been following this advice since 1986. He stated that the company when wanting to hire a potential worker wrote a letter asking if his documents were in order and then sent the work-seeker and the letter to the Nyanga office. If the work-seeker returned with a brown card which listed the work-seeker's name, address and type of occupation and bore a Department of Manpower stamp the employer hired him. The employer then filled out the employment particulars on the brown card and sent it back to Nyanga. The employer felt that this was the legally correct procedure for hiring workers and saw a continuity in procedure in that under influx control workers were issued with a brown book from the Western Cape Development Board offices.

In reality the employer was following the procedures set out under the Guidance and Placement Act (No. 62 of 1981) which are not compulsory. The functions of these centres are to provide information on the labour market for both work-seekers and employers, to place work-seekers in employment opportunities, and to keep a record of these activities (Bekker and Humphries, 1984:24). These activities were carried out by the Development Boards on behalf of the Department of Manpower. With the abolition of influx control and Development Boards the Nyanga office is now shared jointly by the Guidance Centre and the CPA. Thus it is not surprising to find confusion on
the part of the employer in terms of which government department was actually responsible for brown cards. It is evident however that the employer felt he was legally correct in his hiring procedures.

The next case differs from the two cited above in that the company through utilising insider networks was informally exempt from influx control regulations a year before the abolition.

CASE 3: Insider Networks

In 1985 the company's workers went on strike and the company approached the Minister of Constitutional Development and Planning and told him as far as they were concerned influx control was dead, people were pouring into Cape Town and the strike was unlikely to be resolved. The company got authority to bypass the influx control system informally. The Minister told the company it would be a great experiment for what was about to come and would send officials back the following year to see the results. The company had carte blanche and hired 2 900 workers without the old DB cards and did not render any returns. The company merely gave the new workforce their company ID and no inspections or harassment occurred except in the country districts where officials were not aware of the informal exemption.

Following the abolition the company made South African identity documents compulsory for their workforce. Although Cosatu opposed these documents the company was successful in their policy since the majority of union members affiliated to Cosatu had lost their jobs in the 1985 strike. In response to worker's worries about losing Transkeian land rights the company engaged in high level discussions with the Transkei and Ciskei governments and received written assurances that this would not happen.

Finally the company was aware of Development Board officials being transferred to the Home Affairs Department and had heard that inspections were on the cards.

The case above illustrates how a major industrial employer was able to manipulate insider contacts to suit its own purposes. In this regard there appears to be a direct correlation between the size of the company, the largest of those interviewed, and the political clout and insider knowledge it wielded. In stark contrast the remaining companies appeared far less sophisticated in their strategies.

In the face of what was perceived as a new and complex bureaucratic procedure for hiring Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens, many employers decided to start recruiting locally. As one major employer stated "we are not hiring any aliens due to the hassle involved in doing so. Khayelitsha grows by 10 000 every Sunday - we recruit all our workers from
Khayelitsha'. He further stated that the company had saved a substantial amount of money by recruiting locally:

the pass laws and the migrant labour system cost us two hostels built at a cost of almost R3 million and it cost us R60 000 a month to keep them running. We also had to bus these 5 000 guys back to the Transkei each year to attest a contract at an annual expense of R250 000. They had to be screened for TB annually at a cost of R9.50 per worker and we used to use brokers to handle it at an annual cost of R10 per worker.

Given the perceived troubles of employing migrant labour and the high costs involved it is not surprising that the majority of employers interviewed stated that all future needs would be filled by local labour. This confirms Corder's (1987:6) above assertion that employers are in fact carrying out an informal form of influx control.

As far as existing 'alien' employees are concerned, however, employers, fearing the consequences of employing an 'illegal' workforce, embarked on extensive and successful campaigns to get their workers South African identity documents. The majority of companies interviewed had followed a similar procedure: all had approached the Department of Home Affairs and arranged for officials to be sent to their companies to process their workforce. One of the employer's commented that the procedure had resembled a production line with photographs being taken and tables lined up with officials filling in forms for workers. According to several employers these officials processed all the workers en masse and turned a blind eye to those workers who clearly did not qualify in terms of the five years permanent residence criterion. As one employer stated:

the Department of Home Affairs guy came here and made it very clear that he was not wanting to have anything to implement or make waves. He said he would accept claims that black employees had been working here for five years. I asked him about an 18 year old - it's obvious that he hasn't worked here for five years - and the inspector said he would accept what was written down on the form.

The position adopted by Department of Home Affairs officials, namely that of accepting applications for South African identity documents at face value, seems to have occurred both at their main offices and out in the field, as the above case illustrates. In this context it is important to note that one major employer admitted he had told his workforce when filling out the forms for new identity documents "for God's sake put the right date in" referring to the five year residence period needed in order to qualify. In a similar vein another employer stated:
I went to the guys and told them the story. I said I wasn't condoning lying but these are the facts ... of the guys who applied for South African identity documents 90% got them.

According to those employers who promoted South African identity documents the majority of applications, between 90-100%, were successful. Thus Transkeian and Ciskeian workers who had been formerly on yearly contracts under the old influx control laws were granted South African identity documents without a hitch. In fact, as the following chapter will reveal, Transkeian migrant workers and their dependants were processed by officials in the field and granted identity documents.

It is obvious that migrant workers applying for South African identity documents and citizenship would fail to qualify for either in terms of the 1988 interpretation of legislation. This would lead one to conclude that migrant workers who applied for and were granted identity documents and citizenship early on represent a successful minority.

Ironically, then, it appears that officials are contributing to the confusion in two ways, firstly, by telling employers that Transkeians and Ciskeians must be treated like any other aliens in terms of employment and secondly, by processing Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens irrespective of whether they qualify for South African identity documents or citizenship.

One of the consequences of employers successfully getting their workforce South African identity documents has been a change in hiring practices. It was found that many employers have adopted a policy of hiring workers who have these new documents. One major company even threatened to fire their workforce if they did not get the new documents:

we told our guys to go for the new ID's - in 18 months time if you don't have the new ID book you won't get a job. We also told them if they got the new ID they would get on the housing list faster - as an incentive.

In hiring only those with South African identity documents employers are unwittingly or not implementing government policy. Whereas under influx control the workforce suffered from insider/outsider divisions, in terms of the Aliens Act the focus has now shifted to dividing the workforce along the lines of citizenship. In this context it is important to examine trade union response.
Trade Union Policy and Practice

Of the trade unions interviewed Cosatu had initially been vehemently opposed to the new South African identity documents. Their position was outlined in a meeting held with the Cape Chambers of Industry and Commerce in November 1986, in which they stated that a decision had been made both nationally and regionally that members would not apply for the new identity documents. As Cosatu union officials stated at the meeting, the new documents were seen not as a common identity document but as a form of control similar to the old "dompas". Furthermore they claimed there had been a lack of consultation. The new system had been introduced over the heads of the workers and in this regard management was seen as collaborating with the Department of Home Affairs.

Cosatu's call to boycott South African identity documents appears to have been undermined in the face of employer determination and workers' uncertainty about losing their jobs. In addition the fact that at least one union affiliated to Cosatu refused to comply with the boycott further undermined their position. Faced with these problems Cosatu's strategy of resistance failed. This was acknowledged by a Cosatu official in the Western Cape who stated that Cosatu now saw the abolition of influx control as a significant victory for which the unions had long battled. Cosatu's about-turn on the issue of identity documents, however, does not appear to have influenced some of their membership to apply. As one employer commented "Cosatu having initially said that they were not supporting the new ID's now makes a 180 degree turn ... but the workers won't change overnight".

It appears that Cosatu was one of the few unions which was concerned about the implications of the new identity document. Other unions which were interviewed had not made a policy decision on the matter. As one union official stated "more than once we've thought it should be reviewed [but] we've got other more important things to deal with ... of course when that becomes important it will be too late".

This same union official added that as far as he knew the initial Cosatu view on South African identity documents had not been modified or discussed again. It would seem that the issue of South African identity documents and citizenship has not been on Cosatu's agenda since their initial position was made known in 1986. While Cosatu now views the abolition of influx control as a victory this viewpoint does not appear to have filtered through to other unions or altered attitudes among some of its membership who still steadfastly refuse to apply. On the whole, however, there appeared to be no major resistance on the part of the workers to applying for the new identity documents (and consequent restoration of citizenship), despite the initial attitudes of organisations such as Cosatu and the Black Sash who saw the new measures as divisive of workers and inimical to their longer-term
interests. On the contrary, evidence shows a considerable eagerness to apply, which tailed off markedly as it became clear that the authorities were not impeding employment of TBVC citizens.

It is evident from the above discussion that the initial response of some unions was either hostility or indifference to the new measures. Evidence suggests that there was little careful analysis of the implications of the new system, nor even much monitoring of its implementation. Initial interest in the acquisition of new identity documents, and in the restoration of citizenship seemed generated mainly by employers, but, as the stated policy of action against non-South African citizens turned out to be an empty threat, at least in the short term, so interest waned. An analysis of employer response to the new situation revealed wide variation in the understanding and interpretation of the new system and thus differing policies. Some firms ignored officialdom, and simply hired workers at the gate - irrespective of citizenship. Others adopted a safety-first policy of hiring only South African citizens, and also worked the system by processing their workers en masse. Very few firms interviewed were concerned about policy changes in the future; the majority had a short term perspective, preferring to deal with problems as they arose. Virtually all the firms interviewed stated that their major problems regarding their African workers were now related to accommodation rather than controls on mobility.

In conclusion the main themes which have emerged from this chapter are those of confusion and lack of knowledge among many of the informants. It was found that high-ranking government officials lack consensus on vital issues of citizenship and employment which affect the lives of thousands of Transkeian and Ciskeian citizens. Employers, confused by the confusion in government departments and confronted by a new situation and set of rules have either ignored them or succumbed to government policy by promoting South African identity documents among their workforce and making it a necessary condition of employment. In the face of this unions have been slow to respond and, as in the case of Cosatu, failed to influence affiliated unions and their membership in rejecting the new documents. Finally the fact that these documents have been granted to citizens of Transkei and Ciskei irrespective of eligibility illustrates the disjunction between policy and practice.

With an understanding of the larger processes at work in the Western Cape, Chapters Three and Four take the form of a micro-study which investigates what is happening on the ground at a company compound.
THE SOCIAL LANDSCAPE OF A COMPANY COMPOUND

We are ashamed and embarrassed to have people visiting from home. Our places are not like this in the Transkei - we don't live like this!

(interview with 37 year old worker)

Introduction

The company compound, on which this chapter focuses, is situated on a large tract of land approximately fifty kilometres from the city of Cape Town within the greater Cape Town area. The company, which is one of a number of light industries in the area, is surrounded by farmland while residential suburbs and numerous commercial enterprises can be found in the general vicinity. Despite this one is still left with the overriding impression that the company is indeed 'in the country', no doubt enhanced by the vistas of rolling hills and the small country-style cafe encountered on the road directly leading to the company.

The company, initially a family business involved in the glazed pipe industry, was incorporated in the late 1940's. With the advent of PVC piping which revolutionised the industry the company decided to concentrate solely on the brick industry. In the late 1970's and early 1980's the company went through a growth period investing in sophisticated equipment and becoming partially automated. The range of products the company produces include facebrick as well as paving, block and clay plaster bricks, the latter being used extensively for low cost economic housing.
To reach the compound one turns left before entering the company gates into what is little more than a dirt track which becomes impassible by car after heavy rains. The track runs parallel to the company which remains visible, while dense vegetation occupies the other side of the track. It is in this area that one often comes across women cooking sheep's heads or other items to sell. The compound looms up quite unexpectedly because it is directly adjacent to the company and obscured by a three metre high 'wall' of rubble and earth which acts as a divider between the two. A bare soccer pitch lies to the south of the compound while a large brick field is located on its east side. Front loaders and other heavy machine equipment are thus used in close proximity to the compound which is hemmed in by the company and its operations.

The company compound was built in the early 1950's on company owned land as single-sex accommodation for men. The physical layout of the compound has changed over the decades thus the compound I found during fieldwork over three decades later was very different from that which confronted the first migrant workers who lived there. Initially the compound consisted of several single storey brick dormitory blocks and facilities were limited to two small buildings which housed a washroom and kitchen. Almost a decade later the compound underwent

---

20 According to the company's Managing Director the compound has never officially 'existed' in that the company had never registered it or taken out a license with the Administration Board in terms of the Black Labour Regulations
significant changes with the introduction of a company-run kitchen and dining hall as well as ablution facilities including showers, latrines, urinals and sinks which were added on to existing dormitory blocks during this period. In addition a compound manager's office was built and at this stage in its development a brick wall was erected around the compound with a single entrance being located on the north side of the compound near the compound manager's office. Until 1985 access to the compound was controlled by a security guard through two wire gates: one large enough to admit vehicles and the other for individuals.

By the late 1970's, in keeping with the company's growth, the compound had doubled in size with the addition of eight new single storey dormitory blocks. These differed from the older blocks in basic design. The newer blocks consist of two dormitory rooms with a communal ablution room in between compared with the older ones which are open rooms. All the ablution rooms are equipped with hot and cold running water, a urinal, toilets, showers and sinks. The older blocks are made of brick while the newer ones are made of prefabricated concrete. In total there are twenty-seven, dormitory rooms with a total of 212 beds. On average there are thirteen beds per room in the older blocks and eight beds per room in the newer blocks. The roofs are metal with no ceilings and the floors bare cement. The company issues single-size iron bed frames with one foam mattress per bed and lockers, usually four per dormitory room, for storage of personal belongings. At the time of fieldwork twelve of the twenty-seven rooms had some type of stove while the rest relied on paraffin for cooking. The company was not charging their employees for rent, water or electricity, and coal, used for heating and cooking, was also being provided free of charge. The remaining features which complete the compound are the three water storage tanks on the premises as well as two high-mast lights which stay on twenty-four hours a day. The old wash room and kitchen are found at the rear of the compound; the washroom's outside sinks are now used for washing clothes and preparing food and the kitchen has become a venue for teenage boys who gather there.

An air of neglect pervades the compound. The gates at the entrance lie twisted and broken, the buildings themselves are covered with years of grime and dust, doors sag on their hinges and numerous glass window panes are broken and have not been replaced. The interior of the compound is untarred and an old vehicle lies abandoned and rusting in one of the alleys between the dormitory blocks. An initial tour through the dormitories leaves one with the overwhelming impression of dirt, squalor and lack of space and privacy for the inhabitants. As fieldwork progressed, however, I began to appreciate the ways in which many of the residents have both adapted to and transformed the physical environment of the compound. In this I was lucky to have spent time there during the end of winter and beginning of summer as the types of
scenes and activities that can be observed within the compound are to a large extent determined by the season and weather. For example, in inclement weather, especially during winter rainfall, the compound appears even more forlorn and desolate. Wet laundry flaps on outside lines strung up between blocks. People, mostly women and children, tend to stay indoors as much as possible huddled around smoking coal braziers, and when outdoors make their way carefully across the slippery mud surface of the compound or trudge through the ankle-deep mud on the track if errands or business take them away from the compound. In contrast in hot, sunny, weather residents have to contend with the heat, dust and flies and a great deal of activity takes place outdoors as people escape the heat of the rooms. Blankets are arranged in the shade created by the buildings and women can be found chatting to one another there while children of all ages play within the confines of the compound.

**Population Size**

During fieldwork there were approximately 377 people staying in a compound designed to accommodate 212 male migrant workers. This means that an additional 165 people were crowded into the compound leading to an average bed occupancy rate of 1.8 people per bed. It should be emphasised that this figure reflects the average occupancy rate for the compound as a whole, and indeed I found cases of bed occupancy ranging from one to over four people per bed. This in fact compares favourably with recent research conducted in Western Cape municipal hostels which were found to have even higher person to bed ratios. This overcrowding naturally places a great strain on people who have little or no privacy or personal space. Very often the bed is literally one's only personal space, and even then it is often a shared space. In this context it is significant that the bed-holder has become the standard unit of analysis in most contemporary research in this area (Ramphele and Segar, 1987; Ramphele and Boonzaier, 1988; Segar, 1988).

This degree of overcrowding has also had a negative effect on compound facilities which are strained with increased usage. For example in terms of ablution facilities a survey of fourteen of the fifteen blocks revealed the average ratio of 14.1 people per toilet, 10.4 people per shower and 8.4 people per sink. Again these figures are low when compared with findings on municipal hostel accommodation in the Western Cape. What is important to realise, though, is that there is not an even spread of people living in each block. This means

---

21 Ramphele and Boonzaier (1988:157) found the average bed occupancy rate for hostels in Cape Town to be 2.8 people per bed, with a range of between one person to ten people per bed.

22 For example Ramphele and Boonzaier's (1988:157) survey recorded a person to working toilet ratio of 133:1, and a person to tap ratio of 117:1.
that overcrowding in some blocks puts a strain on the ablution facilities of that particular block. In the case of block 10 both toilets and sinks were not functioning forcing the residents to use the toilets and sinks in the neighbouring block, thus increasing the strain on facilities. Table 3.1 below indicates the relevant ratios.

Table 3.1: Block, People by Ratio to Facilities

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Block</th>
<th>People</th>
<th>Shower Ratio</th>
<th>Toilets Ratio</th>
<th>Sinks Ratio</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>20.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>5.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>14.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>21.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>9.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>14.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>15.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>7.6</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>11.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td>2 (2)</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>10.0</td>
<td>2 (1)</td>
<td>30.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>13.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>12.5</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Bracketed figures indicates facility not functioning.

'Legal' Bed-holders: The World of Work

The number of bed-holders who were interviewed, 100 out of a total of 212 beds or 47% of bed-holders, can be considered as representative of the compound at large. The majority of these bed-holders (98%) were men, and of these (96%) were permanently employed by the company, either full-time (91%) or seasonally (9%). In terms of employment three of the four remaining bed-holders, revealed some interesting aspects of company practice. It appears that the company relies to a certain extent on sub-contractors who provide cheap labour for the company. One of the bed-holders stated that he had been working in this capacity as a labourer for a period of nine months, earning R54 per week. In addition the company makes use of casual labour, and the two female bed-holders had been employed as such earning between R50 to R55 per week. Although one of the women had lost this position and had been unemployed since December 1987 she still retained her bed at the hostel.

The company's use of casual and sub-contracted labour also occurs among the dependants living in the compound. This shall be explored more fully when focussing on this second category of compound inhabitants. The remaining bed-holder in the sample was found to have a casual job working as a labourer independent of the company and was also earning a weekly wage similar to that cited above. As can be seen these four
bed-holders represent an anomaly in terms of the two categories of people that I have identified as living in the compound: 'legal' bed-holders and dependants. Their ability to secure beds and become bed-holders will be examined later in looking at the networks and social organisation of space within the compound.

According to the company's Managing Director the company employs 250 Africans and they comprise the largest section of the company's workforce. It is immediately apparent that this number exceeds the number of beds provided in the compound by some 38 employees. A few of the higher-ranking African employees live in the townships and have had section 10(1) rights to reside in urban areas. Thus, for instance, when asked whether he lived in the compound the labour officer looked incredulous and stated emphatically that he lived in Guguletu township. It is doubtful that all thirty-eight fall into this position especially given the fact that the most highly skilled employees within the company are those either classified as Coloured or White. A more probable explanation is that the accommodation for those legally entitled to it was inadequate prior to the overcrowding by dependants.

This in fact does seem to be the case because the Managing Director when discussing the problem of overcrowding at the compound stated "in the mornings I see a stream of people leaving the compound. I've got 250 employees but I know them, I know their faces". His statement reveals that as far as he is concerned his African workforce is, theoretically at least, housed in the company compound. The African workers referred to are in fact migrant labourers who come from the Transkei, and who until 1986 were on yearly contracts and were required by law to live in approved accommodation; in this case the company compound.

Since the 1986 legislative changes these migrant labourers are no longer on yearly contracts and are now regarded by the company as permanent employees. However, a segment of the workforce who are permanent work for only nine months a year owing to the seasonal nature of the industry, as bricks cannot be produced in outdoor kilns during winter. In terms of the overcrowding in the compound it is during periods of leave (either the one month allowed for permanent employees, or the three month period for seasonal employees) that a workers' bed is most vulnerable to being reassigned. A frequent response from workers interviewed was that they had lost the use of or right to a particular bed while on leave and on returning had found their bed had been reassigned to another worker and they in turn had been reassigned elsewhere. Although as we shall see when we begin to examine compound life more closely, bed reallocation through leave seemingly affected a relatively small number of workers.

The types of jobs available to migrant workers in industry in general tend to be unskilled and low paid and in this regard
the company is no exception. As Table 3.2 indicates the majority of workers interviewed were unskilled (73 or 76%) while 19 (20%) were in semiskilled positions with only 4 (4%) located in supervisory positions.

Table 3.2: Worker Skill Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Skills</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Supervisor</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Skilled</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Semiskilled</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Unskilled</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>76</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A break down of these categories reveal the nature of occupations engaged in the brick industry. When asked to define their occupations the majority of unskilled workers identified themselves as being labourers (41 or 43%) and brick packers (20%). While these constitute the two largest categories, the remaining unskilled jobs ranged from brick sorters and checkers (5 or 6%) through to watchmen (4 or 4%) and sweepers (4%). Those in semiskilled positions were primarily machine operators (13 or 13%), although a few were employed as drivers (4 or 4%) and carpenters (2 or 2%). Those in supervisory positions included three foremen and one supervisor.

It is evident that the main skills required in making bricks tend to be low. This is reflected in the nature of the jobs done as well as in the education levels of the workers and their wage levels as Tables 3.3 and 3.4 below illustrate.

Table 3.3: Worker Education Levels

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Standard</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>None</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sub A-B</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 1-2</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 3-5</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 6-8</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Std 9-10</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>99</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As can be seen the workers have a low level of education with only (8%) having secondary schooling. The wage data reveals that the majority of workers (67%) earn between R100 - R120 per week.

One would expect that those with the highest level of education would be found in the semi-skilled and supervisory positions and receive the highest wages. However, a further analysis of the data revealed little correspondence between the levels of education achieved and employment position nor between education and wages, or between length of employment and wages. Tables 3.5, 3.6, and 3.7 illustrate these relationships at this company.

Table 3.4: Weekly Wage Levels (Rands)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Wages</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100&lt;</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-120</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>67</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-150</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151-200</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200&gt;</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>96</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The highest hourly wage rate for labourers in Western Cape industries in 1988 was recorded as R3.69 (Saldru, 1990:77). Calculating from this basis, the wage would be R147.60 per week.

There are two consistently observed phenomena in this regard, namely positive relationships between education and income, and between length of employment (experience) and earnings. See Gilmour and Roux (1984:97).
Table 3.6: Weekly Wages (Rands) by Education Level (n=96)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rands</th>
<th>None</th>
<th>A-B</th>
<th>1-2</th>
<th>3-5</th>
<th>6-8</th>
<th>9-10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100&lt;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-120</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-150</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151-200</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200&gt;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3.7: Weekly Wages (Rands) by Length of Employment (n=96)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rands</th>
<th>0-2Yrs</th>
<th>3-5Yrs</th>
<th>6-10Yrs</th>
<th>10+Yrs</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>100&lt;</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>100-120</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>121-150</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>151-200</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>200&gt;</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>0</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The only worker who had matriculated was located in the unskilled category, while the supervisors ranged from having no education through to primary schooling (standard 3-5). Similarly, there appears to be little relationship between education and wage levels, or length of employment and wages.

Some of the workers interviewed expressed dissatisfaction with employment at the company in terms of wage levels in particular or more generally the nature of the job. As one informant stated "I'm not prepared to stay at [the company]. I would like to change jobs sometime due to the salary - it's very little". Others cited the nature of the job as reasons to look elsewhere: "I'm not prepared to stay with the company due to the long work hours and for health reasons". The majority, however, were realistic about future job prospects, realising that high levels of unemployment made gaining new and better paid jobs unlikely:

I will stay with [the company]. Unemployment is high in Dadamba [location in the Willowvale District] there is no more recruiting there. [interview with 45 year old informant]

I'm only prepared to stay in [the company] because it is very

---

As Gilmour (1987:181) notes, "in terms of entry into organisations, personal characteristics (race, sex, and familial connections) and experience are likely to be more important than impersonal, neutral measures such as education."
difficult to get a job. I won't leave here. [interview with 25 year old informant]

The low turnover rate at the company was confirmed by the labour officer who stated that the company enjoyed a 100% return rate after annual leave.

The length of time the men had been employed by the company varied. At the extreme ends of the spectrum, one individual had worked for the company for thirty-five years while another had been there for only three weeks. Twenty informants (21%) stated they had been with the company for over ten years, 36 (38%) had been with the company between 6 to 10 years, 27 (28%) had been there for 3 to 5 years and 13 (13%) had been employed in the period between 1986 and 1988. Mindful of the fact that these men are migrant workers it is interesting to note that while the majority were employed through the normal route of recruitment via attesting a contract at a homeland labour bureau (63 or 66%), a large number had acquired their jobs informally (33 or 34%); either through word of mouth (18 or 19%) or by themselves (15 or 15%). A closer analysis of the time period in which these men were employed reveals the historic association between the migrant labour system and influx control under the CLPP.

![Figure 3.1](image)

**Figure 3.1 Length and Method of Employment**

As Figure 3.1 above reveals, the degree of flexibility in securing a job through informal contacts is apparent amongst
those employed for a period of over ten years in which many workers gained employment during the 1950's and early 1960's. It is evident that almost an equal number of men gained employment through labour bureaux as through informal contacts. This suggests a relaxed hiring policy on the part of the employer and supports Humphries' (1986) contention that although the CLPP became the official policy in the Western Cape from 1955 onwards, it was not until the mid 1960's that employment opportunities for Africans were restricted through a series of legislative measures. As a few of the informants recollected, gaining employment had been much easier during this time.

I first started working at [the company] as a labourer when I was 25 years old. I got the job myself. Looking for work was no problem with passes then [I] had to get a permit from Stellenbosch when employed. I first came to Cape Town in 1950, I was staying in Luzizi location at Elsies River - there was no discrimination - various racial groups lived together. [interview with 59 year old informant]

I first arrived in Cape Town in 1947, before that I was in Saldanha. [I've] been at [the company] for 35 years. I heard about the job through someone - a friend. [interview with 59 year old informant]

In stark contrast in the late 1970's and early 1980's it is apparent that employment through labour bureaux far outstrips employment through informal contacts during this period and reflects the intensification of influx control as well as state control over the African labour supply through "efflux" control at the rural source. In this regard the majority of workers interviewed had a similar story to tell: they had been recruited in the Transkei through the labour bureau system on a contract basis by the company's labour officer:

I've been working here for 9 years. How did I get this job? I was recruited [by the company] through the labour bureau. [interview with 45 year old informant]

Despite the 'homeland' labour bureau system some workers were still able to gain employment via the back door through activating kinship networks as the cases below demonstrate.

I've been working here on a seasonal contract for 6 years. I got the job through the foreman he's a relative of mine. I have five relatives here all working [for the company]. [interview with 27 year old informant]

I got the job six years ago through my wife's brother who works here and stays in this same hostel. [interview with 27 year old informant]
In the period between 1986 and 1988, the reverse trend is apparent; here the men employed through labour bureaux pre-date the abolition of influx control legislation as they were hired at the beginning of 1986. The majority, however, all relied on informal means, most notably word of mouth via relatives, to gain employment at the company:26

I worked in Johannesburg on contract on the mines until 1987 then I got this [job] in 1988 through my wife's brother who works here. [interview with 31 year old informant]

I just came through my brother who works here. I first came [to Cape Town] in 1987 - worked with a building contractor, then I came here [to work]. I've been staying with my brother since I came here. [interview with 20 year old informant]

I've been here since 1987 before that I worked at Groote Schuur. My uncle is here he stays in this same hostel. [interview with 22 year old informant]

As discussed in Chapter two, the above reflects a growing tendency on the part of employers to hire locally rather than recruit in the 'homelands'. This was confirmed by the company's labour officer who discussed how the company's policies had changed since 1986.

Before 1986 the men worked on contract: either 12 or 9 month contracts. We used to recruit them in the Transkei through the labour bureau. When their contracts were up we used to give each worker R50 travel allowance to return home to the Transkei and they used to be fetched by the company bus at the start of a new contract. Since 1986 the 12 month contract is now continuous - permanent employment. We still have the seasonal [9 months] workers because you can't produce bricks outside when it's raining. These workers leave at the end of April/May and return in September/October. Now we no longer give the R50 travel allowance and there is no transport to fetch them. They only get a bonus and leave pay - on average they go home with R900. We no longer recruit in the Transkei, if we have to we recruit locally, there are always people around.

The company has also been active in getting their labour force South African identity documents. The labour officer recounted how he had phoned the Observatory branch of the Department of Home Affairs on two occasions, once in 1986 and again in December 1987 to have officials come out to the company and process the work force. According to the labour officer all 250 workers have applied for the new documents and they experienced no difficulty in doing so. The company now has a

26 As Gilmours' (1987:182) research in the Eastern Cape over 9 different sectors of employment shows, in occupations below the skilled category, only about 13% of vacancies were filled via the labour bureaux.
policy of only hiring workers who have South African identity documents.

We tell them to apply in order to keep their jobs ... all 250 workers have applied - a lot of workers have ID's already - after a month they got them - some are still waiting.

An analysis of the data (n=93) reveals that 76 of the workers (82%) are in possession of South African identity documents. The majority (83 or 89%) had applied through the company and 71 (86%) have received their identity documents; 12 are still waiting for documents. Of the remaining 10 workers (11%) who had missed the visits from the Department of Home Affairs officials and applied themselves, only five had received their documents. Thus it seems that applications processed through the company were far more successful than individual efforts. Table 3.8 below indicates the delay between applying for and receiving the documents.

Table 3.8: South African Identity Documents: Bed-holders: Year Applied by Year Received

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Appl</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Year Recvd</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>26</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>59</td>
<td>63</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>38</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not recvd</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>93</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As Table 3.8 reveals, a considerable number of identity documents were granted by the Department of Home Affairs up to and including 1988. This confirms research findings among other employers who stated that migrants on contract were granted these documents. It also serves to highlight, once again, the disjunction between policy and practice in that these migrants were not eligible in terms of government interpretations of the legislation (see Chapter Two, pages 7-9).

It is evident that workers were pressured by the company to apply for the new identity documents and were threatened with losing their jobs if they did not. Their union did not dissuade them from taking the ID's despite the fact that it is affiliated to Cosatu who had initially called for a boycott (see Chapter Two, pages 28-30). An official of the union did however intimate in an interview that their decision had been heatedly debated among members of the executive.

Understandably, reactions to these events and the new identity documents varied among the workers interviewed. In this context it is important to note that on both visits by the Home Affairs officials dependants as well as workers were processed en masse. One informant recalled the second visit to
the compound which occurred in December 1987:

they used the dining hall and took our photographs, they lined everybody up and filled out the forms - wives as well - everybody who was here when they came - there was no problem with getting them ID's. [interview with 39 year old informant]

The informant's statement concerning the relative ease with which dependants were able to receive South African identity documents is borne out by Table 3.9 below.

Table 3.9: South African Identity Documents: Dependents by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year Appl</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
<th>Year Recvd</th>
<th>No.</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1986</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1987</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>1987</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1988</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>not recvd</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>100</td>
<td></td>
<td>16</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: One person applied twice (n=16).

From the above it is clear that half of the dependants who applied for the new identity documents received them. Of these the majority were granted in 1988. On the strength of this many of the workers wanted their family members living in the Transkei to come to Cape Town and apply for the identity documents at some time in the future as their comments illustrate below.

My family is in the Transkei they only have a Transkei Passport and Book of Life. I would very much like them to apply in future. [interview with 25 year old informant]

It took 6 months to get [ID] - no my family haven't applied you can't apply that side [in the Transkei] I would like them to have it. [interview with 54 year old informant]

My parents are Transkeians they might like to apply. I would like them to have what I have. [interview with 32 year old informant]

I intend sending fare for her [wife] to come to Cape Town and apply for an ID. [interview with 30 year old informant]

My family is Transkeian [I] would like them to apply so when my wife is visiting she won't get harassed or picked up. [interview with 64 year old informant]

While the above constitutes one response on the part of workers towards the new documents the responses below
illustrate how workers, lacking information and control over events, were processed by the officials.

I got this book [identity document] because it was wanted [by the company] I don't know anything about it. [interview with 52 year old informant]

They gave us ID's we don't know anything about South African citizenship. [interview with 30 year old informant]

I'm Transkeian. I only come here to work. It's because I am working here that's why I've got this book. I'm regarded as a South African citizen but I was not asked [to apply for restoration]. [interview with 29 year old informant]

I just took it because I thought if you don't have it you might be arrested. [interview with 25 year old informant]

I didn't notice what the book says because I am illiterate. [interview with 30 year old informant]

I never looked at it they never told me what was in it. [interview with 57 year old informant]

I'm not clear what it means. [interview with 31 year old informant]

Some of the workers I spoke to had not bothered to scrutinise their new identity documents. Many did so for the first time during the interviews. Some were both surprised and upset to find that they were recorded as being South African citizens:

My legal citizenship is Transkei [after looking at the document] I am confused now. [interview with 30 year old informant]

My legal citizenship is Transkei and that is what it [document] says [after looking at the document] I told them [officials] I was from the Transkei, I don't know about this. [interview with 28 year old informant]

It's up to them what they [government] write. I'm taking the ID because I work here - I'm Transkeian. [interview with 64 year old informant]

I've only come to work for my family here in Cape Town. I do not want to be a South African citizen. I don't like town life. [interview with 52 year old informant]

I told them [officials] they wrote on the application that I was from the Transkei. [interview with 48 year old informant]

It is clear from the above responses that none of the workers had been clearly informed by the Department of Home Affairs officials about the implications of applying for the
documents. Most of the workers I talked to had no recollection of being asked by officials whether they wanted restoration of South African citizenship nor were they informed that this would lead to them possessing dual citizenship. These findings also seem to indicate that the union representing the workforce had remained silent on the issue of implications arising from the new identity documents.

When asked about how their lives had been affected by the changes in the legislation the majority of workers referred to the fact that people were no longer arrested for the "dompas" and that it had been replaced with the South African identity document which had made their lives easier in a number of respects.

There's a lot of improvement -this book [SA ID] has released us from harassment - from frequent visits from the police disturbing our peace. [interview with 46 year old informant]

When there were passes I used to be chased in Langa but I was never caught. Now people can live in peace there is no more harassment. [interview with 26 year old informant]

People were arrested but now things have changed. People used to come here on contract but now can come and stay as long as they want. [interview with 46 year old informant]

There are changes - we do not have to go back home to get re-employment. [interview with 37 year old informant]

Our wives can come here [Cape Town] and stay freely. We used to be arrested. [interview with 51 year old informant]

The Boers have stopped chasing us because we used to be arrested during the pass laws, but now we have an ID they no longer arrest us. I used to run away when there was still this pass problem to the forests. [interview with 22 year old informant]

You'll be free to go anywhere with an ID. [interview with 25 year old informant]

As expressed by these informants a great burden has been lifted: people no longer have to carry passes and fear raids or arrests by police and inspectors and there is free movement in and out of the towns and across the neighbouring borders of the Transkei and Ciskei. While it is clear that influx control legislation impinged on their lives in countless ways a surprisingly low number of workers were found to have been prosecuted for pass offenses, as Table 3.10 below reveals.
Table 3.10: Bed-holders: Type of Prosecution by Year

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Pass No.</th>
<th>SA ID No.</th>
<th>Trespass No.</th>
<th>Other No.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1974</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1975</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1982</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1983</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1986</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1988</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Totals</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Seven workers (7%) had been arrested for pass offenses, with all but one of these arrests occurring in the Western Cape between the years 1972 and 1986. However three of these individuals stated they had been arrested more than once. One man recalled being arrested for pass offenses more than four times during the 1970's, and finally, out of desperation, had used the system in order to secure a bus ride back home to the Transkei as his story reveals:

It was when I was working as a gardener in Sea Point that I was prosecuted several times. Once I was arrested for the pass walking in the street. Another time I was arrested working in the garden. The employer said nothing to the police because those police said that we had run from the Transkei. I had to pay a fine in Maitland. I had to give out all my wages on fines - I was arrested every Friday - I was working for nothing! I was sick and tired of being arrested. With influx control we used to get a free ticket home - get arrested and get a free ticket home. So I went to the Langa office which issues tickets and got one in the late 70’s. I never paid a cent for it but I just did it that one time [interview with 50 year old informant].

Five workers (5%) had been arrested for trespass offenses between 1976 and 1983 while four (4%) had been charged with offenses such as drunkenness and theft. Only one worker interviewed told of being arrested in 1988 for not having a South African identity document and described the incident.

The Brackenfell police picked us up in August 1988. They asked us for the South African ID. I said it was here at the compound. I got taken by the police along with five others, we spent the night in the Brackenfell police station. The next

---

*One arrest occurred in 1985 in the Transvaal.*
morning the police said we could go and that we had been taken in for 'drunken noise'. [interview with 48 year old informant]

In terms of the Identification Act (see Chapter One, page 2) everybody is required to carry an identity document and produce it on demand and failure to do so "without lawful cause" constitutes a criminal offense which could result in a fine or imprisonment. In the case above the worker was not allowed to fetch his document and consequently spent the night in jail. This event quite clearly follows the approach taken by countless officials under influx control where individuals were refused time to fetch their documents (see West, 1982:468). In the case above, however, the worker and the other five men were not charged under the Act and released the next day. This incident clearly illustrates a case of harassment.

When asked what documentation they currently carry, it was found that some of the workers who have South African identity documents are still carrying their old reference books (13 or 14%). The majority (80 or 83%), however, had left them in the Transkei or thrown them away and three of the workers claimed they had never had a reference book. In terms of Transkeian documentation it was found that 41 (43%) carried Passports, 8 (8%) carried a Book of Life and 47 (50%) carried both documents. One older worker told me he was 'playing it safe' and produced a South African identity document, reference book, Transkeian passport and book of life for my inspection.

Thus far I have briefly examined a range of workers' attitudes concerning their jobs, acquisition of South African identity documents and the demise of the "dompas". Their reactions to the broader legislative changes and specific events, such as being processed by the company for identity documents, have to be understood in terms of a complex range of personal and historical experiences which have shaped their world view. While this paper does not attempt to present a 'definitive' emic world view, it is nevertheless important to try and understand the factors which may contribute to the kinds of responses evidenced above. In the following section I begin this process by examining events which occurred during fieldwork in order to shed light on how workers perceive their work situation.

Since it was not possible to observe interaction in the workplace itself in terms of workers' interaction with fellow workers; both Coloured and White, and with those in positions of authority, I have drawn upon various incidents, some of which occurred during fieldwork, in order to illuminate the tensions that exist between workers and management. The use of specific events or "social situations" in this context reveal

---

Gluckman (1958), working within a functionalist framework, pioneered the use of "social situations" in his analysis of the social structure of Zululand.
the dynamics of the work situation in terms of relations between the workers and company management. In studying complex social relationships Van Velsen (1969) has argued, that emphasis should be placed on subjects as actors rather than informants. "Thus records of actual situations and particular behaviour have found their way from fieldworker's notebooks into analytical descriptions, not as 'apt illustrations' of authors' abstract formulations but as a constituent part of the analysis" (1969:140).

CASE 4: Invisible Women
At the start of fieldwork the labour officer suggested a tour of the factory in which we (research assistant and I) were shown the operations and the various processes that go into making bricks. The labour officer was very proud to show off the state of the art equipment and especially the computer room which was situated on a second floor deck above the vast factory floor and quiet and cool in contrast to the dust, noise and heat of the factory below. On ending the tour the labour officer was suddenly called away, and left to ourselves we stepped out of a side entrance into the blinding sunlight and saw a group of women packing bricks onto pallets.

In response to our questions they told us they were getting paid between 70 cents to a R1.00 per pallet. The pallets consist of 500 bricks arranged in thirteen rows and on average the women said they could pack five of these a day. They mentioned they worked as casual labour at the company earning roughly R55 per fortnight and stopped work on December 24th with no bonus, beginning again in January. At this point the conversation was cut short by the arrival of the labour officer who hurried up to us and said "don't worry about them [women] they work for sub-contractors - not the company" and escorted us back to the compound. Obviously we had stumbled upon a feature which had not been intended as part of the official tour.

CASE 5: Visit from the Labour Officer
The second incident occurred on a cold day in early spring. Workers who had come off shift were gathered in their hostel room, where they relaxed smoking and chatting among themselves, or engaged in activities such as preparing food, performing ablutions in the adjacent bathroom or sleeping. The atmosphere in the room was warm and smokey from the coal braziers and relaxed considering the intrusion on their privacy caused by our interviewing. Roughly a half hour elapsed in this fashion when the atmosphere was suddenly shattered by the arrival of the labour officer who strode in without knocking.

Upon entering the labour officer gave us (researchers) a perfunctory greeting and ignored the workers. Without asking anyone he stretched out full-length on one of the vacant beds near a brazier. Clasping his hands behind his head he directed
his attention towards the interview taking place and after a few minutes stifled a yawn and surveyed the room. Suddenly with a loud exclamation he leapt up, strode across the room and stood in front of a bed which had a poster (a photograph of bricks with a rival company's logo superimposed) hanging above it. He asked who the poster belonged to and one of the workers replied that the owner was on shift. The labour officer replied "take that bloody thing down!" whilst ripping it off the wall himself. He remonstrated angrily with the workers saying "you have no right to have this [poster] in here you are not working for them".

The workers he was addressing did not protest this action nor engage in debate with the labour officer who by now had crumpled the poster up and thrown it on the floor. Workers who were in the room at the time did not say anything to the labour officer who left shortly thereafter, however they did talk quietly amongst themselves, and although I did not hear their conversations it seemed they were clearly unhappy about the incident.

**CASE 6: Upgrading**

The third incident, the upgrading of the compound, occurred towards the end of September. A few days after the compound had been paved I questioned workers whom I was interviewing about the recent changes. They mentioned that they had not been told in advance, that in fact some workers had just been assigned to come and work at paving the compound. When asked what they thought about the changes they said they were very pleased with the improvement but they didn't know exactly what was happening - whether it was done because of us (researchers) or the Western Cape Hostel Dwellers Association (WCHDA), because, they said, they had been complaining to the company about the conditions for over a year and nothing had been done during that time. In fact the workers told me they had sent a delegation to the Managing Director to complain about conditions. This was not the first such complaint. A worker living in another block had mentioned he had changed blocks a few years earlier because of the bad conditions. As he put it "I moved from hostel 5A to 8B because the door was broken and the wind was coming in. When we asked the manager to change it he took no notice until the people did it themselves. By that time we [he and dependants] had already moved".

Further upgrading which occurred in November included rooms being painted with a high-gloss enamel paint - emerald green in colour, and wall plugs being installed. The labour officer whom I met one day at the entrance to the compound was stripped down to shorts and was carrying an axe. He cheerfully informed me he had been put in charge of supervising the painting of the whole compound. The workers I spoke with, however, were not happy about these developments: either the lack of consultation or the choice of colour, and mentioned
they had not requested that the rooms be painted.

The three incidents described above provide a valuable insight into the position of workers within the company, and in particular reveal their lack of privacy and limited control over events which occur at the compound. Within the structure of the company the labour officer mediates between the workers and the higher levels of management. Although he is an African, as some of his actions above have demonstrated, he does not identify with the workers, nor do the workers consider him as one of them. It is clear he stands in a position of authority and hence power vis-a-vis the workers, which he exercises in significant ways such as invading their rooms, lying on their beds and determining what is appropriate to have in their rooms. In this the labour officer can be seen to occupy an analogous position with "boss-boys" on the mine. Some writers refer to boss-boys treating workers more cruelly than Whites do (see Alverson, 1978; Moodie, 1983). In contrast, however, Gordon's (1977) study of a Namibian mine and compound found that the 'ideology of brotherhood' was able to subsume the ambiguity inherent in the occupational position of boss-boy. His study focused on the 'social worlds' of the migrant consisting of the 'front region' - the mine and interaction with Whites, and the 'back region' - the compound which was made safe through the 'ideology of brotherhood'. In this context, as Gordon pointed out, although boss-boys occupied an ambiguous position in the interface between the mine and workers, they usually sided with the workers because they had to live with them at the compound and at home (1977:169).

This situation does not apply here where the company labour officer was found to be an outsider in three senses. Firstly he had only been employed at the company for one year while the majority of men who work at the company had predated his arrival. Secondly, he did not live in the compound, and as stated earlier, was shocked at the very thought. Finally, he stated he was from Keiskammahoek in the Ciskei. This is in contrast to the workers who all come from the Transkei, and many in fact from one single location or adjacent locations within particular districts.

The degree of frustration workers feel towards their work and living conditions is evident in their by-passing formal structures through which complaints are made, in this case the labour officer and the union shop steward, by sending a delegation to the top level of management: the Managing Director of the company. Rather than addressing workers' grievances the Managing Director promised to upgrade the compound accommodation. This process was only started in late 1988, and as discussed below, had been promised once before by the Managing Director.

It is relevant at this point to refer back to events which occurred in the mid-1980's in order to shed light on the
company's action - or inaction in addressing workers' grievances. According to various informants, 1985 marked the turning point in terms of tight company control over the compound, though as evidenced below, informant's versions of what actually occurred constitute a contested terrain.

**CASE 7: Managing Director's Version**
The Managing Director first started working at the company in 1985. When he first arrived he found that the compound was like a "police camp" with a "heavy management presence" referring to the compound manager who had an office in the compound and the security guards who controlled access to the compound. Up until this time no women had been allowed into the compound, and none had been able to slip in owing to the strict security and control over access pursued by the company. This all changed in 1985 with the new Managing Director who, citing liberal and humane motives, removed the compound manager and security guards. According to the Managing Director it was not until 1986, however, that women arrived at the compound, primarily as a result of the Crossroads disaster in which hundreds of shacks were destroyed. The Managing Director, again acting on humanitarian grounds, allowed some of the workers' wives to seek temporary refuge at the compound.

**CASE 8: Workers' Version**
Up until 1985 the company management had control of the compound and was responsible for the provision of meals. In 1985 when political unrest was sweeping the country the workers living at the compound became politicised and complained to management about the general living conditions. They refused to eat the food management was providing on the grounds that it was generally of poor quality (in some instances worms had been found in the mielie-meal) and they closed the dining hall and kitchen down and chased the compound manager away.

In terms of the workers' perceptions, the company, fearing a 'revolution' was imminent, undertook to upgrade the compound. One block was upgraded (this consisted of putting up dividing walls and creating four bedrooms where there had previously been one open room, putting in ceilings, covered wall lights and a makeshift stove). After this upgrading had been completed management told the workers it was 'too expensive' to continue upgrading the compound. The common understanding of these events among the workers, however, is that the company felt the general political unrest had been defused and there was no need to continue upgrading.

---

29 Included here are the Managing Director, labour officer, and workers.
CASE 9: Labour Officer's Version

The labour officer has been employed by the company since 1987. According to his version of events the workers received free food until 1986 at which time women started living at the compound. The reason why the provision of meals was stopped was the cost involved for the company. According to the labour officer the company used to spend R8000 per month on food (meat and rice) and could not increase their expenses by providing food for the wives.

In analysing the various interpretations cited above it is clear that the Managing Director and labour officer have a vested interest in showing the company to outsiders in the best possible light, hence their versions are devoid of conflict and instead emphasise the humane and liberal concessions granted to the workers in terms of a relaxation of control and letting women into the compound. While both of them stressed that women had only arrived at the compound in 1986 this was contradicted by one of the wives who was interviewed. She revealed that in 1985 police had come to the compound and that she, two other women and one man had run into the bush to escape but had been caught and arrested for 'dompas' and paid R60 each in fines. Thus it seems on the one hand the company was prepared to admit to one illegal act, namely removing the compound manager and security guards prior to the 1986 repeal of the Black Labour Regulations (of 1968), but on the other hand omitted to mention that women were at the compound a year prior to the abolition of influx control legislation.

In contrast the workers' version of events focuses on their conflict with the management of the company. Their accounts are devoid of any mention of the role their trade union played during this period. It is clear that they enjoyed a significant victory in terms of gaining a certain measure of control over their lives as seen in their ousting of management, their greater freedom within the compound and their ability to have their wives stay with them. In terms of their fight for improved living conditions within the compound, though, they met with a hollow victory in that only one block was upgraded by the company. In fact, if anything, living conditions deteriorated in the face of considerable overcrowding by dependants.

In analysing the company's upgrading efforts, both in 1985 and 1988, it seems that upgrading occurred only after considerable pressure was brought to bear on the company. In 1985 it appears to have resulted from the general political climate and more specifically from workers' actions and, as we have seen was limited to renovating one block. In 1988 the company faced considerable pressure from the WCHDA\textsuperscript{10} who brought in a

\textsuperscript{10} See Thomas (1987) for a discussion of the creation and structure of this union.
researcher to document living conditions. This resulted in the majority of workers and their dependants signing up for membership in the WCHDA, thus giving the WCHDA political muscle in future negotiations with the company. The ability of the WCHDA to gain access to the compound has to be viewed in a two-fold context of negotiations held with both the company and the worker's union over rights of entry.

In negotiating with the company over access to the compound the WCHDA pressured the company to agree to the survey by stressing that their workforce were signed up members of the WCHDA and wanted the survey done. As we have seen, however, most of the workers and dependants only signed up once the survey was under way. In contrast to the relative ease with which access was granted by the company, lengthy and delicate negotiations occurred with the union over the politics of representation. According to one of the WCHDA's executive members, and as already evidenced above, the union did not have a good track record in responding to workers' grievances, and in particular those concerning living conditions. Thus the WCHDA executive interpreted the difficulties in gaining access to the compound in terms of the union feeling threatened by their intended involvement and proposed survey.
THE WORLD OF WORK MATES

I moved because I saw many people related to me staying in this block and my home people were here.
(interview with 32 year old man from Busila location, Willowvale District)

Introduction
In this chapter I move beyond the homogeneous category of 'worker' encountered thus far by focussing on the men in terms of their interrelationships and residential organisation within the compound, and importantly, their home origins. This analysis, in addition, includes an understanding of their relationships with their dependants and the social organisation of space in the compound.

The World of Work Mates
As indicated earlier the men are all migrant workers who come from various districts within the Transkei. All of the men are Xhosa speakers and their ethnic identity in this instance 'fits' with the particular 'homeland' in which they and their families live.

Thus ethnicity is not an issue at the compound in terms of residential groupings and in the absence of ethnic groupings men were found to organise their accommodation along district or location (administrative areas) lines where possible. An analysis of the areas of origin revealed that the men come from 11 districts in the Transkei as Map 2 indicates below.

Numerous authors (see for instance Lye and Murray, 1980; Segar, 1989) have commented on the 'lack of fit' in terms of the diverse ethnic groupings found within and across 'homeland' borders and how tensions and conflicts among 'homeland' inhabitants tend to be played out along ethnic lines.
Table 4.1 provides further detail concerning the origin of the men in terms of districts and where possible locations.

Table 4.1: Origins: District and Location (n=96)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>Location</th>
<th>No (1)</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engcobo</td>
<td>Mhlopekasi</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Gubenza</td>
<td>(23)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herschel</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idutywa</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentani</td>
<td>Ngusi</td>
<td>(24)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mnyameni</td>
<td>(34)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Noizale</td>
<td>(48)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libode</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mganduli</td>
<td>Xorana</td>
<td>(43)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Fletcher</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Frere</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Saint Marks</td>
<td>Nqquaru</td>
<td>(8)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qumanco</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nomadamba</td>
<td>(13)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nququ</td>
<td>(20)</td>
<td>7</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mtingwevu</td>
<td>(21)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mcambalala</td>
<td>(25)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Willowvale</td>
<td>Cafutweni</td>
<td>(1)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Busila</td>
<td>(2)</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mhlahlane</td>
<td>(5)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Dadamba</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>4</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Ntlabane</td>
<td>(10)</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Weza</td>
<td>(12)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xalanga</td>
<td>Cala</td>
<td>(6)</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Source: Jackson (1975) The Ethnic Composition of the Ciskei and Transkei

As Table 4.1 above shows, the greatest number of men (74 or 77%) come from the districts of Willowvale (54 or 56%) and Saint Marks (20 or 21%) respectively. A further break-down by locations reveals that of those coming from the Willowvale district 39 (41% of the total sample) come from Busila while

56
13 come from adjacent locations in the western corner of Willowvale within a 10 to 20 kilometre radius (Cafutweni, Dadamba, Ntlabane and Weza). Similarly in Saint Marks, men were found to come from contiguous locations which also cut across district lines (Ngqwara, Gxojeni, Qumanco and Nomadamba in Saint Marks and Gubenxa in the Engcobo district).

In looking at the area of origin in terms of length of employment, of the 20 men who had worked at the company for over ten years 14 (70%) were from Willowvale while the remaining 6 men are spread across five districts. Thus Willowvale appears to be the major recruitment area over time as Table 4.2 demonstrates below.

Table 4.2: Origin by Length of Employment (n=96)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>District</th>
<th>0-2Yrs</th>
<th>3-5Yrs</th>
<th>6-10Yrs</th>
<th>10+Yrs</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Engcobo</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Herschel</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Idutywa</td>
<td>2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kentani</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Libode</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mqanduli</td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Fletcher</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mount Frere</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

'Domestic' (amakhaya - people of the home) groupings have been researched extensively in urban townships (Mayer, 1971, 1980) and more specifically in compounds and hostels in mining and industry (Epstein, 1958; Alverson, 1970; Gordon, 1977; McNamara, 1980; Moodie, 1983; West, 1987). An analysis of the compound revealed that men from one's home place tended to gravitate together where possible. Prior to 1985 this had involved negotiating with the compound manager in order to change accommodation to be near relatives or people from home. However, although the men have been free since 1985 to make their own choices in terms of accommodation, between the years 1986-1988 only 16 (17%) of the men had changed rooms within the compound. This seems to suggest that the majority of the men were already where they wanted to be in terms of amakhaya groupings (see Diagram 1 below). It should be noted that lack of movement within the compound could also be the result of overcrowding by dependants.

Diagram 1 below reveals groupings within the compound along district and location lines. While Willowvale men were spread throughout the compound due to the high number coming from this district, blocks 2, 5, and 7, and rooms 13A and 14A are obvious strongholds. Saint Marks men have for the most part tended to cluster together in a particular corner of the
compound in blocks 1, 9, 10 and 11. Men from poorly represented districts have also tended to cluster together as seen in blocks 1, 4 and 8 and rooms 13B and 14B.

Diagram 1: Amakhaya Groupings: District and Location

Legend:
E = Engcobo    L = Libode      SM = St Marks
H = Hershel    M = Mqanduli     W = Willowvale
I = Idutywa    Mfl = Mount Fletcher  X = Xalanga
K = Kentani    Mfr = Mount Frere
Numbers inside blocks = locations (see Table 4.1 above)
Numbers outside blocks = block numbers

Table 4.1 above
Within the Transkei the importance of the location has been commented upon by Hammond-Tooke (1975:16) who found that "although originally demarcated by the administration the location has emerged over the years as the crucial administrative unit, capable of arousing a high degree of loyalty and solidarity on the part of its members". Mayer (1971:99-100) talks of the rural location constituting a "community with a corporate feeling: the boundaries [of which] are often based on old sub-chief divisions". In fact Mayer states that 'home-people' or amakaya is the phrase used and applied to people from one's own rural location, although in town the definition could be stretched to include, if necessary, people from near-by locations which "naturally ... have ties with the locations nearest to them, both positive (such as the ties resulting from marriages) and negative (such as the practice of stick-fights between their respective gangs of boys)" (1971: 99-100).

Although the groupings discussed above constitute the major form of residential organisation within the compound, age groupings were also evident. While the data does not allow for a distinction between age-sets or age-grades, an analysis of the residential patterns in terms of age groupings revealed that men in the age 20-29 cohort make up the majority in blocks 3 and 14 and rooms 7B, 10B, 11B and 13A. Men in the age 30-40 cohort predominate in blocks 5 and 6 and room 7A, and finally, men in the cohort aged 41 and above predominate in block 1 and rooms 8A and 14A. It also seems that in the absence of district and location ties men group together on the basis of age as was clearly the case in block 1 where men come from Idutywa, Engcobo and Saint Marks.

Gordon (1977:114), in his research on a Namibian compound, found that age played an important role in the formation of friendships in the compound in the sense that friendships were generated by convergent interests. And since old and young do not have similar non-work interests this often led to friends being of the same age range.

This appeared to be the case at the compound where the younger men after work would play soccer together or sit in their rooms listening to loud music on their stereos. In contrast rooms inhabited by older men were quiet and entertainment took the form of drinking and socialising together. One elderly informant mentioned that he had sought out older people and changed blocks to get away from the "youngsters" and "their noise".

In terms of social organisation within the compound an age hierarchy was found to operate especially in the older blocks (1, 2, 3, and 4) which were controlled by older men who had

---

59 The Mayers define age-sets as a grouping according to year of initiation, and age-grades as a grouping according to stage of life (1971:113).
been employed the longest at the company. In these blocks, in the absence of female dependants, the younger men were in charge of the cooking and cleaning. This control was the most evident in block 2, a Willowvale (Busila location) stronghold, where despite the majority being in the age 20-29 cohort, a strong patriarchal attitude was evidenced. Two of the men interviewed were father and son and stayed in adjacent beds. The son, a twenty year old who had acquired his job in 1987 through his father, referred to still being under his father's authority. This sentiment was expressed by all the young men in the block who stated that decisions concerning their future rested with their fathers. In this context Hammond-Tookes' discussion of the kinship system as an authority structure appears valid. As he states, the homestead must submit to the authority of the homestead head since:

he enjoys patria potestas over all living within its confines ... [his] authority ... has both a kinship and a 'governmental' component. As head of the family qua family he has undisputed control over his wives and their children and over younger brothers and their families who may be living in the same homestead, and who are thus under his authority because they stand in a specific kin relation towards him. But his authority includes non-kin living with him and thus has a territorial aspect characteristic of all governmental authority. (Hammond-Tooke, 1975:117-119).

As shall be discussed later this patriarchal authority was also manifest in many of the mens' relations towards their wives.

In looking more closely at the mens' backgrounds it was found that the majority are married (79 or 82%) and have families living in the Transkei. Of the married men 74 (94%) stated they had been married traditionally and 64 (68%) claimed no religious affiliation, while 13 (14%) who claimed Christian affiliation belonged to Separatist Churches. Lack of religious affiliation has been used as an indicator of the 'red' way of life and Mayer, writing about the way of life practised in the Transkei in the late 1970's states that:

Reds have remained in the majority in many areas of the Transkei. According to the 1970 census, just over one third of the people of the Transkei as a whole (including towns and almost totally Christianized districts such as Fingoland) claimed no connection with the Church, compared with 48 per cent ten years earlier. About 15 per cent of those who claimed Christian affiliation belonged to Separatist Churches (1980:49-50).

The data discussed above concerning lack of religious affiliation, traditional marriages and a low level of
education (see Table 3.5 above) may be indicative of a particular way of life. In response to the question of where they would like to live in the future 46 men (48%) stated they wanted to return to the Transkei and 39 men (41%) wanted to live in South Africa, or more particularly Cape Town. Of those who wanted to live in Cape Town, 13 (33%) responses were qualified primarily in terms of access to accommodation. The remaining 11 men (11%) stated that they were undecided.

The responses given by informants to this particular question can be contextualised against a range of responses elicited through interviews and conversations concerning various aspects of their lives. The men who saw their future as being rooted firmly in the Transkei expressed a continuity in their responses over a wide range of questions and issues such as upgrading of accommodation for themselves and their families, visits to Cape Town by family members, restoration of South African citizenship for family members and attitudes towards being in Cape Town.

I don't want anyone to live in Cape Town, even myself. I'm not interested in living in Cape Town or for my family to get South African citizenship. I only come here to work. I don't know Cape Town I only come straight from the Transkei to the company. [interview with 49 year old man from Busila, Willowvale district]

We belong to Transkei. I wouldn't like my wife to have the [South African] ID. I won't let her come to Cape Town. [interview with 23 year old man from Qumanco, Saint Marks district]

I'm not interested to live in Cape Town or move into a better house where I'll have to pay rent. I'm only here to work for my family. And besides I'm thinking of that large field - what would happen to it? Here [Cape Town] I've got to buy everything - I don't have fields, but there [Transkei] I will be left with large areas of land - I can plow and plant mealies. My father said I must never be permanent in South Africa. [interview with 26 year old man from Cafutweni, Willowvale district]

They [family] do not come to Cape Town to visit. If they come there will be no one to look after the house in the Transkei. My family is not interested in leading a town life. [interview with 25 year old man from Kentani district]

---

13 As Mayer (1980:47-48) states education was at the heart of the Red-School division and Reds felt it threatened the viability of their way of life. In terms of meeting the demands of the capitalist system, however, by the late 1950's "Reds had developed definite ideas about how much schooling was compatible with continuing the Red way of life."
The only place to stay is with the family in the Transkei. I want to stay in the Transkei ... I've never thought of living anywhere else. [interview with 54 year old man from Ncizele, Kentani district]

My family have never come to Cape Town and I don't want them to. They are Transkeian citizens and I'm not interested in getting them [South African] ID's. I'm working here in Cape Town but I belong there [Transkei]. I want to go back to Transkei because this is where my home is and my parents' graves - even if they are no longer there their graves are there. [interview with 58 year old man from Busila, Willowvale district]

My wife and child come and visit once a year. I would like for them to stay in the Transkei and only come and visit. If we were all here we wouldn't have a chance to do our traditional practices here in the urban areas. [interview with 23 year old man from Saint Marks district]

Even if I get better accommodation I'd like her [wife] to come as a visitor because my whole household will fall. I am in Cape Town only for work. [interview with 41 year old man from Saint Marks district]

My family only visit when there's a problem. I've got a house there [Transkei] so I wouldn't like them to come and stay here ... I don't like the very idea of her coming here I'll lose my house. [interview with 38 year old man from Nququ, Saint Marks district]

My family don't come to visit [in Cape Town]. I'm going to inherit my father's land - those livestock have got to be cared for. [interview with 25 year old man from Mtingwevu, Saint Marks district]

No I don't want my family down here permanently. No, I want to organise money and send it home to build more houses - my interest is in the Transkei. [interview with 25 year old man from Xorana, Mqanduli district]

I've already built a home there. [interview with 25 year old man from Busila, Willowvale district]

In contrast, the majority of the men who wanted to live in Cape Town expressed a desire for upgraded accommodation, both for themselves and their families, and wanted family members to apply for restoration of South African citizenship.

I would like my family to move down. I would like to move from Transkei to come and settle in Cape Town even though I am inheriting my mother's land. ... My family is Transkeian and I would very much like for them to apply [for restoration of South African citizenship] in future.
[interview with 25 year old man from Mcambalala, Saint Marks]

I would like to be living in Cape Town with my family here at the compound if it is upgraded or in the township - if my wife could get a job. I would like my wife, two children and sister to move down. [interview with 30 year old man from Busila, Willowvale district]

Yes I would like to be here in the Cape. I'm paying taxes in the Transkei but not here, I would like to take the most lenient side of the two. [interview with 27 year old man from Mqanduli district]

My wife came for the first time this year. I want her to stay with me down here in Cape Town. I have applied for my [South African] ID but I haven't received it yet. When I do I will ask my wife to come down to apply for the ID so she can also have it. [interview with 26 year old from Busila, Willowvale district]

I would love to have them [family] with me permanently but if upgrading occurs my wife only would stay - the children would just visit. [interview with 30 year old from Mqanduli district]

One third of the men who wanted to live in Cape Town, however, qualified their responses in terms of access to family accommodation and jobs.

I will stay where there is accommodation. If family accommodation is available in Cape Town we will stay here. [interview with 31 year old from Busila, Willowvale district]

I would want my wife and two children to live in Cape Town if we could get better accommodation here at [the company] the township is too far. If I had permanent accommodation I would just go home [Transkei] for visits even though I'm going to inherit my father's land. [interview with 31 year old man from Busila, Willowvale district]

My family visit me once a year. I would like them to live in Cape Town if there could be better accommodation. ... My family do not have ID's [South African] they would like to have them. [interview with man from Nququ, Saint Marks district]

My wife came [to visit] this year and stayed in Khayelitsha. She comes every year. She will apply in future for the [South African] ID but I want her at home to plow the crops because there are no jobs here. If she could get a job she could stay with me here in Cape Town. [interview with 52 year old man from Mnyameni, Kentan]
I would like to have a better job. If I could get the right kind of job with a better salary I would want to settle with my family in Cape Town though for the moment they will stay in Transkei. [interview with 27 year old man from Busila, Willowvale district]

Finally some men were ambivalent about where they would live in the future and stated they were still undecided.

At the moment I'm still young. I have both a South African ID and a Transkeian Passport - I'm still young I don't know where I want to be. [interview with 31 year old man from Busila, Willowvale district]

I haven't come to such a decision yet. [interview with 36 year old man from Busila, Willowvale district]

I will stay here until I get pension then I don't know [I] will see when I get my pension. [interview with 63 year old man from Gubenxa, Engcobo district]

It is apparent from the above quotes that the two groups have very different attitudes towards work, urban life and the rural areas. If one compares the two groups in terms of a range of variables such as age, marital status and rural resources, however, there appear to be very few overwhelming differences as Tables 4.3, 4.4, 4.5 and 4.6 below demonstrate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>20 (50)</td>
<td>16 (40)</td>
<td>4 (10)</td>
<td>40 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>10 (38)</td>
<td>13 (50)</td>
<td>3 (12)</td>
<td>26 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>5 (39)</td>
<td>6 (46)</td>
<td>2 (15)</td>
<td>13 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>51+</td>
<td>11 (74)</td>
<td>2 (13)</td>
<td>2 (13)</td>
<td>15 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't Know</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2 (100)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46 (48)</td>
<td>39 (41)</td>
<td>11 (11)</td>
<td>96 (100)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

One might expect that the younger men in the 20-29 age cohort would be more inclined to leave the rural areas and urbanise, however this age group was divided almost equally between those who wanted to stay in the Transkei and those who wanted to settle in Cape Town. Likewise the 30-40 and 41-50 age cohorts were equally divided. Thus age does not appear to be a
significant factor in influencing decisions with the exception of the last age cohort. One would expect that the older men would be the most committed to their rural homes and this appears to be the case in that the majority of men (74%) in the age cohort 51 and above want to return to the Transkei.

In the same way that one might expect age to be a factor in the decision to move, so too one might expect that whether a person is married or single might also be a factor. However as Table 4.4 below shows marital status does not appear to be a major determinant in influencing the decision to return to the Transkei or stay in Cape Town. As can be seen, the distributions of status and future orientation appear to be even without significant differences between the two groups.

Table 4.4: Future Orientation by Marital Status (n=96)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Status</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
<th>Undecided</th>
<th>Total</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married (T)</td>
<td>34 (46)</td>
<td>32 (43)</td>
<td>8 (11)</td>
<td>74 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Married (C)</td>
<td>2 (40)</td>
<td>2 (40)</td>
<td>1 (20)</td>
<td>5 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Single</td>
<td>9 (56)</td>
<td>5 (31)</td>
<td>2 (13)</td>
<td>16 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Widowed</td>
<td>1 (100)</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>46 (48)</td>
<td>39 (41)</td>
<td>11 (11)</td>
<td>96 (100)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

If one looks at rural resources such as land (see Table 4.5 below) it is evident that there are no major differences between the two groups in terms of ownership of land. Rather the significant difference appears to be whether or not 'Betterment' schemes have been implemented.

The impact of Betterment schemes or 'the Trust', as it has come to be known by the recipients, has been researched extensively (see De Wet and McAllister, 1983, 1985). Some of the major consequences of 'Betterment' include changing social relationships and land use patterns, a reduction in livestock as well as a greater degree of poverty for the recipients (De Wet and McAllister, 1985).

In the agricultural sphere De Wet and McAllister (1985:557) note that people are considerably better off without 'Betterment' as was found in those areas of the Willowvale district where it had not yet been implemented. In these areas every homestead has the right to establish a garden. These are usually large (up to 2.5 hectares), relatively fertile and people rely heavily on them for a variety of crops and tobacco. Although they are fenced the gardens are not fixed in size or location and they usually adjoin homesteads. De Wet
and McAllister (1985:557) note, by contrast, that fields are larger than gardens but limited in number and far from homesteads as well as being fixed in size and relatively infertile, thus producing smaller yields than gardens. As a result many people have abandoned their fields while others were found to use them infrequently.

It appears that when areas experience 'Betterment' new gardens are substantially reduced in size, boundaries are demarcated and fixed, and new fields on average are likely to be further away than present ones (De Wet and McAllister, 1985:557). In addition, landholders experience greater financial cost inputs on new gardens and fields which generally, initially, produce lower yields. Finally, 'Betterment' seems likely to accelerate the deterioration of the environment because old gardens and fields do not revert to grazing once abandoned which has the effect of increasing pressure on available grazing. Experiences of this nature would it is anticipated affect future location decisions.

As evidenced in Table 4.5 below, it is apparent that more of the men (62%) who have been the recipients of 'Betterment' schemes want to settle in Cape Town as compared with the men (67%) who have not experienced 'Betterment' and who want to return to the Transkei.

Table 4.5: Future Orientation by Rural Resources (Land)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ownership of Land</th>
<th>Transkei</th>
<th>Cape Town</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bed-holder owns</td>
<td>n=40</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>22 (55%)</td>
<td>18 (45%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family owns</td>
<td>n=45</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>24 (53%)</td>
<td>21 (47%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has Field</td>
<td>n=51</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>34 (67%)</td>
<td>17 (33%)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Has Garden</td>
<td>n=68</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>35 (51%)</td>
<td>33 (49%)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Ownership of land does not appear to be an issue, but the effects of 'Betterment' can clearly be seen in terms of the reduction of access to land. Hence, the majority of those who have access to fields want to return to Transkei (67%). Importantly, further analysis revealed that of those who have
experienced 'Betterment' and want to live in Cape Town only 44% had fields as compared with those who have not experienced 'Betterment' and want to remain in the Transkei where 74% were found to have fields. It should also be noted that while similar numbers were found to have gardens, as De Wet and McAllister (1985) show, those who have experienced 'Betterment' have had their gardens substantially reduced.

In terms of owning livestock the two groups were quite evenly matched as Table 4.6 demonstrates below.

Table 4.6: Future Orientation by Rural Resources (Livestock)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Numbers of Stock</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>NR(1)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cattle</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>n=46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>n=39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goats</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>n=46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>n=39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sheep</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transkei</td>
<td>n=46</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Town</td>
<td>n=39</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Not recorded

As Table 4.6 reveals, in terms of the two groups an equal number of men did not own any cattle, goats or sheep. The only marginal difference found is in terms of owning cattle and goats. Those who want to live in the Transkei were found to have slightly more of these livestock than those who want to live in Cape Town. The major difference, however, is in terms of those who have no livestock at all. Of those who wish to return to the Transkei 6 (13%) have no livestock while of those who wish to live in Cape Town 10 (26%) have no livestock. Again, this difference seems marginal.

In summary, then, neither age, marital status, nor livestock holdings appear to have influenced the decision to stay in Cape Town or return to the Transkei. The most significant factors appear to be whether or not respondents have experienced 'Betterment', and personal orientation as expressed in the quotations above. The next section illustrates how these personal orientations are reinforced by the ways in which people organise their living arrangements within the compound.

Many writers have commented upon the fact that people who share a similar world view or orientation tend to group...
together in terms of compound and hostel accommodation (Mayer, 1971, 1980; Gordon, 1977 and Moodie, 1983). Gordon (1977:114) found that the most important factor governing friendship in the compound was the major ideological distinction between migrants who are hashano or noro hepo, migrants who stay at the work place as long as possible and migrants who want to return home as soon as possible. Moodie, writing about miners' identity, indicates that individuals are able to maintain the paramount reality of home through a close-knit network of support:

'[i]t is important to emphasize that those who associate exclusively with others from home seem to be able to retain the paramount reality of home even in the world of the mine ... but the ability to keep home paramount depends less on individual purpose, it seems to me, than on the support of a close-knit network of fellows for whom the world of home retains the particularity necessary to ensure that they remain 'encapsulated' in its reality. Thus, those men who live in the mine without becoming of the mine succeed in doing so not simply because of some preconceived project but because that project is shared by others in whose company they are able to sustain its reality (1983:194).

To a certain extent this appears to be the case at the compound where it is evident that men of similar orientation do tend to stay together in the same rooms or blocks.

As Diagram 2 illustrates below, block 2 and room 14A are inhabited by those who want to return to the Transkei (Willowvale men) and if the undecided are excluded, rooms 8A (Willowvale men) and 9B (Saint Marks men) can also be considered Transkei strongholds. Those living in rooms 10B (Willowvale and Saint Marks men) and 11A (Saint Marks and Mqanduli men) want to remain in Cape Town and if the undecided are excluded, rooms 6A (Willowvale and Saint Marks men) and 9A (Saint Marks and Kentani men) also become Cape Town strongholds.
Thus in terms of social organisation within the compound it is clear that men tend to group themselves not only along district, and where possible location lines, but also within this by age group and future orientation. This would seem to affirm the notion of incapsulation discussed above.
While a range of factors have been examined which may account for personal orientation, as McAllister suggests, one cannot overlook the importance of the macro dimension; the ways in which people have been incorporated and excluded from the wider political economy:

[the maintenance of a conservative ideology, must of course, be understood in terms of the nature of this incorporation. Black workers from areas such as the Transkei have for long been unable to escape the status of migrants, due to the legal and social institutionalisation of the migrant labour system. Linked to this have been poor wages and working conditions, lack of bargaining rights, poor housing in cities, and other factors making urban areas most unattractive places in which to be. Being unable to identify with life in town, and legally prevented from doing so (for example, prevented from domicile in town with wife and children), it is understandable that migrants with rural assets and ties should have clung to alternative sources of security and fulfilment (1991:134).

In the context of the macro domain the abolition of influx control legislation means that people are no longer restricted from entering and living in 'white' South Africa. However, as has been pointed out, for citizens of 'independent homelands' this freedom is contingent upon their continued exemption under the Aliens Act (see Chapter Two, pages 8-11). In real terms, though, people now have a choice as to where they would like to live and are exercising their options. In this light the following section introduces the dependants: the men, women and children who are living at the compound under the auspices of the bed-holders.

The Dependants

Given the historical restrictions on urbanisation, it is not surprising to find that the majority of the migrants have families who are living in the Transkei. The type of domestic arrangements found within the rural household unit are varied and fluid in terms of kin members although the most common arrangement appears to be one in which three generations cohabit, with women and children predominating. This pattern has been well documented throughout the 'homelands' where demographics are skewed in the direction of the young and the elderly, with adult male labour comprising the primary export. In this regard the Transkei is no different. The Wiehan Report (1990:18) working from a population baseline of 2.623 million in 1980 estimated the Transkeian population in 1989 at 3.750 million, a growth rate of 4% per annum, 90% of whom live in the rural areas. The Report further noted that the demographics between the rural and urban areas of the Transkei were increasingly unbalanced with unemployed females, children and the aged concentrated in the rural areas (1990:92-93) in a situation of general poverty and underdevelopment which has

70
been described as numbingly inescapable (Bundy, 1988:230, see also Wilson and Ramphele, 1989:33-51).

Under apartheid and the grand design of separate development the historico-legal constraints of influx control and the migrant labour system have created two overwhelming realities: a profound lack of housing in urban areas and, simultaneously, poverty in the 'homelands'. In this regard the removal of legal constraints such as the abolition of influx control legislation does not address these crucial issues, and against these realities kinship consequently becomes a vital resource, particularly in times of need or emergency. In this regard, the migrant's kin members domiciled in the Transkei are in the fortunate position of having access to supplementary income sources, namely remittances from the urban areas. As Spiegel and Sharp (1985) have pointed out, access to a wage income and/or pensions often marks the crucial difference between survival and death within the 'homelands'. Apart from this direct monetary relief, kinship is also an important resource in terms of providing an entree into urban areas such as Cape Town.

Although it was found that many of the migrants' families have never visited the urban areas in which their husbands/fathers/sons work, the majority of men (71%) stated that family members had visited them at least once. With the abolition of influx control legislation one might have expected to find a greater number of people visiting or moving to Cape Town. This appears to be the case, as an analysis of the available data in terms of the years in which adult dependants arrived in Cape Town for the first time reveals. As Table 4.7 below shows, there is a marked increase in the number of people visiting since 1986 when influx control legislation was abolished.

Table 4.7 Year of Arrival: Adult Dependents (n=38)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>64</th>
<th>80</th>
<th>81</th>
<th>82</th>
<th>83</th>
<th>84</th>
<th>85</th>
<th>86</th>
<th>87</th>
<th>88</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>17</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. Note: two dependants (wives of bed-holders) were born in the Western Cape and had lived their whole lives there.

As can be seen, 68% of the dependants (26) arrived after 1986 in the post-abolition period, and at the time of fieldwork

---

Within a range of R50 to R100 per month the compound men remitted an average R103 per month. The preferred method of remitting was through friends travelling home by bus rather than through the post. In addition many took clothes, groceries and building materials home on their annual visits. For a detailed look at the nature of remittances in the Matatiele district see Spiegel (1990:113-119).
almost half the men were found to have dependants staying in Cape Town. The majority (38 out of 43, or 88%) of these men with dependants had them staying with them in the compound, while 6 (14%) had dependants staying both in the compound and in Cape Town townships and 5 (12%) had dependants staying only in the townships. Most of the township dependants were living in the site and service areas in Khayelitsha. Although information on these township dependants is limited they will be included in the study where possible.

Categories of Dependants
If one divides the dependants into adult and child categories it was found that 32 (84%) of the bed-holders had adult dependants and 18 (47%) had child dependants staying with them in the compound. Of these 12 (32%) were found to have both categories of dependants staying with them. Thus a total of 76 dependants were connected to these 38 bed-holders. Of these, 44 (58%) were adults and 32 (42%) children. In the case of the township dependants approximately 10 adults and 13 children were found to be either living or visiting in Cape Town. This means that a total of 99 people were dependant upon 43 men; an average of 2.3 dependants per man.

Table 4.8 below analyses the compound dependants in terms of age and sex and reveals that the majority of adults are female and a high proportion of the children are under the age of five.

Table 4.8: Dependants by Age and Sex (n=76)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5&lt;</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6-10</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10-17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>18-19</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>20-29</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30-40</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>41-50</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>50&gt;</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Burman (1988: 171) discusses how the state has defined childhood differentially for different population categories. Thus African children are defined as adults from the age of 16 onwards and those classified as White or Coloured from the age of 18 onwards. In terms of my analysis, however, I include the one 16 year old dependant in the child category and those dependants aged 18 and above in the adult category.
Similar distributions of dependants in terms of age and sex have been found in research conducted in municipal hostels in the Western Cape (Ramphele and Boonzaier, 1988; Segar, 1988; Thomas, 1987). Segar (1988:19) found that a significant proportion of dependants were females aged 20-29, and that children under 6 years of age were spread evenly throughout municipal hostels. This corresponds well with the above data in that females between the age 20-29 are the largest category of adult dependants (28%) and children under 5 (34%) the largest category of child dependants. In this regard, and as Thomas has suggested, there appears to be "... a correlation between the abolition of the influx control legislations and the increase in the influx of family members to the hostels" (1987:40). This is confirmed by my own research findings. As already noted (see Table 4.7 above) the majority of dependants arrived in the post-abolition period, and as will be discussed below, the majority of dependants are family members of the bed-holders (see Table 4.9 below).

Ramphele and Boonzaier (1988:157-158) found that the average age of female dependants was significantly higher than that of dependant males and ascribed this to the fact that women have even more limited opportunities to transcend their dependant status than males. As they note, it is virtually impossible for females to acquire beds in their own right and chances of regular employment are extremely limited. Segar (1988) makes a similar point in stressing that adult female dependants are dependant upon male bed-holders for their accommodation and thus have less mobility than their male counterparts, which accounts for their higher demographic proportion in the hostels. As she states "[w]omen cannot officially become bedholders and the insignificant number of female bedholders recorded shows that 'unofficial' routes to becoming a bedholder are hardly open to women at all" (1988:16). Women, then, are dependant on men for accommodation, and in a situation where there are few housing alternatives, as Ramphele and Boonzaier suggest, women who find themselves in this position are "particularly powerless to challenge their stereotypical roles [and] [i]t is in this sense that the hostels serve to reinforce the system of male dominance" (1988:156).

An analysis of both compound and township dependants in terms of their relation to the men revealed that the majority (77 or 78%) were immediate family members or primary kin; 15 (20%) were secondary kin, and 7 (10%) were not related. Table 4.9 below provides further detail as to the categories of dependants.
Table 4.9: Dependents (n=99) by Relation to Bed-Holders

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Compound</th>
<th>Township</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>No.</td>
<td>%</td>
<td>No.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Kin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wives</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Children</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siblings</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parents</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Secondary Kin</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nieces</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nephews</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cousins</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>In-laws</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clan</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-relatives</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Girlfriends</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home people</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>76</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As suggested above, the dependants use their relationships to the bed-holders for different reasons. As will be discussed in detail below, these primarily relate to personal and familial requirements and to using bed-holders as a means of gaining access to a range of benefits, chief among these being accommodation.

Wives, Girlfriends and Children

Wives have been found to comprise the majority of female residents in Western Cape hostels (Ramphele and Boonzaier, 1988; Segar, 1988), and, while their motivations for moving to Cape Town were found to vary, preeminent among these was an attempt to maintain a personal relationship with their husbands whilst seeking to retain a rural base in the 'homeland' (Ramphele and Boonzaier, 1988:158). Trying to maintain both successfully can be seen as a necessary strategy in that "[w]ith the lack of adequate housing and the history of African insecurity in urban areas, retaining a rural home is still seen by many as an essential strategy, and thus makes necessary the pattern of male and female oscillation from countryside to town and vice versa" (Ramphele and Boonzaier, 1988:158).

This was found to be the case among half of the wives (9 or 50%) staying at the compound who cited a variety of reasons which had brought them to Cape Town. Although four of these
women had brought all their children\textsuperscript{36} with them, they were all adamant that they were visiting temporarily\textsuperscript{37} rather than living permanently at the compound and rationalised this in terms of the need to sustain a rural home. The reasons cited by all the wives in terms of explaining their presence in the compound were as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Reasons Cited</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Be with husband</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Give birth</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Produce a family (conceive)</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness (themselves)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illness (children)</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As is evident the reasons given were personal and related to familial issues, or health related. While serious deficiencies in health-care services in the Transkei\textsuperscript{38} justify the move to Cape Town, Ramphele and Boonzaier view the pretext of illness as a strategy which is often resorted to by women within the system of male dominance imposed by the hostel situation:

wives often adopt pretexts for leaving their rural homes and coming to the hostels. The most frequent is to plead illness, either of the woman herself or one of her children. Informants express the view that there is no way in which a man can escape his responsibility of caring for sick members of his family. One's wife and children are an obligatory responsibility, and there are rituals and healing ceremonies that simply cannot proceed without the man of the house (1988:161-162).

The following case-study illustrates how one wife's 'temporary' visit due to her children's illness has lasted for two years.

**CASE 10: Nolast's 'Temporary' Visit**

In 1974 Sonwabi, then nineteen, arrived in the Cape for the first time and found employment as a labourer working in Stellenbosch. In 1980 he gained employment with the company where he has been working and living ever since. His wife,

\textsuperscript{36} One wife had no children and the remaining three had left some, or in one case all, of their children in the Transkei.

\textsuperscript{37} Temporary visits by family members were found to last anywhere from a few weeks or months to a few years.

\textsuperscript{38} Within the Transkei the latest statistics concerning health-care services indicate the following ratios: population per hospital bed 481:1; per Doctor 10 185:1; per Nurse 372:1, per health centre and clinic 13 306:1 (Republic of Transkei Statistical Bulletin, 1990:9).
Nolast, first arrived in Cape Town to visit him in 1982 and stayed at Crossroads for a three month period. Sonwabi, however, does not like his wife to visit him and wants her to stay in the rural areas where his home is (Busila, Willowvale district). Their first two children were born in 1985 and 1986 and in December 1986 Nolast brought the children down to Cape Town because they were sick. Sonwabi made arrangements for their accommodation in Crossroads where they stayed until mid-1988, at which time Nolast, about to give birth, moved into the compound with their two children aged three and two. Shortly after the move Nolast had her baby at the Bishop Lavis clinic and returned to the compound with her one day old baby. While Nolast was not interested in staying in Cape Town permanently, stating she came only 'through problems', and was worried about her rural household, she had no immediate plans to return to the Transkei.

In the case cited above the wife initially came to Cape Town because her children were ill. However she managed to extend this visit by two years in part no doubt due to her third pregnancy. Her husband, although unhappy with her presence in Cape Town, had arranged accommodation for them in Crossroads but had only allowed his wife to move into the compound immediately before the birth of their third child and was eager that they return to the Transkei.

While illness can be used as a strategy to gain a foothold in Cape Town many of the wives come down to give birth, and having done so stay on at the compound. Women informants remarked that ambulances were a common sight at the compound due to the number of women having babies, and in fact nine women staying at the compound had children who were only a year old or younger. As Ramphele and Boonzaier (1988:161-162) have pointed out, the husband is responsible for his wife and child and in this context six of the wives had invoked this responsibility by returning to the Transkei and leaving their sick children in their husbands' care. This is illustrated by the following case.

**CASE 11: Yekelela Looks After His Son**

Yekelela has been working in Cape Town since 1967 and has been employed by the company since 1982. He is married and has four children, three daughters and a son. His wife lives at his natal homestead in Dadamba (Willowvale district) with his mother and sister, and Yekelela remits money home every month sending R100 to his wife and R50 to his mother. While it is not known how often his wife has come to Cape Town to visit him she had acquired a South African identity document on one of her previous visits to the compound. Yekelela had visited his home on leave in September 1988 and in October his wife arrived at the compound with their four year old son who was ill. His wife stayed for one week and then returned to the Transkei, leaving their son in Yekelela's care. At the time of the interview Yekelela stated that his son had been with him
for three weeks.

As mentioned earlier, the rural areas of the Transkei have limited health-care facilities compared with Cape Town. Thus it is not surprising that people come to Cape Town when faced with illness. In this context the compound also offered the benefit of a fortnightly visit by the WCHDA's mobile clinic. Although these were factors which may have influenced the wives' decisions in leaving their children with their husbands, the absence of a creche or any child care facilities at the compound placed the burden of responsibility not on the husbands who had full time jobs but on women who were staying in the rooms.

The fact that women give one another mutual support in times of distress, such as the illness of a relative, has been commented upon by Ramphele and Boonzaier (1988:161) who mention that despite the competition in hostels between women in terms of bed-holders and accommodation, they do cooperate with one another in periods of distress and illness. Unlike the hostel setting described by Ramphele and Boonzaier, women's relationships in the compound tended to run along friendship rather than competitive lines, as evidenced in their caring for other women's children for extended periods as well as in the mutual assistance with daily chores. Lack of competition between women was also due, no doubt, to the fact that only five of the married men had girlfriends living with them at the compound. Ramphele and Boonzaier commenting on the position of unmarried women who come to Cape Town hostels state that

Most of the unmarried women - widowed, divorced or never married - have children, and come to Cape Town in search of a source of income to support their families. Relationships with men are motivated primarily by the need for accommodation, although other considerations, such as financial support and occasionally affection also play a part (1988:158).

In accordance with these findings, economic motivations appeared to be the primary reason why the girlfriends were in Cape Town. Four of the five did not want to stay in Cape Town permanently and stated they did not like town life and wanted to return to the Transkei. All the girlfriends were single and had families living in the Transkei, although it is not known whether they had left children behind. Three had been in Cape Town since 1985 while the other two had arrived in 1986 and 1988. Three of the five girlfriends had managed to obtain jobs and thus were not totally financially dependant upon the bed-holders (two worked as casuals packing bricks at the

---

[19] The mobile clinic could not however reach the compound in rainy weather due to the condition of the track, and by 1989 was no longer visiting the company compound (personal communication, 1989, WCHDA executive member)
company and one had found work as a domestic in a nearby residential area). Of the remaining two girlfriends, one was desperately seeking employment while the other had recently had a baby (the bed-holder's child, see case 12 below) and was not interested in working.

Despite these extra-marital relationships, the bed-holders, with one exception, were all still sending monthly remittances to their wives and all but one had visited home during 1988. One of the wives, however, faced a severe threat to her marriage from her husband's extra-marital relationship.

**CASE 12: A Threatened Marriage**

Mthobeli is twenty-five years old and has worked at the company as a brick checker since 1983. He is married and his wife lives at home in Saint Marks. His [fifteen year old] girlfriend first arrived in Cape Town in 1985 and has been living with Mthobeli at the compound. In 1988 she gave birth to a daughter. Mthobeli's wife has never been to Cape Town as he will not let her visit, and although he had last visited her at home in May 1986 he was still sending her irregular remittances. Because Mthobeli's location had undergone 'betterment' before he was born he had only a small garden, and no livestock, thus leaving his wife with minimal resources. Mthobeli wanted to remain in Cape Town with his girlfriend and their daughter and seemed unconcerned about his wife's future.

The case above demonstrates a marriage in which the husband has all but severed his ties with his wife. In general, unstable marriage relationships are marked by a failure on the part of the husband to send home regular cash remittances and reasons for this lack of support range from unemployment and alcohol abuse through to extra-marital relationships such as in the case cited above. Although this was the only such case found at the compound, Ramphele and Boonzaier (1988:158) point to the frequency of unstable marriage relationships and to how many wives "come to the hostels as a desperate measure to save their families from disintegration, starvation or both" (1988:158).

The wives who stated they were living permanently as opposed to temporarily with their husbands at the compound had, for the most part, arrived from 1986 onwards. As in case 10 above, four of the nine wives had first found accommodation in either Crossroads or Site B in Khayelitsha before moving into the compound. Of these nine wives three had come on their own, five had brought all of their children with them and one had left one of her children at home in the Transkei in her
parent's care.\textsuperscript{40}

In a recent study Jones (1990) has traced the trajectories of children's movements both within and between rural and urban areas and explored the different forms these have taken. In examining how these experiences have impacted on the children under study, Jones explores the dynamics of domestic and spatial mobility through time. While this type of qualitative micro-data was not possible in terms of the compound study, an examination of the relatives with whom mothers had left their children revealed that both paternal and maternal grandmothers living in the rural areas featured prominently.

CASE 13: Rural Children
William, aged thirty-one, has worked as a labourer at the company for eleven years having acquired his job through the labour bureau in 1977. His wife, Nosithandile, is twenty-nine years old and they have two children. Nosithandile first came to Cape Town in 1981 when she was twenty-two having left their two children with William's mother in Busila. She has been living in Cape Town since then. Both she and William lived together in Crossroads until 1986 when both moved to the compound. Although never formally employed Nosithandile has been self-employed selling drinks for the seven years she has been in Cape Town and currently earns R20 a week. They remit R100 per month to William's mother and visit home annually. Their two children come to Cape Town once a year to visit during the school holidays. Both William and Nosithandile would like to settle in Cape Town but want their children to remain in Busila with William's mother.

This perhaps represents an extreme case, but an additional twenty-four children were found to have been left behind by mothers in the rural areas while they themselves were either visiting or had moved to Cape Town. Jones (1990) found that mothers often have to make a choice between siblings in terms of who they bring to urban areas or leave behind.

\textit{[I]}t is not unusual for one or a number of siblings in a family to experience little separation from their parents whilst others in the same family are isolated for long periods of time. Parents, particularly mothers since it is they who oscillate most frequently, are forced to make choices as to which children should accompany and live with them, and which children should not. As a result, the nuclear relationships of some children remain relatively intact at the expense of other siblings (1990:142).

\textsuperscript{40} Jones (1990:139) found in his study that mothers often choose between their children in terms of who will accompany them to urban areas and who will be dispersed to other relatives or fostered by non-kin (see also Spiegel, 1987 and Niehaus, 1987).
Jones (1990:142) cites possible explanations for mothers choosing between their children and mentions that it may be a case of favouritism of a particular sibling over others or it may relate to mothers' perceptions that particular children would be more vulnerable to separation from them. He also mentions James' (1985) findings that grandparents often negotiate with parents to leave certain grandchildren, possibly their favourites, with them. In terms of the compound data, age seems to be a definite factor in terms of mothers' choosing children. The largest number of children (34%) living in the compound were under five years of age as compared with 6% aged 6-10 years and 5% aged 10-17 years (refer to Table 4.9 above). It should be remembered, however, that a proportion of the children under the age of five had been born in Cape Town as illustrated in Case 14 below.

**CASE 14: Separated Siblings**

Nowathile first moved down to Cape Town in 1986 leaving her daughter behind in her parents care. She has been living with her husband, Tatakhe at the compound since then and has not seen her daughter for two years. In 1987 she gave birth to their second child, a son. Tatakhe and Nowathile do not send any money to Nowathile's parents who are looking after their first child. Tatakhe, however, remits money home to his parents in Busila, but only every other month since they both receive pensions. Although Tatakhe is going to inherit land from his father, he is eager to settle in Cape Town with his wife and two children provided he can get decent accommodation. Nowathile on the other hand does not like Cape Town and wants to return to the Transkei with her son and be reunited with her daughter.

As this case demonstrates, the wife chose to visit her husband alone and left her daughter with her maternal grandparents. She has not seen her daughter in two years and in the meantime has had another child who was one year old at the time of the interview. In this context, as Jones has noted, in addition to choosing children or leaving them behind "[m]others are also faced with another dilemma: to spend time with their husbands or to devote their attention to their children. And the two desires are by no means always compatible. Mothers therefore attempt to divide their attention between their husbands on the one hand, and their children on the other" (1990:142).

While most of the men (87 or 91%) return to the Transkei yearly, on their annual leave, as evidenced above many wives are down on 'temporary' visits or are living at the compound or in Khayelitsha with some if not all of their children. Although many of the men are happy to have their wives and children with them some did not, however, want their wives in Cape Town as Case 10 above demonstrates. In a few cases men wanted their families to move down to Cape Town on a permanent basis but their wives wanted to remain in the Transkei as seen in Case 14 above.
It has already been mentioned that women are in a vulnerable position in terms of their reliance upon men for accommodation in hostels and that this places men in a powerful position over women. One of the results of such a power imbalance as Ramphele and Boonzaier (1988:156) have suggested is that women are relatively powerless to challenge stereotypical gender roles and tend to become submissive. This appeared to be the case among many of the wives who were interviewed, and was often confirmed by the husbands' attitudes towards their wives. The following case illustrates this type of relationship.

**CASE 15: Sigxuduva in Control**

Sigxuduva is thirty-five and has worked on and off for the company since 1973 when he acquired his job via the labour bureau. His wife Nonzinzile, aged thirty-two first came to Cape Town on a visit in 1982 when her first son was born. She has visited her husband intermittently over the years and has stayed both in Crossroads and Nyanga East. In 1986 she and her husband both lived together in Nyanga East and she gave birth to her second child during this time. At the time of the interview she and their two children, aged 6 and 2 were living at the compound and had been there since 1987. According to Sigxuduva, however, his wife just comes to visit when there are problems and he does not want his family living with him in Cape Town. Nonzinzile stated that she had come to visit in order to produce a family and that her husband wanted her to be a housewife and would not allow her to find work while she was in Cape Town. As she stated her husband was the boss and it was up to him to make decisions about the family.

Husbands, as evidenced in the case above, seemed most opposed to their wives gaining employment. This is borne out by the fact that of the eighteen wives staying at the compound fourteen (78%) were neither employed nor seeking work because their husbands did not want them to. Only one of the wives was employed at the company as a brick packer via a sub-contractor while the other three wives were self-employed (two sold cool drinks and one knitted). Husbands also exercised control over their wives in other spheres such as not letting wives get South African identity documents or even allowing them to come to visit them in Cape Town. As one husband said "I am not going to let my wife get a South African identity document. Besides if my wife came here she would not like to go back to the rural areas".

Wives, on the other hand, can and do manipulate the system of male dominance by resorting to various strategies such as illness. However, as Ramphele and Boonzaier (1988:161) stress, these strategies are themselves located firmly within the system of male dominance since wives and children are seen as an obligatory responsibility of and by their husbands. Not all women, however, accept their subservient role passively. But, as Ramphele and Boonzaier comment "[m]ost women recognise that
they are more likely to get what they want out of marriage if they are seen to possess the 'traditional' female qualities of modesty and deference" (1988:162). It is clear that many of the wives are successful in these terms since once in Cape Town they are often able to extend their visits for considerable periods despite their husbands' wishes that they return to their rural homes. This was illustrated clearly in Case 10 above.

While the wives, girlfriends and children have been discussed primarily in terms of their personal and familial dependency on husbands and bed-holders, the other dependants, the majority of whom are extended family members, are analysed in respect of the ways in which their relationships are utilised to gain access to accommodation and employment in Cape Town.

Extended Family and Home People
Although extended family members (15%) and home people, amakhaya (2%), make up a relatively small number of dependants staying in the compound, an analysis of particular cases reveals the fluid nature of accommodation arrangements and demonstrates kinship as a crucial resource in terms of access to both accommodation and employment.

CASE 16: Kinship as a Resource: Access to a Bed
Mlandeli is twenty-five years old and has worked as a brick packer at the company for four years. He is married and his wife lives in Busila although she comes to Cape Town to visit him. In June of 1987 Mlandeli's cousin, Jackson (fathers' brothers' son) came to Cape Town for the first time in the hopes of gaining employment. Prior to this he had worked in Johannesburg in casual employment. Jackson arrived in Cape Town and visited his cousin, Mlandeli at the compound and asked where he could find accommodation in Cape Town. Mlandeli told him there were many people staying at the compound who were not working for the company and offered him a place to stay and thus Jackson took up residence sleeping on the floor next to Mlandeli's bed.

In 1987 Jackson managed to gain formal employment as a dock worker in the Cape Town harbour. However this was short-lived. He also applied for a South African identity document when officials visited the company in 1987, but he was still waiting to receive this document. At the time of the interview he had just acquired a job working as a casual labourer for a building contractor and was earning R65 per week.

In September 1988 Mlandeli's wife came down to visit and Mlandeli was able through friends to arrange accommodation for them both in Crossroads. During this time Jackson was able to use Mlandeli's bed. However by November Mlandeli's wife had returned to the Transkei and he to the compound, and Jackson went back to sleeping on the floor.
Jackson stated he was desperate to get a better job with a higher salary. His wife and child lived with his mother in Busila and he had been unable to remit regularly due to lack of employment. He had thus been relying on financial help from his cousin and friends and prior to gaining employment had managed to send R50 home to his family in May of 1988. Jackson had last visited home in June 1987, prior to coming to Cape Town, and he had not seen his family since then. He summed up his situation by saying that if he could get the right job with a better salary he would want to settle with his family in Cape Town, but that for the time being they would remain in the Transkei.

Jackson's struggle to gain a job was a familiar plight among many of the dependants who had come to Cape Town seeking employment. In the next case, family members came to Cape Town to look for work and were staying with a bed-holder who already had his wife and two of their children living with him.

CASE 17: Kinship as a Resource: Access to Jobs

Bendiba, aged thirty-three, gained employment at the company in 1981 via the labour bureau. He has lived in the same block during this time and currently works as a brick packer earning R520 per month. His wife, Nophumele, came to Cape Town in the same year and lived in Crossroads until 1986 when she moved to the compound where she has been living with Bendiba since 1986. The couple have four children, the youngest, aged five and one live with them at the compound while the two older children live with Bendiba's parents in Dadamba. Nophumele is in her late twenties and has had no formal education. She is self-employed and earns R60 per week selling liquor. They remit money home to Bendiba's parents on a monthly basis and Nophumele and the children return to the Transkei annually for a two to three month visit. Bendiba stated that he was satisfied working at the company and would like to settle with his wife and children in Cape Town.

In May 1988 three of their relatives arrived in Cape Town for the first time: Nophumele's brother, aged eighteen, and two twenty year old female cousins, from Bendiba's paternal and maternal side respectively. All three were living at the compound with Bendiba, his wife and children.

Nophumele's brother found employment after three months of searching and has now been employed for four months as a casual labourer in the construction industry, earning R80 per month. The paternal cousin had no formal education and had never worked before. She is married and her husband works in Stellenbosch. She finally gained a job in September at the company as a casual brick packer earning R100 a month. She was interested in staying in Cape Town but worried about accommodation and employment - as she pointed out there was no accommodation in Cape Town and that was why she was staying in
a men's hostel. She was also concerned to find a job more suitable for a woman. By November, having failed to secure either, she returned to the Transkei accompanying Bendiba's wife and children who were going home for their annual visit. The maternal cousin who had gained a Standard 3 education had also been employed by the company for three months as a casual brick packer earning the same pay. Like her cousin she was also concerned to find a better job more suitable for women and was interested in staying in Cape Town if she could get better accommodation.

The two cases above serve to demonstrate the difficulty these dependants face in gaining employment, and how often when jobs are finally secured these are usually of a casual and lowly paid nature. Clearly also, in the period between arriving and securing a job, a heavy financial strain is placed on the bed-holders. The bed-holder in Case 17 managed to get his two cousins jobs at the company, but as we have seen neither of them liked the nature of the work or living at a men's compound, and finally, after seven months the married cousin gave up and returned to the Transkei.

Kinship is a crucial resource in terms of access to formal and informal jobs at the company. In this regard 21 (22%) of the bed-holders interviewed had one or more male relatives (either agnatic or cognatic or from both sides) who were formally employed at the company, many of whom shared rooms together. In terms of the dependants, as Case 17 above reveals, bed-holders provide a major means of gaining employment at the company. Thus out of a total of 26 dependants seeking work, 13 (50%) gained jobs as casuals and sub-contracted workers at the company. This includes the two girlfriends and one wife discussed in the previous section. Of the remaining dependants 7 (27%) had casual jobs in the construction industry (this includes the 2 home people), 1 (4%) worked as a farm labourer, 1 (4%) as a domestic and 4 (15%) were still seeking work.

It is clear then that both accommodation and jobs at the company are at a premium. Despite this, the majority (80%) of these dependants want to remain in Cape Town, a clear indication of the difficulties facing them in the Transkei.

There are in addition to these categories of dependants and the 'legal' bed-holders, a number of 'anomalous' bed-holders who, although not employed permanently at the company have through various means managed to secure beds. These 4 people, two males and two females, are discussed briefly below.

---

Gordon (1977:110-111) found that ties with both cognatic and agnatic relatives were stressed and used in terms of job patronage at the mine. In terms of his sample (n=105) only 24% of migrants had no relatives at the mine although many had had relatives there at an earlier period.
In two of the cases 'legal' bed-holders had given up their beds permanently in order to move to the townships and live there with their wives and children. This was the case with one of the female bed-holders who inherited her bed from her brother in 1986 when he moved to Site B in Khayelitsha to be with his family. One of the two men had been given his bed by a home person who had invested in accommodation in Khayelitsha for his family and who had decided to live permanently there with them. The other man was working at the company through a sub-contractor and had inherited his bed in 1986 when the bed-holder he was staying with had retired. The remaining female bed-holder has been living at the compound since 1986 and working at the company as a brick sorter since 1987. Although it was unclear how she had acquired her present status as a bed-holder it appears she had first moved in as a girlfriend to one of the bed-holders.

While these cases are anomalous and few in number, they illustrate some of the alternative processes by which people can obtain beds in their own right.

Thus far I have examined the workers' relationships in terms of origin and home people groupings and examined the various categories of dependants living at the compound in terms of their relation to the bed-holders and the variety of reasons which have brought them to Cape Town. The following section looks at how people have organised the physical space they inhabit.

The Social Organisation of Space

One of the most striking features of the compound is the fluid nature of the informal accommodation arrangements. Given the fact that there is such a severe shortage of accommodation in the Western Cape, the compound, as we have seen, represents a haven to a variety of people, such as wives, children, girlfriends and relatives or friends seeking work. As discussed above, the networks and links between people staying in the compound provide an insight into how relationships are utilised. The following section attempts to explore how physical space is utilised, particularly in a situation of overcrowding and lack of privacy.

I begin this process by comparing one of the new blocks in terms of what the company provides (as seen in Diagram 3 below), with the way in which the residents have transformed this space (as seen in Diagram 4 below).
Diagram 3: New Block - As provided by company

Legend
B = beds: 73cm width x 188cm length x 32cm height
  foam mattress 5cm thick
L = lockers: 45cm depth
S = Sinks
Sh = Showers
T = Toilets
U = Urinal

In examining Diagram 3 it is clear that the company provided the bare essentials for its migrant workforce in terms of single beds, each with a foam mattress, and a limited number of lockers (four per room) in which to store personal belongings. Given the dimensions of the rooms the average space between beds is less than a meter leaving very little space for any activities other than using the rooms for sleeping. If the beds are occupied by one person only, the average space per person is 4,6m². With the introduction of dependants, space is even more circumscribed, and the average space falls to 2,6m². For the old blocks when dependants are present, the average drops from 4,6m² to 1,5m² per person. However, as seen in Diagrams 4 and 5 below, the rooms have been adapted in an attempt to create more space.

Diagram 4: New Block - As improved by residents
In looking at Diagram 4 (and Diagram 5 below) it is clear that the people living in these blocks have arranged the beds and furniture in such a way as to create their own personal space and privacy. Thus some beds have been turned sideways or put together resulting in an increase in floor space which is utilised for other activities, chief among these is preparing food and cooking. Home-made furniture such as cupboards and lockers have been arranged in some cases to act as partitions between beds shielding them from view and creating a modicum of privacy. To this end wires are also strung up between beds to curtain them off one from the other.

Diagram 5: Old Block - As improved by residents

Lack of space for personal belongings is a major problem that residents have to face and thus one finds every available nook and cranny utilised. One of the most obvious ways of creating space is to raise the height of the beds to increase storage space. This is done by using bricks and old paint cans. In addition clothes bags hang from the walls and suitcases are stacked on top of lockers and the space underneath tables is also used to store kitchen utensils. In some instances wooden planks have been laid over ablution room cubicles creating storage space and some of the ablution facilities which are not functioning quickly become repositories for goods ranging from a bicycle to plastic drums.

As mentioned above the addition of home-made furniture such as cuboards, tables and benches are a much needed supplement to the beds and lockers provided by the company. In addition to this some of the rooms have chairs, car seats, stereos, refrigerators and in one instance a deep freeze. The latter electrical equipment had been wired into the existing power
All of these additions help to improve the quality of life for residents and to this end attempts have been made to decorate some of the rooms with magazine pictures and posters. The rooms nevertheless remain congested, especially at night when the floor space is taken over for sleeping.

**Sleeping Arrangements**

Wives and very young children tend to sleep in the beds with their husbands, although, some husbands let their wives and children use the bed space while they sleep on the floor. Apart from girlfriends the rest of the dependants all utilise the floor space for sleeping, using foam mattresses which are rolled up and stored under beds during the day. At night some of the more crowded blocks literally turn into a sea of bodies. One informant, who lived in one of the old blocks (refer to Diagram 5 above) talked about the overcrowding in this way:

> newcomers and visitors come and stay here in the hostel [block] while looking for a place to stay. They mostly come from the Transkei and sometimes stay for up to two months - sometimes there have been as many as forty people staying in this room - sometimes as many as two or three people [per bed-holder]. They are given one foam mattress each, sometimes from the [bed-holder's] bed and they sleep on the floor between beds. They don't sleep in the aisle from the entrance to the stove and they don't sleep in the aisle leading to the toilets due to mobility. People have to be able to move around. The overcrowding is particularly bad between August and November. People have nothing to do in the Transkei and it's not raining here in Cape Town so they come and visit until December, when the fields need caring for, and circumcision and the traditional gathering time takes place. Me, I stay alone here. My wife and children come down to Cape Town to visit twice a year but I would never have them stay here! We go to my uncle's house in Guguletu and I give my bed to someone I know and trust during that time.

Some of the sleeping arrangements are not straight forward as the case below demonstrates.

**CASE 18 Alternating Rooms**

One of the dependants stayed in a particular block during the day but slept in another at night. This occurred in one of the smallest of the old blocks which measured 30m² and contained six beds. This was due, no doubt, to lack of space and the fact she was the only female dependant. The dependant, in this case a sister of one of the bed-holders, spent her time in his block during the day which she kept spotless but slept in another block at night. At the time of the interview Nothulezima had just finished cleaning the room and mentioned
that she cleaned the room even though she didn't sleep there because "it's my two brothers and brother-in-law who stay here and men couldn't do without a woman to help - they depend on us". She had been staying at the compound for a little over a month and prior to this had been oscillating between her home in Busila and Crossroads where she had lived for most of 1987. She stated that she used to visit the compound when her husband had worked for the company and that she was sleeping in the block where he used to live because she knew people from home there.

In the early evening the compound is alive with activity with a number of cars and kombis arriving to drop people off and take people to the townships for the night. Some of the men whose families live in the townships are part of this general nightly exodus. These men come off shift, shower and change and are on their way to their families within half an hour of getting off work. The atmosphere at night is in marked contrast to the slow pace during the day when women and children predominate at the compound.

Daily Activities
The daily activities start in the early morning, and as at night, traffic is brisk with those going off to work elsewhere as well as men returning from the townships to start the work day. With the strain on the facilities caused by increased usage many people complained that running water was not available in the early morning and only came on by 8:00-8:30am by which time men had to go to work without washing, and some people felt that this was deliberate harassment from the company management. With the men at work most women spend their day cleaning and sweeping the endless dust which blows in from the brickworks. Preparing food, washing clothes and looking after young children take up much of the day. In some of the rooms women get together and do these activities jointly and a sense of camaraderie is evident. Some of the rooms are much cleaner than others and one informant, Nolast (introduced in Case 10), commented on the difference between rooms: "some of the women staying here are very messy. If they cut bread they just leave the crumbs to fall on the floor and don't bother to sweep them away. That is why some of the rooms are so dirty".

Although the company employs someone to sweep the rooms and clean the toilets regularly, the overcrowding makes this a difficult task. Thus unless the residents organise themselves or female dependants take on these duties the rooms, and especially the ablution facilities, quickly become dirty and unhygienic as was found to be the case in particular blocks.

In a situation of makeshift facilities food preparation takes up a large amount of time and in this regard apart from gathering utyuthu (wild spinach) food has to be purchased. Shops are at least five kilometres away, apart from a cafe
situated at the bottom of the road. This means that some women rely on others who have access to transport and who buy vegetables and goods in bulk. One woman did quite a brisk business with other women sending their children to buy vegetables from her. Likewise offal is cleaned and sold by some women as are sheep's heads, although these latter are cooked in a big drum some distance from the compound. Some women sell cool drinks and liquor and during the day a brisk business is conducted selling cool drinks, especially to children. Beer is also brewed outside the compound beside the track. During fieldwork, however, this entire area was bulldozed by the company and the women had to relocate their operation further away in the bushes.

In addition to these means of obtaining goods, informal sector operators from the townships visit the compound and conduct a roaring trade selling a variety of goods from meat and produce to second-hand clothes. When they arrive everyone stops whatever task they are doing and rushes out to look for bargains. On one particular occasion I was left interviewing thin air until the woman returned some twenty minutes later well satisfied with her purchases. A local farmer has also included the compound on his rounds arriving late in the afternoon at least twice a week to sell amasi (sour milk).

A few of the workers also earn extra money after work by selling liquor. On a smaller scale one man earned R10 per month sewing and another enterprising man earned money with his knitting machine as well as selling vetkoek which he made himself and which were very popular.

During the day children spend their time playing together. Football is very popular with the older children while the younger ones play with small toys they construct themselves, and until the compound was paved, enjoyed playing in the mud. Unlike the municipal hostels which are located near schools and creches, there are no such facilities located near the compound, and thus these children are left to their own devices for the length of time they live at the compound.

The older male teenagers who were dependants in the sample were all employed. Some of the teenagers who live at the compound have not been able to find employment or are just visiting. Thus some spend their time looking for employment while others spend their time playing football or 'hanging around the compound together'. In this regard the old kitchen had clearly been taken over as a teenagers' domain, and on many occasions during fieldwork teenagers where found gathered there often smoking cigarettes and dagga.

Segar (1988: 19) notes that of the children surveyed in Cape Town hostels who had access to education or daycare facilities, 42% of those aged 6-15 were attending school and 15% under 6 years of age were attending creches.
In terms of recreation most companies have made some provision for the leisure time of their migrant workforce and in this regard the company has a company soccer team which plays against other company teams in the vicinity. The soccer 'field' is a pitch devoid of grass. The younger men employed by the company are enthusiastic and spend a great deal of time practising after work. The only other form of recreational entertainment provided by the company is a large black and white television set which is mounted on the wall in the now defunct dining hall.

Due to the limited recreational activities it is not surprising to find that drinking is one of the main forms of recreation. As mentioned above, a few of those interviewed sold liquor, and one room in particular appeared to be the 'shebeen'. This room was filled with crates of cool drinks, beer, wine and spirits in addition to having a fridge and stereo and appeared to have a large clientele with noise and loud music issuing forth every evening. On one occasion while interviewing residents in this room, a very inebriated woman entered and wanted to buy some alcohol. She mentioned that she 'lived in the forest' but came to the compound to drink. One of the men who was on his way to the township where he lived pointed to her and said "My bed is in the block next door but I prefer to live in the township. I don't want to stay in the compound with people like her". Although a few other rooms in the compound were filled with crates of beer for sale they did not appear to be 'shebeens' on the same scale as the room described above. Apart from the socialising and drinking which takes place in the rooms the younger residents organise a disco every fortnight. This is held in the old dining hall which makes a perfect venue as it is a large room in which the existing trestle tables and benches can be rearranged and stacked for dancing. Upcoming discos are advertised by way of a hand-written notice which is posted at the entrance on the compound gate. Although I did not attend any of these discos evidence of a party taking place took the form of broken beer bottles and a strong smell of liquor in the dining hall the next day. The kitchen adjoining the dining hall, which still houses the four cooking vats, has also been put to use as a 'gym' with the introduction of a makeshift punching bag.

For purposes of analysis the categories of dependants staying at the compound were divided into two groups, but in many cases both groups of dependants were living with bed-holders as already illustrated in Case 17 above. Likewise in terms of spatial organisation a variety of spatial groupings were observed which embrace the compound and Cape Town townships as

---

In his survey of two Port Nolloth compounds West (1987:57) found that organized leisure activities included soccer clubs and choral singing. Besides sports teams McNamara's study of hostel life in the gold mining industry notes the importance of hostel beer-halls or bars which are provided by the mines and which are "the most accessible recreational outlet for residents who claim that they have 'nothing to do but drink'" (1980:311)

---

91
well as the Transkei. The three examples detailed below serve to illustrate the complexities of dependency relations and social organisation.

Hakilli first came to Cape Town in the 1960's and has worked for the company for over twenty years. He has a wife, Ntoyakhe, and six children. His wife is currently living with him at the compound having arrived in 1988 to take up residence. She has visited him often over the years and in 1987 was able to get a South African identity document via the company. His eldest son, Boysen, is thirty years old and had worked in Johannesburg on contract for a number of years before coming to Cape Town for the first time in 1984. Although Boysen got his job at the company formally via the labour bureau his father recommended him for the job and he worked for one year before being retrenched in 1985. It is not clear what he did up to 1987 when he was rehired by the company. In this period he lived in Site C in Khayelitsha and returned to the compound to live when he was rehired. For the last year he has worked as a labourer earning the same amount as his father (R115 per week). Boysen lives in a different block from his parents.

Boysen's wife and child came to Cape Town to visit for the first time in 1988. Boysen arranged accommodation for them in Site C in Khayelitsha where they were staying at the time of the interview. Boysen did not like the idea of his wife being down in Cape Town stating he was afraid she would not want to go back to the rural areas, and refused to allow her or his child to come and stay at the compound.

Boysen's siblings (three sisters and two brothers) live at
their natal homestead in Qumanco, Saint Marks. Boysen's father has a small amount of land since the Trust came in 1978 and Boysen himself has very few livestock. Boysen and his father remit home R100 each month and Boysen is eventually going to inherit his father's land.

Naniphi is thirty-two years old and has been working at the company since 1987. His father's brother who is employed by the company recommended him for the job. Both live in the same room together. Naniphi's sister lives in Guguletu township in Cape Town. In September 1988 Naniphi's wife, Nophelo and his ten year old son, Sandi, came to Cape Town due to his wife being ill. Nophelo is staying with Naniphi's sister in Guguletu while Sandi is staying with his father at the compound. The only adult at Naniphi's natal home in Busila is his mother who is looking after his two children while his wife is getting treatment in Cape Town. Naniphi is the only person remitting money home.
Jackson, aged fifty-nine, has been working for the company since 1954. Prior to this he worked in Johannesburg on the mines. He is married and has five daughters and one son. Jackson's brother's son is employed at the company and Jackson stated he had been responsible for his nephew acquiring his job. His nephew lives in another block. The only family member to visit Cape Town has been one of his daughters, Nontyongozayo, aged twenty-eight, who arrived in Cape Town for the first time in 1987. Her husband is working in Cape Town and living in Langa, but she stays with her father because she is employed as a casual worker at the company. Nontyongozayo's father was also responsible for getting her a job at the company. Nontyongozayo was able to acquire a South African identity document through the company and wants to settle in Cape Town and continue to work for the company. Jackson was unsure about where he would settle in the future stating he would decide when he went on pension. He was the only person remitting money home to his wife in Qumanco, Saint Marks and thus sent most of his salary home.

As this chapter has demonstrated, the world of the compound is a complex, fluid and dynamic one. There appears to be a constant movement of people between the compound, the rural areas and the townships as the men, their families, relatives and friends attempt to construct a life under circumstances that have been severely constrained.

The migrant labour system, the legacies of influx control, rural poverty, and urban underdevelopment have all contributed to situations to which individuals have had to adapt. Simultaneously however, as the micro-data reveals, they have been able to modify and manipulate circumstances where possible to ameliorate their conditions.
THE COMPOUND EXPERIENCE: EXTERNAL DETERMINANTS AND MULTIPLE DISCOURSES

Introduction
The history of the compound as discussed in Chapter Three reveals that, in its earlier years, it was not a 'total institution' in the sense described by West (1982:49), for it was only in the mid-1960's that it was enclosed by a brick wall, and a compound manager and guards installed. This transformation from an 'open' to a 'closed' compound should be understood in terms of the intensification of the CLPP in the Western Cape, and in particular, the amendment to the 1965 Black Labour Regulations which stipulated the procedures for employment of African migrant workers as well as specifying the type of accommodation deemed suitable.

A more specific story unfolds which places the workers at the centre of this transformation, and illustrates the significance of micro-level research.

The Compound Experience: External Determinants and Multiple Discourses
According to two elderly informants who had both started working for the company in the 1950's, it was the workers themselves who requested that the compound be walled and a guard installed. As one informant recalled in detail:

I first came to work at the company in the mid-1950's - I don't remember the exact year. At that time the company was much smaller and used to produce pipes. In the early days there were no toilets, sinks or showers and we used to wash outside. There was no wall around the hostels they were the only buildings here. There were only about 10 men living here then - and most of them came from Nyasaland because the old owners came from Rhodesia and brought their own workers with them. After that the company used to send a recruiter to the Transkei from town to town recruiting workers. During my second time working for the company, it was around 1965, we were suffering from theft. People from the local coloured township would steal our clothes hanging on the wash lines and our radios while we were at work. There was also a problem with people arriving at night from the Transkei. We negotiated with the company about having a wall put around the hostels and a guard at the gate for our own protection - yes a yard for our own protection and a waiting room. The security guard and wall was from our own suggestion.

Thus, while the compound did go through a 'total institution'-type phase which severely circumscribed the workers' freedom, it is clear from the above that it did not start out as such...
and that the workers actually negotiated to have the more repressive elements (wall and guard) added.

This example sheds light on the workers' interactions with their employer and illustrates their position, not as passive subjects and recipients of external forces, such as the compound system, but as actors who actively manipulate the system in their own self-interest. Thus, as we have seen in Chapter Three, they were able, decades later in 1985, to reverse their earlier position and force the company to remove the compound manager and guards.

The complex nature of these discourses which construct views about the compound experience is further illustrated through responses to the current issue of overcrowding. As we have seen, the compound is overcrowded by various categories of dependants, and, as was demonstrated in the previous two chapters, this has placed a considerable strain both on facilities, and on employer-worker relations. Two sets of contrasting views emerged here in understanding the situation. For example, the sporadic water supply (caused by over-usage) is interpreted by workers and the people living in the compound as a deliberate form of harassment by company management. Management have different perceptions:

**Overcrowding at the compound is a real problem. Many of the people staying at the compound are not the workers' wives or people who work for the company. In the morning I see a stream of people leaving the compound. I've got 250 employees but I know them, I know their faces. The water supply to the compound is also taking strain with this overcrowding. It's used constantly now, whereas before the workers really only used it in the evenings after work. The police know about the overcrowding, they have raided the compound twice - once without them forewarning me. In the last raid one man was apprehended for dagga and taken away. There is dagga, liquor and women there! The police are pressuring me. I know the head of the police [in the municipal area] - I can keep them away but not indefinitely. There are also lots of people squatting on our land in the bush, it's a big problem. [interview with the Managing Director]

These people hold a disco here in the compound dining hall every fortnight and they get drunk and stabbings occur. It's disgusting they make a mess of the place. [interview with Labour Officer]

It is clear that both company management and the workers have negative perceptions about one another in terms of the situation at the compound. This situation is further complicated by the operation of 'outside forces, and it is clear that the company feels pressured by the police. Police have raided the compound twice, once in 1985 when people were arrested for 'dompas' offenses, and more recently in May 1988 when one man was arrested for possessing dagga. One of the
informants provided details of the second raid:

It was 10:00am on a Saturday morning. Many police came, both white and coloured. They came into the room and asked you to open your locker and if you didn't they would just grab anything. They took a television, money and clothes from one of the blocks and also arrested someone for dagga. But this is the only thing that has happened since the dompas was abolished. Before that we used to be harassed and woken up rudely here in the compound by police for passes.

With the demise of influx control legislation, police have used other reasons to raid the compound. In the case cited above, the police raided the compound looking for drugs. In other areas, however, raids have occurred in which people staying in hostels were arrested under the Trespass Act. Despite the above mentioned constraints the compound represented viable accommodation for many of the workers. In examining workers' attitudes it was found that over half of the workers (50 or 52%) wanted to remain at the compound and did not want families to move in with them. This finding confirms what many employers found in terms of their own workforces, namely that workers wanted to retain the hostel system and were not interested in having their families living with them. Herein lies one of the paradoxes of the compound system: the legal demise of an apparently abhorrent institution is not supported by its supposed victims. This viewpoint is further reflected in details of the workers' reactions and understandings which are explored below.

The workers' attitudes towards upgrading of accommodation can be divided into two major responses: those who were against upgrading and those who were in favour of it. Seventy-two (75%) wanted upgrading, while twenty-four (25%) were against it. It is clear that a significant proportion of the workers were not interested in any changes being made to their present accommodation. The main reason given for this was their heavy investment in their homes in the Transkei. The most frequent response was "we are only here to work - not for comfort".

It should be remembered that the company was not charging workers for rent, electricity, water or coal and with minimal living expenses in the urban area workers were able to send regular cash remittances to their families and homes in the Transkei. Thus in terms of upgrading, workers were worried that they would have to contribute financially or pay rental for accommodation and that this would have serious implications for the size of their remittances with a consequently negative impact on the quality of life for their families in the Transkei.

The 72 workers who wanted upgrading can again be divided into two groups: those who wanted family accommodation (46 or 64%) and those who wanted single sex accommodation (26 or 36%). Of those who want family accommodation, the average number of
bedrooms specified was two. Of those who wanted single sex accommodation half the workers stated they would prefer private bedrooms while the other half stated they would be prepared to share a bedroom with between one to four people. Overall, in terms of additional rooms, the majority of these workers stated they would like a kitchen and ablution room. In addition some of the workers specifically stated they would like such things as dining rooms, electricity and running water.

The above illustrates the variation in response to the question of what type of accommodation workers wanted. A few of the workers had very clear ideas of what they wanted while many were unsure. One of the major points of concern for workers was whether the cost of upgrading accommodation would be carried by the company or whether the individual worker would be made to contribute financially in the form of rent. Given this uncertainty, responses varied considerably as to how much rent per month people were willing to pay for upgraded accommodation. Answers ranged from less than R5 per month (8%), to 'whatever it costs' (10%). The average amount for those who specified figures was in the region of R23 per month.

The company, however, has its own ideas concerning the problem of overcrowding and illegal occupation of their compound and of the form upgrading of the compound would take. As the Managing Director explained, the company wants the compound upgraded as single-sex accommodation for male workers. It is envisaged that those workers who have wives and families staying at the compound must get involved in the housing policy loan scheme the company is offering. This, however, means they would have to move to the townships in order to take advantage of the scheme. It would also mean incurring rental and other costs well in excess of what they are apparently willing to pay. There are clearly hard economic realities which affect both workers' and employers' responses.

This mismatch between management's ideas and workers' expectations concerning housing and the upgrading of compound accommodation is seen in another area of contention. Although 50 of the workers (52%) did not want any changes to the compound or family accommodation, many nevertheless have grown used to having their families come and visit them at the compound and want their families to be able to continue doing so, a situation which would contradict company policy.

If employers on the local level have expressed their difficulties with the hostel system, so too, on a national level, have major employers in the private sector articulated their views of the system of migrant labour and influx control (Oppenheimer, 1985; Reilly, 1985; Godsell, 1985). Their similar, if broader, attitudes are demonstrated in the following quotation:
The shift that has taken place in the sixties and seventies, which has seen the black part of South Africa's labour force moving towards a status of permanent, semi-skilled or skilled, union-represented employees, has created a conflict with the 'temporary sojourner' status of so-called migrant or contract workers.

Influx control must be a concern for the business community as it affects directly the relationship between employer and employee. Influx control is a problem for business for a number of important reasons: ... it is a highly inefficient system of allocating labour. The present influx control system works on the principle that the employer must find the aspirant employee through a black rural recruitment process. The history of industrialisation around the world shows in practice that the prospective worker goes off in search of employment - the worker seeks work; the employer does not seek a prospective worker ... permanent oscillating migration obstructs the development of a mature employment relationship, and frustrates career-type aspirations on the part of management and workers. It also divides the labour force along arbitrary and unnecessary lines ... (Godsell, 1985:305-306).

On the national level, views such as these from the private sector were a major force in pressuring the government to abolish influx control legislation, and as such illustrate "the power of business to shape reality" (Godsell, 1985:304). Despite these sentiments however, private enterprises' responses in the Western Cape among major employers can be characterised for the most part as a continuation of the existing status quo with little involvement in the key area of employee housing. This is perhaps not surprising given that, in terms of the 'orderly urbanisation' policy, the costs of urbanisation will not be borne by the state but by private enterprise, local government, and those individuals who can least afford it (see Chapter One). Further, as Chapter Two indicates, such private sector development that has taken place has, for the most part, not been aimed at the area of greatest need, low-cost sub-economic housing. It is not surprising in this light then, that employers are reluctant to provide accommodation for the families of migrant workers, and equally, it is possible to understand why migrants are reluctant to leave the compounds.

It is clear that despite national changes in legislation, just as previous legal and other constraints were manipulated on a local level, so too will the next round of changes be mediated by the interaction between employers and workers. Clearly, too, where there are wide differences of interpretation of events, as indicated above, policy changes at company level will reflect the consequent ambivalencies, ambiguities and uncertainties of the actors concerned.
The Compound Experience: Being a Migrant

In contrast to the common view of migrants as an homogenous category, compound life demonstrates how workers have been active in attempting to construct meanings in their divided lives. This section further illustrates this on two levels. Firstly, worker responses to employment and related practices are examined. And, secondly, on a personal level, the ways in which migrants deal with the rural-urban divide are analysed.

Many authors (Hindson, 1987b; Savage, 1984; Zille, 1984) have argued that state policies, particularly in the 1970's, were aimed at dividing the labour force and at exacerbating the insider/outsider division. Thus, as Hindson (1987b:84) has argued, a natural consequence of this policy was a protection of urban Africans from rural competition through intensified influx control. The attempt by the state to create an insider/outsider division appears to have been successful to a certain extent in the Western Cape. An executive of the Cape Chamber of Industries commented on his perceptions of this division in industry.

Within the building/civil engineering industry black long-term residents are afraid of the new influx of blacks. There is definitely an 'ingroup' and 'outgroup'. The section 10 resident blacks [tend] to be employed in the service industry. Those without section 10 rights are itinerant and tend to be employed in construction. They see themselves as a particular group - hostel dwellers. They want to maintain the group so they tend to replace themselves with relatives by word of mouth.

In terms of employment, major representatives of the private sector noted that "[r]estricting the supply of unskilled people enhances the demand for, and the price of skilled labour. We therefore have to reckon that organised labour, which increasingly will include black unions, could have a vested interest in supporting influx control" (Reilly, 1985:299).

This apparently anomolous position was seen in Chapter One, where it was noted that the initial response of some trade unions to the abolition of influx control legislation and the new measures was either hostility or indifference, with little careful analysis of the implications of the new system, nor even a monitoring of its implementation. One union official actually reminisced about the 'good old days' of influx control in terms of housing and the ability to organise workers:

[h]ousing is the major problem. We've got a number of people who are coming to us for help. Employers are no longer - you know, like the good old days when there were hostels. Now the workers have to build a shack and have their home in Transkei.
Also under influx control when workers lived in hostels it was much easier to organise. Now it's a problem. Now they're in Crossroads, Site B and C in Khayelitsha - all over the place. The abolition has made people worse off in terms of housing.

There were two occasions in '85 with a lot of tension going on. People came from the Ciskei and Transkei into Cape Town. They were occupying the hostels. The employers got mad. Where there used to be 5 people staying there were now 20. The employers said 'we get the penalties' and cut it off.

One company wanted no women allowed through the gates - even women [union] organisers. After the RTC [1986 Crossroads] blow-up the workers moved their families in. We reached an agreement to have the families there while they were looking for alternative accommodation. The company did a survey there and found three-quarters of the workers wanted to stay in hostels. The employers are pushing for home ownership while refusing to keep up or upgrade their hostels.

This tends to confirm the findings among employers in terms of their accommodation policies. In considering the issues of union action and worker organisation one employer commented that unions were practising selective membership protection.

After the abolition of influx control we retrenched a number of workers while they were still in the Transkei. This was done in full co-operation with the union. Now we have a permanent urban workforce. The unions are most probably protecting their members here. In terms of union membership the hostel at Fisantekraal is 90% unionised as compared with here at Khayamandi where workers are scattered and unionisation is much weaker - around 50%.

While this may be one response on the part of some unions, employers have also utilised the abolition for their own purposes. In one instance as we have seen (Case 3, Chapter Two), a major employer broke strike action by gaining an informal legal exemption one year prior to the abolition of influx control legislation. The employer was able to fire some 2,900 striking workers with impunity, and to rehire locally without following the laid-down procedures. One union official, referring to this incident, commented that the union now had a very small membership at the company since the strike. The consequences of strike action did not however stop workers there from going on strike in 1986 over the issue of trespass charges which were laid by the company when workers refused to leave the hostels which the company wanted to close.

To return to the compound study, as Chapter Three showed, dissatisfaction with living conditions also prompted a revolt by workers, the consequence of which was that the company, to a large extent, lost control of the compound. As a result it appears that, between 1985 and 1988, there was no effort made
to control access to compound accommodation.

From the examples cited above it is clear that migrant workers are involved in various forms of action at the workplace, albeit some far more successful than others. In recognising these as important instances of political action, some of the fallacies surrounding migrant workers need to be examined. Southall (1986) has argued against the myth of "the migrant" as a reluctant unionist as well as the current analytical confusions which exist because of the way in which migrant workers have been stereotyped and conceptualised as an homogeneous category. In discussing the views concerning migrant workers, Southall observes that:

[m]igrancy is so widely viewed as forming a major obstacle to progressive trade unionism primarily because migrant workers are seen as subject to extreme coercion and control. This system revolves around the operation of influx control (which keeps surplus Africans out of white areas) via the compounds and hostels, wherein migrants are entombed for months of end. Such a system, writes John Rex, ensures that the migrant "can be effectively sealed off from subversive forces which might lead to his trying to join a union to bargain over the price of his labour" (1974, 8). In essence migrants are often portrayed as a sub-proletarian species with little prospect of ascending labour's evolutionary ladder.

Accordingly, migrants are viewed as predisposed to quiescence in that, as contract workers, their access to the labour market is governed by the state on an essentially conditional basis. Not only are they compelled to return from their place of employment to a labour reserve at regularly defined intervals, but also they are "restricted in their choice of jobs through the labour bureau (allocation) system and in their bargaining power by fears of being endorsed out" (Webster 1979, 66). In other words migrants are only one step away from enrolment in the reserve army of labour that is located in the Bantustans. Similarly, whilst urban workers, too, are subject to the deprivations of the cheap labour economy, migrant workers are more poorly paid and do not have the alternative of participation in the informal sector which provides a meagre livelihood for numbers of the unemployed in towns (Southall, 1986:162).

It is important to take issue with a number of points raised in the above quote concerning migrant workers. Firstly, as we have seen, influx control was not successful in keeping Africans out of prescribed urban areas and in this regard the concept of influx control as a smoothly running monolithic system is not supported by the reality of thousands of squatters living around the metropolitan areas of 'white' South Africa. Secondly, as evidenced by the compound study, not all compounds and hostels can be considered as 'total
institutions' of coercion and control, and in this regard as we have seen, some trade union officials have acknowledged that hostels provided ideal sites in which to organise workers. Finally, the compound study and others (see Gilmour, 1987), show that access to the labour market is not governed exclusively by the state via labour bureaux. Thus, even in the period in which the Western Cape experienced an intensification of influx control measures in terms of the CLPP, migrant workers were still able to acquire jobs through informal networks and familial connections.

On the level of their personal lives, in terms of influx control legislation, migrant workers and their families have however had no choice concerning urbanisation and families have been divided and fragmented for generations. Reynolds records the anguish and plight of many migrant workers separated from their families by the migrant labour system and influx control:

Zinzani spoke for many men when he explained what he desires most in life. He said, "I would like to have a house of my own in the city where I would live with my family knowing that it is mine. If the Government makes me return to the Transkei to renew my contract or re-locate my home, I can return to the city without fear because I know that I would be returning to my own house and family" (1984:30).

But, for all those who want their families to live with them, many have not had visits from relatives, nor do they want their families visiting them in Cape Town. These workers see themselves as oriented towards the Transkei, and as Chapter Four demonstrated, many of these men and their wives view Cape Town only in terms of a place of work.

One of the strategies utilised to maintain this orientation is the ritualisation of migrancy. In this regard McAllister (1991) illustrates how migrant labour has been ritualised among certain people as a way of resisting total incorporation into the dominant political economy. This has been through the ideology of 'building the homestead', where migrants are exhorted by their families and communities to go to work in order to build up the rural base. Thus through ritual expression, the anomaly of being central to and yet distant from the homestead is resolved.

As indicated in Chapter Four, the attitudes of many of the men working at the company are similar in outlook to those in McAllister's field area. Indeed, in the Transkei they live in physical proximity to the locations he studied in the Willowvale District. Clearly, this ritualisation of migrant life provides meaning and motivation for people, but as McAllister notes, this resistance ideology has a material basis which is vital in order to sustain it. But, as my work confirms, he details how, in the late 1980's and early 1990's,
this material base has been steadily eroded both through job scarcity and high levels of unemployment in 'white' South Africa (see Crush, 1987), and through Betterment Planning within the Transkei.

Another strategy which has been used to sustain the rural-urban division is oscillation (see Chapter Four). This has been used particularly by women in an attempt to keep both personal relationships with their husbands and a rural base in the 'homeland'. Thus, rather than there being an influx of people who wish to urbanise permanently, the phenomenon of oscillation and circulatory migration appears to have increased since the abolition of influx control legislation as freedom of movement is no longer circumscribed (see also Mabin 1991). The consequences of this for housing and urbanisation policies are immense and as Dewar et al (1991:33) note, considerably more needs to be known about the dimensions of the phenomenon, and likewise, planning approaches need to be more flexible.

Conclusions
As this chapter has suggested, the company compound on the micro-level has provided an ideal entry point for understanding how institutions are affected by macro policy changes. By focussing on the company compound and tracing the external determinants which affect it, wider linkages within society have been revealed. The value of the micro study is demonstrated in its ability to illuminate various processes which may remain hidden or obscured at the more general level of investigation. In addition, the research findings at this micro-level have informed the more general interview data as well as the larger macro-level theoretical analyses.

Although the micro-level situation is mediated by complex sets of interactions, it is apparent that the long awaited abolition of influx control has been replaced on a macro-level with far more complex and subtle forms of control. Despite the repeal of key legislation expressly formulated to control and direct the lives of Africans, this has been substituted with, on the one hand, ostensibly racially neutral measures such as the new South African Identity Document and Squatting and Slums Acts, and on the other, through simple recourse to a wide variety of laws existing on South Africa's statute books which continue to circumscribe African rights. Thus while influx control in its narrow form has been abolished, it is imperative to recognise that the 'orderly urbanisation' policy which has been erected in its place constitutes a continuation with rather than a radical departure from the past.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Author(s)</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Publisher/Details</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>The Argus</td>
<td>Daily newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Business Day</td>
<td>Daily newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cape Times</td>
<td>Daily newspaper</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corder, H</td>
<td>The legal position of Africans in the Western Cape, text of speech delivered at the Congress of the Society of the University Teachers of Law, held in Durban, July 1987.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Author(s)</td>
<td>Title</td>
<td>Details</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-----------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Godsell, R

Gordon, R J

Hammond-Tooke, W D

Hendler, P

Hindson, D
Orderly urbanisation and influx control: from territorial apartheid to regional spacial ordering in South Africa. In; R Tomlinson and M Addleson (eds). 1987a.

Humphries, R

James, D

Jankowitz, E

Jones, S W

Lindblom, C E

Lye, W F & Murray, C
Mabin, A

Mayer, P & Mayer, I

Mayer, P (ed)

McAllister, P A

McNamara, J K

Moodie, D

Moss, G & Obery, I (eds)

Niehaus, I
Domestic dynamics and wage labour: a case study among urban residents in QwaQwa. Paper Presented to the Conference of South African Anthropologists, University of Cape Town. 1987.

Oppenheimer, H F

Ramphele, M & Segar, J
Cumulative deprivation - the legacy of the migratory labour system in the Western Cape - a pilot study report. Paper Presented to the post-graduate seminar, Department of Social Anthropology, University of Cape Town. 1987.

Ramphele, M & Boonzaier, E

Relly, G
Reynolds, P

Rex, J
"The compound, the reserve and the urban location." In; R Southall (1986). 1974.

Robertson, M K

Savage, M

Schoombee, J & Davis, D

Seekings, J; Graaff, J & Joubert, P

Segar, J


Sikhakhane, J

Simon, H A

Sharp, J & Spiegel, A D

South
Weekly newspaper

Southall, R

South African Institute of Race Relations
Quarterly Countdown Three, Third Quarter Johannesburg, SAIRR. 1986.


Official government-issued publications and reports

South Africa, Republic of


Transkei, Republic of

To anybody interested in what is happening in Southern Africa at the present time, it is clear that an understanding of changes taking place in the field of labour is crucial. The whole debate about the political implications of economic growth, for example, revolves very largely around different assessments of the role of black workers in the mines and factories of the Republic. Many of the questions with which people involved in Southern Africa are now concerned relate, in one way or another, to the field generally set aside for labour economists to cultivate. The impact of trade unions; the causes of unemployment; the economic consequences of different educational policies; the determination of wage structures; the economics of discrimination; all these and more are matters with which labour economists have been wrestling over the years in various parts of the world.

At the same time there are many who would argue that these issues are far wider than can be contained within the narrow context of ‘labour economics’. These issues, it is pointed out, go to the heart of the whole nature of development. In recent studies, commissioned by the International Labour Office, of development problems in Columbia, Sri Lanka, and Kenya, for example, leading scholars have identified the three crucial issues facing these countries as being poverty, unemployment, and the distribution of income. Thus the distinction between labour and development studies is becoming more blurred as economists come face to face with problems of real life in the Third World.

It is here too that an increasing number of people are coming to see that study of the political economy of South Africa must not be done on the assumption that the problems there are absolutely different from those facing other parts of the world. Indeed it can be argued that far from being an isolated, special case, South Africa is a model of the whole world containing within it all the divisions and tensions (black/white; rich/poor; migrant/nonmigrant; capitalist west/third-world; etc.) that may be seen in global perspective. Be that as it may, the fact remains that the economy of Southern Africa (for the political and economic boundaries are singularly out of line with each other) is one of the most fascinating in the world. It is one on which far more research work needs to be done, and about which further understanding of the forces at work is urgently required. It is in order to attempt to contribute to such an understanding that Saldru is issuing these working papers.