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AN EXAMINATION OF POSSIBLE  
DIFFERENCES EXISTING BETWEEN  
LIVE-IN AND LIVE-OUT DOMESTIC  
WORKERS .

P. K. WOOD-BODLEY

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## INTRODUCTION :

" Domestic service is widespread in South Africa. All the White households in my sample employed domestic workers on either a full-time or part-time basis..... who lack fundamental workers' rights and work for long hours at extremely low wages..... " (Cock p. 29)

The aim of this study is to attempt to distinguish any financial and/or physical differences which may exist between those domestic workers who live-in and those domestic workers who live-out. For instance, employers claim that one of the main reasons for paying low wages to domestic workers is because they receive payment in kind, i.e. in accommodation and food. The question that needs to be answered is 'Are these payments homogeneous to both the live-in and live-out domestic worker categories ? ' These payments are clearly not homogeneous , because free accommodation is considered a payment in kind and this clearly does not benefit live-out domestic workers who have to rent accommodation in the townships. As it appears that these payments in kind are not homogeneous to the two categories of domestic worker, there is a need to establish whether live-out domestic workers benefit in any other ways which may offset the 'perk' of free accommodation granted to the live-in domestic worker.

Furthermore, live-in domestic workers receive all meals or at least rations that should be adequate to meet their daily needs, whereas live-out domestic workers only receive the appropriate meals whilst at work. Thus the live-out domestic worker's evening meal is not provided and the worker must in addition provide food for his/her dependant(s). The worker who lives-in is likely to have his/her children living in the rural areas and consequently these areas will subsidise the costs of bringing up the children.

There is a need to determine whether the wages paid to live-out domestic workers offset the advantages that accrue to live-in domestic workers in the areas of accommodation and food/rations supplied by employers.



LITERATURE REVIEW :

The following quotations, extracted from newspapers, outline the general feelings and problems associated with Domestic Service in South Africa.

" It is generally accepted that they (domestic workers and farm labourers) are the most exploited sector of the economically active population."

(Dr. A. Boraine, PFP Pinelands. DAILY NEWS, 20 April 1982)

" Domestic workers are the most vulnerable of all the country's workers. They do not enjoy the same legal protection as other workers and because most are Black their right to seek jobs and move from one job to another is drastically curtailed. "

( RAND DAILY MAIL, 13 October 1982)

" They were not even included in the Industrial Conciliation Act, and they had no official organ whatsoever through which they could channel their grievances. "

( Miss. L. Tabane (DWEF) . NATAL WITNESS 29 April 1982)

" Mr. Fanie Botha warned that there were a number of factors which hampered the creation of formalised/structured working conditions and protection under the law : -

- (1) The intimate and long-standing personal relationships between employers and their domestic servants.
- (2) The wide distribution of such workers.
- (3) The necessity of certain work being performed on a daily basis. "

( NATAL WITNESS , 22 Februrary 1982)

" A domestic worker might not be directly involved in the economic growth of the country, but she certainly makes it possible for millions of others to contribute to the economy with fewer domestic headaches. "

( SUNDAY TRIBUNE , 11 May 1980)

" A common rationalisation for the payment of low wages is that it is an unskilled occupation and that as the servant lives-in a salary is merely pocket money. But Mrs. Cock points out that an enormous range of demands is made on the worker, including knowledge, trust and responsibility. "

( SUNDAY TRIBUNE , 15 June 1980)

" Domestic workers' wages were not just 'pocket money' as some employers tended to think, but went to support parents, children and also to pay for costly education. "

( Mrs. Mary Mkhwanazi (DWEF) . NATAL MERCURY , 22 May 1982)

" Domestic workers and others in the lower income groups are the hardest hit by increases in food prices because they spend between fifty and seventy percent of their earnings on food. "

( NATAL MERCURY , 11 August 1981)

" The key to understanding the domestic workers' situation lies in their powerlessness and dependence on their employers. The predominant response from the domestic is a sense of being trapped : of having no viable alternatives : of living out an infinite series of daily frustrations, indignities and denials. "

( DAILY NEWS , 16 July 1980)

" Many of the servants felt they were seen by their mistresses only in an occupational role, a one dimensional perception that denied their human feelings and needs. Employers often took no notice of their worker's family and/or social life. "

( DAILY NEWS , 16 July 1980)

In summary, the above extracts outline that domestic workers are the most exploited sector of the economically active population in South Africa, constituting some 14 percent of this group. This is caused by the low wages paid and the lack of State legal machinery which would allow domestic workers to bargain for higher wages and better working conditions. The low wages paid result largely from two factors : -

- (1) The surplus of Black people available for domestic service.
- (2) The lack of job protection legislation for domestic workers.

Employers justify the payment of low wages on the grounds that the work performed by domestic workers is of an unskilled nature. The lack of legislation results in domestic workers feeling powerless and dependent on their employers. There is a belief that employers deny their employees their human feelings

and needs. The domestic worker's role in economic development was also highlighted.

Domestic workers in South Africa are denied all forms of legal protection. They are not covered by any of the following acts : -

- The Industrial Conciliation Act ;
- The Wage Act ;
- The Shops and Offices Act ;
- The Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act ;
- The Labour Relations Act .

Domestic workers are, furthermore, not covered by the Unemployment Insurance Fund or the Workmen's Compensation Fund.

Domestic workers through their exclusion from State legislation are denied the right to bargain collectively and have no legal protection. This exclusion denies them the right to have a minimum wage and minimum conditions of service.  
( Cock p. 73)

Preston-Whyte in her study of domestic workers in the Durban area listed the following as reasons why Blacks move out of the rural areas and into the cities to take up domestic service .

It was argued that the Homelands were not self sufficient; in fact they were noted as producing less than a whole year's food requirements. Furthermore, this inadequacy did not allow for the production of cash crops. As a result the income of rural dwellers was considerably reduced and they found it difficult to meet the additional expenses relating to schooling and clothing. Within the African tradition it is largely the man's responsibility to earn money in the cities. Where the men were unwilling to fulfill this traditional role women were forced to take on the obligations of being the wage earner for the family. Preston-Whyte lists the following as main reasons why women come to town : -

- " (1) forced to earn money because of the death or illness of husband or father;
- (2) desertion by husbands ;
- (3) quarrels leading to marriage breakups ;
- (4) illegitimate children; and females working to alleviate the financial burden on their parents ;
- (5) to join husbands/lovers or in search of husbands/lovers ;
- (6) to consult doctors ;
- (7) followed with their employers ;
- (8) in search of freedom and excitement . "

( Preston-Whyte p. 48)

A major cause of this migration to town was the direct result of the effects of Christianity. Christianity taught women different attitudes and values and fostered the concepts of personal responsibility and individualism. This philosophy runs against traditionally held values of " kinship, obligations and the extended family. " (Preston-Whyte p. 52) These newly held values, which promote a nuclear type family unit, allow for the division of economic gains between fewer people. This allows for a higher standard of living though simultaneously alienating such people from their traditional families. " Thus in times of crisis e.g. the death of a husband, the nuclear family is found to be inadequate in the security that it offers to African women. In such situations the only means of living is to sell their labour and the best opportunities for this are in the town. " (Preston-Whyte p. 53)

As a rule, Christian children go to school whereas pagan children do not. Education provides a useful insight into Western life which the rural dweller may otherwise never acquire and provides tuition in both official languages - frequently a prerequisite for working in White homes in the larger towns, where few employers speak an African language. (Preston-Whyte p. 38) Most domestic workers who had received some education had not passed beyond the primary school level.

The Domestic Workers and Employers Project (DWEPE) suggested the following wages for domestic employment. Living-in domestic workers should earn R71.50 per month for general duties and an eight (8) hour day. Where cooking and additional skills were required an R88.00 per month wage was recommended. The suggested wage for full-time live-out domestic workers for an eight (8) hour five and a half (5½) day week was R82.50 plus transport and two meals. The following rates were suggested for part-time employment :

5 days	3 hours work	R33.00 per month plus transport
2 days	5 hours work	R21.00 per month plus transport
3 days	5 hours work	R31.00 per month plus transport
4 days	5 hours work	R41.00 per month plus transport
5 days	5 hours work	R51.00 per month plus transport
3 days	8 hours work	R44.00 per month plus transport

A daily rate of R5.50 for an eight (8) hour day, food and transport included, was suggested. The hourly rate suggested was R1.10 minimum, overtime R0.85 per hour and R1.10 per hour for baby sitting. (DAILY NEWS , 13 July 1980).

DWEPE estimated that the actual wages paid amount to R45.00 per month. (NATAL MERCURY , 9 September 1980). Markinor, a marketing information organisation, found that there is a tendency for employers to replace full-time domestic workers with part-time live-out domestic workers. (DAILY NEWS , 8 June 1980). This trend generally seems to occur as a result



of the employer's desire to economise, i.e. to decrease wage and food expenses. This trend appears to be in line with DWEP recommendations to employ part-time live-out domestic workers rather than doing without them altogether in an effort to economise.

Whilst employers appear to be following DWEP's suggested trend of employing part-time domestic workers instead of doing completely without, employers do not appear to be complying with the suggested wage. The NATAL MERCURY ( 9 September 1980) claimed that the average wage was R45.00 per month and Markinor found that full-time and part-time domestic workers received increases of five (5) and six (6) percent respectively. This was well below the inflation rate of fourteen (14) percent per annum. Employers use two arguments to justify the low wages paid to domestic workers : -

- (1) the unskilled nature of the job ;
- (2) payment in kind ( rations and accommodation).

The claim that the job is unskilled in nature is incorrect because some employers expect complicated and personal services to be performed by their domestic workers. (Cock p. 31) Whisson and Wiel question whether food should be valued in terms of what it costs the employer or in terms of the value that it represents to the employers (e.g. left overs which may have been thrown away had the domestic worker not eaten them) or in terms of the value to the domestic worker, i.e. what he/she would have spent on the food of his/her

choice. Cock noted that "payments in kind ignore the fact that domestics have dependants." (Cock p. 38)

Preston-Whyte, in her study of domestic workers in the Durban area, found that wages differed according to the socio-economic areas studied. The research found that wages were higher in the Morningside and Durban North areas than in the Stamford Hill area. Although wages do differ in a socio-economic sense this appears to occur because different areas make different demands on their domestic workers. In Morningside, for example, wages did differ according to the chores required of the domestic worker. A domestic worker who performed the duties of a housekeeper earned more than those domestic workers who worked under the constant supervision of their employers. Although domestic workers in the Durban North area were under greater supervision by their employers their role as 'nursemaid' allowed them to maintain a higher wage. In Stamford Hill only routine heavy work was performed by domestic workers and they were found to earn less. Part-time domestic workers in all the areas studied were found to earn the same, although the chores performed differed between areas. In Morningside and Durban North domestic workers who worked on a part-time basis only did laundry, whereas in Stamford Hill part-time domestic workers were also responsible for ironing, general cleaning and polishing. (Preston-Whyte p. 105)

Domestic workers who live-out can be divided into two categories. Those who work full-time and who are expected to do all the domestic work in the employer's household and the second category comprises those live-out domestic workers who are employed on a part-time basis for specific duties , e.g. char or washer women. (Preston-Whyte p. 218). Domestic workers who work full-time but live-out are expected to work approximately the same number of hours as those worked by live-in domestic workers. In 1969 transport costs were seldom paid to live-out domestic workers by their employers but domestic workers did receive food whilst on duty, and some rations as did live-in domestic workers. (Preston-Whyte p. 218)

Live-out domestic workers valued the shorter working hours and the greater personal freedom achieved through living-out. These freedoms were with particular reference to employer interference. Employers appeared to restrict the visiting of males, which imposed a strain on both married and single women. Further problems associated with living-out were the high rentals charged . In addition there was always the danger that accommodation may be illegal and thus occupants were living under the threat of discovery and consequent deportation. This normally resulted in eviction and the payment of a fine . Live-out domestic workers had

additional expenses in the form of food and transport costs. Live-out domestic workers do not have sufficient contact with their employers to establish a good relationship. Preston-Whyte found that longstanding live-in domestic workers gained great satisfaction from the activities and achievements of her employer's family. Live-out domestic workers were seldom able to develop this degree of identification with their employers. (Preston-Whyte p. 234) " On a financial basis these extra costs make the economic gains of non-resident servants far less than those of resident servants. " (Preston-Whyte p. 234)

Live-in domestic workers had security in their accommodation and a degree of comfort. Preston-Whyte's study (1969) found that all the accommodation could be described as adequate having toilet and shower facilities provided. Basic furniture such as a bed, mattress, table and some sort of container for their clothes were also provided. (Preston-Whyte p. 110) The findings of the Cock study, undertaken in the Eastern Cape, with regard to furniture appear to be consistent with the findings of the Durban study undertaken by Preston-Whyte. In the Eastern Cape study, domestic workers were provided with " a toilet, sometimes a shower and some employers provided a bed and mattress, a chair and table and some provided blankets. The accommodation provided for residential domestic workers is frequently squalid or bare

and cramped, especially in comparison with the standard of furnishing in the employer's living quarters." (Cock p. 62)

Cock noted that "such accommodation had to be seen in several cultural contexts. In Elsie's case her bedroom had ..... one grand, exciting quality. It was solely hers. It was the first bedroom she had ever in all her life had entirely to herself. Moreover, in her personal experience, it was the first room that was used as a bedroom and as nothing else..... She had had no privacy. She now gazed on every side and what she saw and felt was privacy, a luxurious sensation, exquisite and hardly credible. " (Cock p. 63)

Further advantages outlined by Preston-Whyte were that "live-in domestic workers had electric and hot water facilities at their disposal. The rooms were clean and fairly spacious when compared to hostels, where many women had to share rooms. Their accommodation is free and as long as there were not too many visitors live-in domestic workers are free from police inspection. Live-in domestic workers receive sufficient basic food necessary for good health and may enjoy the added attractions of many leftovers from their employer's meals. " (Preston-Whyte p. 233)

Most live-in domestic workers had their children living in the rural areas. Money and material goods, such as food and clothing, were sent home. (Preston-Whyte p. 326) Money was sent home only once every four to six months or in answer to urgent requests. The cash value was between two and four rands. This money appears to be insufficient to meet clothing and educational expenses and it would therefore appear that the rural families are forced to bear the greater burden of raising these children and in fact subsidise their upbringing. When a domestic worker went on annual leave they took home gifts and a plentiful supply of food. (Preston-Whyte p. 327) Preston-Whyte concludes that the "financial burden of dependants who live in the country appear to be far less onerous." (Preston-Whyte p. 327).

Where it is not possible to accommodate children in the rural areas, domestic workers have accommodation expenses in the urban areas and normally have additional expenses in that someone has to be found to look after the children whilst the mother is away at work. Normally such persons are relatives. Domestic workers were also concerned about the safety and welfare of their children in the townships. The following quotes illustrate this concern : -

" We leave our children early in the morning to look after other womens' families and still they do not appreciate us. " (Cock p. 53)

" Sometimes I have a sick child and I do not even have time to look after it. " (Cock p. 66)

" I am not interested in what I am learning because it will not help me or my children. " (Cock p. 67)

Preston-Whyte found that domestic workers spent money on food regularly. The amount spent and the type of food purchased differed from worker to worker and was largely dependent on the domestic worker's employment situation. Where meat and milk were readily available from the household's supplies less money was spent on additional food.

(Preston-Whyte p. 330) In the Cock study it would appear that a large sum of money would be spent on additional food because the most frequently supplied food by employers was samp, beans, mealie meal, bread, jam and tea. (Cock p. 34.)

Both Cock and Preston-Whyte found that domestic workers had free access to medicines. This Cock described as " a service equivalent to insurance " and "this is a beneficial aspect of the paternalistic nature of the relationship between workers and employers within the institution of Domestic Service. " (Cock p. 37) In both studies the medicines provided tended to be cheap, e.g. aspirins and cough mixtures.

The above text notes some of the key areas of concern associated with domestic employment in South Africa.

METHOD OF RESEARCH :

Not having been involved in the collection of data it is impossible to outline the details of how the data was collected. The sample was drawn from domestic workers in the Durban area, using two DWEP (Domestic Workers and Employers Project) community workers to conduct the interviews. Sampling was achieved by choosing twenty-seven sample addresses at random and then interviewing the domestic workers at seven of these addresses. Addresses within each block were chosen by interviewing the domestic worker at every fifteenth house criss crossing the street.

The size of the sample was one hundred and sixty-eight (168) respondents, where twenty-two (22) were males and one hundred and forty-six (146) were females. The sample was further broken down into one hundred and thirty-three (133) live-in domestic workers (where accommodation was provided at the place of work) and thirty-five (35) live-out domestic workers (where their place of work is separate from their place of residence in the township.) The twenty-two (22) males in the sample constituted part of the live-in sample. The majority of domestic workers were employed by White employers, with only five and four percent respectively being employed by Coloureds and Indians.



The research had its limitations in terms of the live-in/live-out distinction made in this paper. It must be noted that these limitations (to be outlined) refer only to the live-in/live-out distinction, since the data may be nearly faultless in terms of the original objectives the researchers may have had in mind.

The major limitation in the data was the imbalance in sample size between live-in and live-out domestic workers. In an ideal situation one would have liked to have been able to work with a better balance between the sample sizes of the live-in and live-out groups of domestic workers. A larger size in the live-out category would have enabled more comprehensive research to be undertaken. As a result of the small live-out sample size recoding had to take place in order to achieve better sample sizes in the various item categories. For example, some categories had a frequency of cases as low as three people. Thus where two people fell into a 'yes' category and one into a 'no' category it is impossible to conclude that 66 percent of the respondents said yes and 33 percent of the respondents said no, since each individual case has too much of an effect on the percentage distribution. Where the sample size is so small in a specific category, the likelihood of achieving that result by chance is too great. This factor is the prime reason why the decision to recode various items was taken. It was felt that trends using a smaller number of

categories would still be useful, although more simplistic.

The following list outlines those variables which were  
recoded : -

Live-in - Live-out :

The original coding included one live-in and eight live-out categories. As the number of cases within each live-out category were very small, a decision was taken to include the original eight live-out categories into one live-out category. It was felt that this would allow for a clear distinction to be drawn between those respondents who fell into the live-in category and those who fell into the live-out category. This was necessary, since the whole analysis was to be based on this distinction.

Employer's Address :

The original item was split up into seven categories in terms of residential address areas. The residential address areas ranged from affluent areas to much poorer areas. These areas were divided into two areas, with the titles of 'Affluent' and 'Less Affluent' areas. The former areas comprised Upper Berea and Durban North; whilst the latter areas comprised Overport, Lower Berea, Bluff, Rosehill and Sydenham.

Total Non-earners :

Originally the number of non-earners were coded in terms of the actual number of non-earners. These actual non-earners ranged from between one and nine people. This data was recoded into three categories:

- (1) one to three non-earners;
- (2) four to five non-earners;
- (3) six to nine non-earners.

This was attempted in order to achieve a better distribution of cases within the categories.

Number of dependant children :

Originally the coding ranged from between one to eight dependant children, with a category for no dependant children. This data was recoded into the following three categories:

- (1) no dependant children ;
- (2) one to two dependant children ;
- (3) three to eight dependant children.

Number of children supported apart from own children :

Initially this category was coded in actual people from one person to four or more persons. The recoded data included :

- (1) none supported ;
- (2) one child apart from own supported ;
- (3) two or more children apart from own supported.

Number of children at high school and number of children at primary or lower schools :

Both of these items originally included actual coding of one to

eight children, and a category for no children at school. In both items a high percentage of the sample was found in the no children at school category, as 74 percent and 47 percent of the cases respectively. With the high number of domestic workers not having children at school a decision was taken to recode the data into 'domestics who had children at school' and 'domestics who had no children at school' for each of the items.

Money husband/boyfriend gives :

The decision was taken to recode this item mainly because of the high percentage of missing cases (67 percent of the sample). Originally the coding included a category for sometimes receiving money and interval categories ranging from five (5) to sixty (60) Rands. Within the recode the missing cases were assumed to receive nothing and these were combined with those who sometimes received money. This new category was given the heading 'Received nothing.' All those cases who received some contribution each month were collectively combined to form a new category under the heading 'Received a regular contribution from husband/boyfriend.'

Money saved each month :

The intervals within this item were based on actual money saved, with the lowest interval being one (1) to two (2) Rands and the highest interval being twenty (20) or more Rands. There were a high number of missing cases (43 percent of the sample) and therefore the item was recoded to reflect

'No savings' (based on missing cases) or 'Some savings' regardless of amount.

Wish to buy with savings :

The original coding for this item included education, knitting machine, future, holiday, house, furniture and lobola. There were a number of low frequencies in some categories and therefore the categories with the highest frequencies were retained and the remainder combined. The new categories were as follows : -

- (1) Education ;
- (2) Future ;
- (3) House/Furniture/Lobola/etc.

Bought while at present employer :

The same procedure as adopted in the last item applied to recodes including :

- (1) Radio ;
- (2) Clothing ;
- (3) Radio and Clothing ;
- (4) Other - including radio, clothes, other;  
radio, other; etc.

Amount paid for items ;

This item was recoded into two categories; the first for items costing less than seventy-five (75) Rands and the second for items costing more than seventy-five (75) Rands.

Wage per month including overtime :

The original coding ranged from twenty (20) to one hundred or more (100 +) Rands per month. The lowest interval of the scale, i.e. between twenty (20) and twenty-nine (29) Rands per month and the highest interval of the scale i.e. fifty (50) to one hundred or more (100 +) Rands per month had very few cases. For this reason the item was recoded into three categories :

- (1) twenty (20) to thirty-nine (39) Rands per month;
- (2) forty (40) to forty-nine (49) Rands per month ;
- (3) fifty or more (50 +) Rands per month.

Bonus received each year :

For this item 79 percent of the sample were missing cases, with only 21 percent receiving bonuses. Consequently this was recoded to 'Did not receive a bonus' and 'Did receive a bonus.'

The item 'How much out of your salary do you spend on ...?' :

included the following :

- (1) Meat/Fish/Eggs ;
- (2) Meal/Bread/Cakes ;
- (3) Vegetables/Fruit ;
- (4) Other food ;
- (5) Alcohol/Beer ;
- (6) Education ;
- (7) Rent and Hut tax ;
- (8) Medical service/Medicine ;
- (9) Clothing/Footwear ;

- (10) Fuel/Lighting ;  
(11) Church ;  
(12) Dry cleaning ;  
(13) Personal Care ;  
(14) Recreation/Entertainment ;  
(15) Burial Society ;  
(16) Reading matter ;  
(17) Sending money away ;  
(18) Transport .

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These items were recoded to 'No expenses' and 'Yes, I have expenses' because of the large number of missing cases which were assumed to have no expenses. Secondly, those who did have expenses were dispersed over a wide range of expenditure values and therefore were all included in the new category ' I have expenses.'

How long have you worked for your present employer ? :

This item was recoded into three categories:

- (1) 0 - 2 years ;  
(2) 2 - 5 years ;  
(3) 5 - 15 years .

This recoding was necessary because of the low percentage of cases falling into some of the original categories.

Age of domestic workers :

The item initially had categories ranging from under twenty (20) years to sixty and more (60 +) years. Some of these categories

were combined and in the recoding three categories remained under the following headings : -

- (1) twenty to thirty years ;
- (2) thirty-one years to forty years ;
- (3) forty-one years to sixty plus years .

Educational level passed ;

A large portion of the sample had less than Std. three. The item was recoded into two categories : 'No education to Std. 3' and ' Std. 4 to Std. 9.'

To interpret the data two computer runs were made with live-in - live-out being the dependent variable. The first run was based on the entire sample whereas the second run was based only on the females in the sample. Fortunately all the males were in the live-in category, hence their removal from the sample did not diminish the size of the live-out sample. Should the live-out sample have been reduced, by the removal of the males from the sample, from its already small number a female distinction would not have been possible.

The reason for the female distinction was that some of the questions contained in the questionnaire related specifically to the women and if the males had been included in the sample, the results would have been disguised. An example of how the males would have disguised the outcome is given below.



Question 11 of the questionnaire asked : "How much money does your husband/boyfriend give you and your household each month? " This was coded as Item 11 with the recoded categories : - 'Receive nothing' and 'Receive a regular monthly contribution.' Item 11 was cross tabulated with the dependent variable live-in - live-out. The results were as follows : -

WHOLE SAMPLE (Males and females)

REGULAR MONTHLY CONTRIBUTION BY HUSBAND/BOYFRIEND

	% N	% Live-in	% Live-out
NOTHING	72	88	12
REGULAR MONTHLY CONTRIBUTION	28	55	46

FEMALES ONLY

REGULAR MONTHLY CONTRIBUTION BY HUSBAND/BOYFRIEND

	% N	% Live-in	% Live-out
NOTHING	68	86	14
REGULAR MONTHLY CONTRIBUTION	32	55	46

The above Tables indicate how the males in the sample affect the research findings. With regard to the sample share of something or nothing one would conclude , in terms of the whole sample,

that 72 percent receive nothing whereas 28 percent receive something. As a result of the female bias of the question one would extend the conclusion and say that 72 percent of female domestic workers receive no contributions whereas the figure is in fact 68 percent. The removal of the males from the sample effects the percentage distribution between live-in and live-out domestic workers. For example : for the whole sample 88 percent of those domestic workers who live-in received nothing, whereas in the female sample 86 percent received nothing. For these reasons it was felt that in order to achieve accuracy male respondents should be removed from questions with a female bias.

Only a very small percentage of the employers were non-white (9 percent). It would have been interesting to have run a three way cross tabulation on the dependent variable 'live-in live-out' to all the variables for each employer race group. This would have enabled one to determine whether trends were the same, or differed, across race groups. Unfortunately this was not possible, since Coloured employers were only nine in number and Indian employers were only six in number. To be able to draw some comparisons between the employer race groups would have meant sample sizes of at least fifty for both the Coloured and Indian race groups.

Some questions lacked the desired clarity. For example : Question 19 of the questionnaire asked : " Overtime in a normal month ? R\_\_\_\_\_ . " This question is not specific enough, because one only knows who received overtime payments. One is unable to draw distinctions between those who worked

overtime and received payment and those who might have worked beyond their required hours and received no payment.

In conclusion, as the aim was to determine whether there were any physical material differences between live-in and live-out domestic workers cross tabulations were done in which all items were compared against the dependent variable 'live-in - live-out.' In order to establish trends, however simplistic (because of the small live-out sample), it was necessary to recode some of the data. The results should therefore be read as indications for future research.

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DISCUSSION :

The whole sample comprised one hundred and sixty-eight (168) cases, of which one hundred and thirty-three (133) were live-in domestic workers and thirty-five (35) lived-out. The male sample is too small to really determine the trends. However, it should be noted that within the sample all the males were in the live-in category. Of the women, 76 percent were live-ins, whereas 24 percent lived-out. There appears to be an indication that more domestic workers live-in for White employers than for the other two race groups , Coloured and Indian.

TABLE 1 : PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN OF THOSE WHO LIVE-IN OR LIVE-OUT FOR EACH OF THE FOLLOWING GROUPS - WHITE, COLOURED AND INDIAN.

	Live-in	Live-out
WHITE	81%	19%
COLOURED	67%	33%
INDIAN	50%	50%

It should be noted that the comparison between Coloured and Indian employers is questionable, because of the very low sample sizes, i.e. N = 9 and N = 6 respectively. The ratio for the White sample may alter, depending on the sampling procedure used. The research design should incorporate a

sampling procedure which would overcome the problems associated with households employing more than one domestic worker. One such problem would occur in households employing a permanent live-in domestic worker and a char/ironing girl who works on a part-time basis i.e. two or three days a week. In such an instance it is more than likely that there would be a bias on the employer's part to bring forward the permanent live-in domestic worker rather than the part-time live-out worker for the interview. One would expect such a bias to occur because live-out workers employed on a part-time basis come into the household to perform specific chores in a certain period of time; and employers would be reluctant to allow them off work for the period required for the interview. In households where a permanent live-in domestic worker and a part-time live-out char are employed, such a sampling procedure would ensure that both categories were equitably sampled. The following procedure could be employed : where the questionnaires are numbered the interviewer should ascertain the number and type of domestic workers (live-in and/or live-out) employed. Taking the above example , one would then interview permanent live-in workers on odd numbered questionnaires and part-time live-out chars on even numbered questionnaires.

Twenty-three percent of the sample had their homes in the townships. Of this number, 39 percent lived-out in the townships and 61 percent lived-in. Eighty-five percent of the domestic workers whose homes were in the country lived-in,

whilst only 15 percent lived out in the townships. Given the distribution of domestic workers who live in urban areas and those who live in country areas, the percentage of those live-in domestics with an urban origin is significantly lower than the percentage of those who live-in with a country origin. This may be caused by the following factors:

- (a) Live-out domestic workers who have children and who are of urban origin are more likely to elect to live-out with their families, than to live-in with their employers. This may be achieved by their selectively choosing their employment, i.e. working for a number of different employers on a once or twice weekly basis.
- (b) Domestic workers who originate from the country, especially those who have worked for under ten years and lack Section Ten Rights, may experience difficulty in obtaining accommodation in the townships.
- (c) The live-in domestic workers of country origin <sup>may</sup> elect to live-in (rather than live-out) because their families are far away in the country regions and they feel that the white urban areas offer greater security and are more convenient. This convenience would be derived from living closer to town and not having to wake up early in order to arrive at work on time. This should also mean financial savings in terms of transport.

A larger percentage of affluent employers have their domestic workers living in. This portion of the sample constitutes 88 percent as opposed to the less affluent employers only having 75 percent living in. This percentage difference may be attributed to the fact that affluent employers may entertain more often, thus requiring help later into the night. This help is more easily elicited when domestic workers live-in and problems associated with transport do not have to be contended with.

When child care is compared in relation to live-in and live-out domestic workers, an interesting trend emerges. In order to compare child care the males have been removed from the sample in order to exclude the presence of a confounding variable. Within this item, 'Adult Women in charge of children,' there is a category where the respondent has no children under the age of eighteen (18) years. When the whole sample is considered in relation to the above category, 49 cases are present in the said category, whereas when the males in the sample have been excluded only 31 cases fall within this category. The exclusion of males should make trends clearer, thus enhancing the accuracy of the results. The following Table (Table 2) is abridged and includes only the four most important variables, with a newly created category denoted as 'Other'. This category comprises the following :

- Other female 18 years + ;
- Other female under 18 years ;
- Male member of the family.

These three categories were combined, since they only

represented 9 percent of the sample.

TABLE 2 : THE PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF DIFFERENT FAMILY MEMBERS ( ADULT WOMEN ) TENDING FOR THE CHILDREN OF DOMESTIC WORKERS AND THE PERCENTAGE BREAKDOWN BETWEEN LIVE-IN AND LIVE-OUT FOR EACH CATEGORY.

	% N	% Live-in	% Live-out
GRANDMOTHER/MOTHER/ MOTHER-IN-LAW	40	91	9
NO CHILDREN UNDER 18 YEARS	21	90	10
SELF	16	13	87
SISTER/SISTER-IN-LAW	14	70	30
OTHER	9	100	-

The largest share of child care is undertaken by Grandmothers/ Mothers/Mothers-in-law, claiming 40 percent of the sample. Within this group 91 percent cared for the children of live-in domestic workers and only 9 percent cared for the offspring of live-out domestic workers. There is a surprisingly large number of domestic workers who have no children under the age of 18 years. This category constituted 21 percent of the female sample of domestic workers. The majority of domestic workers without children were found in the live-in category. Of those domestic workers who did not have children under the age of 18 years, 90 percent came from those workers who lived-in. Only



10 percent who did not have children came from those domestic workers who were in the live-out category. When one considers the frequency distribution for the whole sample, the high percentage who do not have children is surprising, since only seven percent of the sample fell below the age of twenty years and 62 percent of the domestic workers were forty years of age or below.

TABLE 3.1 : LIVE-IN DOMESTIC WORKERS WITH NO CHILDREN BELOW 18 YEARS. (FEMALE ONLY)

Below 40 yrs	40 - 50 yrs	51 yrs and above
36%	25%	39%

( Where live-in domestic workers with no children under the age of 18 years constitute 25 percent of the sample (n = 28) out of 111 female live-in domestic workers.)

TABLE 3.2 : LIVE-IN DOMESTIC WORKERS WHOSE HOME IS IN THE COUNTRY WITH NO CHILDREN BELOW THE AGE OF 18 YEARS. (FEMALE ONLY)

Below 40 yrs	40 - 50 yrs	51 yrs and above
36%	23%	41%

( Where live-in domestic workers whose homes are in the country and who have no children under the age of 18 years, constitute 21 percent of the sample (n = 22) out of 107 live-in female domestic workers.)

Although 64 percent of all live-in female domestic workers who had no children below the age of 18 years were of the ages forty years and above, 36 percent were below the age of forty years. When considering a country-rural base, 36 percent within this category fell below forty years of age and 64 percent were forty years and above. If one assumes that mothers would have had all their children before the age of forty, then it is reasonable to predict that women aged fifty should still have children who are still below the age of 18 years. Should this assumption hold, then 61 percent of all live-in domestic workers within the category of no children under 18 years have no children and 69 percent of country based live-in domestic workers within this group have no children.

When considering the age distribution of those live-in domestic workers who have no children below the age of 18 years in conjunction with the entire female sample who have no children under the age of 18 years, there appears to be an indication that a domestic job that requires one to live-in inhibits family life. This is especially true for domestic workers of country origin, i.e. 61 percent of all live-in female domestic workers had no children under the age of 18 years, whereas 8 percent more of live-in rural domestic workers had no children under the age of 18 years.

Only a small percentage (16 percent) of domestic workers are able to care for their own children. Within this category, 87 percent were domestic workers who lived out whereas only 13 percent

of those mothers who lived-in were able to care for their own children. The low percentage of live-out domestic workers tending for their own children reflects a reluctance on the part of the employers to allow the children of their domestic workers to accompany them to work. This practice seems unfair, considering the long hours worked by and the low wages paid to domestic workers. For the domestic worker to pay someone to look after their children would be a considerable burden given their low wages. Whilst only 13 percent of live-in domestic workers within this category look after their own children, this figure is remarkably high when government limitations with regard to Black people living within White areas is taken into account. Sisters and sisters-in-law tend for 14 percent of domestic workers' children, where 70 percent of these children are the offspring of live-in domestic workers and 30 percent are the offspring of live-out domestic workers.

In the final analysis, it would seem that grandmothers or mothers-in-law are the most popular forms of child care, whilst self care is the second most popular, followed by sisters or sisters-in-law. When comparing child care in terms of those domestics who live-in and those domestic workers who live-out, one finds that the most popular form of child care for live-in domestic workers is the grandmother/mothers-in-law category (48 percent) whereas within the category of live-out domestic workers 60 percent of those

domestic workers with children tend for their own offspring.

TABLE 4 : WHERE DEPENDANT CHILDREN STAY. (FEMALE ONLY)

	% N	% Live-in	% Live-out
DURBAN AND SURROUNDING			
AREAS	29	55	45
ELSEWHERE IN NATAL	34	86	14
OUTSIDE NATAL	13	79	21
NO DEPENDANT CHILDREN			
UNDER 18 YEARS	19	89	11
OTHER	5	75	25

( The categories within this Table were reduced for the purposes of comparison. Durban and surrounding areas included the following categories :-

- children in Durban;

- children in Adams, Inanda and Valley of a Thousand Hills.

The logic was to group these easily accessible areas in terms of day visiting or commuting so as to draw a distinction between this and the other category areas, i.e. elsewhere in Natal and outside Natal. The category 'Other' represents those categories where the sample was considered too small for comparison. This Table is based on the female sample only.)

Most of the domestic workers had dependant children that resided elsewhere in Natal, this group constituting 34 percent of the female domestic workers sample. Of the children living elsewhere in Natal, 86 percent were of live-in domestic workers. This tends to indicate the constraints which exist on family life, since the largest portion of the sample, 47 percent (comprising the categories elsewhere in Natal and outside Natal), had children who lived away from Durban. This would mean that these domestic workers would have to arrange special visits in order to see their children. The information contained within the Table suggests that a greater number of live-out domestic workers were able to be with their children than were live-in domestic workers. The reason for this could well be that live-out domestic workers represent only a small percentage (14 percent) within the largest sample category 'elsewhere in Natal', whereas they represent 45 percent in the second largest category (Durban and surrounding areas.) This apparent trend is further reinforced by the low percentage of live-out domestic workers who have no dependant children under the age of 18 years. (Refer to Table 4.)

Table 5 (see below) excludes males, so as not to confound the 'No Children' category. In addition, in terms of the classification of each category there is a female bias to the data included in this Table.

TABLE 5 : PRESENCE OR ABSENCE OF FATHER

	% N	% Live-in	% Live-out
NO FATHER (unmarried mother/steady boyfriend)	44	81	19
NO CHILDREN	21	90	10
NO FATHER (deceased/ divorced)	21	73	27
FATHER AT HOME	10	21	79
FATHER IS MIGRANT WORKER	4	100	-

The largest portion of the sample (44 percent) who had children, were unmarried mothers who may or may not have had steady boyfriends. In this category, 81 percent of the unmarried mothers were live-in domestic workers, with 19 percent of those mothers coming from the category of live-out domestic workers. The high incidence of unmarried mothers, especially amongst live-in workers, may result from the trend of taking town boyfriends as a result of the prolonged intervals away from rural/home areas and through loneliness. The prolonged intervals of absence from their rural homes may also prevent women who are domestic workers in White urban areas from finding husbands, acceptable to their families, within the rural areas. There is a high percentage of widows and divorcees, this group constituting 21 percent of the

sample. Within this category 73 percent of the children with no father came from mothers who were live-in domestic workers. This would appear to indicate that divorce is more prone to occur to domestic workers within the live-in category, because mortality rates between live-in and live-out domestic workers' husbands should not alter significantly, even when considering the rural-urban differences.

TABLE 6 : NUMBER OF CHILDREN . APART FROM THEIR OWN .  
SUPPORTED BY DOMESTIC WORKERS.

	% N	% Live-in	% Live-out
NONE	20	56	44
1 CHILD	36	79	21
2/MORE CHILDREN	44	90	10

(This Table includes both male and female domestic workers. Males should not confound any of these categories, since they may well be supporting children apart from their own.)

A large portion of the sample (80 percent) supported children apart from their own. Those domestic workers supporting two or more children other than their own comprised the largest category, 44 percent of the sample. The second largest category was that where one child apart from their own was supported by the domestic worker. This category constituted 36 percent of the sample. Within both of the above categories a significantly larger percentage of the domestic workers looking after children apart from their own were drawn from the

live-in category. With 82 percent of live-in domestic workers having their homes based in the rural areas, the data appears to indicate that rural domestic workers have greater obligations to children apart from their own. This may result from rural pressures stressing the community. Children so supported are likely to be relatives because of the tradition of the extended family structure still prevalent in rural areas.

One would expect that domestic workers who live-out have greater expenses in terms of food, transport and other needs, than domestic workers who live-in. Based on such assumptions one would expect the live-out domestic worker to earn a higher wage than their live-in counterparts, who should have little/no additional food expenses. However, in cross-tabulating 'wages paid per month' to the categories 'Live-in' or 'Live-out' domestic workers one finds no correlation. Therefore, we are led to the conclusion that domestic workers who live-out do not earn significantly higher wages than domestic workers who live-in. It would appear that employers determine how much they shall pay according to what they can afford, disregarding the fact that live-out domestic workers should be paid a food supplement. The average wage paid per month to all domestic workers is in the region of R40 to R44.



TABLE 7 : OVERTIME PAID

	% N	% Live-in	% Live-out
YES	11	100	-
NO	89	77	23

(This Table includes the whole sample.)

Only 11 percent of domestic workers in this sample received overtime payment. Of those who received overtime payments all were live-in domestic workers. No live-out domestic workers were paid overtime. In the questionnaire the question relating to overtime payments asked whether overtime payments were received each month. From the available data, one is unable to determine whether overtime was paid when worked or not. Therefore, one can only conclude that 11 percent of the sample worked overtime and were paid for it, whereas 89 percent did not receive overtime payments although some may have worked overtime, i.e. beyond their usual hours. The whole live-out sample did not receive overtime payments; it is highly likely that these workers did not work overtime because they had buses to catch. Seventy-seven percent of those domestic workers who received no overtime payments lived-in. It is likely that these workers are more susceptible to working overtime and not being paid for it because as they live-in their hours of work are more easily extended, e.g. staying late because of a dinner party or baby sitting whilst the employers go out.

TABLE 8 : ABILITY TO SAVE EACH MONTH

	% N	No Savings	Savings
LIVE-IN	79	31	61
LIVE-OUT	21	60	40

(The data was recoded 'saving' and 'no saving' due to the large number of missing cases (44 percent) in the sample, who are assumed not to save.)

Although there appears to be no distinction in wages between live-in and live-out domestic workers, live-in domestic workers appear to be more able to save than those domestic workers who live out. Within the sample 61 percent of the live-in domestic workers were able to save, whereas only 40 percent of those who lived-out were able to save each month. Live-in domestic workers appear to be greater savers. However, it should be noted that such saving may result from the provision of rations or drawing of whatever food the domestic worker requires from the employer. The above Table (Number Eight) tends to indicate that live-in domestic workers are financially better off, as more of them are able to save.

TABLE 9 : REGULAR MONTHLY CONTRIBUTION BY HUSBAND OR BOYFRIEND.

	N %	% Live-in	% Live-out
NOTHING	68	86	14
REGULAR CONTRIBUTION	32	55	44

( The males were excluded from the sample because the coding is female biased.)

Sixty-eight percent of the sample received no regular money contributions from husbands or boyfriends; although some of this percentage may include women who have neither a husband nor a boyfriend. Of those domestic workers who received regular contributions, (32 percent of the sample), 55 percent lived-in and 44 percent lived-out. This could provide part of the explanation regarding why live-in domestic workers are able to save more each month than live-out domestic workers.

Although there does not appear to be a significant difference in wages paid per month between the live-in and live-out domestic workers, when wage income and husband/boyfriend contributions are combined to reflect a total income, a significant difference does result.

TABLE 10 : TOTAL INCOME INCLUDING EMPLOYERS WAGE AND HUSBAND/BOYFRIEND CONTRIBUTION.

	% Live-in	% Live-out
R20 - R39	27	11
R40 - R49	32	20
R50 +	<u>41</u>	<u>69</u>
	100	100

( The males were excluded from the sample because the coding is female biased , in terms of husband/boyfriend contribution.)

When comparing total income the data appears to suggest that live-out domestic workers are significantly better off than live-in domestic workers. In the R50 + category, 69 percent of all live-out domestic workers were placed, whereas only 41 percent of this category was made up of live-in domestic workers. Furthermore, significantly less live-out domestic workers earned in the R20 - R39 category than live-in domestic workers. Thus, overall, live-out domestic workers would appear to be better off, although living expenses such as food and accommodation may result in live-in domestics being better off overall.

TABLE 11.1 : THE PERCENTAGE OF LIVE-INS WHO HAVE EXPENSES ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS AND THE BREAKDOWN OF SUCH EXPENDITURE BETWEEN SELF AND HOUSEHOLD.

NOTE: % N = 79

	% NO EXPENSES	% EXPENSES		
		%	SELF	HOUSEHOLD
MEAT/FISH/EGGS	53	47	71	29
MEAL/BREAD/CAKES	74	26	51	49
VEGETABLES/FRUIT	65	35	72	28
OTHER FOODS	64	36	65	35

TABLE 11.2 : THE PERCENTAGE OF LIVE-OUTS WHO HAVE EXPENSES ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS AND THE BREAKDOWN OF SUCH EXPENDITURE BETWEEN SELF AND HOUSEHOLD.

NOTE: % N = 21

	% NO EXPENSES	% EXPENSES		
		%	SELF	HOUSEHOLD
MEAT/FISH/EGGS	26	74	35	65
MEAL/BREAD/CAKES	31	69	28	72
VEGETABLES/FRUIT	29	71	28	72
OTHER FOODS	49	51	22	78

( The above data includes expenditure by the entire sample, since sex should not affect expenditure patterns, as most are monthly required needs. These categories were recoded to 'no expenses' ( where respondent did not give a monetary value) and 'expenses' (where respondent gave a monetary value) ; due to the low frequency of cases attributed to each monetary value.)

The items included in the Tables (11.1 and 11.2) relate to subsistence needs. One would expect live-in domestic workers to have less expenses than live-out domestic workers because either all their food requirements are provided by employers or at least rations are supplied. The above data appears to indicate this trend, with live-in workers spending less on food stuffs than live-out domestic workers.

In the meat/fish/eggs category, 47 percent of live-in domestic workers had expenses. Of their expenditure on these items 71 percent was spent on themselves. This should be contrasted to live-out domestic workers where 74 percent had expenses in this category. Of their expenditure on these items 35 percent was spent on themselves.

In the meal/bread/cake category only 26 percent of live-in domestic workers had expenses. This low percentage may result from employers providing sufficient of these commodities, especially meal, because they regard it as the staple diet of Blacks. Of total expenditure by live-in domestic workers on these items 51 percent was spent on themselves. Sixty-nine percent of all live-out domestic workers had expenses in this category. Of their expenditure on these items 72 percent was spent on the household. The low percentage spent on themselves may result from their needs in this category being satisfied at their place of employment.

In the vegetables/fruit category, 35 percent of live-in domestic workers had expenses. Of their expenditure 72 percent was spent on themselves. Seventy-one percent of live-out domestic workers had expenses on these items. Of their expenditure on fruit and vegetables 28 percent was spent on themselves.

Only 36 percent of live-in domestic workers had expenses in the other foods category; spending 65 percent of total

expenditure on themselves and only 35 percent on their households. In the live-out domestic workers sample, 51 percent had expenses on these items. Of this figure, 22 percent was spent on themselves and 78 percent on their households. The other foods category in the questionnaire does not specify what food stuffs the category is referring to. The category may refer to items such as sugar, salt, tea and coffee etc. In the live-in category domestic workers appear to spend largely on themselves and little on their households. This may be caused by the fact that live-in domestic workers are largely of a rural background (82 percent) and therefore their homesteads meet, or almost meet, their rural family's subsistence needs. The only categories where live-in domestic workers spent significantly more on their households than on themselves was in the meal/bread/cakes category and slightly more in the other foods category. Should this other foods category refer to sugar, salt, tea and coffee etc., these two categories then refer to non-perishable goods. The spending of more on the household in these two categories then makes sense as they are easily stored and transported without fear of perishing. In addition it should be borne in mind that meal is a staple food of the Black people.

It is interesting that some of the live-out domestic workers seem to have no expenses in any of the four food categories included in the questionnaire. The most noticeable category for no expenses for live-out domestics was the other foods

category, where 49 percent did not have any expenses at all. Having little/no expenses in this category may result from some food being drawn from their employers' households; or their husbands/boyfriends may be making the necessary purchases to meet their needs in this category. An interesting trend in the results is the low expenditure on themselves by live-out domestics in the meal/bread/cakes; vegetable/fruit and other foods categories, as opposed to a higher percentage (35 percent) being spent on themselves in the meat/fish/eggs category. The lower expenditure on themselves in the meal/bread/cakes; vegetable/fruit and other foods categories may occur because these needs are being satisfied at their place of employment.

TABLE 12.1 : THE PERCENTAGE OF LIVE-INS WHO HAVE EXPENSES ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS AND THE BREAKDOWN OF SUCH EXPENDITURE BETWEEN SELF AND HOUSEHOLD.

NOTE : % N = 79

	% NO EXPENSES	% EXPENSES	
		%	SELF HOUSEHOLD
RENT/HUT TAX	80	20	not significant
FUEL/LIGHTING	67	33	68 32
PERSONAL CARE	12	88	96 4
SENDING MONEY AWAY	12	88	1 99



TABLE 12.2 : THE PERCENTAGE OF LIVE-OUTS WHO HAVE EXPENSES ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS AND THE BREAKDOWN OF SUCH EXPENDITURE BETWEEN SELF AND HOUSEHOLD.

NOTE : % N = 21

	% NO EXPENSES	% EXPENSES		
		%	SELF	HOUSEHOLD
RENT/HUT TAX	40	60	not significant	
FUEL/LIGHTING	37	63	27	73
PERSONAL CARE	-	100	77	23
SENDING MONEY AWAY	49	51	-	100

( The above data includes expenditure by the entire sample since sex should not affect expenditure patterns as most are monthly required needs. These categories were recoded to 'no expenses' (where respondent did not give a monetary value) and 'expenses' (where respondent gave a monetary value) ; due to the low frequency of cases attributed to each monetary value.)

Very few of the live-in domestic workers, who are largely of rural origin, had any rent/hut taxes to pay. Thus, either their homesteads do not have to pay taxes or some other member of the homestead is paying these taxes. In the live-out group, 60 percent had rent or hut taxes to pay. This percentage is surprisingly low, as 40 percent of the sample did not have accommodation expenses. This may result from domestic workers living with other family members and contributing to the household in other ways. No significance

was found between expenditure on self and household in this category ; which is to be expected because accommodation cannot really be apportioned to family members. In most cases people probably fit accommodation to their needs and to what they can afford.

In the fuel and lighting category 33 percent of the live-in domestic workers had no expenses. Of the 67 percent who did have expenses 68 percent of total expenditure on fuel and lighting was spent on themselves and only 32 percent on their households. This tends to indicate that some domestic workers had to cook in their rooms, probably using primus stoves. The fuel and lighting category for live-out domestic workers seems to be inaccurate, because 37 percent of these workers do not have any fuel and lighting expenses. This apparent discrepancy may be rectified if it is assumed that husbands purchase the requirements to meet the fuel and lighting needs of the household. In the item 'Presence or Absence of Father ' we find that 32 percent of domestic workers in the live-out category had husbands living at home. Thus to a large extent this discrepancy does not appear to exist. Though the data does not explain why 27 percent of the live-out domestic workers only spend on themselves in this category one would expect fuel and lighting to be an expenditure for the entire household. Even if all those live-out domestic workers who had no children lived on their own, this would only explain 9 percent of the discrepancy.

Eighty-eight percent of those workers who live-in had personal care expenses. If only the live-in women domestic workers are considered, 92 percent had expenses. Therefore, it would appear that most males also had personal care expenses, although some (7 cases) did not. There appears to be some small rural-urban difference amongst domestic workers in this category, since all live-out domestic workers had expenses whereas 8 percent of domestic workers who lived-in had no expenses. (Live-in sample was made up largely of workers with rural origins.) Though these live-in domestic workers had no expenses they may have had basic toiletries provided by their employers.

The item 'sending money home' appears to be consistent for both live-in and live-out domestic workers. Of those domestic workers who fall in the live-in category, 88 percent sent money home and this is relatively consistent when one remembers that of those workers who live-in 82 percent had rural origins. The comparison is similar with regard to the live-out domestic workers, where 51 percent sent money home and 57 percent had rural origins. The magnitude of domestic workers who send money home tends to indicate that domestic workers of rural origins maintain strong links with the rural areas.

In the following categories no significant difference was found between live-in and live-out domestic workers :

- alcohol/beer ;
- education ;

- medical services/medicine ;
- clothing/footwear ;
- dry cleaning ;
- recreation/entertainment ;
- burial society ;
- reading matter ;
- transport.

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These categories refer mainly to expenses that one would expect to be consistent to all people, and not peculiar to, for example, live-in as opposed to live-out domestic workers. One would expect food expenses to differ between live-in and live-out domestic workers, yet, for example, the consumption of alcohol and beer is dependent on individual tastes and one would not expect employers to subsidise domestic workers' drinking habits. There are a few exceptions, those referring to medical expenses and transport. In the case of transport, one would expect those domestics who lived-out to have greater expenses. This trend may not have been reflected due to the small sample size of live-out domestic workers or because many employers may pay the transport costs of their domestic workers to and from work so as to ensure the presence of their domestic worker at work. In the case of medical expenses, live-in domestic workers may have less costs due to employer subsidisation, since employers feel compelled to help a sick person on their property as it is difficult to ignore.

According to the sample, this does not appear to be the case and medical services and medicine costs seem to be a non-issue because 96 percent and 89 percent of live-in and live-out domestic workers respectively had no expenses, i.e. missing cases.

TABLE 13 : THE PERCENTAGE OF LIVE-IN AND LIVE-OUT DOMESTIC WORKERS WHO HAD EXPENSES ON THE FOLLOWING ITEMS AND THE BREAKDOWN OF SUCH EXPENDITURE BETWEEN SELF AND HOUSEHOLD.

	SELF	HOUSEHOLD
LIVE-IN : Church	98	2
Reading matter	94	6
LIVE-OUT : Church	86	14
Reading matter	64	36

Although there was no significant difference between live-in and live-out domestic workers in the category of church and reading matter, most domestic workers who did have expenses in these areas spent them on themselves. Although live-out domestic workers spent proportionately more on the household.

Within this sample, no significant difference in educational qualifications attained was found between live-in and live-out domestic workers. Therefore, when comparing the difference in the number of children at primary and lower schools in terms of live-in and live-out domestic workers as parents it would appear that the difference is not caused by the

domestic workers own differing experiences in terms of their education. Thus, although a difference in the number of children at primary or lower schools between live-in and live-out domestic workers does exist this must be caused by other factors.

The design of the research questionnaire does not allow for other explanations. However, a possible factor may be the differing experiences experienced by live-in and live-out domestic workers. For instance, live-out domestic workers, through their urban permanency, may experience greater pressures from the developed society in which they live to educate their children, i.e. to get somewhere one must have an education. Live-in domestic workers, with their largely rural backgrounds, may experience a lower intensity of these pressures because they maintain strong links with the rural areas and their children are rurally based. Therefore, the educational pressures may be far less severe because of a feeling on the domestic workers part that rural children need to learn rural things.

TABLE 14 : NUMBER OF CHILDREN AT PRIMARY AND LOWER SCHOOLS

	YES	NO
Live-in	47	53
Live-out	74	26
Whole sample	52	48

Proportionately more live-out domestic workers have children at primary or lower level schools; 74 percent of the live-out sample as opposed to 47 percent of the live-in sample. Of all the domestic workers in the sample, 48 percent had no children at primary or lower level schools whereas 52 percent had children at school. When comparing live-in and live-out domestic workers who had children at school, in relation to the distribution of the whole sample, one finds that live-in domestic workers had less children at school whereas live-out domestic workers had significantly more children at school.

TABLE 15 : EMPLOYERS CONTRIBUTION TO EDUCATION OF DOMESTIC WORKER'S CHILDREN.

	YES	NO
Live-in	3	97
Live-out	14	86
Whole sample	5	95

The data appears to suggest that employers contribute significantly more to the education of the children of live-out domestic workers than they do towards the education of the children of live-in domestic workers. However, the majority of employers do not contribute to education costs at all. In the case of this sample, 95 percent of all employers did not contribute to education

costs, whilst only 5 percent of all employers did contribute to the cost of education incurred by their domestic workers.



## CONCLUSION :

The majority of domestic workers who lived-in were of country origins. Most of the domestic workers who were of rural origins came from the Natal hinterland. Within the Durban area it seems that most employers employed live-in domestic workers, though a higher proportion appear to be employed in the affluent areas (Upper Berea and Durban North) as opposed to the lower proportion employed in the less affluent areas (Overport, Lower Berea, Bluff, Rosehill and Sydenham.)

With regard to the quality of family life, live-out domestic workers appear to be 'better off' . A fifth of all the domestic workers in the sample appear to have no children, though few live-out domestic workers seem to fall into this category. Most child care was undertaken by Grandmothers, Mothers or Mothers-in-law. This child care appears to be most common to domestic workers of rural origins. The majority of domestic workers who cared for their own children lived-out and were thus able to enjoy some kind of family life. Just under half of the sample of domestic workers who had children were unmarried mothers, four fifths of whom were live-in domestic workers. Live-out domestic workers appear to be less prone to divorce than those workers who live-in. The higher frequency of illegitimate children, divorce and no children common to live-in domestic

workers imply that live-out domestic workers have a 'better' family life.

The study found no real difference in wages paid to live-in and live-out domestic workers. Thus employers appear to disregard the need to pay higher wages to live-out domestic workers because firstly they do not benefit from all meals and secondly they have families to feed. This requires food to be bought, unlike in the rural areas where food can be cultivated. When income and husband/boyfriend contribution were considered collectively, there was a difference in total income between live-in and live-out domestic workers. A greater proportion of live-out domestic workers earn more than fifty (50) rands per month, than did live-in domestic workers. It must be remembered that live-out domestic workers have accommodation and food expenses. Although live-out domestic workers appear to have a greater total income, live-in domestic workers appear to be financially better off, as a group, as more were able to save each month than those domestic workers who lived-out .

In the area of basic food expenditure live-out domestic workers had far greater expenses. Live-out domestic workers had greater expenses in the rent and fuel/lighting categories. Live-in domestic workers appear to have sent more money home than their live-out counterparts. Although this is an alternative expense , to food, it appears to be a lesser burden when the Preston-Whyte findings are

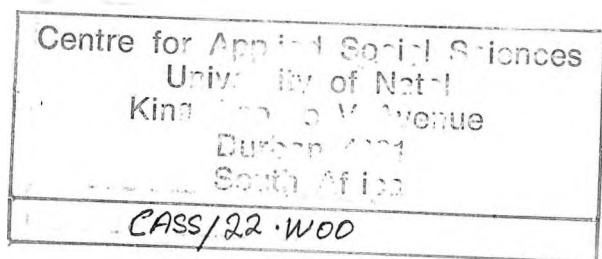
taken into account. Her study found that these remittances were extremely low in value. It was furthermore found that child care was subsidised to a large extent by the rural areas.

Thus, although live-out domestic workers appear to have a 'better' family life, the quality of a live-in domestic worker's life appears to be better in terms of financial and food satisfactions.

The limitations of the available data make it impossible to draw clear conclusions regarding which category of domestic worker (live-in or live-out) is better off. Any conclusions drawn between the two domestic worker categories in terms of quality of life, financial or family, can only be regarded as subjective, since they are based on individual interpretations, which of necessity are effected by the differing values and priorities held by all individuals.

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