SECOND CARNEGIE INQUIRY INTO POVERTY
AND DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Men without children
by
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I am grateful to the men of Guguletu and Langa who spent many hours talking to me at some risk to themselves. My thanks are due to my assistant for his patience and commitment to the work, and to Dave Roche-Kelly for gathering data for me.
One is never completely relieved of responsibility and complicity vis-a-vis the society to which one belongs.

Henrik Ibsen.

INTRODUCTION

Let us begin with a van der Merwe joke. Only it is not a joke. The Minister of Health, Dr. Nak van der Merwe, in introducing the Child Care Bill to Parliament acknowledged the general concept that the family was the normal social and biological structure in which the child should develop (The Argus, 10 May 1983). Yet in 1983, the children of many migrants were denied the possibility of living with their fathers for eleven months and one week, 94 per cent of the year. And not only in 1983. Many children are denied the possibility of living with their fathers for year upon year: sometimes for their entire childhood. They are denied the right to develop within what Dr. van der Merwe concedes to be the normal social and biological structure.

The conditions under which migrants in South Africa work are sufficiently well documented to relieve me of the task of laying the facts before this gathering. I shall offer a brief sketch. F. Wilson (1976:452) defines the term migrant in the context of Southern Africa, "... as meaning a worker who oscillates between his home and his place of work over a distance which is greater than can be travelled on a daily commuting basis. In terms of this definition migrants, always Black in Southern Africa, ... (live) at work without their families."

Wilson (1976:451) observes that the migration of workers in response to political and economic pressures is no new thing in Southern Africa and that the movements of people to, from, or within the subcontinent whether as colonists,
slaves, refugees, indentured labourers, immigrants, or oscillating migrants is one of the most arresting features of our history. Wilson adds that the, "Analysis of the flows of labour, and capital, is an essential part of the process of understanding the nature of the social, economic, and ecological imbalances so manifest in Southern Africa." Here, we shall concern ourselves with the plight of migrants in Cape Town but the central issue addressed is one that affects all migrants.

Table 1 has been taken from Simkins, 1983:2. It sets out official estimates of the number of Black migrant workers (10(1)(d)) outside the "homelands" from 1975-1981:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number</th>
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<tbody>
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<td>1975</td>
<td>1,050,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>1,070,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1977</td>
<td>1,095,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1978</td>
<td>1,100,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1979</td>
<td>1,090,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>1,217,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1981</td>
<td>1,329,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Sources: 1975-79, National Manpower Commission 1981: 25; Table 2 (Simkins, 1983:2-3) sets out the age and sex structure in 1980 of Black men and women living as single people in cities and towns outside the homelands. People are divided according to whether they are of South African (including independent homelands) or foreign origin. The majority, but not all, of these people have been admitted to the urban areas under Section 10(1)(d). A minority are Section 10(1)(a) or (b) people or illegals. Table 2 also contains the proportion of men who are married or widowed in each age category.
### Table 2

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Domestic</th>
<th>Foreign</th>
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<td>1604500</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Sources:** Columns (1)-(4): Table 5 on pp71-74 of C.E.W. Simkins, *Four essays on the past, present and possible future of the distribution of the Black population of South Africa*, SALDRU, 1983.


Simkins estimates that in 1983 there were 1 437 000 migrants assuming a growth rate of 4 per cent per annum compounded from 1981. In 1970 the total Black population was 15 918 000; and in 1980 it was 20 220 153 (Devereux, 1983:74). Simkins (1982:6) estimates that unemployment
(in full-time job equivalents) in South Africa for all races grew sharply in the seventies, rising to 1 1/4 million in 1976 and 2 million in 1981. The unemployment rate, measured in full-time job equivalents, has virtually doubled between 1970 to 1981; from 11,8 per cent to 21,1 per cent. We must assume that Blacks have carried the bulk of the unemployment and that a figure for Blacks would exceed 22 per cent. A figure of over 10 per cent in industrialized societies would be regarded as intolerable in terms of the strain it would place on social stability and welfare.

It is important to record the high unemployment rates among Blacks in the context of this paper because its existence restricts the degree of choice open to work seekers. Even when employment is gained, workers' legal status has a powerful influence on the occupational opportunities available to them, and to the chances of upward mobility from initial occupation (Schneier, 1982:72).

West (1983:15) notes that Blacks, in responding to the various forces that draw workers to the urban and industrial centres, have suffered under the legislation that has attempted to restrict and control this flow (commonly called influx control regulations) and severely limit the opportunities for permanent urban residence. West continues,

"Black people in the Western Cape, however, have been subjected to peculiar disadvantage when compared to the rest of the country. The responsible cabinet minister announced in 1954 that workers classified as Coloured were to be given preference in the Western Cape, and that as a result the Black population would be controlled. A significant statement outlining this policy in detail was made in January 1955 by Dr. W.M.M. Eiselein, then Secretary for Native Affairs. He demarcated an area of the Cape Province west of certain points (subsequently known as the Eiselein Line) which would become a 'Coloured Labour Preference Area', and stated that it was government policy eventually to remove all Blacks from this area."
The policy has failed in that Blacks have not been removed from the area but have increased in number since the inception of the policy. It has meant, however, that employment opportunities for Blacks have been severely restricted and very few opportunities for training have been made available to them in the Western Cape (see Hendrie, 1983).

The battery of legislation strictly controls Blacks' rights to work and live outside their designated "homelands". One body of legislation, known as the Pass Laws, is based on the principle enunciated by the Stallard Commission of 1921:

"The native should only be allowed to enter the urban areas which are essentially the white man's creation, when he is willing to enter and to minister to the needs of the white man and should depart therefrom when he ceases so to minister. (Transvaal Province of 1922)."

Quoted by Murray (1979).

The law as it applies to Blacks is embodied in the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act (No. 25 of 1945) as amended. A key amendment, the Native Laws Amendment Act of 1952, extended influx control to all urban areas, included women in its provisions, extended the power of the state to remove people deemed to be undesirable, and introduced a concession allowing Blacks to visit a prescribed urban area for up to 72 hours before having to gain official permission. The section of the main act which limits rights of urban residence is contained in Section 10(1), which reads as follows:

"No Bantu shall remain for more than seventy-two hours in a prescribed area unless he produces proof in the manner prescribed that -

a) he has, since birth, resided continuously in such area; or
b) he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years or has lawfully resided continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years, and has thereafter continued to reside in such area and is not employed outside such area and has not during either period or thereafter been sentenced to a fine exceeding five hundred rand or to imprisonment for a period exceeding six months;

c) such Black is the wife, the unmarried daughter, or the son under the age of eighteen years, of any Black mentioned in paragraph (a) or (b) of this subsection and, after lawful entry into such prescribed area, ordinarily resides with that Black in such area; or

d) in the case of any other Black, permission so to remain has been granted by an officer appointed to manage a labour bureau ... due regard being had to the availability of accommodation in a Black residential area." (Horrell, 1978:35ff. and West, 1983).

Under Section 11 of the Act, men may be prosecuted for illegally harbouring their wives and children.

In describing the conditions of life and work of migrants in South Africa, we must emphasize that there is an astonishing concentration of poverty in the countryside in the "homelands" and on white-owned farms. Reynolds (1981:6) says that,

"Official figures estimate the number of people in 'absolute poverty' around the world at 657 million in 1962 and at 700 million in 1972. 85 per cent of the poor live in the countryside.

"In South Africa a staggering 93,7 per cent of poverty is contained in the homelands and on white farms. One says 'contained' for the panoply of racial legislation has prevented the natural movement of people to where employment services and a settled family life is possible - the towns!"
There is poverty in the countryside. There are few employment opportunities there. The areas set aside for Blacks are overcrowded and there is insufficient land, draught power or infrastructure to yield sufficient income. Many people in the countryside rely on remittances from migrants employed in the cities. Someone officially domiciled in the countryside is supposed to secure work through labour bureaux in the countryside and must live and work in the towns in the place, manner, and for the length of time specified in the contract or under relevant government legislation. In 1980, the Transkei had 345 116 migrants who earned an average of R175.00 per month (Abedian, 1983:68). The ten migrants from whom I took detailed life histories earned between R180.00 and R440.00 a month, with an average of R272.00.

According to Devereux (1983:2) South Africa suffers from a curious scarcity of information about the distribution of incomes among its inhabitants. He continues,

"No official statistics or even estimates of income shares by race or other groupings are published; in fact, until the 1980 census, government censuses and surveys specifically ignored the personal incomes of Blacks. All studies to date of income distribution in South Africa have been made by academics using various definitions, methodologies, data sources and assumptions. Until the 1970's, such studies were almost exclusively concerned with inter-racial income distribution, and not one accurate estimate of South Africa's Gini coefficient was produced until Simkins' in 1979.

"These deficiencies are unfortunate, since if the distribution of personal incomes is accepted as 'the best available surrogate for the distribution of economic welfare' (McGrath, 1977), then South Africa has lost a great deal of potentially useful information about the spread of welfare in a given socio-economic system; changes in this spread over time; identifying the poor; estimating saving and consumption patterns' (Archer, 1971) and the level of socio-economic development at each point in time. According to Archer there is 'a remarkable paucity of systematic data by income interval, occupation, industrial
activity, region or even race group itself, and therefore no direct method of identifying change or stasis in the structure of income historically'. (Archer, 1973).

It has been claimed that it is more costly to maintain split families than a united family (Simkins, 1983:8). Migrants say that it is. When, as often happens, migrants establish two families, one in the countryside and one in town, it becomes impossible to carry the burden on their income. Devereux (1983) points out that estimates of migrants' income seldom take into account the extra costs they bear in terms of the need to carry split families, to pay for the cost of travel to a "homeland" to renew contracts (see too, Simkins, 1983:9) and/or visit their families, and travel to and from work within the cities. In questioning the apparent rise in income that Black workers experienced during the late seventies, Devereux calls for a close examination of such costs and of unfair employer practices including the use of overtime labour (Devereux, 1983). He suggests that there are signs of deepening inequalities in the share of income among the races in South Africa (Devereux, 1983:7).

The conditions of life for migrants in town have been described by West (1980 and 1983), Selvan (1976), Ellis (1983), Ellis et al (1977), Maree (1977) and others. In 1900, there were approximately 10 000 Blacks living in greater Cape Town of whom 1 500 were housed in barracks in the docks (Ellis, 1983:107). In 1981, there were 21 565 families living in the area in 14 229 family housing units and 2 102 squatter dwellings. There were also 37 169 hostel beds (Ellis, 1983:110). In 1982, a Minister of the Government estimated that 42 per cent of Cape Town's Black population is there 'illegally' (Ellis, 1983:115). The best hostels house two or three men in a room and provide kitchen facilities for every four or five rooms. Three of the four hostels in which the men to whom I talked lived,
are of this type. They are fenced and guarded, two have
trees and grass outside and maintenance is of a high
standard. One has a hall with a television set and an
inter-communication system that is rather intrusive with its
loud, public announcements.

The fourth hostel, in which men with whom I talked
lived, is very different. It is one of a delapidated row
of buildings set in the bare sands of the Cape Flats. There
are forty men to a room (or dormitory), no cooking facilities
are provided and the noise and crowds especially at weekends
are, according to the men, difficult to tolerate. At least
twenty women and many children share the same space at
night and during the weekends. The dormitory locked
while the men at work and the women and children roam
the streets until the men return in the evenings. In 1980
some hostels were declared unfit for human habitation by
the authorities (Ellis, 1983:111). Raids, during which
those without official permits to be in the area are
arrested, are a common feature of life in the hostels.
For example, in a chronology of African life in the Western
Cape 1900 to 1982, Ellis (1983) records the following item
for 1982:

"September 27 - October 27: Heavy pass
raids, many pre-dawn. 2 200 people arrested
in this period. Fines of over R50 000
imposed. Raids said to be 'normal'."

And for the same year:

"August: children between 10 and 15
arrested under pass laws, and held
for 3 days in Langa cells."

Three representatives of the four companies gave details
of their employment practices. The fourth refused to yield
information. The practices are summarized in Appendix A.
One point is worth stressing here. Even within the
restrictions imposed by Government on the conditions of
labour, it is possible for individual companies to either
alleviate or increase the burden of being a migrant worker.
There ought to be a code amongst businessmen in South Africa relating to the treatment of employees: to break it ought to mean ostracism. Each of us is an accomplice of the system.

This paper reports on the views of ninety migrants speaking about their poverty as men denied the right to live with their children. (Poverty is defined by the Oxford dictionary as want, scarcity, deficiency, poorness, meanness). The men live in barracks, "bachelor quarters", in Guguletu and Langa, two of Cape Town's high-density suburbs. Among the men there is a fear of reprisal for speaking out on this topic. Although the men did not ask me to, I have used pseudonyms, and fictitious names for the manufacturing and construction companies for which they work. The men are all Xhosa and come from the Transkei and the Ciskei although a few grew up in the Cape Province. They range in age from twenty-two to fifty-two, apart from an old man who no longer works but continues to live in the company hostel. They have worked as migrants from one to over thirty years. Almost all of them are married. The young, unmarried men tell of their experiences as the sons of migrants.

In the late afternoon of an October day in 1983, I drove with an assistant, a Black man, to the men's hostels in Guguletu. My assistant, whom I shall name Phalo, had already approached the men in charge of a number of hostels requesting permission for us to talk to the residents about their children. Some said we could, others we could not and some equivocated. Phalo and I gained access to the hostels of four manufacturing and construction companies in Guguletu and Langa. Every evening from 4:00 to 10:00 p.m. for 13 days, and for most of two weekends, we talked with the men. In all we talked to ninety: sometimes in large groups, sometimes in small ones, and sometimes singly. I took detailed life histories from ten men. We met occasionally in a hall, or in the hostel kitchens, or in
the men's rooms. It was a salutary experience to sit among beer bottles and the prostitutes on a Saturday night discussing the intricacies of men's relationships with their children.

My research ended abruptly on the thirteenth evening when the police stopped me in Langa as I was driving Phalo home. Phalo was made to get out of the car and walk home. I was questioned, threatened with immediate imprisonment if ever caught in another "Black township", and escorted out onto the freeway heading for the "White suburbs".

On the second evening, seventy men gathered in a hall to listen to me. I asked the men to tell me about their relationships as children with their parents, and as parents with their children; how they handled separation; how they apportioned the division of labour and responsibility with their wives; and what changes in child rearing they had seen in their lifetimes. I told them that as an academic I could effect no changes but could record and report on their views. One man responded saying, "We have the idea. You will say it out and it will be taken up by other people. You put it the way we tell it to you." This paper is my attempt to say it out the way they told it to me, to describe migrant men's perceptions of their plight.

Among the men, I met scepticism, hostility, distaste for my intrusiveness and fear of reprisal (especially after the police raided the hostel, arresting all women and children in the early hours of the night on which I first addressed a large gathering of men). But I also met forthrightness, courage, generosity and an expressed need to speak openly about their position as migrants.

They understand the economic, political and social reality of their assigned positions in the South African state. One man eloquently said that as migrants we men "are spilt just like water on the ground."
The Ideal of Fatherhood

A major theme that runs through the migrants' comments relates to their perception of the role of fathers. Almost all of them cherish an ideal of fatherhood. It is an ideal that echoes the one recorded in the 1930s in Pondoland by Monica Wilson (1936:25-26) in these words,

"Fathers also are often devoted to their children, and make much of them when small, carrying them about in their arms, fondling them, playing with them, and teaching them to dance. Often one sees a child of three or four climbing over his father and mauling him with impunity ....

"As a child grows older he is taught respect and obedience which are particularly due to his father. Usually a child will carry out an order of its father's much quicker than those of any woman. He fetches and carries for his father, performing whatever of his tasks he is capable of performing. There is no age at which he is regarded as being free of parental control. In theory his choice in marriage may be vetoed by his father, although in practice a man usually marries the girl he wants. He still must consult his father in all important matters, even after he has an umzi* of his own. Old men lament the days when 'grey headed men lived in the umzi of their father, obeying him in all things, as if they were children.'

"Father and son have mutual economic obligations. An unmarried son lives with his father, and is maintained on the produce of the milk from his father's cattle and grain from his mother's field. His father should, if possible, provide him with a wife. The eldest son of a house inherits the property of that house, and from the time that he is old enough should be consulted by his father in the disposal of any of that property. The father is responsible for the torts at law of unmarried sons living in his umzi. This may entail heavy economic responsibility for the father, as the punishment for all offences except witchcraft was always, and is still frequently, a fine.

"In return, a son is expected to work for his father, as a boy herding cattle, and later

*um-zi, pl. imi- local kinship group and the huts in which they live (Wilson, 1936:576).
helping in the men's share of garden work, hut building, etc. Formerly his prizes in war and chase were brought to his father. A son, when he goes out of his father's umzi, is expected to consult his father in all important economic transactions. If he proposes to sell a beast, or a part of his maize crop, he should first consult his father. A father should also consult his son ....

"A father is responsible for his son's health so long as he remains in his umzi, and must make a ritual killing for him when necessary. Even when a son has his own umzi, it is obligatory for father and son to consult each other before killing ritually .... 'Consultation' means discussion until some measure of agreement is reached. Informants did not think that a father could veto a son's actions, or a son, a father's. A good son would listen to his father's advice; a father should be advised by his sons. It is all of a piece with a general custom in law courts and tribal meetings, that no vote is taken, but the matter thrashed out until some compromise is reached. There is a proverb, Isala kutvelwa siva ngolophu. 'He who refuses to take advice hears by a hot wind.'"

It is an ideal that is still upheld. Vukubi said of his father (who had also been a migrant), "We loved each other very much. He is a soft man but he does not like mis-behaviour: he has control over his children." The pairing of tenderness with control is met again and again. Dakada commented, "My father was very fond of me though strict," and Khanda observed that, "My father was a gentle (olulamileyo) and strict (-ngqongqo) man. He was full of love and wished things done in the way he commanded."

In a preface to Oppong's (1981) study of African marriage, Fortes, observes that, "Dr. Oppong's investigations reveal an intricate state of affairs in the internal organization of the conjugal families of her respondents. They are caught up in conflicting pressures and aspirations; and the main source of this is the persistence, even among this highly
educated, urban-dwelling, economically secure and privileged bourgeoisie, of traditional attitudes, loyalties and apprehensions."

Similarly, traditional attitudes, loyalties and apprehensions permeate the ideals that men hold for fathers, mothers and children. Just as they permeate all our values, Erikson (1950:132) believes that,

"... geographic - historic perspectives and economic goals and means contain all that a group has learned from its history, and therefore characterize concepts of reality and ideals of conduct which cannot be questioned or partially exchanged without a threat to existence itself. Items of child training ... are part and parcel of such concepts of reality. They persist when possible in their original form, but if necessary in distorted facsimiles ...."

We must consider what impact separation of fathers from their children has on child training. When men are away for most of each year, year after year, how can they meet the culture's ideal as fathers?

The migrant men cling to an ideal despite conditions that render it almost impossible to approximate in real life. Yet some men do come close to doing so. Duma is such a man. He was born in 1925, the third of his father's four sons. His father was a farm labourer near Molteno and is now, so Duma says, over a hundred years old. Duma and another son rent a home for him in Cala. Duma says, "I treat my children as he treated us. We were obedient and did nothing that our parents did not want us to do until we married. We were like that and now I have a nurse (his daughter) to boast about."

Duma began to work for ten shillings (approximately one rand) a month at the age of eighteen. He gave his wages to his father. His father selected a wife for him and received and controlled Duma's remittances when he sent them from various places of work. Father is old now and is
cared for by his sons and their wives and Duma treats his sons as he was treated. He has six children of whom four are boys. The eldest son is twenty-two and he works and lives with Duma although he was recently laid off and is currently a casual labourer with the company. He gives his wages to Duma who told me, "It is imperative that he gives me the money. Should he refuse, I would question it. If he is saving, perhaps to pay ikhazi (bridewealth), he can take the money to the bank but the book should be with me. I have the right to take my son's wages as I supported him always."

When I suggested that times have changed and responsibilities shifted so that a son may resent handing over his earnings, Duma reacted angrily saying, "Who gave the children permission not to listen to their parents? Does the government allow that? I cannot hold with that. We bring up the children under difficult circumstances and then they turn and say no. I do not agree with that."

He is very proud of having a nurse as a daughter although she had a child before marriage and Duma had to pay for the child's care for three years and has only received damages and maintenance costs and not yet the full ikhazi.

At dawn on the night on which I had interviewed Duma, there was a police raid at the hostel and his wife and three of his sons were arrested. Duma paid a fine of R70.00 for his wife, another of R50.00 for his son (the one who has been laid off) and nothing for his eighteen-month old son. The fourth son, aged 19, who is being treated for T.B. in a local hospital was released after three days when his medical condition had been confirmed. The boy is still at school doing Standard Seven. The baby, too, is under medical care. Duma says that he has good relations with all his children and no problem in disciplining them.

The men fear that their children will grow up to be vagabonds (izibhadubhadyu) or hooligans (jidlavini) unless they are firmly disciplined. They attempt to instil
discipline during their three weeks annual leave. Harsh discipline when not balanced by tenderness or tempered by trust and intimacy must cause havoc in the men's relations with their children. The need for discipline in rearing children and its ineffectiveness when time is short were strong themes in our discussions. Matshanda said "On my return, it is only after some time that the children realize that I am their father. When I return home, I must just show the children I mean no when I say it and yes when I say it." Many men spoke thus yet they concurred with Khanda when he said, "If one is to discipline children, one should satisfy their needs then you can make them do what you want."

Zisani's relations with his first born are very poor. Zisani tries to bring him up as he was brought up. His father was a farm labourer in the Tsolo area. Zisani worked with his father from the age of thirteen, earning fifty cents a month. If he allowed the farmer's cows to stray, his father beat him with a sjambok. He was also beaten, even as a young boy, if he rose later than 5:30 each morning. Yet Zisani says, "It was a very good childhood. I was the beloved of my father until he died." When asked if he resented his father's strictness either during his childhood or in retrospect, he replied, "The love I had for my father overwhelmed anything else." Zisani has worked for thirty-eight years, for twenty-six of which he has been a migrant. His father selected a wife for him, cared for her while he was away, and controlled the monies he sent home.

In 1951 he worked on contract at a quarry in Kimberley for £3.00 a month. The work was harder than on the farms. In 1953 he worked on a potato farm at Bethaly. He only stayed for eighteen months as conditions were bad: the labourers worked from sunrise to sunset, digging in the soil even when it was hard with frost, and their backs were beaten raw. In 1955 he came to Cape Town on contract with a dairy where he stayed for two years, earning £6.00 a month. Apart from six years which he spent in the Transkei (1962-7),
he has worked on the Cape Peninsula on dairies, a wine farm, a poultry farm and, since 1970 with his current employers. He earns R65.00 a week with which he supports his wife and six children and out of which he saves nothing. He has spent six of the twenty-four years of his marriage with his wife. He is a staunch member of the Seventh Day Adventist Church.

In June 1983, Zisani secured a 10(1)(b) pass. He longs to bring his family with him to the city but cannot find lodging. He pays rent for a bed in a dormitory in which fifty men and numerous women and children sleep. An unemployed man occupies his bed and Zisani sleeps in a wooden room on the site of a building where he is a night watchman. He rises at 5:00 a.m. and walks five kilometres to work and returns at 6:00 p.m.

Zisani's relations with his seven children are good apart from those with his twenty-two year old son. He says of his son, "He has been made into a vagabond by my absence." He describes his return home on leave thus, "I find that the children are a bit unruly. They have not much respect for their mother. I try to correct that. I do not like chastising children but very often I must do it because they do not do things immediately or in the way I want them to be done. They do not respond to elders as they should. The eldest is useless. His mother cannot control him and he knows it. I tried to bring him up in the Seventh Day Adventist way, no smoking and drinking. I beat him with a stick when I return home. He used to run to my father who died only last year. My father would say, 'O.K. stay, but stop doing that for which your father beats you.' My son became delinquent when my father fell ill and had to spend six months in Cape Town under treatment.

"The boy accepts punishment while I am there but returns to bad ways when I leave. I need to stay there. I do not need to beat the younger ones as they love me. It is enough for me to talk harshly. My eldest son has never been to me
in the city. The other children used to come when they were young. Not now. My wife comes illegally: she came for a month in 1982.

"With the separation, there are many clashes and we spend my leave quarrelling. I leave for work without leaving peace at home. When I leave, the children cry and write to me asking if I can have them with me. It is not possible as there is no accommodation. My wife says, 'I have done my part with the older children. I am tired. You should return to help with the younger ones.' I reply, 'You are responsible for the children.' I cannot do otherwise. I cannot stop work.' I am not educated. I no longer expect to find a better job."

Zisani's eldest son wants to work with him in the city but Zisani's company no longer employs migrants but takes on "Coloureds" and Blacks who are exempted from the need to secure contracts. Although Zisani has recently earned a 10(1)(b) permit which allows him to bring his family to the city if he can find suitable lodging for them, his son is too old to be included. Father and son have need of each other yet the law ensures their separation.

Five of the ten men whose life-histories I recorded are the sons of migrants. It is instructive to consider their memories of their fathers in relation to the ideal - the gentle yet strict man. Ntabeni says of his father who worked in Cape Town, that, "My father barely spent two months at home during my childhood. I grew up without his care except when he came home during the holidays." His father was shot during the riots of 1960. Ntabeni was eighteen then. Recalling his childhood response to his father, he said, "I did not care for him as on his return he was like a stranger. He tried to know me but I did not allow it. I was worried by his attempts to draw me close because I knew that he would go away again leaving me just like that. I did not understand what was happening and I wanted to know why he did not take me with him. Then at last
I said to myself, 'Here I am. These people (mother's brother and his family) are looking after me so I shall no longer be interested in him.' I came to regard my mother's brother as my father."

When he was nine years old, his mother left him to join his father in Cape Town and she did not return for six years. When she left, Ntabeni recalls that, "It was very painful indeed but it was alright because I was with my uncle and I realised that he loved me very much and I soon forgot about my parents." He is grateful to his uncle for having brought him up properly, he calls it "rare luck". His brothers and sisters were reared in Cape Town and have not grown into responsible adults.

Unlike Ntabeni, Vukubi had a close, warm relationship with his father despite their having spent little time together. They did manage to spend a year together when Vukubi was still a school-boy and he lived with his father in the men's hostel in Cape Town. From 1955 (the year of Vukubi's birth) to 1980 Vukubi's father worked for a paint company in Cape Town. In 1980, he had a nervous breakdown and is still waiting for his pension to be paid. Vukubi is now responsible for his mother and four younger brothers and sisters. He blames the strain of living without one's family in the midst of temptation for his father's breakdown.

Nkala's life is another example of a child's response to a migrant father. Nkala's mother conceived him before her marriage. His father left their hometown, Alice, and was neither seen nor heard from until Nkala was fifteen years old. Each parent married and had children in the meantime.

He spent much of his childhood in the home of his mother's father and his new wife. It was a poor and not a very happy childhood. At the age of thirteen, his mother went to work in Port Elizabeth and sent him to live with a distant relative of his fathers. This man was good to him
and Nkala remembers with gratitude both his moral and practical instruction. At fifteen, he was told that his father was returning. He waited excitedly but was crushed when on arrival his father greeted him casually and did not embrace him which is what men usually do on their return. He now works for the same company as does his father but relations are strained. His father demands his wages but Nkala does not see why he should hand them over because his father did not fulfil his obligations to him as a child. He describes their relationship like this, "My chief conflict with my father is over money. He treats me like a small boy and at times as if I am not his son. It is proper that he should discipline me and discuss things with me. I don’t object to that. He could ask for money from me but in a fair and polite manner. Instead, he does it as if he has a grudge (ingala) against me. A parent must not do that. He must leave you alone, not control you just because he is old. My father seems to think that now he has an opportunity to discipline me. But I am mature and I met him when I was already mature: he can no longer discipline me. You discipline a child when he is still young and not when he is already mature."

The Reality of Fatherhood

The experiences of these men as the sons of migrants are echoed in the migrants experiences as fathers. They know that they must expect to seem like strangers to their children. The same note recurs in their talk:

Dakada, "In the three weeks of leave, the first few days are very difficult as the children are frightened even if I speak."

Zisani, "When I return, I find that the children are a bit unruly. They do not have much respect for their mother. I try to correct that and for the first few days I am an intruder. It makes me very sad."
Khanda,  "When one returns home, one wants to draw the child closer to oneself but he resents it having grown older ..."

Mvangeli,  "In many cases, father and child are enemies for lack of time."

Matshanda,  "The children are not happy to have us back and ask their mothers, 'Mama, when is this man going away?'"

Wilson (1936:24) recorded that a son's responsibility for his mother is firmly encoded as part of that which makes a man. She wrote that it is expected that when sons grow up they will build a home for themselves and take their mother to live with them.

"Even if a woman has left her husband and has lived long at her own home, she is frequently summoned by her sons to come and live with them when they have grown up and built their own umzi. Even if she has remarried, when the sons of her first husband are grown up she may go to live with them. Her second husband cannot demand either her return or the return of his ikhazi. 'It is he who has been foolish to marry a woman who already has sons.' There is an especially close relationship between a woman and her youngest son, who inherits her property. If her sons live in different imizi, it is usually in the umzi of her youngest son that she lives."

The men talked with pride of assuming the responsibility for their mothers, particularly Nkala and Vukubi. They spoke, too, of the shocks they received on coming to work in the cities and seeing how men, including their fathers, live. One young man commented, "We find our fathers with concubines yet our mothers are starving. Besides the sweethearts are as young as father's children. We get fed up and cannot communicate with our fathers. It is all done because father is used to having a woman beside him. He must stay without his wife and cannot return to her until the end of his contract. He seeks a woman to while away the time. Ultimately, he forsakes his wife and family."
An old man whose family had been arrested that week, said in the men's defence that they bring their wives to town to be with them only to have them arrested. He added, "God said when he created Adam and Eve that they should prosper. We go to church and don't seem to know on whose side God is. It is so heartbreaking when I come from work and hear that my wife and children have been arrested just because I am a contract labourer. I was joined to her by the law, a magistrate. When the authorities part us, I become distrustful and do not even trust God. I do not know what argument I shall put before God as I do not feel I have done any wrong. Having not had happiness and health, I do not expect it in heaven."

Bhuqa took up the refrain saying, "The Bible says do not put man and woman united in marriage asunder. Even Paul said, 'I would that you stay as I do. Seeing that you are flesh, I encourage you to be married.' The conclusion is that in the towns we are spilt just like water on the ground. We stay a full year without our wives. That makes us go beyond the bounds of the law and become adulterers. If only the Government would see this, they would discover whether this is in conjunction with the teachings of the Bible."

Formerly, a man could expect his father or his brothers to assume responsibility for his children while he was away working. Wilson (1936:177) documents the beginning of the breakdown of this support system forty years ago.

"The whole complex of economic obligations of kin depended upon their residing near one another, and is largely disorganized when the necessity of earning wages scatters relatives. With the change in the make-up of the household group the economic bonds between father and adult son, and between brothers, is weakened."
In a recent study Sharp and Spiegel (1983) report that kinship networks can no longer be relied upon for support and sustenance within the extreme conditions of poverty experienced by many Blacks. This is not to say that kin no longer support and sustain one another. They do. Zisani, for example, supports a mentally ill sister; Vukubi has assumed his troubled father's responsibilities; and Nkala supports his mother and his step-brothers and -sisters. Nkala expressed his shame in being unable to pay for the burial of his father's illegitimate son who was killed in a fight: he did, however, pay for a memorial service. The point is only that no longer is the safety net of kinship dependable.

The men's responses to my queries as to whether or not their children have substitute fathers or men who act as role models reveal changes in their expectations as fathers and husbands. Men other than their fathers had often been important in their own growing up: usually they are remembered with gratitude, sometimes with bitterness when poverty was extreme and their treatment seemed unfair. Nevertheless, as fathers and husbands they express uneasiness at the thought of another man disciplining and directing their children's lives. They fear their own fathers' leniency as they grow old. They agree that women find traditional child rearing methods too harsh and are no longer prepared to bow to the opinion of men within the family. Mvangeli observed, "When the father is not around, then mother wants them to do everything her own way. She envelops the children close to her and resists the interference of other men. In the old days control and direction from any adult in the extended family was acceptable. Now it is not at all." The men see their wives as standing in defense of their children. An old man added, "Men yield their control of the children reluctantly."
Mvangeli expressed the men's awareness of the inherent difficulty in the division of labour over rearing offspring when the genitors are separated. He said, "Child rearing should begin after the birth with both parents sharing. There is conflict as soon as one assumes responsibility." One man articulated his sense of change, saying, "Parents no longer satisfy children's needs. As things are changing rapidly, it is not wise to treat children as one was treated by one's father." This caused the old man to comment dryly, "Children used to be satisfied with what was given them. Now the children will not eat their bread dry."

Coping with the System

Many women and children stay in the hostels only at night. They leave early in the morning and wander around during the day, sitting on the railway station, sometimes visiting friends until it is safe to return in the evening. Some hostels are locked during the day, others are raided at the companies' behest. Many women and children stay in the hostels at the weekends risking arrest. The men express their guilt over the situation but ask, "What can we do?"

While talking to the men, I sought to discover how they handled children in the hostels. I asked how they accommodated the unusual situation to the needs of children; whether they defined boundaries within which children could play or those from whom they might accept food; or when they must learn not to impose their needs on adults; and whether adults assumed responsibility for the well-being of other men's children.

The men see themselves as father figures to all the children. I asked a group of men what they would do if a man was seen to abuse a child, perhaps while drunk or after an unduly stressful day at work. They replied that, some time after the incident, a group of the man's friends or roommates would sit and talk with him. One man (who had
been earlier assigned the task) would reprimand him for his mis-treatment and then quietly fade from the group leaving the other men to absorb the anger and humiliation of the one reprimanded. He would calm down and, perhaps, review his behaviour.

There is much more that we need to know about similar coping mechanisms. I sought also to find out how new recruits are introduced to and made to comply with ordered life in the hostels as well as with conditions in the city. Each room has a constitution to which new members must adhere. It covers such misbehaviour as coming home very drunk or instigating fights. Members are fined for breaches. Old residents pass on the rules to new recruits who are advised how to behave. For instance, recruits are told not to carry much money when going to football matches. They are encouraged to put money in the bank and to tell roommates about the troubles left at home so that they can be guided. Older men bemoaned the ill manners of youngsters arriving fresh from the countryside, and some even spoke nostalgically of the full paternalism of mine compounds where discipline and order is maintained by company guards. Our discussions of conditions in the hostels and life in the cities were usually cut short and I was admonished. "You have struck upon the thing that causes us the most distress in our lives - our separation from our families. That is what we must talk about," they told me.

While the pattern of migrant labour has a long history in Southern Africa, facets of it have recently altered. One change is that men now have fewer choices as to when and for how long they should work as migrants. This lack of options was a recurrent theme in the men's discussions. The men know that in their father's generation a man could set goals, either in terms of time or money in response to either seasonal demands on their land or the need for
particular purchases, and then return home once the goal had been achieved. Even when a man worked full-time for years in succession, he could forego wage employment for extended periods without jeopardizing his return.

In Cape Town, at least, the employers of migrants have extraordinary powers over their workers. A high unemployment rate allows control by companies and police over the movement, assembly and general lives of the workers (see Wilson, 1976). A migrant who loses his job or whose contract is not renewed has limited opportunity to shop around for another job. A worker who is dissatisfied with his pay or conditions at work is similarly handicapped. A migrant, unless he has a Section 10(1)(a or b) permit and lodging, has no long-term foothold in the city. He can no longer depend on either his land or his kinship network to sustain him and his family between periods of wage employment. To secure permission to live and work in the city and to have his family with him, a migrant must meet certain stringent conditions.

For fear of jeopardizing his position before he has earned a 10(1)(b) permit, he must avoid being seen as an agent provocateur. According to the men to whom I spoke, foremen or supervisors frequently list the men who should be laid off when such an exercise is necessary: "instigators" of trouble are likely to head the list. The power of unions is constrained in South Africa. Some of the men belong to unions, others do not know of one to join, and others still are sceptical of their ability to improve conditions.

Bhuqa had been a migrant for twenty successive years of which the last thirteen had been with the same company. He had not earned a 10(1)(b) permit because, the authorities claimed, he had broken service when his company had transferred him to the Transkei for two years. Bhuqa said that this was a problem in his life. Also, if he chooses voluntarily to remain in the countryside to attend to family matters, upon return to the city he is told that he has forfeited his rights to be there.
Another man asked, "Why is it that if I remain at home for a year to handle family trouble and on my return my employers are willing to take me back, the registration authorities will not allow it?" He gave an example of the distress his lack of freedom causes, "Let us suppose that my wife is ill at home. Money is sent: it arrives late. If she was in front of me, I could take her to hospital straight away. Towards my wife, I feel guilty yet I cannot do otherwise as in the contract I was forced to agree to stay for a full year." The granting of compassionate leave is discussed in the section on the companies: even when it is granted, the costs of returning home are high.

Father and the Family

In the literature on families, information on the father as a child carer is rare, especially cross-culturally. Brofenbrenner (1979) says that the paucity of information on the contexts of child rearing forms a gap in scientific knowledge. He adds that,

"Our science (psychology) is peculiarly one-sided. We know much more about children than about the environments in which they live or the process through which these environments affect the course of development. As a result, our ability to address public policy concerns regarding contexts of child rearing is correspondingly limited." (1979:844).


In the literature of the social sciences, the family is often seen as a static entity. Like J. Goody (1971), some researchers have countered this view by demonstrating how the family alters over time in relation to its position.
within the domestic life-cycle. We need to go further than that in our attempt to explain the chasm that is created between fathers and their children when they are separated for long periods of time. Perhaps it needs no explanation. However, the pain and sense of loss involved in separation is exacerbated by the difference in world views that fathers and children hold.

To some degree, parents always idealize the past and find children wanting in measures of respect, obedience and so on. Just as children must pull out from the yoke of elders' control. Societies variously acknowledge and provide avenues for the expression of these in-built conflicts. Families transform themselves over time, in accordance with individual growth and wider socio-political changes. While listening to the migrants, both fathers and sons, I realized that change assumes different dimensions when family members are separated. When they are separated for most of the family's intimate growth time, they change but not in accord with one another's changes and not in accord with the same political, economic or social environment. After all, one of the duties of children is to make their parents grow. Children force parents to incorporate new modes of being and new values into their existing schemes. In turn, children accommodate their parents' values and aspirations for them with those held by the wider community. Separation exacerbates rural/urban, adult/child, schooled/unschooled, male/female divides. The divides are not insuperable but communication is made more difficult.

How often a migrant said to me, "I go home and I watch my children and I think, 'By their behaviour, they are not mine.'" One man said, "My son is a copy of me in his looks but he is not mine by his actions." These men are denied the opportunity to share in the shaping of the man or woman their child will be.
Many men experience alienation on their return home. "I am an intruder" was how they frequently described their home-coming. They enter into the web of others' relationships and break strands in their own defense. By no means are they always intruders and we should learn more about how some men maintain love, order and respect within their families despite their separation.

Speaking of the devastation wrought by the modern American state on the way of life of the Sioux and Yurok, Erikson (1950:138) talks about child rearing within that devastation,

"We are speaking of goals and values and of the energy put at their disposal by child-training systems. Such values persist because the cultural ethos continues to consider them 'natural' and does not admit of alternatives. They persist because they have become an essential part of an individual's sense of identity, which he must preserve as a core of sanity and efficiency. But values do not persist unless they work, economically, psychologically, and spiritually; and I argue that to this end they must continue to be anchored, generation after generation, in early child training; while child training, to remain consistent, must be embedded in a system of continued economic and cultural synthesis. For it is the synthesis operating within a culture which increasingly tends to bring into close-knit thematic relationship and mutual amplification such matters as climate and anatomy, economy and psychology, society and child training."

Migrants in South Africa are denied the opportunity to participate with their families in an economic and cultural synthesis. The state has institutionalized dissonance into the rules that govern their existence.
CONCLUSION

One evening as I sat in a hostel waiting for men to gather together and talk to me, an old man said, "The men are reluctant to speak. They are used to moving in a small space and when a big space is offered them they are hesitant about moving into it." As it happened, over thirty men came together and we talked for three hours. The old man was suggesting that as a migrant one survives partly by not fully articulating the horror of one's existence. The men expressed the need for a forum at which they could talk about their fears, their pain and their needs.

Zisani 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 would know that I would be returning to my own house and family."
REFERENCES


Ellis, G. "Africans in the Western Cape 1900 to 1982: A Chronology" in Horner, D., op cit.


Summary of Company Policy as Described by Company Officials.

The ninety men with whom I talked worked for four companies in construction and manufacturing in greater Cape Town. One company refused to talk about their conditions and policies. The interviews with representatives of the other three companies are summarized below. The interviews were held in late 1983.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>POLICY AS IT AFFECTS MIGRANTS</th>
<th>COMPANY:</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of migrants employed:</td>
<td>A 96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>B 480</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>C 50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wages: per week - (45 hours per week)</td>
<td>96</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Grade 1</td>
<td>± R80.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grade 4</td>
<td>± R93.00 - R94.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grade 7</td>
<td>± R140.00</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bottom rate</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Middle rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Top rate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bonus:</td>
<td>3 weeks wages paid as bonus at the end of the year (13th cheque)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>As laid down by the Industrial Council (type of demi-wage paid regularly).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>POLICY AS IT AFFECTS MIGRANTS</td>
<td>COMPANY:</td>
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<tr>
<td>-----------------------------</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Leave: (per annum)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Four weeks leave. Leave is staggered during year for different groups of migrants. Company strict about not allowing leave time to be altered.</td>
<td>Four weeks leave. Leave is staggered during year for different groups of migrants. Company strict about not allowing leave time to be altered.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compassionate leave:</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Grant 3 days compassionate leave. Thus worker normally leaves on Thursday evening and is expected to return by Tuesday morning. If he returns later, he forfeits the pay of the extra days he has been away.</td>
<td>Grant 3 days compassionate leave. Thus worker normally leaves on Thursday evening and is expected to return by Tuesday morning. If he returns later, he forfeits the pay of the extra days he has been away.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Application for compassionate leave must be backed by a telegram from home. This is usually accepted without further enquiry as, it is felt, no man is likely to jeopardize his job with</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Compassionate leave occasionally granted but there is no formal paid leave with it.</td>
<td>Compassionate leave occasionally granted but there is no formal paid leave with it.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>The personnel officer often investigates a telegram from home to see exactly what is wrong. He might phone either the local police station or magistrate to ask them to find out what is going on and whether it warrants</td>
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</table>
**POLICY AS IT AFFECTS MIGRANTS**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>COMPANY:</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Housing:</strong> (All three companies provide housing for employees).</td>
<td>Pay another company for use of beds in their hostel for migrant employees. 4 storeyed flats, consisting of 3 bedrooms each with 2 beds per room. [This is the best type of single accommodation available].</td>
<td>Three hostels in Langa and Guguletu owned by company. House about 75% of the work force.</td>
<td>a man's taking leave.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td>Fenced property. Guard at the gate. Good maintenance. Well-kept grounds with grass and trees. Hot plates provided.</td>
<td>Fenced property. Guard at the gate. Good maintenance. Grounds tidy, little more. Hall plus a T.V. set. Hot plates installed. Electricity bill is R1300.00-R1400.00 per month. Many hot plates have been damaged and repair bill is R1000.00.</td>
<td>Company owns a one-room bungalow with 50 bunks.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Description</strong></td>
<td>Recently fenced at workers' request. Poor maintenance. Grounds, barren sand.</td>
<td></td>
<td>No hot plates.</td>
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</table>
### COMPANY:

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>A</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rent</td>
<td>R15.00 per month</td>
<td>R15.00 per month</td>
<td>R6.00 per month</td>
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</table>

**Personnel Managers' Perception of Who Stayed Where:**

[All personnel managers were aware that many of the men with beds in single quarters did not in fact stay at the hostels, but stayed elsewhere, e.g., in squatter camps.]

- **No clear idea of how many live outside the hostel.**
- **The company has no clear idea of how many live outside the hostel.**
- **Many left when a levy on extra people was imposed.**
- **At first the company followed a laissez-faire policy as regards women and children staying overnight in the hostels.**
- **However, recently a strict policy has been adopted.**
- **After a number of "warnings" an overnight levy of R5.00 per person (extra) per night was imposed.**
- **He estimates that about 10% stay outside the hostel. It is recognized that women stay over at night.**
### POLICY AS IT AFFECTS MIGRANTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Travel:</th>
<th>COMPANY: A</th>
<th>COMPANY: B</th>
<th>COMPANY: C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Company does not pay for transport to and from the work-place.</td>
<td>Company pays for transport to and from the work-place.</td>
<td>Company does not pay for transport to and from the work-place.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exemptions to be in the City:</td>
<td>In the last few months 48% of the migrants employed by the company obtained Section 10(1)(b) rights. Approximately 10 migrants (31% of the remainder) per year will become eligible for the next three years. On hearing of the results [The migrants did not tell me about this levy. It may have been imposed after I had spoken to them].</td>
<td>Most of the 15% of the migrants who applied for 10(1)(b) exemption received it. Five were refused on the grounds that they had worked on contract in the Transkei for 2 years and, in effect, had been transferred. The personnel manager</td>
<td>About 90% of the migrants employed by the company have received 10(1)(b) rights. It has long been company policy to re-employ the same migrants, as is testified to by the results.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
**Policy as it Affects Migrants**

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<tr>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of the Rikohoto case (see Simkins: 1983), the company prepared all documentation on behalf of workers; took workers to Administration Board and shortly obtained the exemptions.</td>
<td>claimed that the company's lawyers had eventually won the rights of these men. Their main argument was that (1) these men were still employed with the Cape Town branch of the company, and (2) the men received their pay from the Cape Town branch. (Two months prior to the interview, 3 men, whose experience had been as described above, had not yet been given 10(1)(b). rights despite having worked with the company for 15, 13, 20 years, respectively.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>COMPANY:</td>
<td>A</td>
<td>B</td>
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<td>(1) All companies have some form of informal, on the job training.</td>
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<td>(2) No company has official forms of certification.</td>
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<td>The company has a formal, well-run programme to train truck drivers, but no migrants are drivers.</td>
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<td>About 20% of the migrants worked in a skilled occupation. The rest are in the unskilled/labourer category.</td>
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<td>Jobs are graded, for example, Grade 1 has manual labourers; Grade 3, has head-labourers; Grade 6, has clerical assistants, factory operators; and, Grade 7, has drivers. Many of the original migrants (52%) are at Grades 3 and 4. There are a few Grade 6 workers.</td>
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<td>POLICY AS IT AFFECTS MIGRANTS</td>
<td>COMPANY:</td>
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<td>Role of the Personnel Department: (as described by the Personnel Managers)</td>
<td>Not merely a hiring and firing department. It works with an elaborate set of procedural rules and procedural guidelines, particularly in the case of disputes with and grievances of workers. However, the rules are not &quot;all&quot; and the department is people oriented. It gets on fairly well with the Union but is not affiliated to it. It is a fully fledged department. The Personnel Department occasionally intercedes on behalf of a worker to obtain a loan from the company.</td>
<td>The company has no official personnel section or department. The Wages Department does most of the work. That a personnel department would do.</td>
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<tr>
<td>POLICY AS IT AFFECTS MIGRANTS</td>
<td>COMPANY:</td>
<td>A</td>
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<td>Unions:</td>
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<td>There is a national union to which the company is not affiliated. The personnel manager describes it as a &quot;middle of the road&quot; union. It is involved in negotiations over salaries and working conditions. A common point of disagreement between the company and the union, and a source of grievance to the latter, is the company's employment of casual labourers. The union insists that if a man is regularly employed for 3 times a week on a temporary basis, he should have the status of a permanent worker. It has been noted above that no new migrants</td>
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POLICY AS IT AFFECTS MIGRANTS

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>COMPANY:</th>
<th>A</th>
<th>B</th>
<th>C</th>
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<td>have been hired for 7 years. Most were first employed 10 or more years ago. The personnel manager said that the Coloured Labour Preference Policy made it difficult to hire migrants as it is not easy to measure the ceiling of the company's quota.</td>
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Notes on the Summary

A brief comparison of the conditions in the three companies shows how they vary.

Company A gives an annual bonus of three weeks' wages and allows three paid days compassionate leave when the request is backed by a telegram from home. It is not considered necessary to investigate the authenticity of the need expressed in the telegram. It provides the best type of housing available for "single" men although the men complain that the rent is high - R15.00 per month. The company was quick to secure 10(1)(b) permits for employees who qualified. It has a personnel department and negotiates with a national union but is not affiliated with it.

The company does not pay for local travel to and from work but subsidizes a canteen for employees at the work-place. It has fallen foul of union members because it employs casual labourers on a regular basis and has not hired a migrant full-time for eight years.
Company B, unlike Company A, does not pay a bonus nor does it pay for work days missed when compassionate leave is granted though loans can sometimes be arranged. It has neither a personnel department nor ties with any union. The company does not pay local travel costs. The housing they provide is the best available for "single" men (the rent is R15.00 per month) and there is a hall, a T.V. and a public address system. However, the company has imposed a R5.00 levy on each extra person who spends the night in the hostels: a fine example of business helping the administration to police the police state. The company's transfer of employees has resulted in their having difficulty in establishing their rights to 10(1)(b) status.

Company C has had a policy of re-employing the same men and 90 per cent of the migrants employed by them have 10(1)(b) status. All the employees belong to a nation-wide union and they receive bonuses as laid down by the Industrial Council. However, the company only occasionally grants compassionate leave and investigates the need for it by phoning the police or magistrates near the men's homes. It does not pay for work days missed and nor does it pay for local travel to and from work. It has no personnel department and the provision of housing is very poor although the rent is only R6.00.