THE EFFECTS OF MIGRANT LABOUR ON THE FAMILY SYSTEM

by

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submitted in part fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION - WITH SPECIALISATION IN GUIDANCE AND COUNSELLING

at the

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA

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NOVEMBER 2000

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to express my indebtedness to many people who have played a part in making this study a success. In particular I sincerely wish to thank:

- My supervisor, Dr S Burger for her valuable guidance and constructive comments
 which helped me to accomplish this study, which has been a most enriching and
 rewarding learning experience. Without her, I would not have made it up to this
 far.
- My lecturers in UNISA in the Department of Psychology of Education for their valuable contributions and positive comments which I received while I was under training.
- 3. My colleagues with whom I have been doing this course, especially Reggy Chemane and Balendran Naidoo who constantly encouraged me to persevere in times of difficulty and despair.
- 4. Dick Ngubane for his precious time he sacrificed in helping me when I was busy collecting data.
- 5. Andries Mondlane, and Chance Phiri for their assistance rendered in editing the draft at the preliminary stage.
- 6. To my parents who brought me to this earth and gave me an experience of being parented under hardship and poverty which has contributed to bringing me where I am today, and which I will always value and appreciate.
- 7. My wife, Vivian, for the valuable contribution, motivation she gave me in times of difficulty and despair and for the time she sacrificed of being together to allow me to study.

TITLE OF DISSERTATION

THE EFFECTS OF MIGRANT LABOUR ON THE FAMILY SYSTEM

SUMMARY

The migrant labour practice in South Africa played an important role in the country's development and economy. Although it has benefited many native migrant workers by creating job opportunities, it has had adverse effects on the families of migrant workers.

The focus of this study is the phenomenon of migrant labouring and its effects on the family. A literature study has shown that migrant labourers, living in overcrowded city hostels, were subjected to exploitation, malnutrition and crime. The empirical study brought to light the many problems experienced by the families back home: Wives were overburdened by dual roles and responsibilities, lack of support and money, children's development was impeded and academic motivations and performance were low.

The ultimate aim of this study was to design practical guidelines to help families cope with the effects of an absent father due to the migrant labour practice.

TITLE OF DISSERTATION

THE EFFECTS OF MIGRANT LABOUR ON THE FAMILY SYSTEM

Key terms:

The migrant labourers, Family system, Migrant labour system, Native reserves, Self-concept, Personality, Achievement motivation, Academic achievement, Cognitive and intellectual development, Father-child relationship, Marital relationship.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTORY ORIENTATION, STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM, AIMS AND CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

1.1 INTRODUCTION

A nuclear family consists of a father, a mother and a child or children. In an ideal situation these family members stay together in the same home. These family members are related to one another, thus we speak of a family system. Crow and Crow (1988:5) state that each family member is seen as a participating member of the system and is understood as affecting and being affected by the actions and involvements of all other members.

However, the family system is not a closed and insular system. In reality, families are relatively 'open' systems, that is, they are embedded in a complex social structure and are connected to other social institutions (Piotrkowski 1979:4). This implies that the functioning of the family system can also be affected by what is happening in the environment as it is part of it. In this sense, the family system is seen as a subsystem of the entire society (system). Piotrkowski (1979:4) further states that work organizations are one type of a social system to which families are connected.

Each member has a role to play in the family. In order for the family system to function harmoneously and properly, each member is expected to perform his/her responsibilities adequately. According to Crow and Crow (1988:5) the family is seen as an interactive, dynamic system. Parents are expected to bring up and support their child in totality, that is physically, socially, emotionally, psychologically and morally. In so doing, parents share the responsibilities.

From traditional point of view, the father is seen as a head of the family. He is also seen as a figure of authority and security. Furthermore, he is expected to ensure financial income for the whole family. In other words, he is the bread winner of the family.

On the other hand, the mother traditionally plays a supervisory role and takes care of the household as the family system today has changed dramatically.

She is also expected to bring up children in love, affection and in accordance with the norms and values of the society. The child is expected to respect his parents and fulfil their wishes and dreams. Dobson (1971:53) states that 'the hopes, dreams, and ambitions of an entire family sometimes rest on the shoulder of an immature child'.

In certain communities many fathers are unable to fulfil this role as provider adequately due to the lack of employment or low salaries offered. These men are then compelled to leave their families and find work elsewhere. Hence, they are away from their families for weeks and even months at a time.

1.2 AWARENESS OF THE PROBLEM

The researcher, as a teacher, can not turn a blind eye on what is happening around him in his community and to the activities in which he is engaged in on a daily basis. The researcher has become aware of the many problems families with absent fathers, due to migrant labour, are faced with.

In his various roles, the researcher became aware of the following specific problem:

1.2.1 School situation

The researcher, as an assistant school counsellor has been inspired to investigate the phenomenon of migrant labour through interaction with some learners who came to him for counselling. Some of these learners who were referred to him seem to pose problems to teachers and classmates. Their problems range from stealing, truancy and absenteeism from school for no apparent reason. Some of them used to quarrel with classmates. In short, they seem to be ill-mannered and manifesting problem behaviour.

During counselling sessions, the researcher found that the fathers of some of these learners were staying away from their home for a month or more due to labour migrancy.

1.2.2 Consultation with a local social worker

The researcher, as the assistant school counsellor, works hand in hand with a local social worker. In the interaction with the social worker, the researcher's awareness of the problem has been accentuated.

In one instance, the social worker pointed out that some of the cases which she deals with, are related to labour migrancy. For example, some women usually consult her for help because either husbands are not sending money to support the family anymore and if husbands do send money, they are not visiting monthly as is expected of them. Some women complain that their husbands do not care about them anymore. When their husbands do visit them during holidays, they spend less time with the family, prefering to spend their time with friends drinking beer.

1.2.3 Semi-rural community

The researcher, as a member of a semi-rural community, has become aware of family members who were experiencing problems as a result of the migrant labour practice. Some migrant labourers behave irresponsibly in financially supporting their families. As a result, many family members suffer due to the lack of money. Wives of these men are faced with difficulties of supporting the families single-handedly. Due to these difficulties, some of these women are compelled to work in the neighbouring towns or farms in order to earn money and provide food for their children. In some cases the money earned by these women is not even enough for the whole family, hence children are also compelled to work to supplement the mother's income. Children will, for instance, sell fruit on the streets and work in the neighbouring towns or farms during week-ends and school holidays.

Some of the children become involved in criminal activities in order to supplement their mother's income. Their mothers do not discourage them as they also benefit from it. Thus, stealing in such families is not considered as a serious offence. Other criminal activities involve house breaking and stealing goods, stealing car radios, stealing from shops and farms. The main aim of stealing is to sell the wares in order to obtain money.

As some women are unfortunate to find jobs in their neighbourhood, they are compelled to be away from home for weeks or even a month or more, depending on the conditions in the workplace. They, then, also become migrant labourers. These women have to leave their children behind at home without supervision. Many problems arise as a result of this, such as early pregnancy, school drop-out and drug abuse.

Some women opt to change their homes into shebeens. Shebeens have their own problems. Children in shebeens have difficulties in doing their homework due to noise and lack of quiet study rooms. They go to bed very late which in turn affect their attention adversely at school. These are but a few examples of the many problems experienced by family members of migrant labourers in a semi-rural community.

1.3 ANALYSIS OF THE PROBLEM

Migrant labour is a universal phenomenon. However, migrant labour in African countries differs from European and American countries in the sense that, migrant labourers in African countries leave behind the families, while migrant labourers in European and American countries usually migrate with their families.

Each system of migrant labour, that is the migrant labour leaving behind the family members and the migrant labour migrating with all the family members, has negative effects on the family system.

Migrating with the family members has common negative effects on the family system such as: experiencing language problems in a new environment, which in turn may have negative effects on the children's academic performance. Furthermore, language problems may negatively influence socialization with new neighbours. Thus the family may find itself isolated from the entire community.

Moreover, the family may struggle to adapt to the new environment with its unfamiliar weather conditions. These are just a few examples of negative effects experienced by families who migrate.

Let us turn now to the main focus of this study, that is, migrant labourers leaving behind family members. The absence of the father due to labour migrancy may adversely affect the functioning of the family in various ways.

In the absence of the father, the mother is faced with many challenges. Most studies (Booth 1996:20) report disruptive change in the family, with father's absence generating economic insecurity, marital disharmony, child illegitimacy, and women having to perform dual roles of father and mother.

While the migrant's wife is expected to fulfil dual roles, that of a father and mother in the father's absence, she often does not have the power inherent to the father's role. In the regard, Gordon (1981:61) says that 'The migrant's wife is pictured as remaining under her husband's ultimate power and control: although she is left to shoulder an unbearable burden of responsibility for family affairs, and property – particularly fields and livestock - she has little decision – making power in regard to these'.

This not only places the migrant wife in a difficult position, it also adds stress to her life.

Furthermore, the migrant's wife is expected to look after the children single-handedly. Fathers play a critical role in the development of their children. Therefore, his absence due to labour migrancy, will have adverse effects on his children's development. Lamb (1987:15) goes so far as to suggest 'that the father absence may be harmful not necessarily because a sex-role model is absent, but because many aspects of the father's role – economic, social, emotional – go unfulfilled or are inappropriately filled. Booth (1996:250) agrees with this view and adds that 'if a father's absence from the home has been shown to create tensions, family breakup, and disciplinary and motivational problems, then it could have lasting effects on children's academic progress'.

In the light of the above, it seems that labour migrancy may adversely affect the functioning of the family system in various ways.

1.4 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

1.4.1 General statement

The general problem to be addressed in this study is, "What are the effects of father-absence, due to migrant labouring on the family?"

1.4.2 Specific statement of the problem

In order to answer the above questioning, the following specific questions will be addressed:

- (i. What is migrant labour?
- (ii. Who are migrant labourers?
- (iii. What are the causes of migrant labouring?
- (iv. What is family system?
- (v. What are effects of migrant labouring on the family system, with specific reference to:
 - (a) The children's self-concept
 - (b) The children's personality
 - (c) The children's achievement motivation
 - (d) The children's cognitive development
 - (e) The children's academic achievement
 - (f) The children's relationship with teachers
 - (g) The children's relationship with the peer group
 - (h) The children's relationship with their father (migrant labourer)
 - (i) The marital relationship
 - (j) Difficulties/problems faced by the migrant labourers' wives.

1.5 AIMS OF THE STUDY

1.5.1 General aim

The general aim is to investigate the phenomenon of migrant labouring and the adverse effects on the family. This will bring about a better understanding of the functioning of the family system of migrant labourers.

1.5.2 Specific aims

The specific aims of this study are:

- To explore the phenomenon of migrant labouring
- To describe the functioning of the family system
- To identify and explore the adverse effects of the phenomenon of migrant labouring on the functioning of the family system in terms of the following:
 - (i. Children's self-concept;
 - (ii. Children's personality
 - (iii. Children's achievement motivation
 - (iv. Children's intellectual development;
 - (v. Children's academic achievement;
 - (vi. Children's relationship with teachers;
 - (vii. Children's relationship with peer group;
 - (viii. Children's relationship with their father (migrant labourer)
 - (ix. Marital relationship;
 - (x. Difficulties/problems faced by the migrant labourers' wives.

1.5.3 The ultimate aim

The ultimate aim of this study is to design guidelines to assist family members in coping with father who is absent from home due to the practice of migrant labouring.

1.6 RESEARCH METHOD

1.6.1 Literature study

An intensive literature study was undertaken in order to bring about a better understanding of the functioning of the family system in a normal situation, in this case, a family without a migrant labourer.

The literature study also assisted in understanding the phenomenon of migrant labouring and the adverse effects thereof on the functioning of the family system.

Furthermore, the literature study provided a framework for the empirical study.

1.6.2 An empirical investigation

The researcher decided to use the idiographic method of research. By using this method, he obtained information not readily obtainable by using quantitative methods. As each family is unique, the case study is a good choice as unique and personal information can be obtained.

Four families were selected from the village called Schulzendal in the Shongwe area.

Techniques used in gathering data ranged from observation, interviewing, psychometric and projective test media.

Teachers were also interviewed.

1.7 DEMARCATION OF THE FIELD OF STUDY

The ethnic from which the families were selected were Swazi speaking people in a small part of Mpumalanga. This ethnic population is under the chieftancy of Shongwe families.

Only one village in this area was targeted for this study. The name of the village is Schulzendal. There are two main reasons why this village was selected.

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Firstly, in this village the people only practise subsistence farming, while in other villages people also practise commercial farming. Hence, the rate of migrant labour in the selected village is high.

Subsistence farming does not adequately provide in a family's other needs such as clothes, safe-houses, furniture, and money for school fees for their children. Thus, many people from Schulzendal are compelled to engage in labour migrancy. There are also few job opportunities in the nearby town, Malelane, which is approximately 50km from the village.

1.8 CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS

The following definitions or explanations are provided to clarify terminology which will be used in this study:

1.8.1 Migrant labour

According to Encyclopedia Britanica (1988:175) migrant labourers are workers who move about systematically, seeking and engaging in seasonal temporary employment without becoming residents of the area in which they work.

In South Africa, however, many workers practise migrant labouring on a semi-permanent basis. Living and working in mine-hostels and in cities, have become a way of life for them.

1.8.2 Semi-rural community

Semi-rural community in this study refers to a community in which some of the members are dependent on agricultural activities for living and income, and other members are dependent on salaries earned by working in the neighbouring towns.

1.9 DEVELOPMENT OF THE STUDY

The further development of the study will be as follows:

CHAPTER 2: The phenomenon of migrant labouring.

CHAPTER 3: The influence of migrant labour on the family

CHAPTER 4: Empirical research design

CHAPTER 5: The empirical investigation

CHAPTER 6: Findings, conclusions, limitations and guidelines.

CHAPTER 2

THE PHENOMENON OF MIGRANT LABOUR

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The phenomenon of the migrant labour system has played an important role in the growth of the economy of South Africa. It has been in existence for centuries and has been used throughout the world. Magubane in Wilson and Perrot (1975:249) states that export of cheap labour is not a purely South African phenomenon.

However, South Africa's migrant labour system differs significantly from that of other countries in many ways. Firstly, migrant labourers are adult males, single men or husbands unaccompanied by their wives and children, who left their families behind in the reserves.

Secondly, these migrants are contracted to the employer for a strict limited duration ranging from six months up to a year or two years.

Thirdly, migrant workers are accommodated in compounds, hostels and other like premises.

The manner in which the migrant labour system was introduced to Natives in South Africa is also unique: Before Europeans arrived in South Africa, Natives were dependent on hunting and traditional subsistence farming. Natives had abundant land for their traditional ways of farming.

To induce Natives into the labour system, Europeans, on their arrival in Africa changed Natives from their traditional ways of living, appropriated their land and relocated them into Native reserves. The size of the land which had been set aside for Native reserves was too small to continue with Native traditional subsistence farming methods. In this way, Natives become dependent on Europeans through selling their labour.

Magubane summarizes this quite clearly in Wilson and Perrot (1975:227) where it says:

"From the very beginning of white settlers' colonization, the colonists decided that the African population was suitable for the most brutal, insidious and cruel spoilations. In the process of harnesing their labor, a policy of conquest was begun that would not destroy the population but that would deprive it of its land and subsistence and thus reduce it, in effect, to a mere instrument in the process of capitalist prosperity. The African were subjected to both expropriation and appropriation. That was the secret alike of conquest and of the setting aside of the reservation in which they would find it hard to continue any form of independent subsistence. From their labor the settlers secured the surplus that provided them with the much needed capital".

In this chapter a historical background will be given on how Natives were appropriated from their land and relocated into reserves, how they were induced into labour and migrant labour systems. In addition, the impacts of the mineral revolution, that is, the discoveries of minerals, agriculture and other migrant labour systems will be discussed. Van der Horst's (1942) book entitled: "Native labour in South Africa", is a well documented source for Native labourers, especially from a chronological perspective. Hence, Van der Horst's source will be used extensively in this chapter.

Furthermore, the general consequences of migrant labour both inside the reserves and in urban areas will be discussed briefly.

Lastly, the focus will be on (adverse) effects of migrant labour on the family systems inside the former homelands.

2.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The migrant labour system has been in existence in South Africa for many years:

"One hundred years ago, a decade before the birth of the Witwatersrand gold mining industry, generations before the evolution of the policy of apartheid, the system whereby men oscillate between their homes in some rural area and their place of work was already firmly established as part of the country's traditional way of life" (Wilson 1972:1).

Migrant labourers had been used before the discovery of diamonds near the confluence of the Orange and Vaal rivers in 1870 and gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886.

"During the 1870's, if not before, farmers in the Western Cape solved the perenial problem of labour shortage which in the previous centuries had been alleviated through the importation of slaves – by recruiting workers from wherever they could be found" (Wilson 1972:1)

Most migrant labourers for these farmers were recruited from the then Ciskei, Transkei, Mozambique, Namibia and other parts of Southern Africa. Farmers in Natal also solved the problem of shortage of workers in the sugar cane plantations through migrant workers. Sheep farmers in the Eastern Cape and Orange Free State used migrant workers from the then Ciskei.

The discovery of diamonds near Hopetown in 1866 had an impact on the migrant labour system: "By 1874, a mere eight years later, there were 10 000 blacks employed in the Kimberly" (Wilson 1972:2). Most of these men were migrant workers who came to the diamond fields for a limited period of time before returning home to *Lesotho*, *Swaziland*, *Transkei*, *Ciskei* or wherever they had left their families.

Later, it was the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 that had a significant impact on the migrant labour system: "By 1899, a mere 13 years later, the gold mines employed some 100 000 blacks" (Wilson 1972:3). Again, most of these migrant workers come as far as from *Mozambique*, *Lesotho*, *Swaziland*, *Namibia*, *Transkei*, *Ciskei* and other parts of Southern Africa.

The establishement of coalmines in the then Transvaal and Natal had its own significant impact on the migrant labour system in 1900's. Lastly, the development of industries in major cities also had its share in employing migrant workers.

2.2.1 The assimilation of Natives into the labour system in the Republic of South Africa before the mineral revolution

Before the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa, indigenous people were selfsufficient in terms of food and everything else they needed.

They were dependent on subsistence farming and hunting. Grazing fields and land for cultivation were abundant thus, a labour system was unknown to them.

The situation and circumstances in the then provinces of the Cape colony, Natal, Transvaal and the Orange Free State will now be examined briefly.

(a) Cape Colony

Soon after the arrival of the Europeans in South Africa, agriculture became the major component of the economy before 1870's. Many Europeans started farming, making use of skills and experience acquired in Europe. Gradually, the need for labourers by Europeans increased.

Before the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, European farmers in the Cape Colony were dependent on slaves for the supply of labour. The Bushmen, who were found in the Cape Colony by colonists, were unapproachable and were an improbable source of labour. Therefore the refusal of the Bushmen to provide an immediate supply of labour had been met largely by the importation of slaves.

Slaves were imported as far as from Madagascar, Mozambique, India and East Indies.

After the abolition of the slave trade in 1807, which put an end to the possibility of satisfying the demand for labour by importation of slaves, colonists were left with one option, that was, to rely on Native labour. The colonists then resorted to the use of Hottentots for labour supply.

To assimilate Hottentots into labour, various policies and strategies were used by European colonists. In the first instance, they appropriated their land. According to Van der Horst (1942:8),

"... in the latter part of the century the majority of the Hottentots were dispossessed of their land and were either in the service of the farmers, or simply living on land which had come under European control".

To control the movement of Hottentots from one farmer to another, or from one administrative district to another, a "pass" system was introduced. Furthermore, they were ordered to have a "fixed place of abode" registered with the landrost.

Between 1812 and 1819 laws were introduced for apprenticeship system on the ground that Hottentot children were being neglected.

These laws allowed landrosts to apprentice for ten years, to suitable farmers, children who had been maintained until their eighth year. Furthermore, these laws empowered landrosts to apprentice orphans and deserted children.

The missionaries challenged the laws governing the Hottentots. They complained that the laws placed Hottentots in an inferior position and maintained that the laws were administered in favour of the "masters". The missionaries, headed by Dr Philip, agitated for the reform of the Hottentots code and demanded complete equality for Hottentots. In 1828, this resulted in the promulgation of the famous 50th ordinance which was aimed at improving the condition of Hottentots and other free persons of colour at the Cape. All the discriminating laws, including the pass-system, were swept away.

The European colonists were dissatisfied with the freeing of Hottentots. They complained that Hottentots roam around the country and steal their cattle. As a result, the government was faced with, on one hand by the scarcity of labour, which was aggravated by the abolition of the slave trade, and on the other hand, by the agitation of missionaries against the subjection of the Hottentot population.

"Towards the Bantu the British were for fifty years to try to continue the traditional policy of separation" (Van der Horst 1942:11). The main reason for this separation policy was that Bantus used to fight with the Europeans over grazing fields. However, some Europeans were interested in employing the Bantu, and some Bantus had already been in service to Europeans.

In 1812 an attempt was made to clear the Xhosa clans from the Zuurveld and to make the Fish river a real boundary between blacks and whites. This was not an easy task because though the European farmers wanted Bantu grazing fields, they also wanted some Bantu labour.

Thus in 1812 when the attempt was made to enforce segregation, it was reported that some farmers were reluctant to lose their servants, despite the fact that they wanted the Bantu's grazing fields.

So it was quite clear that the policy of segregation was not good enough. Therefore, some amendments were necessary to the policy for the benefit of European farmers. As a result, amendments were made on the policy. In 1828 an important 49th ordinance was promulgated:

"This ordinance marks the abandoning of the official policy of segregation on the frontier. Natives henceforward were admitted to the colony, but only for work"

(Van der Horst 1942:12-13).

In this pass system was introduced to control the admission of Natives belonging to tribes beyond the boundary. Natives entering the Colony to seek work were expected to obtain written "passes" from the landrosts. "Contracts of service were also regulated and were not to exceed one month unless they were entered before a Public officer, when they might be for twelve months" (Van der Horst 1942:13). In this way migrant labour had began in South Africa.

In 1854, Sir George Grey came to the Cape as Governor and High Commissioner for South Africa. His policies played an important role in changing the life styles of Natives and in assimilating them into the labour market. His objectives were to civilize the Natives and their location. The Natives' location was marked by the Keiskamma and Kei rivers. It was known as British Kaffraria at that time.

Very soon, Grey's policies were put into practice: "To open up the country, roads were begun, intended to be useful in times of war as well as of peace. To improve Native agriculture, irrigation furrows were projected. The public works were also used to encourage the Natives to develop European wants. To this end payment was made both in money and rations. Meat, corn, coffee, sugar and tobacco were issued to workers" (Van der Horst 1942:18).

To stimulate a demand for European goods, Natives were encouraged to wear European clothes on the public works, gifts were presented to the chiefs when request were made, such as ploughs with an intention of introducing western civilization.

To accustom Natives to the use of money, fines were levied, payable in money. Furthermore, taxes were payable in money.

Gradually, Natives were assimilated into western life style. It became necessary for some Natives to go out to work for Europeans in order to earn money.

However, many Natives were still reluctant to change from their life styles due to the fact that they were still owning a large number of cattle and enough land for grazing and cultivation.

A tragic event occurred between 1856 and 1857 when many Xhosa and Thembu clans slaughetered their cattle or sold cattle and grains in obeyance to the commands of a Native prophet called Nogcawuza. They did this with the belief that ancestors were to return and help them drive the Europeans into the sea.

However, their ancestors never returned, instead many Natives, mainly women, children and the aged died of starvation. The survivors were fed by the government and by private charity organisations. According to Van der Horst (1942:23) "many were sent into the Colony to take service, others dispersed among the Thembu, Pondo and those of their own people who had not killed their cattle".

(b) Natal

The problem of labour supplies was also experienced in Natal by European farmers. Since the Zulu were dependent on subsistence farming and hunting, they were reluctant to work for white farmers at that time. The colonists ascribed this reluctance mainly to two causes:

"The natural indolence of the men, who lived in polygamy, leaving their wives to earn sufficient food to support them, and the large location which enabled them to continue this mode of life" (Van der Horst 1942:46). Thus there was a shortage of supply of Native labourers to European farmers throughout the colony. As a result, colonist farmers complained to their government officials at that time.

In response to complaints echoed by European farmers, various strategies and policies were designed by the government to enforce Natives to go to work for European farmers.

In 1852, a commission to enquire generally into the system of governing the Natives and causes of the want of labour and remedies applicable to ensure labour supply was appointed by the Lieutenant-Governor of Natal.

Many colonists were of the view that the system of large locations for Natives made them to be self-sufficient through subsistence farming, thus they were reluctant to work for them.

The report of the commission of 1852-1854 came up with the following recommendations:

"It considered that the large rugged locations should be broken up and board comprising some experienced settlers should be appointed to select smaller new locations each about twenty-five thousand acres in extent. The commissioners recommended that such locations be situated evenly throughout the colony in order to give all colonists a convenient reservoir from which to draw labour. By limiting the size of the locations they hoped to force the Natives out to work for Europeans. Further, they recommended an increase in the annual hut tax, and suggested that Native labourers living on farms should be exempt from the whole tax" (Van der Horst 1942:49).

Other strategies and policies were contrived to increase the supply of the Native labourers. For instance, to prevent Natives from continuing subsistence farming on European owned land, an ordinance was promulgated, designed to stop Natives from "squatting" without license on such land.

Gradually, Natives were assimilated into the labour system in Natal through these policies and strategies. To supplement the Native labourers, indentured labourers were imported from India.

(c) Tranvaal and Orange Free State

Around about 1837, the shortage of Native labourers was also experienced by Voortrekkers in the Voortrekker republics, the regions which later were known as "*Transvaal*" and "*Orange Free State*". Before the arrival of the Voortrekkers, these regions were sparsely populated by Native tribes. On arrival of the Voortrekkers, three tribes which had suffered from Mzilikazi's raid were glad to seek protection of the Voortrekkers' guns.

"Gradually, however, they appropriated practically all land throughout the territory to the north of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. They based their claims on conquest or on agreement by which Native chiefs ceded undefined rights of occupation, or, again, individual farmers simply had tracts of land registered in their names irrespective of Native occupation" Van der Horst 1942:53).

In this way Native tribes became resident upon European-owned land where for the most part they continue to live much in the same manner as before the Europeans acquired the land. However, most Native Tribes were required to render labour service to the European farmers. This labour was demanded as a tribute to their conquerors, in return for release from subjection to Mzilikazi, or finally, from newcomers, "as payment for the right to settle in territory claimed by the Europeans" (Vand der Horst 1942:54).

However, this strategy never satisfied the steady supply of Native labourers. The Voortrekkers resorted to compulsion in order to obtain more Native labourers. On top of voluntary labourers for wages, which were generally paid in livestock, farmers secured labourers through the labour tax, and through the system of apprenticeship. Van der Horst (1942:57) defines labour tax as "a system of forced labour levied on dependent tribes".

Gradually, Natives were assimilated into labour system in these regions.

2.2.2 The mineral revolution

Before the mineral revolution, that is, before 1870, South Africa's economy was centred on agriculture. Therefore, the main source of employment was in the agricultural sector. The establishment of mining industries, firstly in the Griqua territory, and later in the Witwatersrand, led to the rise in the demand for labour and for far-reaching changes in South Africa's economy

This establishment of mines transformed the life of the people in South Africa, not only to people in the surrounding mines, but even people far in the countryside.

Furthermore, it has led to the development of new industrial towns and a major city: Johannesburg.

'Within ten years from the discovery of diamonds in Griqualand West, the diamond fields had a population, including both Europeans and non-Europeans, of some thirty thousand' (Van der Horst 1942:62).

This showed that the region which had a few people before 1870, was gradually becoming the centre of attraction for many people. This was due to the fact that all sorts of people were coming in numbers from all over the world in search of fortune in the diamond fields. The growth of the diamond diggings led to new demands, for instance, machinery and other manufacturing goods, which had to be imported. This necessitated an improvement of the transport system.

In response to the issue of transport, the government of the Cape Colony and Natal began to construct lines to connect their ports with the diamond diggings. Native labourers were used in the construction of roads and railway lines. By 1854 the ports of Cape Town and Port Elizabeth were both linked by a railway with Kimberley. The construction of roads and railway lines to the interior led to the growth of towns and villages at the ports, of the colonial railheads and at the habitual halting-places and junctions along the main routes to the diamond fields.

As the population was increasing gradually in the diamond fields, the need to supply agricultural products, also increased. Both crop farming and stock farming became profitable during that period. Thus farming was stimulated on all sided. In turn the need for supply of Native labourers also increased on farms.

As a result, mines, farms and the expanding industrial towns competed for the factors of production, for land, for capital and for labour.

According to Van der Horst (1942:64) "complaints about the scarcity of labour became widespread, particularly in the coastal colonies where the construction of railways and harbours and the needs of the growing towns competed with farmers in the market for Native labour".

The government in *Natal* responded by improving the efforts which it had already contrived to increase the labour supply by limiting the right of Natives to occupy land outside their reserves, by taxation, and by the importation of Indian indentured labourers.

In the Cape Colony and other parts of South Africa, strategies were reviewed in an attempt to increase the supply of labour.

However, during the early eighties there was a temporary lull in the rise in the demand for labour. This was due to, amongst other things, the heavy military expenditure by the imperial authorities in the *Cape Colony* as a result of Native insurrection within the Colony and warfare on the eastern and northern frontiers, the Zulu war of 1878-79 in Natal, and campaigns first against the Native Chief Sekukuni, and later the European burghers in *Transvaal*. These had negative consequences on workers, both blacks and whites: Native wages fell in *Natal* and *Cape Colony* while the number of unemployed Europeans in Pietermaritzburg caused concern. Furthermore, Natives had difficulty in finding employment for the first time at customary rates both on farms and in the towns in the *Cape Colony*. The decline in the need for the supply of labour was however for a short period.

Soon, after the discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand, the need for the supply of labour rose once more. "The impact of the development of gold-mining on the South African economy was similar in nature to that of the diamond fields, but it was even more far reaching in its repercussions" (Van der Horst 1942:65). Migrant workers came from all directions in search of employment in gold mines in the Witwatersrand. In a relatively short period, the Witwatersrand became densely populated. As a result, Johannesburg became the major industrial and market centre in the interior and soon surpassed Kimberley in size and activities. To meet its demands, transport facilities were once more improved and extended

Farming was further stimulated in all directions. As a result, the demand for labour rose, as mines, towns and farms competed for the supply of Native labour.

Therefore, efforts to increase the supply of Native labour redoubled. Thus migrant labour was further stimulated.

2.2.3 The impact of mining on migrant labour system: Diamond field

2.2.3.1 The early diggers (1869 - 1874) and the demand for labour

In 1867, diamonds were discovered for the first time in South Africa. Subsequent findings of diamond were made along the banks of the Orange and Vaal Rivers. Towards the end of 1869 a systematic search for diamonds began. In this period, the treatment and sifting of the river gravel

on the Vaal river was more intense. This led to a great demand for Native labour and "the diamond diggings provided the first large concentrated demand for Native labour in South Africa" (Van der Horst 1942:66). Soon the river digging extended some eight miles, and it was estimated that there were ten thousand diggers, black and white, either in the series of camps which were established along the river. Most of these diggers had no experience in mining because they came from other occupations, such as farming, storekeepers, clerks and men from other professions, all flocked to the diggings.

Towards the end of 1871 the four big diamond-bearing "pipes", which became the De Beers, Kimberley, Du Toits pan and Bullfontein mines, were discovered.

On both the river and dry diggings, as the new diamond fields were called, diggers were expected to register their claims with elected diggers' committees, which settled any dispute that arose.

Soon after the discovery of the four diamond bearing "pipes" the dry diggings surpassed the river diggings, both in production of diamonds and the number of diggers and labourers employed.

Native labourers were employed by Europeans to assist in all sort of manual work, such as digging and shoveling in the claims, hauling up the blue ground, wheeling it to the floors, breaking it down, scraping it over and sorting out the diamonds. "Some Europeans also went to Kimberley to work as labourers in the pits" (Turrel 1987:21)

Van der Horst (1942:68) reports that Gardner Williams considered that there might have been "as many as fifty thousand people on the diamond fields on the height of the diamond rush".

2.2.3.2 Conditions of service, recruitment procedures, supply and sources of Native migrant workers

The first Native labourers were brought to the diggings by the farmers and the colonists, who brought their servants with them. These Native labourers returned home with good things, in the form of brass and copper wire and many others. As the news was spreading of the articles which could be obtained at the diggings, Natives began to come to the diggings of their own accord.

Other Native workers were brought into the diggings by the colonists and traders who went into the interior to recruit them.

At first wages were commonly ten shillings per month, and Native workers would work for possibly three months before returning to their reserves with goods, such as brass, copper or iron wire, knives and other articles. Initially, Native workers spent almost all the money they earned and taking money away was done only for interest sake.

As time went on, their purchases became more varied. Guns became to be important assets for Native workers. Most Native workers returned home with guns. This led many Natives who were not working by then to flock into diamond fields to search for employment in order to purchase guns. Some were sent by Native chiefs after they had heard that guns were obtainable at the diamond diggings.

Native chiefs sent their tribesmen to the diamond diggings to arm themselves in order to resist the authority imposed over them by the Europeans. Although guns remained to be an important incentive, other wants developed as well. Soon after the trade in guns was stopped, the labour supply diminished, however, the fall was not acute.

Despite the ban of the trade in guns to the Native workers, chiefs continued to send workers to the diamond fields, one motive being the premiums which many accepted for sending their tribesmen to diamond diggings. Other Native chiefs increased their revenues by levying taxes on returning workers.

To attract more Native workers, wages were increased. The initial rate when diamond-digging began had been ten shillings per month. By 1871, the rate had increased to thirty shillings per month for efficient workers plus the rations. Commonly, the rations consisted of mealie meal, meat, tobacco, wine spirit and others.

The concentration of large numbers of diggers and workers necessitated some form of organization. A "diggers" Committee was elected at Klipdrift, on the Vaal River to make regulations for the recognition of claims and working of these diggings. This committee was also responsible for the control of relations between diggers and workers, and to settle disputes which arose.

Such committees were also established at dry diggings. Later, the original Diggers' Committee was replaced by the Kimberley Mining Board at Kimberley diggings. This board performed all the duties which had been performed by the Diggers' Committee.

Natives had been prohibited to hold claims under the rules of the Diggers' Committee. However, some rules were changed after the British annexation of Griqualand West. The rule which prohibited Natives and other non-Europeans to take out licenses to hold claims on the same terms as Europeans was withdrawn. Thus, Natives and other non-whites were permitted to take out licenses to hold claims as the Europeans were.

However, this did not last long as many European diggers complained that the theft of diamonds had increased following the permission of Natives and other non-whites to hold claims.

In response to the European diggers' complains, the High commissioner of South Africa and the commissioner of Griqualand West issued in the following year a proclamation which prevented Natives and other coloured persons from holding digging licenses. In addition, a proclamation was issued governing relations between masters and servants. Certain clauses of this proclamation were designed specifically to prevent workers from stealing diamonds.

The proclamation did not discriminate between European and non-European servants, however, in practice, it was applied only in the case of non-European servants.

One of the proclamations required that contracts longer than one month between the masters and the servants, whether oral or written should be registered with official registrars. For the protection of the masters, servants were to be provided with a "certificate" stating the terms of their contract, furthermore, to safeguard masters from desertion and from theft of diamonds, workers were required to have these "certificates" endorsed by their masters on the completion of contract. In

addition, workers were required to obtain a pass, for which one shilling was charged, before leaving the diamond fields. Before such a pass was issued to the worker, officers were required to demand the production of the endorsed "certificate".

Furthermore, employers were given the right to search their servants' persons and property without warrant. If diamonds were found in the possession of servants, it was assumed to be the masters' property unless the contrary was proved. Severe penalties were imposed for the theft of diamonds by servants. The maximum penalties included imprisonment with or without hard labour for a period not exceeding one year, in addition, lashes not exceeding fifty might be inflicted. Racial discrimination between Natives and Europeans was allowed by law in the diamond fields, considering the fact that Natives and other non-Europeans were prohibited by law from holding claims or digging licenses.

Furthermore, the sale of liquor to Native workers was prohibited without their masters' written order. Living conditions under which workers lived were unhealthy. Thus, the death rate of Native workers was high. The compounds in which Native workers lived were dirty, and no proper sanitary arrangements were made. This situation in the compounds was accounted for the high mortality of Native workers.

However, wages were significantly attractive to induce Natives to come to the diggings without the intervention of European agents. "In the early days a popular master would be kept supplied with labour because his 'boys', on their return home after a few months' work, would send their relatives and friends to him" (Van der Horst 1942:75).

To supplement the Native workers who came at diggings on their accord, colonists and traders would go into the interior and bring down gangs of Natives.

"Labour touts would also go out along the roads and simply collect into parties the Natives they found making their way to the diggings. A fee of one pound was charged by these suppliers of Native labourers, the Natives usually contracting for three months' service" (Van der Horst 1942:75).

Other strategies were contrived by the government officials to increase the supply of Native workers. For instance, a hut tax of ten shillings per hut through the *Transvaal* was levied.

Thus, Natives were left with one option, to flock to diamond diggings in order to earn money for the hut tax. Gradually the migrant labour system became firmly rooted in South Africa.

2.2.3.3 Concentration and amalgamation of diggers (1874-1879): The demand for labour

"As more and more ground was extracted the diggings became deeper and the open quarrying of hundreds of small claims became impossible" (Van der Horst 1942:77). Furthermore, falls of reef which buried the blue ground and the accumulation of water in the pits after 1874 made some cooperation between claim-holders essential. These conditions necessitated the change in the method of extracting the diamonds from the ground. In addition, the change of organization of workers in general was also necessary. It was obvious to the diggers and claim holders that the days of the small independent digger employing his two or three workers were over. Hence, diggers began to form small companies, because the technique of diamond digging was changing. "In 1874 horse-whims came into use for hoisting up the blue ground. At the same time washing-machines were introduced for breaking down the blue ground. The following year the first steam engine was brought to the diamond fields" (Van der Horst 1942:78). Due to frequent falls of reef during the later seventies and eighties, shaft-sinking and underground mining were developed in 1882 in the Kimberley mine. By the end of 1887, De Beers and Du Toitspan also changed from an open quarrying mining system into shaft-sinking and underground mining. Then, the other diggings followed shaft-sinking and underground mining.

"Underground mining led to further concentration, both because it required more capital, and because tunneling by rival companies resulted in frequent dispute, which could most easily be settled by amalgamation" (Van der Horst 1942:78).

The change in the method of extracting diamonds from the ground and the amalgamation of small diggers in the big companies led to change in the nature of the demand of Native labour.

When digging of diamonds started, European diggers who were employers then, had worked alongside their Native workers, often doing the same kind of job.

The change from open quarrying into underground mining also changed the nature of work in general. This change gave rise to the need of skilled miners to direct operations, mechanics to repair machines and more or less skilled European miners to supervise Native manual workers.

2.2.3.4 Conditions of service and living, supply and sources of Native migrant workers

The salary rates of Native workers were very sensitive to fluctuations in the supply of and the demand for labour around 1870s and early 1880's. "On at least two occassions the supply was reduced by warfare" (Van der Horst 1942:79-80). In 1880, around about June and July, four thousand Basoto workers left the diamond fields to take part in the Basoto war of Disarmament. As a result, works in the diamond fields came almost into a stand still.

Hence, European diggers were forced to raise salary rates in order to attract more Native workers from other Native tribes. When additional workers were obtained from the north, wages fell subsequently, but not to the former level. During this period salaries ranged from fifteen shillings a week to thirty shillings, in addition, food was provided as ration.

Later, as underground mining developed and amalgamation proceeded, the demand for labour was reduced, "partly because the new methods required less labour than the old, and partly because De Beers Consolidated adopted from the beginning the policy of regulating production in accordance with the market price of diamonds" (Van der Horst 1942:80).

During the early diggings Native migrant workers were housed in tents not far away from their employers. As time went by, a closed compound system of housing Native workers was adopted. However, when closed compounds were introduced at an initial stage, it was meant for housing of convict workers. "Closed compounds were introduced, modelled initially on the compounds used by De Beers for the housing of convict labour" (Worden 1994:38).

According to Worden (1994:38) the stated reason for compounding labourers was the prevention of smuggling of diamonds, however, other important advantages to the employers were direct control over workers and the wage savings that could be made by the provision of cheap accommodation and food.

At first, the compounds were intended for both black and white workers. However, white workers protested against the compounds and backed their action through a ballot box when they outvoted a company candidate in elections and placed a member of Parliament in power who favoured their interest. They were supported by the small traders and merchants of Kimberley who would lose access to their customers if closed compounds were to be introduced. Hence, the compounds were implemented for black workers alone. Furthermore, white workers opposed the "pass" and contract systems, which were meant to control workers from deserting one employer to another. Hence, these were also applied to black migrant workers only.

This resulted in the racial division of the labour force in Kimberley by the 1880's. White workers were increasingly employed in supervising and skilled positions, living in the boarding houses and homes of Kimberley, a town almost entirely owned and controlled by De Beers. On the other hand, black migrant workers lived in the closed compounds where living conditions were initially appalling.

Native labour was drawn from a variety sources within Southern Africa. As Native migrant workers gradually became accustomed to working in mines, their terms of service gradually lengthened. "In the early years it was universally reported to be a matter of three, four, or five months" (Van der Horst 1942:84).

In 1886, it was reported that the average duration of contracts for Native migrant workers was estimated to be two months, which further increased due to renewing of contract by Native migrant workers. In 1889, some Native migrant workers re-engaged in a series of contracts up to eighteen months.

2.2.4 Gold mining

2.2.4.1 The gold fields of South Africa before 1886

"The demand for Native labour coming from the early attempts at exploiting the gold resources of South Africa was sporadic and localized in character" (Van der Horst 1942:125). Thus the demand of Native labour varied greatly from time to time and from one place to another. Such were case at Tati, Marabastad, Eersteling, Letaba and in the Muchison Hills.

"The alluvial diggings in the district of Lydenburg were more productive and significant, but even there the demand for labour was small compared with that of the diamond diggings in Griqualand West, although the kind of work was similar" (Van der Horst 1942:125).

In this district each European digger employed a few Natives to help in digging out and washing the gold-bearing soil. Just like in the diamond diggings, committees were established to make regulations determining the size of claims, to limit the number of claims which might be held by individuals or companies in various ways. Some Native workers were brought by their European employers who became diggers in the gold fields. Other Native workers were attracted by articles which had been brought home by friends and relatives on their return such as beads, guns, copper wire and many others.

In 1885 gold was discovered near Barberton at Sheba. Many Natives around Barberton and other areas rushed to Sheba gold mine in search of employment. Around about 1886, there were 1 500 Native migrants working at Sheba gold mine. However, the demand for Native workers was not big compared to that of diamond fields at Kimberley.

2.2.4.2 The Witwatersrand gold mines between 1886 and 1899 and the demand for labour

The discovery of gold in the Witwatersrand in 1886 soon surpassed the diamond fields in Kimberley in demand for labour. Many people, blacks and whites, flocked to Witwatersrand in search of employment. According to Van der Horst (1942:122) by 1889 there were 45 companies producing gold and a population of 25 000 Europeans and 15 000 Natives on the Witwatersrand. Gold mining in Witwatersrand was expanding at a high rate then. As a result, the demand for labour was greater that that which followed the discovery of diamonds in Kimberley.

Most of the labourers who were involved in the development of the Witwatersrand's first gold mines had had experience at Kimberley, especially the European labourers. "Consequently, and for the same reason, the organization of the labour force was adopted which had been developed at Kimberley, on the basis of European engineers, miners and overseers, supervising Native labourers" (Van der Horst 1942:127).

European workers were required underground for their experience and skills to direct shaft sinking development, and the mining of ore. Furthermore, they were required on the surface to supervise the erection and maintenance of the plant, and the crushing and treatment of the ore. These European workers were highly paid compared to the Native workers.

Native workers were required to help to sink the shafts, to break down and load the rock underground, to sort out "waste" rock and to perform various other manual tasks.

2.2.4.3 Wages, conditions of service and recruitment procedures of Native migrant workers

The problem of maintaining a constant supply of Native migrant labour occupied both individual mine managers and the leaders of the mining industry during this period, that is, between 1886 and 1889.

The problem was complex because various mine managers viewed the problem differently. Some were of the view to raise wages in order to attract more Native workers. Some were against this view, because they believed that an increase in the wage rate, as a way of attracting Native, would result in the long run in a decrease in the supply of Natives to the industry, they considered that the Native workers came to mines to earn a fixed amount to satisfy definite needs, and if wages were raised the Native would work for a shorter period.

On the assumption that an increase in salaries would lead to a decrease in the supply of Native labour to the gold mines, attempts were made to reduce salaries and to establish a uniform scale of salaries in all the mines. In 1889, the Witwatersrand Chamber of Mines was established which was charged with the responsibilities to look into the cost and supply of Native labour. "The Chamber of Mines directed its attention to reducing the money-wages paid to Natives, to establishing a fixed scale of wages on all mines, and to reducing the cost of recruiting" (Van der Horst 1942:130).

Agreement was made to reduce wages on several occasions, and this resulted in temporary reductions in the supply of Native workers. Hence, there was competition once more between employers, which resulted in a rise of wage rates of Native workers. Hence, the average weekly wages of some six thousand Native workers had been 15 shillings a week with food in 1889.

Further attempts were made to reduce Native workers' wages the following year, whereby 66 companies signed an agreement to reduce wages. In December of that year Natives were paid according to the rate agreed upon, which affected a reduction of 25 percent and a saving of £15 000 a month' (Van der Horst 1942:130). However, the reduced wage rates did not last long, as some managers soon raised their wage rates in order to maintain their supply of Native labour.

Another agreement to reduce wage rates was made in 1896, furthermore, it was agreed to improve conditions with regard to working hours and rations. To avoid competition between mine managers taking the form of offering better food and shorter working hours, minimum working hours and maximum rations were agreed upon, in addition to maximum and minimum wage rates.

As the Chamber of Mines tried to reduce wages, it also attempted to increase the supply of labour on the other hand and reduce the cost of recruiting. There was much complaint against the system by competing labour agents. It was argued that it increased the cost of labour in various ways.

<u>Firstly</u>, it was stated that recruiters engaged and charged fees for supplying Native workers who would have come to mines on their own.

<u>Secondly</u>, competing recruiters molested and convinced Natives who had been engaged by others, or who were on the way to Rand mines independently, and so increased the hazards of the journey to Rand mines.

<u>Thirdly</u>, the misinterpretation of recruiters concerning conditions and wages on the Rand led to Natives being disappointed on their arrival, because conditions of service and wage rates were different from what they expected.

To make recruiting profitable for employers and recruiting agents, the services of recruiting agents were paid with the premium deducted from the nominal cash wages of recruited labourers.

Many Native workers who were supplied by recruiting agents, frequently left their services before they had fulfilled their contracts. Van der Horst (1942:133) gave many reasons for Native workers to desert the services of contracts:

The practice of deducting capitation from the wages of recruited labourers was a great inducement for Natives to desert and seek work independently, for then no premiums would be paid to agents, and consequently no such deductions made.

Furthermore, the misrepresentations of recruiters concerning conditions of service and wage rates were partly responsible for the desertation of the service of contracts.

To prevent Natives from breaking their contracts, the Chamber of Mines persuaded the Government of Zuid-Afrikaanse Republic to enact a pass law which would give employers more control of movement of Native workers.

In response to the persuation made by the Chamber of Mines, the Government passed such a law in 1895.

"The law provided that on entering a gold field which had been proclaimed a labour district a Native had to provide himself with a District Pass, authorising him to seek employment for three days, with supervision for extension of the period on payment of a fee. When a Native found work, the employer took possession of the District Pass and retained it until the Native was discharged, the Native employee being provided with an Employer's Pass. Natives found without a pass were liable to be arrested. Penalties were imposed for contravening the pass regulations which, moreover, made it an offence for employers to engage Natives not furnished with District Passes in proper order (Van der Horst 1942:133-134)

To increase the supply of labour the Chamber of Mines spread information about conditions and wages on the Rand among Native chiefs, government officials and others likely to be able to promote the supply.

Furthermore, the government improved conditions both on the routes to the mines and on mines themselves. In addition, it made representations to the Government of Zuid-Afrikaanse Republic, asking it to protect Natives who were travelling to and from gold mines against robbery and molestation.

Black migrant workers were accommodated in compounds similar to those which had been introduced in the diamond fields in Kimberley, while white workers were accommodated in boarding houses and homes in the Rand. As in Kimberley, the labour force of the Rand was racially divided in the early days of gold mining.

2.2.4.4 The supply and sources of Native migrant workers

Native migrant workers were recruited from all over Southern Africa. In response, many Natives went to gold mines from all over Southern Africa. Between 1890 and 1899 the total number of Natives employed on the gold mines was estimated around 97 000.

According to Van der Horst (1942:136) "the most important source was Portuguese East Africa. In 1897 it was estimated that half of the labour employed came there, a fifth from the north, and the remainder from Bechuanaland, Basotoland, Swaziland, Natal, the Transkeian territories, and the Cape Colony (proper), that is excluding the Transkeian territories"

Furthermore, it was reported that the Natives of the Zuid-Afrikaanse Republic itself did not go to the Rand in large numbers. Out of 43 000 Natives employed within three a mile-radius of the centre Johannesburg in July 1896, less than 1 000 were from the Republic.

Although the total numbering of Native workers employed on the gold mines increased rapidly, the number going to the Rand from some territories fell during the second half of the decade.

This was attributed to both the conditions which prevailed on the routes to the Rand and on the Rand itself. The major decrease of Natives going to the Rand were in *Natal* and *Transkei* territories.

Thus the reduction in wage rates which took place in 1890, led to the difficulties in obtaining a sufficient supply of labour. Similar instances occurred in 1897, when wage rates were reduced by the agreement, the supply of labour fell off.

Although the demand for Native labour increased rapidly, this trend was not static, there were times when Native labour was in excess of the immediate demand. "Thus, in March 1896, and again in March 1897, the supply was said to be in excess of the demand" (Van der Horst 1942:138). This was attributed to the fact that many Native migrant workers relied on farming for part of their income and liked to be at home during the ploughing season and, moreover, tended to remain at home when crops were good. Thus, many employers in the gold mining industry were already beginning to experience an inconvenience arising from the use of migrant workers.

2.2.4.5 Gold mines after 1900's

After the 1900's new gold mines had been opened in the Witwatersrand and areas outside Witwaterand, such as Klerksdorp, the Orange Free State and others. On the other hand, some gold mines had been closed down. There were several reasons for closing down of some gold mines. One of the main reasons was that production of gold in these mines was no more profitable.

However, gold mines continued to be a major sector of mining industries which employed the majority of Black workers in the 1970's.

Mining techniques had been improving due to technological advancement. But less improvement had been made in living conditions for Native migrant workers. "By law the gold mines were until 1969 allowed to provide family housing for not more than 3 % of Black labour force excluding foreign natives. But as the proportion of South Africans was not more than one third of the total this meant that effectively only 1 % of the black labour force was eligible for family housing" (Wilson 1972:9).

When family housing was initiated, married couples stayed with their children in the married squarters. However, this situation did not last long, because in 1969 – 1970,

a local *Bantu Affairs Commissioner* issued a circular to the mines in Klerksdorp area instructing them that children might no longer stay in the married quarters. The other 97 % of the black labour force were housed in the compounds. These compounds vary from very old pre-first-world war buildings with rooms housing 50 or more men living like sardines in double-decker concrete bunks to modern hostels housing between 12 and 20 men in dormitories. "In some compounds the bunks have concrete sides and tops as well as that men can only enter them by crawling in at one end. On the older mines there are no dining rooms and men either eat outside or in their dormitories which generally have a coal stove for heating purposes" (Wilson 1972:10).

In the compounds of newer mines there are dining rooms, well-furnished rooms and TV sets. Better bedrooms are also available for more senior men.

"The organization of a compound may be described both as authoritarian and as paternalistic but not, as some officials have suggested, as something that maintains the traditional tribal pattern" (Wilson 1972:10). In each compound there was a compound manager who ensured the smooth running of the compound through assistance of his assistant manager and seniors.

2.2.4.6 Other mining industries

"As far as coal mines are concerned there is less information available but there are statistics showing that, in December 1969, 26 mines in the *Transvaal* and *Orange Free State* employed total of 34 100 black labourers most of whom, as on the gold mines, were oscillating migrants recruited through the Chamber of Mines. In the remaining colleries (most of which are in *Natal*) there were another 34 500 blacks many, if not most, of them were also migrants" (Wilson 1972:10-11).

There is one exceptional old coal mine in *Natal* which has, for many years, employed men living with their families in nearby squatter villages.

Other mines which employed black migrant workers included amongst others, iron, platinum, copper and manganese mines. However, the exact extent of migrant workers employed in these mines was not known.

In the Western Transvaal the Rustenburg platinume mine in 1971 was faced with a masive slump in the market. As a result the labour force of the mines was cut from 35 000 to between 14 000 and 15 000 people during the year. A press report at the time made it clear that the black workers concerned were all migrants on contract" (Wilson 1972:11).

Another major mining centre is Phalaborwa in the *Northern Transvaal* on the border of the Kruger National Park. Copper and phosphate are mined at this mining centre. "Like other new mining towns in many parts of Africa, Phalaborwa began with a black labour force that is predominantly migrant whilst white workers have been attracted to the area by company-built family housing" (Wilson 1972:11).

Just like the gold and diamonds mines, black migrant workers were housed in compounds at Phalaborwa. There were three major compounds in the town: The first major compound was owned by the Phalaborwa copper mining company which was built in 1964. According to Wilson (1972:11), this compound housed 1 2 00 men, almost half of the 2 500 black workers employed on the highly mechanised open-cast mine. The remaining black labour force of the Phalaborwa Copper Mining industry lived in the nearby township of Mamakgrale. This township was built from 1967 onward with the intention of providing accommodation for many people who had been living in the slum which had grown up in Phalaborwa as people flocked to it in order to search employment nearby. Most of the black migrant workers accommodated in the compound came from as far as Sibasa, Giyani, Bushbuckridge, Tzaneen and Lydenberg.

All these men went back to the former homelands once a year to see their families and relatives. On average, these men got between 14 and 18 days paid leave each year. The worst part of it was the majority of these men were married and had children.

The second compound was Foskor, which housed phosphate workers. It was established in 1951 and in December 1971 approximately 2 000 men were accommodated in dormitories housing between 6 and 10 per room.

The phosphate company also provided black workers with married quarters. However, only a small percentage of the labourers were provided with these married quarters – according to Wilson (1972:11) only 22 black families were provided with the married quarters in 1971.

The third centre of accommodation for migrants took the form of an open hostel consisting of corrugated iron huts housing 4 to 6 men per hut. These workers were employed by other companies such as construction firms working in Phalaborwa. However, this type of hostel was in the process of being phased out by the end of 1971. Hostel dwellers were removed from these huts to the normal four-roomed family houses in Mamakgrale. Six men were allotted per house: Two to a room and one kitchen. Migrant workers were happy about this process because it meant improvement in living conditions.

Furthermore, there was an indication early in 1972 that the Phalaborwa Mining Company was building family houses for black workers. In the same period, the Phalaborwa Mining Company reached an agreement with the government department of "Bantu Administration" about the phasing out of oscillating migration amongst its workers.

In terms of agreement, the company was expected to take responsibility for building houses for all its married black workers who had not been provided with houses by the department of "Bantu administration". To carry out this enormous task, the company put aside an amount of R2 500 000. In addition, a hostel for 400 workers, a community centre and a sport club were also expected to be built.

"The agreement also ensures that the family of any worker can continue to be housed by the company if he is used for, or incidental to, the company's mining operations. If a worker dies or is pensioned off the family of the worker can continue to occupy the house for three months during which time the company will endeavor to find alternative accommodation" (Wilson 1972:13).

Therefore, it was expected that within a few years the vast majority of black workers employed by the Phalaborwa Mining Company would be living with their families near their place of work.

2.2.5 The impact of agriculture on the migrant labour system

The development of diamond fields at Kimberley and gold fields in Witwatersrand had stimulated farming over a very large area of South Africa. "The plough was widely adopted, and sheep and goats began to be kept for the sale of their fibre; but labour migration had already begun, initially to the farms of the Orange Free State and later to the diamond mines at Kimberley, to railway construction, and then to the gold mines on the Reef." (Cobbe 1982:115). There were several reasons for the stimulation of farming throughout South Africa.

The first was that within a few years of the rise of Kimberley the price of trek-oxen suitable for transporting rose from five or six pounds to 16, and as a result cattle-breeding became very profitable. Further, the price of sheep, both for slaughter and breeding purposes also rose, fat hamels and well-breed stock ewes selling in 1875 for 17 shillings each compared to eight shillings and sixpence during the previous years.

A similar trend occurred in Witwatersrand after the establishment of gold fields. In the early years of gold mining, the Witwatersrand was dependent upon ox-wagon transport for nearly all its supplies. Hence, cattle-breeding was most profitable at that time.

"Secondly, the demand for transport also included many farmers to engage in the carrying trade, and transport-riding became a sideline or the main occupation of many of them" (Van der Horst 1942:99).

Other agricultural products were in great demand in the diamond fields at Kimberley and gold fields in Witwatersrand. Hence, prices of these products were high. This situation encouraged the European farmers to increase their production in order to cope with the demand of agricultural products.

"The supply of labour presented the greatest problem to the European farmers who wanted to increase production. Many of the developments which were causing the prices of farm produce to rise, were also resulting in a demand for labour in other occupation. New opportunities were available to the Natives, both as labourers under European supervision and as independent suppliers of produce and such services as transport" (Van der Horst 1942:99-100).

The complaints about the security of Native labour were echoed by many European farmers throughout South Africa. Labour tenants were not enough to many European farmers to render services to their farms. Many labour tenants evaded their obligations by going either to the Rand or Kimberley where wages were more attractive.

The government of the *Cape Colony, Natal* and the two Republics of *Transvaal* and the Orange Free State designed various measures to increase the supply of labour.

One of the measures which the governments adopted was the imposition of various taxes upon the Natives.

"In the *Cape Colony* the attempt to increase the supply of Native labour by imposing taxes on Natives renting European-owned land was redoubled" (Van der Horst 1942:148)

Similar taxes were imposed upon Natives in the South African Republics. These taxes had a great impact on Natives in the Republics, because around 1886 nearly all the land in the Republics was owned by the Europeans.

The government also levied hut tax on Natives, for example, in the Native reserves in the *Cape Colony* and *Natal* a hut tax of ten and seven shillings respectively had usually been imposed at the time when each reserve was established. In *Basutoland*, too, a hut tax of ten shillings had been levied soon after annexation (Van der Horst 1942:112).

A similar situation in the Orange Free State existed: A hut tax of ten shillings was levied in the most important of the three small reserves within the republic.

Furthermore, a labour tax was imposed on Natives living in the reserves with the intention of forcing them to go out to work for the European farmers.

Another measure which was adopted by some governments was that of granting individual title deeds. "Some supporters of the grant of individual title to land apparently desired the right of transfer to be unrestricted, their opinion being that Natives to whom such grants were made would sell their land" (Van der Horst 1942:150). As a result, many Natives would be landless and be forced to enter into service under the European farmers. Acts were also passed and amended by various governments, all aimed at forcing Natives to go out to work for European farmers. For example, in 1893 a "squatters" law was passed in the *Orange Free State* and *Tranvaal*. This law limited the number of families to five who might normally reside on farms occupied by Europeans. Part of the aim of this law was to bring about a redistribution of the potential Native labour force throughout the country.

Despite the above measures, other forces were behind the Natives, forcing them to go out to work for the European farmers. Some Natives gradually became accustomed to the use of European goods. These Natives were introduced to the use of European clothes, ploughs, wagon, saddles and household utensils. Furthermore, some Natives had worked in diamond mines before where they were introduced to the use of European items, such as coffee, sugar, salt and candles. These Natives had also brought home articles such as beads, brass wire, chain, arm-ring, earrings and other luxury items.

The need to keep on acquiring some of these items for use at home compelled some Natives to go out and worked on their own in order to acquire these items. The new wants were not limited to European commodities: Amongst certain Native tribes there was an increasing desire to obtain European education for their children. Thus they were ready to engage in labour migrancy in order to pay for the education of their children. "As early as 1871 the Fingo, who were living east of the Kie River, themselves subscribed nearly fifteen hundred pounds to establish in Fingoland a school and industrial institution similar to Lovedale" (Van der Horst 1942:107).

The various measures and other forces had brought an increase in the supply of Native labour force to the European farmers, however, there was still a need for more labour. Farmers were still dependent on Native migrant labour particularly during the harvesting season. Farmers in some districts still send lorries each year to collect loads of Native workers or school children to help with the reaping. Farmers who were nearby the former Native reserves were able to transport to and fro daily their Native workers from the former reserves to the farms.

On the contrary, farmers who were located away from the former reserves were dependent on black migrant workers. This were, black workers who migrated to the farms, worked for a certain period and went back home during holidays or at monthend, depending on the condition of service on that particular farm.

Around 1930, farmers in Natal and in the Western Cape recruited most of their workers from the former Transkei and Ciskei. "For years sugar cane has been cut by migrant workers form Northern Zululand and Pondoland. The report of an official farm labour committee in 1937 described in some detail the extent to which Natal farmers were dependent on oscillating migrants from both north and south" (Wilson 1942:18).

In 1971, 11 sugar-milling companies formed the sugar industry organisation aimed at recruiting about 20 000 men a year from *Pondoland* and other parts of the *Transkei*.

Before the formation of this organisation, individual sugar-milling companies recruited workers on their own. After the formation of the organisation smaller scale sugar cane growers were entitled to become members of the organisation. However, in 1972, some sugar cane growers continued to fulfil their seasonal labour requirement either by hiring men who came to the farmers seeking work or by contracting their labour agent in *Pondoland*.

"During the 1960's farmers in the Western Cape experienced great difficulty in obtaining sufficient labour for their requirements" (Wilson 1972:18). This was due to the fact that many coloured workers who had previously lived and worked on

farms flocked to the town where the industrial expansion enabled employers to pay cash wages considerably high than those paid by the farmers. The difficulty was further accentuated by a government policy of that time which made it difficult for African labour to move into the *Western Cape* to replace the coloured workers moving to towns.

As a result, farmers resorted to the use of long-term prisoners to fulfil their need of labour supply. To facilitate this, the government of that time built jails for long-term prisoners throughout the country. According to Wilson (1972:19) "by 1966 there were at least 23 such jails for long-term prisoners, 10 of them in the *Western Cape*, housing an average of 260 men each". However, this did not solve the problem of labour supply completely, and groups of farmers came together to form special recruiting organisations. "The first of these was the Durban-Philadelphia Boere Group which was established in 1966" (Wilson 1972:19). This group recruited workers for farmers in the former *Transkei*.

In the same year, another group was formed known as the Hex River Boere Group. This group also recruited workers for its members from the former *Ciskei* and *Transkei*.

The overall implication was that farmers supplemented their workers (long-term prisoners) with Native migrant workers recruited by the two groups in *Ciskei* and *Transkei*.

However, the problem soon became even more acute. The main product of the farmers of the *Western Cape* was table grapes, a large proportion of which was designated for the export market. But foreign countries, such as United States, were becoming increasingly unwilling to import goods produced at any stage by forced labour. Hence, the use of long-term prisoners came to an end. In turn, the farmers in 1968 became more dependent than ever before upon Native migrant workers recruited from the *Ciskei* and *Transkei* by the Hex River Boere Group. By 1972 the Hex River Boere Group became the largest and best known of the six such farmers' co-operative recruiting bodies in the *Western Cape*. Furthermore, it was estimated

that the group had 220 members in the Worcester district recruiting somewhere between 3 000 and 5 000 men a year.

Another farming area where the problem of labour supply was acute, was in the Bethal district in the South Eastern Transvaal. The farmers in this area were for many years dependent upon African migrant workers. Like the farmers in the Western Cape, the Bethal farmers had their own recruiting organisation, which drew heavily from foreign migrants.

These farmers supplemented their labour force by using long-term and short-term prisoners housed in the nine farm jails in the Middelburg and Bethal districts.

On the basis of this historical review of African migrant workers in agriculture, it is clear that the proportion of migrants in agriculture is not as high as in the mining sector, however, it was still a considerable number.

2.2.6 The impact of other employment on migrant labour system.

2.2.6.1 The development of transport

The establishment of diamond fields at Kimberley in the early years and later the gold fields in Witwatersrand had an effect on the distribution of the population in South Africa. Within ten years after the establishment of diamond fields, Kimberley and the neighbouring townships had a population of at least 18 000, including Europeans, Natives and other non-Europeans.

After the establishment of the gold fields in Witwatersrand, Johannesburg soon surpassed Kimberley in population: By 1889 it had a population of 25 000 Europeans and 15 000 Natives. These mining towns were not self-sufficient in terms of food for their population, machinery and other mining requirements. These

mining centres had to be provided with food and all requirements of mining centres with an ever increasing population.

As a result, ancillary industries organized themselves in the neighbourhood of these mining centres, as well as elsewhere in South Africa and beyond.

This led to the greater demand of transport throughout the country. The use of oxwagon transport proved to be ineffective in coping with the demands of transport. Furthermore, the use of ox-wagon transport had its own problems: "The lack of pasturage was a serious matter, for it was not practicable to carry or buy food for draught-oxen, and they had simply to be turned loose to graze when halts were made. Consequently halts had to be made long and ox-wagon transport was very slow, the journey from Port Elizabeth to the diamond fields taking a month or even six weeks" (Van der Horst 1942:87).

Thus, transport services together with railway lines and roads had to be improved and developed. This led to an added demand for Native migrant workers both in the *Cape Colony* and *Natal* in the initial stage, and later on in Witwatersrand after the discovery of gold.

The government of the Cape Colony planned to build railway lines to connect Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and East London with the diamond fields at Kimberley. "The work was carried out by contractors who made their plans on the assumptions that unskilled Native labour would be available" (Van der Horst 1942:88).

However, it was soon found that wage rates were not sufficiently attractive to induce Native migrant workers to travel the long distance from home to the railway line which was being constructed to connect Cape Town and Kimberley.

The problem of the supply of Native workers was also experienced in the construction of railway line from Port Elizabeth and East London to the diamond fields at Kimberley.

According to Van der Horst (1942:88) "the ease with which Native labour was obtained on the different railway and harbour works varied according to their distance from areas with a Native population". Thus, the problem of the supply of Native labour in the construction of railway line from East London was not as in Cape Town and Port Elizabeth, because Natives lived close by where the railway line was under construction.

As a result, the government of the *Cape Colony* took actions to promote the supply of Native labour in the railway construction works. The government sent recruiting agents into the Native reserves to recruit Native workers. In this way, the problem of the supply of Native labour in railway constructions was solved.

"In Natal the influence of the growth of the diamond diggings on the transport system was in some respects different" (Van der Horst 1942:92). On the one hand, *Natal* was not favourably situated for becoming a harbour for goods sent from Europe to the diamond fields at Kimberley.

On the other hand, *Natal* produced agrucultural products such as sugar and coffee, which were in great demand in the diamond fields, and which were at that stage, not grown elsewhere in South Africa. As the use of ox-wagon proved to be ineffective and unprofitable for the farmers in *Natal*, this necessitated the improvement of transport. "Lines were constructed both north and south along the coast, to serve the sugar and coffee plantations, and also inland, where the main line was intended to cross the Drakensberg escarpment and the *Orange Free State*, to connect Durban and Kimberley" (Van der Horst 1942:92).

The construction of these railway lines led to an added demand for Native labour. The construction of the Natal railway lines was carried out by private contractors who bid up the price of labour. Hence, many Natives went to railway-line construction works in search of employment and were employed. In addition to attractive wage rates, rations were provided by some of the contractors, if not all.

Another factor was that the Natal railway works were not so far from the Native reserves, hence Native workers were not expected to travel long distances from their reserves. Therfore, there had been no serious complaints from contractors about difficulty in securing Native Labour. In later years, after the completion of the construction of railway lines, the Natal government resorted to private contractors to obtain labour for railway maintenance work.

On the other hand, colonist farmers had experienced difficulty with the supply of Native labour and complained about the competition of the railway construction works and high wage rates offered by contractors to Native workers.

After the establishment of gold fields in the Witwatersrand, the colonial railheads at Kimberley, in the *Cape Colony*, and Ladysmith in Natal had to be extended towards Johannesburg to serve the same purpose as in the diamond fields.

Another railway line from Lourenco Marques in *Mozambique* to Johannesburg was constructed. The renewal of railway construction increased the demand for Native labour, because Natives did most of the unskilled work. To attract more workers to railway construction works, high wage rates were offered, and as a result many Natives went to work in railway line construction work. In turn, this had adverse effects on the supply of Native labour in other sectors, such as in agriculture and mining.

While railway lines were constructed throughout the country, roads were also constructed to supplement the railway lines and to cope with their increase in traffic. This also required the service of Native labour.

At the colonial ports the increase in imports resulting largely from the development in mining led to more labour being required for stevedoring, and for this work Natives were largely employed at all ports. Most of these Natives if not all, were migrant workers.

2.2.6.2 Urban and industrial development

The development of diamond fields at Kimberley in early years and later gold fields on the Rand led to an increase in trade. In turn, this led to the growth of towns and villages to supply these mining centres with goods and services. Towns which were suitable for trade, such as the ports, junctions and convenient halting places on the routes to the interior, grew rapidly.

Furthermore, industries organised themselves in the neighbourhood of these mining contres.

All these put together, led to a great demand for supply of Native labour. As many Natives if not all, had previously been appropriated their land and relocated on reserves, they had to migrate from their urban areas (towns) to work for Europeans.

According to Van der Horst (1942:143), "Natives who came to work in urban areas usually lived either on their employer's premises or in mere hovels on the outskirts of the towns or villages. Usually some areas would be set aside, either by custom or by law, for Natives and other non-Europeans". Some of these Natives who had come to urban areas as migrant workers became permanent residents in the townships and villages of urban areas in the long run.

Wage rates offered to Native workers in towns were higher compared to farms. Hence, many Natives deserted farm work and went to towns where wage rates were higher.

As the number of migrant workers increased in urban areas, accommodation for these workers became problematic to local municipalities. As a result, in some townships and villages, hostels and houses were built to accommodate the migrant workers. In these hostels and houses, they were expected to pay rent determined by the local municipalities.

From a geographical point of view, there are four major industrial regions in South Africa which developed partly because of the establishment of diamond fields at Kimberley and gold fields in Rand. These regions are the Southern Transvaal (Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging) industrial, South Western Cape industrial, Durban-Pinetown and Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage industrials. The extent of the use of Native migrant labour in these regions during 1970's is briefly discussed below. However, the focus will be on cities and big towns.

2.2.6.2.1 Southern Transvaal

(i. Johannesburg

The extent of the use of migrant labour in Johannesburg was exhibited by the number of migrant labourers housed in compounds, hostels and other premises.

The table below by Wilson (1972:30) shows the extent of black migrant workers in 1971:

Table 2.1: Johannesburg Black population: June 1971

TYPE OF HOUSING	PERSONS	REMARKS
Family houses	566 498	Men, women and children of whom
		107 654 were men between the ages
		of 20 and 59.
Municipal hostels	43 970	All males except for 289 women in
		Orlando West Women hostel. The
		hostels included some disused mine
		compounds (e.g. City Deep hostel).
Municipal compounds	10 799	Mainly for electrical and engineers
		departments. All male. Compounds
		include some taken over from old
		mines.
Mine compounds	12 985	Gold miners housed by the three
		mines still operating.
Other compounds (250)	7 248	Of whom not more than 500 were
		women.
Licensed premises	24 918	These figures exclude those in
(<50)		compounds as well as licensed
		domestic servants.
Domestic servants:		
(a) unlicensed	59 637	
(b) licensed	10 079	
TOTAL	763 134	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·

In summary, if 566 498 were housed in family houses out of 736 134, this may imply that 167 636 were migrant workers housed in compounds, hostels and other premises. Furthermore, if one considers lodgers living with black families in family houses, the number of migrant workers could be more than 169 636, as estimated above. So, migrant workers were approximately more than 23 % of the black population in Johannesburg municipal area in June 1971.

(ii. Boksburg

In Boksburg's African township of Vosloorus which had a population of 38 000, there was a hostel housing 12 500 men, approximately 75 % whom were estimated to be married (Wilson 1972:43-44).

The majority of them were from the former homelands in the *Northern Transvaal*, but there were also men from *Transkei*, *Witsiehoek* and other parts of the country. The above figures excluded 1 500 men housed in compound for gold mine and approximately 550 men housed in compound for the local brick and clay works according to Wilson (1972:44).

(iii. Benoni

By 1971, Benoni had two African townships, Daveyton and Wattvile. According to Wison (1972:44) in June 1971, the black population at Daveyton was estimated to be 71 000. Out of this figure, 1 300 were men housed in a hostel. These were migrant workers working in unpopular jobs such as rubbish collection or in the heavy metal industries. These were men from *Transkei*, *Zululand* and former homelands in *Northern Transvaal*.

The rest were men, women and children living in 10 590 family houses. Probably, these were permanent residents.

According to Wilson (1972:44) the black population of Wattvile was estimated at 18 000. Out of this figure, 2 280 were men housed in hostel. Probably these were migrant workers.

The rest were men, women and children living in family houses.

(iv. Alberton

According to Wilson (1972:45) in June 1971, the black population in Alberton's township was estimated to be 30 715. Out of this figure, 9 015 were migrant workers housed in a hostel. Thus,29,3 % of Africans in Alberton were migrant workers. The rest were men, women and children housed in family houses.

(v. Germiston

According to Wilson (1972:45) in June 1971, Germiston's black township called Katlehong had a population of approximately 85 699. Out of this figure, 7 544 were migrant workers housed in hostels. This implies that 8,8 % of black population at Katlehong were migrant workers.

Another black township is Thembisa. This township serves a great number of municipalities around it. According to Wilson (1972:45) at the end of 1971, this township had a total population of 103 233. Out of this figure, 21 714 were migrant workers housed in hostels. This implies that approximateley 21 % of the black population in Thembisa were migrant workers housed in two compounds under Escom and Scaw respectively.

According to Wilson (1972:45) the Escom's compound accommodated 1 500 men and it served as the transit depot for the distribution of labour throughout the country. The Scaw Alloys compound accommodated 1 500 men.

In the light of these figures, it is quite clear that the number of migrant workers was substantial.

(vi. Brakpan

Brakpan's black population had been estimated to a total of 41 321 at the end of 1971.

Of the 41 321, 1 624 were men living either in compounds or in the municipal hostel and there were plans for the building of another two hostel units, each housing 400 men. This indicated that the number of migrant workers was expected to increase.

(vii Springs

The black population serving Springs was accommodated in family houses in Kwa Tema and partly in Payneville. However, Payneville was in the process of being demolished in 1972, and the families were being moved to Kwa Tema.

The black population of Springs was estimated to be 85 263 in 1971. Out of this figure, 63 963 were men, women and children living in family houses in Kwa Tema and Payneville. 4 700 were men who were migrant workers housed in municipal hostels. 1 900 were also men (migrant workers) housed in private compounds. 10 700 were men (migrant workers) housed in gold mine compounds.

In addition, there were approximately 400 people, mainly domestic servants and hotel employees staying on their employer's premises. Roughly 54 % of male labour force of 33 700 consisted of migrants. Furthermore, there were plans to build a hostel in Kwa Tema to accommodate a further 4 000 men over the following years (Wilson 1972:47).

In the light of the above figures of men who were regarded as migrant workers, it is clear that migrant workers had been an important role in the economy of this town.

(viii. Roodepoort

The extent of the use of migrant workers in Roodepoort was exhibited by the number of migrant workers housed in hostels, compounds and other premises. The table below by Wilson (1972:48) shows the extent with which black migrant workers were used in 1971.

Table 2.2: African accommodation around Rooderpoort: December 1971

Dobsonville Married Quarters	Number	
Male	13 688	
Female	15 050	
Municipal hostel		
Male	2 698	
Private Compounds		
Male	3 116	
Women and children	300	
Gold Mine Compounds	13 847	
Domestic workers sleeping in		
Male	346	
Female	4 009	
Living on farms (including women	4 623	
and children)		
TOTAL	57 677	

In short, from the above table, of the 34 000 men working in Roodepoort, more than 20 000 lived in hostels, compounds and back-yards. This implies that more than 59 % of the male labour force were migrant workers.

(ix Pretoria

The extent of the use of migrant labour in the city of Pretoria was exhibited by the number of migrant workers housed in municipal hostels, compounds and licensed premises. The total number of African migrant workers accommodated in municipal hostels and private hostels between 1970 and 1971 was approximately 18 814. A further 10 529 of African migrant workers was accommodated in compounds and licensed premises. Out of this figure, only 191 were female lodgers in family houses in Mamelodi and Atteridgeville were considered, the above figures would be higher.

Plans were to build hostels to accommodate more than 10 000 men during 1972-1973. This implies that the number of the African migrant workers in Pretoria was on an increase (Wilson 1972:53).

2.2.6.2.2 Durban-Pinetown

Durban-Pinetown is the second major industrial centre in South Africa. The African population of Durban itself in 1971 was official estimated at approximately 225 000, living in areas that came under the authority of the Durban municipality.

However, this figure was not accurate, it was just an estimation as the Chief Bantu Affairs Commissioner for the Port Natal area has confessed in 1965 "We know that there are hundreds of unregistered Bantu's working in Durban without the necessary permits. Similarly there are many who stay outside the city boundaries" (Wilson 1972:55). In the light of this uncertainly, it was difficult to determine the proportion of oscillating migrants of the labour force in Durban.

However, the accommodation statistics in hostels, compounds and other premises provided a better picture about the nature and extent of African migrant labour in this city. The tables below by Wilson (1972:56-57) show the extent with which black migrant workers were used in Durban between 1971 and 1972:

Table 2.3 : Municipal hostels, Durban: 1971

Name	Date	No. of	Remarks
	first occupied	beds	
		dormitory. Plans to house	
		mainly security and essential	
		services personnel.	
Jacobs	1930	886	Taken over as a going concern
			by Municipality in 1920. Three-
			story buildings (10-20 beds per
			room) and cottages (three-
			room). Had some accomodation
			until 1950 for families and, until
			1967, for women.
Thokoza	1927	677	The only hostel in Durban for
			women.
S.J.Smith	1948	4 445	Three-story buildings. Large
			proportion of single rooms and
			four-bed rooms. Also ten-bed
		·	rooms.
Kwa-Mashu	1959	16 880	Single-story blocks housing 16-
			32 men in four-bed, two-roomed
			flatlets. Electic points provided
			but no stoves, so men, as
			elsewhere, use primus stoves.
Umlazi Glebe	1968	3 008	Men housed in what were
			proviously family homes. Plans
			now passed for erection of four-
			story hostels to house a total of
			19 500 men.
TOTAL		27 348	

Table 2.4: Compounds and other licensed premises provided by private employers Durban 1972

A. Compounds	No of premises in	Total number housed in
No of beds	this range	these premises
50-99	27	1 891
100-199	15	2 060
200-499	11	3 069
500-999	3	1 947
	57	10 250
Other licensed		
premises		
1-5	n.a	4 893
6-49	564	8 857
	564	13 750
TOTAL	621	24 000

Apart from the numbers given in the above tables, a further number of African migrant workers were housed in temporary accommodation. These men had been working in construction works. The time span of these men living in the city was fairly elastic, taking into account that after the construction work had ceased, they had to move somewhere else.

Outside the municipal boundaries but still very much part of the economy of Durban is Umlazi which had an official black population of 107 000 in 1971. A portion of this township had its family houses converted to accommodate seven men in each. This accommodation housed approximately 9 000 in 1971.

Another black township outside Durban municipal boundaries is Ntuzuma, however, still very much part of the economy of Durban. Hostels were planned for this township to accommodate between 40 000 and 50 000 men.

In the light of the above figures, the extent of the use of African migrant workers in Durban was substantial as well.

2.2.6.2.3 Port Elizabeth-Uitenhage

(i. Uitenhage

Uitenhage had two African townships during 1971, the old location called Kabah and a new one called KwaNobuhle.

During 1971 families were being moved from old locations to KwaNobuhle. At the end of 1971 the population of Kabah was estimated at 18 000 whilst in KwaNobuhle the population was estimated at 13 000, of whom 1 160 were migrant workers housed in the new hostel.

As stated, the 18 000 people who were in Kabah were being moved to KwaNobuhle as family units to houses which were being built for them. The extent of the use of African migrant workers in Uitenhage might be gauged from the fact that from the mid-fifties until 1970, the migrant workers were housed in a small hostel in Kabah housing 360 men. This small hostel was demolished and replaced by the new hostel KwaNobuhle which was built to house 1392 men and which has already been approved for expansion to a capacity of 2 512 beds.

In the light of the above figures, the extent of the use of African migrant workers in Uitenhage was very low before the 1970's. however, it was on an increase, especially if one considered 360 men which were housed in hostels in Kabah, in early years and later the number increased to 1 392 in the new hostel in KwaNobuhle. Furthermore, an expansion of the capacity of this hostel to accommodate 2 512 accentuated an increase in the use of African migrant workers.

Here, as in other parts of the country, ground had been set aside for the hostel to be doubled again to a total of 5 024 beds when the need arises.

(ii. Port Elizabeth

Port Elizabeth had three African townships, namely: New Brighton, KwaZakele and Zwide. These three townships were contiguous and formed a large area to the northeast of Port Elizabeth. The table below by Wilson (1972:65-66) shows the extent with which black migrant workers were used in Port Elizabeth in 1971:

Table 2.5: Single quarters Port Elizabeth: December 1971

A. Municipal			
hostels Name	Date first	No of beds	Remarks
a tol file.	occupied	110 OF DCG3	
Elundini	1954	540	6 men per room: 6 rooms to a bungalow
KwaZakele	1958	6 496	
			8 men per room: 4 rooms and 2 'kitchens' to
			bungalow. Expanded by 1 352 beds in 1971.
			Accomodation for further 2 360 beds under
			construction in 1972-1973
Adcock Homes	1968	92	Women's hostel. Before 1968 it was an old-
			age home until, by governmen decree,
			people were moved to old age home in
			Peddie.
TOTAL		7 128	
B. Employer compounds			·
Railway	1957	1925	288 men in 16 brick bungalows each with 18
compound			beds. 630 men in 63 steel and iron rooms,
			each with 10 beds, 1 018 men in 509 wood
			and iron tents housing 2 men each
National Roads compound	1967	174	Wood and iron rooms. Men on double-
			decker beds in rooms between 8 and 20
			persons per room
TOTAL		2 099	
C.Licensed			
premises G.P.O	Jan 1971	10	Aluminium bungalow with space for 11 men
University of PE	Nov 1971	11	Wood under asbestos bungalow with space
			for 20 men
Livingstone	n.a	400	All women, nurses etc. not really 'migrants'
Hospital Miscellaneous	n.a	(appr) 1 236	550 male, mainly night watch-men and
Miscenaneous	11.21	1 230	waiters 686 women, excluding domestic.
TOTAL		1 657	markets over fronter, steading constant
GRAND		Men	
TOTAL		9 706	
		Women 1 178	

Apart from the above figures, other migrants, although it is difficult to know how many, were also living as lodgers with families.

In the light of the above figures, the extent of the use of African migrant workers in Port Elizabeth in 1971 was subtantial as well.

2.2.6.2.4 Southern Western Cape

By the end of 1971 there were three African townships serving the greater Cape Town, namely: Gugulethu, Langa and Nyanga.

The number of African families with the right to live in one of the three townships of the greater Cape Town at that time was under 12 000 whilst the vast majority of African workers lives as 'single'men.

Therefore, it is appropriate to assume that the majority of the labour force constituted of migrants. According to Wilson (1972:69) in December 1971 the total number of migrants housed in Barracks, special quarters, flats, hostels, employer dormitories and railway compounds was 25 244 in Langa alone.

In Gugulethu the total number of migrants housed in Council hostels and employer hostels was 4 882.

In Nyanga the total number of migrants housed in Council hostels, employer hostels and Hangers was 7 233.

Other premises accommodated a total number of 18 178 migrant workers.

The sum of all the above figures is 55 537. These figures excluded migrant workers who where living illegally as lodgers in family houses.

Plans were made during the 1970's to increase the capacity for accommodation of migrants in all the three Cape Town African locations.

'Thus we find that in addition to the total accommodation currently provided for $56\,000$ migrants there were in March 1972 plans to increase this 50% by building hostels for another $24\,00-29\,000$ men' (Wilson 1972:75). In the light of the above information, it is clear that the number of migrant workers in this area was substantial.

2.2.7 The consequences of Native migrant labour in South Africa

2.2.7.1 Urban areas

Whilst Native migrant labour has led to underdevelopment in former Bantustans, it has led to development in urban areas in South Africa itself, however, with a few adverse effects here and there in urban areas:

According to Legassick as reported by Palmer and Parsons (1977:175) "In South Africa itself, moreover, the entrenchment of racialism in the institutions of the society meant the correlatoin of development with whiteness, and underdevelopment with blackness"

Studies of migrant labour in the 1970's have been given further impetus by the 'new histography in Southern African studies, in which underdevelopment in the labour resources of the rural periphery is analysed as a corollary of development in the South African industrial core' (Murray 1980:142).

One of the advantages of Native migrant labour was that it provided cheap labour for mines, industries and other sectors of economy. In this way, urban areas developed economically because they saved a lot on labour.

Urban areas were regarded as 'white' areas and the economy was heavily distributed amongst the whites in the form of salaries, job reservation acts and other means.

Furthermore, migrants have provided cheap labour for building contractors, in this way urban areas developed physically in terms of building structures.

However, migrant labour has its adverse effects on the population in urban areas. Migrant labour has contributed to an increase in prostitution in urban areas.

Many young girls flocked to urban areas with the hope of getting a job. But many of them were not fortunate in obtaining employment. Hence, they were faced with two options, either to become prostitutes or to be victims of starvation. Some girls who became prostitutes came from poor families resident in urban areas.

Migrant labour has also led to an increase in crime in urban areas. As some of the mines were gradually closing down or retrenching mine workers as a result of exhaustion of minerals or unproductiveness due to reduced gold price in the market, some of these migrants, especially the younger migrants, decided to settle in urban areas rather than going back to their former homelands. This group, together with those who had come to search for an employment but were not fortunate to be employed, were tempted to indulge themselves in criminal activities.

Migrant labour also created problems for municipalities in the 1970's. The municipalities were expected to put aside a lot of money to build accommodation for migrant workers. Furthermore, municipalities were faced with an increase of shacks and informal settlements as many migrant workers were building shacks in areas which were not planned for settlement.

Migrant labour has led to an increase of cost of administration to the government in the past: with regard to 'the expense of administering the system, providing everybody with documents, keeping records, and policing their movements' (Wilson 1972:177).

To the Natives who were migrant workers themselves, it had one advantage for them. It provided them with job opportunities. However, there were unlimited adverse affects as well. The migrant labour system prevented many Natives from acquiring skills in their workplace, 'For if a man's contract in a job is for only one year, it will not be worth either his, or the firm' while to invest money and time in training him to become more skilled' (Wilson 1972: 175).

Some men who were migrant workers were tempted to start intimate relationships with women in urban areas while they were working ther. In most cases, such relationships were stable and loving, but the net result was that the men under the pressure of the system, became bigamists with two families.

To a certain extent, the migrant labour system has led to homosexuality.

'In their plight to satisfy their sexual needs, (migrants) indulge in terrible practice such as homosexual which is an outside practice and is now beginning to reach broader extents. Young men reaching the mines get involved in this practice' (Wilson 1972:179).

The migrant labour system has led to an increase in drunkeness and alcoholism in many Natives. Native migrant workers were housed in compounds and hostels without recreational facilities to be used during their leisure time. Hence, many became addicted to liquor.

The migrant labour system degraded men's dignity and self-respect.

'The men themselves, living as migrants, are degraded by the whole system. For they too, are powerless. How does man retain his integrity and self-respect in a situation where he lives for as much as eleven and a half months in every year far away from his wife, unable to watch or influence his children growing up, struggling to earn money to send home, surrounded only by men in similar positions, tempted by the beer hall which is one of the few places of recreation and finding, when he arrives home once a year to visit his family, that his children regard him as a stranger' (Wilson 1972:183).

The migrant labour system has also led to corruption in many managers responsible for employing or recruiting workers for their industries. Job seekers who were migrants were expected to bribe managers before they could be appointed in the industries and other sectors. This was a common practice amongst black managers.

The migrant labour system also spread veneral diseases and tuberculosis.

"The rural areas of South Africa were riddled with TB. Doctors working in mission hospitals in these areas as well as those responsible for testing the health of migrants entering the cities, testifying to the extent of the disease which in some areas, is of epidemic proportion" (Wilson 1972:185).

The appallingly high incidence of veneral diseases among urban Natives through whom it was spread back to rural Natives as well, was part of the price which had to be paid for the importation into urban areas, for the purpose of industries and of domestic service, of thousands of rural Natives who left their wives in the reserves.

The migrant labour system has caused many Natives to suffer from malnutrition and beriberi. Malnutrition amongst some migrant workers was caused mainly by men's failure to feed themselves properly, even when they could have afforded to do so. According to Wilson (1972:185) this state was not caused only by ignorance, or by excessive expenditure or drink, but also rose from the fact that, when men are away at work all day and return late at night, tired, to their barracks, they will not take as much trouble to cook food for themselves as would their wives were they there to look after them.

Furthermore, Wilson (1972:186) stated that the results of a scientific study published in the S.A Medical Journal of November 1972 showed clearly that beriberi, heart failure due to deficiency of the vitamin thiamine, was largely a disease of male migrant workers who lived in a hostel-type of existence and drank heavily.

These are just a few consequences of migrant labour in urban areas worth mentioning in this subsection.

2.2.7.2 Former reserves (homelands)

The word 'homeland' or 'reserve' is no longer used in South Africa following the incorporation of all the dependent and independent homelands such as Bophutatswana; Transkei; Ciskei; Venda; KwaNdebele and others in the nine provinces of S.A. after the 1994 election.

However, the distinction between the former 'homelands' or 'reserves' and so-called white areas or urban areas are still manifested. Furthermore, there is no hope that these former 'homelands' will ever match the so-called 'white areas' in terms of development in all aspects.

Hence, to facilitate the discussion in this subsection, the distinction between the former homelands (reserves) and the so-called white areas will be maintained as it was in the past, that is, before 27 April 1994. This is also applicable to previous and subsequent paragraphs where the word homeland (reserve) or bantustan has been used. The main objective of creating homelands by colonist governments was to establish reserves from which to draw cheap labour for colonist farmers and mine owners. According to Magubane in Wilson and Perrot (1972:232) "the reserves are an original form of creating cheap labour in South Africa."

Thus, homelands were scattered throughout South Africa so that Europeans could have easy access to the reserves. The size of the land allocated to Africans in the reserves was too small to continue with the traditional way of Agriculture and pastoral subsistence farming. Hence, Africans were left with one option, that was, to engage themselves in labour migrancy. They were "compelled by their physical hunger to do the hardest and lowest paying jobs" (Magubane in Wilson and Perrot 1972:246). Furthermore, to maintain a constant supply of migrant labour, the colonist governments imposed commands and taxes to Africans in the reserves. Some consequences of migrant labour are:

- 1. The overall consequence of migrant labour inside the Bantustans can be summarized in one word, that is 'underdevelopment'. Underdevelopment in all aspects of life, that is, economically, politically, socially and other aspects.
- 2. Native chiefs became agents for recruiting workers "By making the chiefs dependent on the salary paid by the government, the settlers transformed them into agents for requisitioning labour" (Magubane in Wilson & Perrot 1975:247).
- 3. Labour migrancy led to an imbalance in the population inside the reserves and in urban areas. As the majority of young and adult men left for work in the urban areas, the reserves are left with women, children, aged men and women, and few young and adult men. This situation is in line with Magubane's view in Wilson and Perrot (1072:227-228) that the greater advantage of confining African labour in the reserves is this: That there are not only Africans who are to become wage workers reproduced cheaply over and over again, but the reserves are also used as dumping grounds for the human waste that is discarded in the urban and mining industries. "This picture is confirmed by the 1970 census which shows that inside the Venda Homeland the proportion of women to men between the ages of 25 and 39 was not less than 4,9:1" (Wilson 1972:84).

The imbalance in the population was applicable almost to all the reserves in South Africa and even to the neighbouring countries that supplied South Africa with migrant workers. However, the ratio between women to men differed from one reserves to another in different periods.

According to Wilson (1972:97-80) Transkei's population of 715 000 enumerated by the 1970 census, of this total it was estimated that 243 000 (34 %) were under working age and

107 000 (15 %) were old and unfit for employment. The remaining 365 000 males were thus technically economically active. Of these, some 107 000 were estimated to be permanently on the land, 34 000 in paid employment in the Transkei, 192 000 absent as migrants in the rest of the South African economy, and 32 unaccounted for who appear in the statistics for any one (or all) of three reasons:

- (i. because of the possible degree of error in population estimates, or
- (ii. because they were working illegally as migrants elsewhere in South Africa, or
- (iii. because they were unemployed"

The imbalance in population in Transkei has been confirmed in a case study conducted by May in 1982.

- "However, at the time of the survey, 64 percent of men, excluding children below 15 years of age, were temporary absent as migrants from households in Umzimkulu, either as workers or job-seekers, suggesting that Umzimkulu district is characterized by a higher rate of male outmigration than is generally the case. This becomes more dramatic if only the most productive ages are considered (20-50 years). In this group, absenteeism averaged 85 percent, and reached a peak of 95 percent in the 35-39 age cohort" (May 1985:5).
- 4. The imbalance of the population alone led to a variety of problems to various women inside homelands. Most commonly, the majority of women whose husbands were temporary away, were overburdened by responsibilities which were supposed to be performed by their husbands. They became responsible for the family fields and livestock. They had to maintain discipline in the family single-handed.

This situation was revealed in a study conducted by Gordon (1981:66) in Lesotho in 1981 where circumstances in rural areas were more or less similar to those in South Africa's reserves: "The problems that the wives reported themselves as experiencing in their husband's absence are largely those that arise in connection with management of fields and livestock".

Other problems were attributed to lower income per household. Salaries earned by African migrant workers were very low, particularly those of mine workers.

"Meanwhile the Chamber of Mines had begun from 1896 to consolidate a uniform strategy of recruitment and wage determination. Though it did not alleviate absolutely shortage of labour, the policy of official collusion effectively limited competition for labour between companies which would otherwise have forced a rise in wages" (Murray 1981:24-25). It has been the policy of the Chamber of Mines to keep African mine workers' salaries at a lower level. Thus, the money sent by husbands sometimes was not enough to buy food, clothes and send children to school. In some cases this led to starvation, in some cases school dropout of children: "Children simply stopped going to school either because the high school was too far away, or because the household could not pay school fees" (May 1985:21).

- 5. Building better houses was problematic for many families whose fathers were migrant workers. Since income per household was used mainly for food, clothes and school fees, money to buy building materials was scarce.
- 6. Problems were also experienced in obtaining medical assistance, and "in the case of medical assistance, the expense was due to the cost of hiring a taxi in order to transport a patient to the nearest clinic or hospital" (May 1985:20).
- 7. Communication problems were also experienced with regard to the post, this resulted in the use of informal hand post, that is, entrusting a letter or remittance to a friend or relative travelling between the reserves and the urban area.
- 8. Migrant labour prevented men from doing their own things in the reserves, such as innovation in their houses and garden. Men cannot spend the weekend planting fruit trees, painting their houses or fixing the broken window, because they have no houses in town and their families are several hundred kilometers away.
- 9. Migrant labour increased illegimate children both in the reserves and in towns. Migrant workers' wives were not left alone in the rural areas for a year or more at a time. Some of these women were liable to fall into temptation to be in love with other men. On the other hand, some men formed intimate relationships with women who were not their wives in towns. The net result of these extramarital relationships was a rise in the births of illegimate children.

- 10. Migrant labour led to the breakdown of parental authority. "Any woman knows how difficult it is to bring up children when their father is not around to exercise his authority. Small wonder then that in a society where thousands of women are having to do just that, many children are growing up in a manner deeply disturbed to adults" (Wilson 1972:182).
- 11. From a political point of view, migrant labour led to the reduction of pressure for reform.
 "The first of the political arguments against migrant labour is that by keeping the unemployed and homeless out of the cities, the system has the effect of hiding, behind some mountain in the rural areas, the misery which most of the rich and powerful people in the society do not see" (Wilson 1972:186).
- 12. Furthermore, labour migrancy led to an injustice of rural subsidy. The migrant labour system enables the actual growth-points of the economy to expand without having to bear the cost of family housing or social security of the human-being behind the labour unit. In this way, the rural areas are subsiding urban development.
- 13. "Children, as members of families, were greatly affected by the contract labour system. It was mentioned earlier that sometimes a husband left his wife for a contract job while she is expecting a baby. The woman had to deliver the child without her husband's support. If she had no older children to assist her, she had to rely completely on her own resources or on the kindly help of neighbours" (Hishongwa 1992:104).

These were just the few consequences of migrant labour inside the former homelands worth mentioning in this subsection. There were many consequences inside the homelands that might have required a book on their own to give an exhaustive picture of this phenomenon.

The above discussion excluded all sections of Bantustans which were not affected by migrant labour due to the fact that they are nearer to industrial centres and fathers were able to commute daily between home and workplace.

2.3 CONCLUSION

The chapter attempted to give a historical background on how Natives were appropriated from their land and relocated in the so-called Native reserves and how Natives were induced and assimilated into the migrant labour system. In addition, the impacts of agriculture, mining, development of transport and urban centres on the migrant labour system have been discussed.

The migrant labour system played an important role in the development of the economy of South Africa, as well as in other areas such as building structure in urban industrial centres and infrastructure, that is, roads and railways lines.

Native migrant workers benefited by seizing the job opportunities although salaries were low in most circumstances.

On the other hand, white capitalists benefited much more from the migrant labour system, because they saved a lot of money by using cheap migrant workers. This was in line with the main aim of Chamber of Mines. The Chamber of Mines was formed partly to keep Natives' wages at a low level in all mines in South Africa. Thus, Natives were easily exploited in the mining industries. They were also exploited in other sectors of the economy such as in agriculture and construction works.

The exploitation of Natives through the migrant labour system was executed through an unequal distribution of economy and other oppresive laws. Today, the former homeland and urban (mostly white) areas still tell the story of the past. The new government, led by the African National Congress, which has been put into power after the election of 27 April 1994, has an enormous task in trying to address the imbalance of economy and land distribution. This is a matter of urgency, failing which will mean that it has to be prepared to face the problems of land distribution in future.

In the next chapter, the influence of migrant labour on the family will be discussed. The reader will notice that the migrant labourers' wives were faced with many challenges in their respective families.

CHAPTER 3

THE INFLUENCE OF MIGRANT LABOUR ON THE FAMILY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The family is very important to most people because most of us belong to a family. A person is born into a family and if some get married, new branches of families are formed. However, there are those who do not belong to a particular family due to certain reasons. For example, children who were abandoned or dumped on the streets by their mothers after birth. These are exceptional cases.

The surname usually indicates the family to which a person belongs. If a woman is married to a man, she changes her surname and adopts the surname of her husband. In this sense, she becomes part of the husband's family.

This chapter focuses on the definition of the family, a view on the functioning of the family system and influence of migrant labour on the family. Since the view on the functioning of the family system is derived from the systems theory, an overview of the systems theory and its contributions will be highlighted.

The discussion of the family will be incomplete without mentioning a home. Thus the concept "home" will be thoroughly discussed from ancient days to this era.

3.2 SYSTEMS THEORY

3.2.1 An overview of systems theory and the functioning of the family as the system.

The view of the family as a system is centred around the general systems theory.

According to Schultz (1984:55) general systems theory concerns the relationship of the some whole consisting of interacting parts and interacting with its environment.

This view was proposed by Von Bertalanffy as a general theory of the organization

of parts into wholes. Barker (1986:37) states that Von Bertalanffy defined a system as "a complex system of interacting elements, while Hall and Fagan defined a system "a complex system of interacting elements, while Hall and Fagan defined a system as "a set of objects together with the relationships between the objects and between their attributes".

According to Barker (1986:37) these difinitions place no limits on what the "parts" or "objects" may be. Thus, they may be living or non-living. Hence, systems theory is designed to cover physical phenomena and machines as well as biological systems. A distinction is made between open and closed systems. In closed systems there is no interaction with the surrounding environment, as in a chemical or physical reaction in a closed container. Rules obeyed by closed systems differ from rules obeyed by open systems. "Closed systems, for instance, show entropy, the tendency to reach the simplest, least order possible state from whatever may be the starting situation. Thus if two gases which do not react chemically with each other are introduced into a closed container, the result will be a diffuse complete mixing of the two. Once this process is complete, the system is said to be in a state of equilibrium" (Barker 1986:38).

On the other hand, open systems such as families, do not show entropy. In open systems there is interaction with the surrounding environment. Thus open systems are affected by what is happening in the surrounding environment. "Instead there is inflow and outflow of relevant material across the boundary of the system. If the characteristics of the boundary remain the same and the outside environment is also unchanged, a steady state is reached. The environment of most open systems is, however, liable to change. There may also be alterations in the characteristics of the boundary. These properties of open systems make change and evolution possible" (Barker 1986:38).

Systems theory as proposed by Bertalanffy constitutes a complex of mathematical propositions about properties of systems. Family therapists have made use of the basic concepts of the theory, nevertheless, they have not used the mathematical models. This is attributed to the fact that family therapists are dealing with human beings which cannot be reduced to mathematical terms. Thus others felt that

systematic thinking is a better term than systems theory. However, one should acknowledge the contributions made by systems in terms of ideas and concepts in the field of family therapy. According to Barker (1986:38) these contributions include the following:

- Families (and other social groups) are systems having properties which are more than the sum of the properties of their parts.
- ii. The operation of such systems is governed by certain general rules.
- iii. Every system has a boundary, the properties of which are important in understanding how the system works.
- iv. The boundaries are semi-permeable, that is to say something can pass through them while others cannot. Moreover, it is sometimes found that certain material can pass one way but not the other.
- Family systems tend to reach a relatively, but not totally, steady state.
 Growth and evolution are possible, indeed usual. Change can occur, or be stimulated, in various ways.
- vi. Communication and feedback mechanisms between the part of a system are important in the functioning of the system.
- vii. Events such as behaviour of individuals in a family are better understood as examples of circular causality, rather than as being based on linear causality.
- viii. Family systems, like other open systems, appear to have purpose.
- ix. Systems are made up of subsystems and themselves are part of larger suprasystems.

3.2.2 Some characteristics of systems

Systems theory, or at least systemic thinking is of great value in family therapy. Cybernetics is systemic thinking or the general theory. It is also called first order cybernetics. The concept of circular causality as opposed to linear causality is a main characteristic of systematic thinking. This concept forms a basis for understanding the processes occuring in families. Circular casuality describes the situation where an event A affects B, and B in turn affects A. "Thus if person A tells onother person B to do something, and the person does it, this in turn will affect

the behaviour of person A – who, for example, may then be more likely to ask B to perform a task again when need arises" (Barker 1986:39).

Whereas linear causality describes a situation where event A causes B and not vice versa. On account of circular causality, the systemic therapist does not focus on an individual in therapy, but rather on the whole family system.

Another important contribution made by systems theory is that of the relationship between systems, subsystems and supra-systems. All systems are composed of subsystems, and systems are part of the supra-system.

"So if a family is the system under study, it will be found to consist of various individuals or group(s) of individuals which function as subsystems. Example are parental, marital and child subsystems, there may be boy and girl subsystems, or subsystems consisting of older younger children (Barker 1986:40).

Example of supra-systems to which families may belong are extended families, the village, the neighbourhood, the tribe, and church community. These supra-systems are in turn part of the larger supra-systems.

"The systems upon which family therapists usually concentrate is, of course, the family. Family therapists are interested also in the subsystems and, usually, supra-systems of the families they are treating" (Barker 1986:40). Each system has its own boundary that marks it off from its surrounding. Living organisms (systems) such as animals and plants marks it off from its surrounding. Living organisms (systems) such as animals and plants have readily identifiable physical boundaries, namely skins and barks respectively.

"The boundaries of emotional and psychological systems are not visible in the same way, but they are important. They control emotional interchanges, closeness and joint actions. The boundary between one subsystem and another is characterized by restricted emotional interchange, compared with that between individuals within the one system. Similar considerations apply to the boundaries between systems and their supra-systems" (Barker 1986:41).

Some families have quite highly permeable boundaries and as a result they may be susceptible to event and change in their wider social environments. Others have impervious boundaries, hence they are quite isolated from the social environment in which they live. All open systems have boundaries that are semi-permeable in some degree, which means that they allow some things to pass through and prevent others to pass through. This is essential to maintain the integrity of the system and its distinctness from the sorrounding environment. "Sybsystems, of course, have boundaries too. Work on subsystem boundaries is often an important part of the family therapy, particularly when a structural approach is being used" (Barker 1986:42).

According to Barker (1986:42) "Boundaries are largely defined by the communication that occurs across them, though much of the communication is non-verbal and is concerned with emotional issues rather than cognitive ones".

"Second order cybernetics, or also called, eco-systematic thinking is a shift away from 1st order cybernetic thinking. In second order cybernetics, systems are no longer viewed only in the context of the inputs and outputs of, or relationship with, other systems. The observer becomes part of, or a participant in, that which is observed" (Becvar & Becvar 1996:75-76)

3.3 THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE FAMILY

Special reference will be made to Swazi traditions in this regard. The establishment of the family in Swazi tradition has changed over the past many years. In the past, parents had great say in a marriage of their child. The father in particular had the right to exercise fairly rigid control over the choice of the husband of his daughter or wife for his son. The father had the right to force his daughter to marry a man for the sake of lilobolo*. The daughter could even be forced to marry a man who had already married one or more wives as long as he could afford to pay "lilobolo".

However, many parents allowed their sons and daughters to exercise their own choice in a marriage.

* Lilobolo = Cattle paid by the bridegroom as a price for a bride

Since those days, things have changed and most parents give their children the freedom to select a partner or mate of their own choice. In these days dating has become an important way of gaining experience of the opposite sex and searching for a prospective marriage partner. Most youth start dating at the puberty stage as a way of getting to know the opposite sex. Dating may be regarded as a learning process whereby each partner learns about the other, and in so doing gains knowledge and understanding of the sexual relationship. Since dating partners change frequently, this leaves a young person with a wide knowledge and experience of the opposite sex before marriage.

The longer the period of dating between the two partners, the greater the chance of these two to engage and get married thereafter. "In the past engagements were fairly long because it was frequently neccessary to save money for a year or more in order to set up a home" (1978:25)

In the case of Swazi traditions the marriage betwen the couple was delayed because it was neccessary for a bridegroom to save money in order to buy cattle for the "lilobolo". Nowadays marriage between couples can take place within a shorter space of time because most young people are earning enough to pay "lilobolo" within a short period. Furthermore, couples need not to ask permission from their parents before entering into a contract of marriage if they are above the age of eighteen.

Young people now also have a wide range of opportunities to choose a partner. He/she may choose a partner who lives within the same village or area or study with him/her at a university or college. Nevertheless, a great percentage of marriages still take place between people living ralatively close to one another and between people of a similar cultural and religious background.

Once the couple is married, it is upon them to make the relationship a success. They must be able to solve their problems. This demanded continuous and individual effort from both partners to adjust themselves in the relationship. In Swazi tradition, when a married couple experiences some problems in their marriage, the married couple use to

consult parents for advice. It could either be the parents of the husband or be parents of the wife. This tendency is still applicable to some couples. However, it is gradually losing its strength as professional workers and church pastors are gaining momentum in providing marriage therapy to these people.

Some couples prefer to stay together without entering into the contract of marriage. This is common amongst blacks in South Africa. This makes it easy for the two people to part if neccessary. Some stay happily together for ther rest of their lives. This implies that couples can also start a family without entering into the marriage contract. When couple gives birth to a child, the family is now formed.

3.4. THE CONCEPT: FAMILY

One of the basic characteristics of every family is that there is a blood relationship amongst its members and this is referred to as kinship by sociologists. According to Elliot (1986:4) "in modern Western society "the family" denotes a unit consisting of a husband and wife, and their children. This unit is widely thought of as group based on marriage and biological parenthood, as sharing a common residence and as united by ties of affection, obligations of care and support and a sense of common identity." "In some famillies this kinship is recognised over a much wider area than in others" (Heasman 1978:12). A distinction is made between extended and nuclear family. In a nuclear family, members are fairly closely related to the nucleus of the parents whereas in extended family there is a distant relationship amongst the members. Nevertheless, they are in close and constant contact with one another and can easily be called upon in an emergency. This is more common amongst Africans.

The structure of the family in Swazi traditions is undergoing a process of change. In the past, the Swazi family used to consist of many members. For instance, in Swazi tradition it is acceptable that a man marries more than one wife. This is what is known as polygamy. This makes the family to be huge and consist of many members. This huge family is further enhanced when the sons get married. It is

common for the Swazi gentlemen to marry women while staying at home with their parents. It is possible for the Swazi family to consist of twenty members or more. In Swazi tradition, a man who had married more than one wife was highly respected in the community. To marry more that one wife gave men prestigious status. In a family gathering, such men's words were listened to and respected. A man who had married one wife was not highly respected in the community. Such a man was sometimes deprived of the opportunity to speak in gatherings because most people were not willing to listen to him. In other words, the man who had married one wife had low status in the community.

However, this perception is gradually fading away as more Swazi people are becoming concerned about a better standard of living.

In the family the child gains experiences in his childhood. By the time when other influences from the environment such as school and work place begin to shape the individual in various ways, the family already laid the basic foundation, having taught the child how to behave in an acceptable manner in the society and modeled social roles which he or she will later adopt when she/he is an adult. This is a most important function of the family, and is referred to as the process of socialisation. The woman usually gives birth to one child at a time, a year after or more then she may bear another child. This implies that the child needs a great deal of attention and care from his mother at infancy. The great attention and care may be withdrawn gradually as the child grows up. However, the influence of the family on the child's behaviour lasts throughout life and as a result socialisation is spread over a long period. Nevertheless, the impact of the influence is usually strongest when the child is young and at home. When the child is grown up he may do what the family expects him to do in certain circumstances, but in other circumstances may use his or her own discretion.

In most cases, the purpose of establishment of the family is to produce children and so maintain the population. Most parents are not concerned with the population problems of the society in which they live. Thus the choice of having a number of children is not based on an over-population crisis. The married couple usually

decides in a very general way how many children they are going to have. However, in some circumstances the decision may be influenced by the customs of their society. In a society where large families are highly valued, or where children are needed to help with the works it is more likely that the size of the family will be big. This is true of most African families in the past.

At present, a high standard of living is greatly valued and most families are dependent on salary income, which sometimes is not sufficient to meet all the needs of the family and parents begin to feel that a smaller family is desirable. Hence, large family sizes are gradually disappearing in our society. However, certain religions prohibit parents to limit the number of children that they have, hence these families will remain large.

The family also has the function to provide an atmosphere of security and affection that is essential if the child is to grow up into a happy and adjusted person. This is not something that happens overnight, it requires a great deal of time because the human being is helpless at birth and would die quickly without care. It takes time for the human being to mature, hence, he is unable to care for himself for quite a number of years. The human being has a few instincts to help himself adapt to his environment and has a very complex brain that takes time to develop and mature. This necessitates that the child must be cared for in a group like in the family that will feed, protect, provide shelter and help him to discover what he needs for the future. Unconditional love, warmth and sympathy that the child receives in the family enable him to develop normally and learn to be independent, so that in turn can teach his own family in a similar manner. If the child is deprived of this sense of security and affection, he may never become emotionally mature, and this may imply that his own children too will be deprived of the benefits a happy and affectionate family provide.

For the family to survive and remain intact, its members must be maintained. This implies that the family members must be fed, clothed, and kept warm and comfortable. For this the family is dependent on its income. This is the main responsibility of the father who is regarded as a "breadwinner", and to a lesser

extent of the mother and any other working members of the family. If the father is unable to carry his responsibility the whole family may find itself in difficulties.

3.5 THE HOME

Man has undergone a process of civilisation over the past ages and this happened concurrently with the improvements of his home to match his civilisation. Initially the home was just a cave or any shelter in which the family could live in safe and secure. In this home the family and its properties were protected from enemies. Here, the family was protected from the bad weather, wild animals and any other kind of danger. Home was also a place where food was brought when it had been gathered or caught, where it was prepared and where simple cooking was done.

The construction of these premitive homes was very easy. They were usually constructed by planting sticks in the ground in a circle, binding their tops together to form a cane structure, and covering the framework with thatch or skins. At night when it was time to sleep, members simply wrapped themselves up in some animal's skins and lay on the floor. During the daytime the skins were put to one side and the area was used for living. These homes consisted of only one room, and if more space was needed, they just built huts within a single enclosure.

As time went by some ancient home dwellers discovered some innovative ways of enlarging and dividing a single shelter (home) into different parts. In this way it gradually become possible for some family members to be allocated different parts of the shelter to sleep in. In this way rooms came into existence to be used for a specialised purpose and crude pieces of furniture were made on which to sit or lie or gather around for meals.

Gradually, the notion that home is the place of happiness and comfort began to unfold and as man's efforts were no longer entirely directed at keeping himself alive, it became necessary to channel his efforts in making additional improvements in his home to make life more easy and attractive. Such improvements were focused on the construction of

the home, the manner in which it was furnished and other domestic activities such as cooking and cleaning.

However, these improvements were not on an equal pace around the globe. In certain countries these improvements were fast and in some countries they were very slow. In some countries these improvements are still underway, especially to the black Africans. The development of technology has contributed extensively in bringing changes in homes of working people in the late nineteenth century.

Initially, technological developments were mainly aimed at benefiting industries, but when people had to gather in large numbers in towns to supply the labour force for the new industries, it became necessary to apply some of the technological developments to homes. Innovations were made in areas like drainage, sanitation and water supply. Flush toilets were built to replace the bucket systems whose contents were collected at nights.

Electrification of home also took place. This has brought to the end the use of candles and paraffin lamps. The use of wood, charcoal and coal for cooking and heating also came to an end. The domestic use of electricity brought a vital change to the lives of many people. Domestic activities, which demanded a lot of time and energy could be done with ease. These activities include the use of vacuum cleaner instead of brushes and brooms, the electric iron instead of the old-fashioned flat iron which had to be heated on the fire.

All these innovations were aimed at making the home the place of comfort and to introduce a very different way of living from that of the primitive home dwellers. This does not imply that modern dwelling has become more of a home.

It must also be borne in mind that a house without people living in it is not a home. Home refers to the people as well as the structure or house in which they live. These people should live a fuller and happier life together and this may be possible if there is security, love, trust, care, unconditional acceptance, honesty and comfort. These conditions bring

about healthy relationships amongst the family members. Healthy relationships produce a home atmosphere that enables all the members of the household to relax, to be themselves and to do whatever they want. But if there are no healthy relationships, what could have been a home may remain just a place where people live. In the light of this, it is clear that a home is not dependent on the structure of dwelling or house or its material comfort. However, a comfortable dwelling does much to enhance the feeling of a home.

Furthermore, it encourages friends and other relatives to visit them and share their experiences.

It is in the home that the family members make a wide range of relationships, discuss politics, religion and other matters that concern the community at large. Therefore, the home as the place has a definite location, form, size and structure. Furthermore, it has an identity of its own which is determined by the people who live in it, their relationship with one another and with others in the community at large. Any study of the physical structure, furnishing and planning of the home will be incomplete without considering the people who live in it.

3.6 RELATIONSHIPS WITHIN THE FAMILY

According to systematic thinking, relationships play an important role in the functioning of the family system. There are a variety of people of different ages, personalities and aims in life in the family. The composition of the family varies from one family to another. In some families there may be just parents and children. In others, the family may consist of parents, children and one or two grandparents. Other relatives, such as aunts, uncles and cousins usually visit the family for various reasons, but mostly for special occasions like weddings, birthday parties and funerals.

All these people are involved in various relationships with one another. These relationships are constantly changing because, as children grow up, they require different approach(s) and treatment from their parents. This is in line with Rusell and Rusell's (1987:1573) view that "the nature of parent - child relationships will

obviously change as the child develops and as the context of the parent-child interaction changes". The same applies to parents as they themselves become grandparents. For the family and other relatives to live harmoniously and happily with another, the relationships should be characterized by love, security, unconditional acceptance, honesty and trust. In other words, there should be healthy relationships amongst the members.

3.6.1 Marital relationship

A marital relationship involves a wife and a husband. This relationship precedes all the other relationships in the family. It is essential for the establishment and existence of family and other relationships. For the family to remain intact for the rest of its life, this relationship should be maintained and cared for. This requires great effort and perseverance from both partners, that is, husband and wife. In most cases, the marital relationship may be based on love, physical beauty, personality, economic status of the husband or wife, educational level of husband or wife, religion and ethnicity.

Personality seems to play a significant role to a certain extent in marital relationship. On the one hand, some personalities complement each other and so, husband and wife get on well together: If one person is angry, the other is able to smooth things over. On the other hand, personalities may be in conflict. In this instance, when one person is angry, the other may be even more furious and quarrel may take place. Such a couple may need assistance that will make them become aware of their conflicting personalities and help them to deal with one another. This assistance may be provided by professional social workers and psychologists.

3.6.2 Father's relationship with family members

A man is faced with challenges of playing different roles at the same time in various relationships. Each of these roles requires a different behaviour. In the first instance, he is expected to play the role of a husband to his wife in their marital relationship.

The man is also involved in a father-son relationship. This relationship is important for both the father and son. It is important for the son because his father serves as a role model even though as a child he spends most of his time with the mother, sisters and peers. The son identifies himself with his father and believes that he would be like his father in future. This relationship helps to shape the son's personality to a certain extent.

"For the most fathers, an infant son is an ego extension, and this feeling persists at least until the teenage years" (Yablonsky 1990:14). The father wants his son to fulfil his dreams. He wants him to succeed in all spheres of life. The joy of the son's success and sorrow for defeat are shared by the father to a great extent.

The man is also involved in father-daughter relationship. This relationship is important for a daughter because the father may serve as a role model of an ideal husband in future. Hence, this relationship may have an effect on a choice of a husband of the daughter in future. On the other hand, the father may wish for his daughter to be married to a good husband. In this relationship, the father guides his daughter how to behave to be married to a good husband.

In some cases, the man has to play a role of a son to his parents if the family is staying with his parents. A good man is able to maintain healthy relationships with all the family members despite the challenges involved.

3.6.3 Mother's relationships with the family members

Just like the man, a woman is faced with challenges of playing different roles at the same time in the various relationships. Each of these roles requires a different approach. In the first instance, the woman is expected to play the role of a wife to her husband in their marital relationship.

The woman is also expected to play a role of a mother in mother-child relationship. This relationship is very important for the child. Before the child can establish any relationship with other members of the family, the mother-child relationship must

come first. Just like all the other relationships, the mother-child relationship should be characterized by love, security, unconditional acceptance, honesty and trust. Such a relationship will enable the child to explore the outside world with confidence and establish other relationships with other people.

In the case of the mother-daughter relationship, the mother serves as a female role model of an ideal wife for her daughter. Girls usually look at their mother for cues as to how to act out their female roles, and especially, later on, their roles as mothers.

In the case of mother-son relationship, the mother may serve as a role model of an ideal wife in future. Hence, this relationship may have effect on a choice of a wife of the son in future.

In some cases, the woman may be expected to play a role of a daughter-in-law to her father-in-law or mother-in-law if the family is staying with them. She may also be expected to play a role of a daughter to her parents if they are staying with the family.

3.6.4 Pre-school child's relationships

3.6.4.1 Pre-school child's relationships with parents

By virtue of nature man is a social being, which means that it is inherent in him to socialise with people around him. Thus forming relationships with them. "The first people with whom a child forms relationships are his parents, especially his mother" (Engelbrecht, Yssel, Griessel & Verster 1984:17).

The mother constantly handles the child in a special way when he is wet, when he is hungry or feels uncomfortable, and as a result, the child learns to know his mother through constant care. On the basis of the constant care that the child receives from his mother, he can anticipate what is going to happen when he hears her footsteps coming. The constant special treatment, which the child receives from his mother makes her an anchorage point for the forming of further relationships.

The mother in turn knows her child. She knows when her child is hungry and when the child is sick even though the child is not uttering words. This shows that there is a mutual understanding in the mother-child relationship.

The constant presence and cuddling from the father also makes the father special to the child. In this way, the child also learns that he can receive special treatment from his father. Thus, the father may be the second important person to give special treatment. In the absence of the mother, the child may feel safe and comfortable in the hands of the father. However, the father cannot replace the mother as far as importance is concerned to the child.

There should be a sound and healthy relationship between parents and the child. Such a relationship brings about such a strong bond between parents and the child that separation causes a deep longing and sorrow. However, as the child grows up, separation anxiety is overcome gradually.

3.6.4.2 Pre-school child's relationship with peers

Having established a secure relationship with the mother, the child begins to form relationships with other children. "Up to the age of four the child's language and play are largely egocentric, but he greatly enjoys being with his peers" (Vrey 1979:74).

Approximately after the age of four playing together becomes the accepted thing, and this enables the child to learn altruism and generosity. The child's willingness to be accepted by his peers teaches him how to control his will and feelings. Thus the child's social interaction helps him to become less egocentric.

As the child grows up, he makes friends with peers he likes and distances himself from peers he dislikes. In this way the child lays the foundation for his later association with children at school.

3.6.4.3 Pre-school child's relationship with himself

Through his relationships with family members, objects and other people around him, the child learns to know himself. This occurs within a few months after birth. Within the few months, the child knows himself and his name, even though he cannot express it verbally. When he is being called by his name, he responds. This shows that the child is gradually becoming aware of himself and other aspects associated with him, such as, his name, sex, and appearance to mention just a few. As the child learns to know himself and begin to form an opinion of himself, self-identity begins to take its shape. According to Vrey (1979:76) "this identity formation is dynamic and continuous".

The formation of identity also employs the process of identification. Through the process of identification, the child tries to demonstrate what he wants to be in future. Initially, the child identifies with parents before he can identify himself with other people. A sound and healthy relationship is essential for this process. The child cannot identify himself with someone whom he dislikes. The child identifies with someone whom he knows and likes.

The child is also constantly evaluating himself in terms of the relationships he has with the parents, family members and others as he grows up. This gives rise to a self-concept: "When his parents, members of the family and his companions accept him, the child achieves self-acceptance, which means that he experiences a positive image of himself or self-concept" (Engelbrecht et al 1984:18).

Where there is a healthy relationship, the child experiences acceptance, and in turn the child accepts himself. Hence, the child experiences positive self-concept. A positive self-concept enables the child to explore the world with confidence. Therefore, it is important that healthy relationships should be maintained within the family.

3.6.5 Primary school child's relationships

3.6.5.1 Primary school child's relationships with parents

The primary school child's relationship with his/her parents is the continuation of the relationship that the child has established with the parents at an infancy stage. This parent-child relationship is

based on love. It is out of this love that parents, especially the mother, gives the constant care he needs. The mother responds to the child's cry regardless whether he is an infant, primary school child or high school child. The manner in which the mother responds to the child's cry varies from one situation to another. This implies that the mother assigns meaning to the cry and knows what to do even if this means withholding help in case where she knows that the child must be given the opportunity of making his own attempt. The primary school child needs more opportunities than the pre-school child. As the child receives assistance and support from his parents and attempts to do certain things for himself when given the opportunity, he is learning. Thus this kind of help and support is sometimes called education. "It should always be possible for an educational relationship to emerge from the parent-child relationship" (Vrey 1979:93). However, not all parent-child relationships can bring about educational relationships. A case in point is when the parent overprotects the child and denies him opportunities to do things for himself, which the child could do at his age. In the parent-child relationship where there is pedagogical love, an educational relationship will emerge. Pedagogical love between parent and child is characterized by knowledge, care, respect, responsibility and trust. As it is stated initially, the parent-child relationship is based on love. In order to love one another, the participants must know each other. Hence parent and child must know one another. Beyond that, the one must experience the other.

As the parent is concerned and involved in the child's well being, she interprets the child's action and behaviour. The parent's concern and involvement lead to a co-experience of the child's experience.

In turn, the parent cannot hide his dissatisfaction or unhappiness from the child. Hence, the child coexperiences the parent's mode and emotions.

Since the parent is concerned about the child's well being, health, joys and sorrows, this shows that the parent cares for the child. Respect is another important aspect of pedagogical love. According to Vrey (1979:96) "Respect means the acceptance of one by another for what he is in an active, positive sense". Both parent and child must accept one another unconditionally and in a positive sense for the sake of an educational relationship. Every parent of the primary school child must be ready and willing to respond to the child's needs. This implies that every parent of the primary school child has the responsibility for the welfare of the child and for the educational support he needs. Thus responsibility is also an important characteristic of pedagogical love. Lastly, for

pedagogical love to exist, there should be trust between parent and child. Trust cannot exist without knowledge. Hence, trust presupposes knowledge.

3.6.5.2 Primary school child's relationships with peers

The child's short-term social interaction with other children at pre-school years gave him the opportunity to learn altruism and generosity which are necessary in establishing more long-term relationships. Furthermore, he has learnt to control his will and feelings during the pre-school years. This also enhances the readiness of forming more long-term relationships with peers of which is regarded as preparation for the child to take part later in the greater society and its relationships as an adult. During the primary school years, the child begins to spend more time away from parents with his peers. Thus during this period the ties with parent are gradually weakening, and as a result the child needs the emotional security and support of his peer group. Therefore, he desperately wants to fit in the peer group. The peer group has its own set of rules and norms. For any child to be accepted in a particular peer group he must conform with the set of rules and norms of the group, even if it means to violate the parents' norms and values. Thus the peer group in the primary school years are regarded as a screening system through which children filter the values and attributes of parents, that is, deciding which to keep and which to throw away.

Some significant factors in an acceptance of the child by the peer group include amongst others, age, sex, interest, socio-economic status, appearance, physical skills and personality traits.

During primary school years a peer group is formed by members of the same sex and approximately by the same age. Members of the same group usually share common interests and is from the same social class. "Sociometric investigations reveal that children of the same social class usually flock together" (Vrey 1979:102). Amongst girls, physical appearance is of prestigious value. Attractive girls are more easily accepted in the peer group than the ugly ones. Primary school children spend most of their leisure time playing. Play requires adequate physical skills. Hence to be accepted in the peer group the member must have adequate physical skills. According to Vrey (1970:102) "Bodily activity and motor skills are very important to primary school children of both sexes".

Healthy personality traits enhance acceptability in the peer group while unhealthy personality traits encourage rejection by the group.

3.6.5.3 Primary school child's relationships with himself

The primary school child's self-concept has already developed which means that he understands himself. Through recognition and his relationships with his parents, objects and other people, he has learnt whether he is intelligent or dull, whether he is physically strong or weak, et cetera. In turn, the child behaves according to his ideas or perceptions of himself. In school the child who underestimates his capability to be successful will not do well.

However, the self-concept is dynamic, it changes continuously. This is due to the fact that the formation of the self-concept occurs as a result of interaction amongst experiences, significance attribution and involvement. "The self-concept in turn, affects a child's behaviour and the way he experiences situations, attributes meaning to them and becomes involved in them" (Oosthuizen, Petrick & Wiechers 1985:20).

In school, the primary school child gets to know himself in a wide variety of new relationships. Thus, his self-concept will not only develop and expand, but it will also change both positively or negatively.

A child's self-concept develops and expands since the pre-school years. This implies that the child's self-concept is either positive or negative even though it changes continuously. In school, the child will behave in accordance with his self-concept.

The child with a negative self-concept is inclined to interpret all new experiences in that light. Such a child will interpret almost all the actions taken by a teacher negatively even though all other children may interpret the actions as highly positive. Hence, the child will not be actively involved in school activities and in turn will not do well. On the other hand, the child with a positive self-concept is inclined to interpret new experiences in a positive light. Such a child will interpret almost all the actions taken by a teacher positively. Hence, the child will be actively involved in school activities and in turn benefit from activities and do well.

3.6.6 Secondary school child's relationships

3.6.6.1 Secondary school child's relationships with parents

The secondary school child's relationships with parents are a continuation of relations, which were established previously in the infancy stage. He has already established other relationships with people outside the family during the primary school years, especially with peer group. As a result he is partly dependent on his parents and partly on his peer group for emotional security and support. In turn, he is influenced both by parents and peer group. The child's increasing involvement with the peer group outside his home entails a new perspective concerning his parents. According to Vrey (1979:173-4) "In a psychological sense, the adolescent leaves the parent's home and takes up a new personal vantage point outside the family from which he sees both the world and home in a new light". This may be regarded as the secondary school child's "struggle" for emancipation. Once he finds a vantage point outside the family he can succeed in placing some distance between himself and it. This enables the child to look wholly at the family that is so important to him. The child regards the family as his extensions and judges it by subjective standards. Aspects in the family, which are regarded as favourable enhances his self-image while aspects which are regarded as unfavourable lower it. So the child demands improvements in these later aspects. For instance, the child may like to see improvements in his parents' clothes and the condition of the furniture.

The child's critical look at the family may cause friction, especially when he is highlighting faults about which the family already feels sensitive or inferior. The secondary school child's "struggle" for emancipation goes hand in hand with the child's development towards independence. The "struggle" for emancipation does not start from secondary school years. It starts right after the birth of the child. In the light of this, emancipation comprises the whole lengthy progress from birth to maturity. The child is gradually becoming comprises the whole lengthy progress from birth to maturity. The child is gradually becoming self-reliant as he learns to dress and feed himself, move around, acquire knowledge and so on. By the time the child reaches the secondary school years, he has already acquired knowledge and competence to a greater extent. Thus at this stage he is no longer regarded as a child but a fellow-adult. Emancipation during this period is concerned with independent moral judgement and responsibility for decisions.

"There are two sides to adolescent emancipation – on the one hand, the adolescent's readiness to take his own decision and accept responsibility for them, on the other hand, the parents' readiness to permit this" (Vrey 1979:175). In order for the adolescent's emancipation to be successful, there should be harmony between both the processes. The parents must allow the adolescent who is ready to make decisions, and who will accept responsibility for them, to make his own decisions.

The secondary school child's relationships with parents are of great importance to the child. These relationships should be characterized by mutual love. This gives rise to many other positive emotions and clamps down many negative ones. The adolescent who is loved by his parents unconditionally needs not to plan to please his parents. Such an adolescent feels freer to take risk, to explore and try out his abilities. Furthermore, he develops decision-making powers and openly compares alternatives especially those related to the choice of a career. In addition, he is not afraid to differ from his parents. Hence, these relationships are regarded as a preparation to take place in greater society as an independent adult.

3.6.6.2 Secondary school child's relationships with peers

The secondary school child's relationships with peers is the continuation of relations, which were established previously during the primary school years. As the child grows older, the ties with the parents are gradually weakening. Thus the secondary school child's need for emotional security and support from his group increases. During this period, the peer group becomes more important than ever before. It serves as a major source of self-esteem for the adolescent. Furthermore, it provides the adolescent a platform to test his views and actions.

During adolescence, close friendship becomes important. Within a group the adolescent develops close friendship with certain members. Friendships usually develop amongst adolescents with the same intelligence, interest and socio-economic status. Friendship is important because it averts torments of loneliness that can be experienced even in a group. In addition, it helps the adolescent to feel at home with one another and to feel free to share the most intimate secrets, the most private thoughts and emotions.

However, the adolescent does not gain acceptance automatically in the peer group, he must meet certain requirements of the group. The adolescent in his eagerness to be accepted by the group, conforms with the requirements. He may sometimes take part in activities he himself does not approve, such as drinking or smoking. He may conform even if it means violation of social or parental norms.

Adolescents who belong to the same peer group usually show great similarity in clothes, speech, hairstyle and habits. A healthy personality is also important for acceptance in the peer group. Adolescents who are easily accepted in the peer group are those who are cheerful, friendly, active and natural, and who participate readily in all sorts of activities. On the other hand, those who are often moody, sad, anxious and insecure are poorly accepted or rejected at all by the group.

During the mid-or late stage of adolescence, heterosexual relationships are established. "A well established sexual identity is needed before heterosexual relations can be formed" (Vrey 1979:171). Therefore, in early adolescence, the child must spend enough time finding out about his own body and learning culturally defined "masculine" or "feminine" behaviour in the same-sex friendship. It is easy to gain knowledge about one's sex in the same-sex friendships as all members are affected by similar concerns and physical changes.

However, nowadays, many adolescents start heterosexual relationships in early adolescence. Sporting events provide the opportunity for dating. Too early dating has negative effects on adolescents. Researchers have found that girls who started dating too early were immature, superficial, unimaginative and limited in ideas and friendships.

3.6.6.3 Secondary school child's relationships with himself

As the child enters the secondary school, his self-concept continues to develop and expand due to the fact that he continues to evaluate all the components of his self-identity as changes and new experiences occur in his life. These changes and new experiences affect his relations with objects, people, ideas and himself. "This includes physical, psychological and social changes, because his developing relations concern the physical, psychogical and social self that form such important components of his self-concept" (Vrey 1979:167).

During adolescence, physical changes in particular occur more rapidly than in any other stage of a person's life. This compels the adolescent to focus his attention on his body. Thus his body becomes so important at this stage. The physical body becomes a centre of attention. The body is given care at this time, for example the adolescent may constantly wipe dust from his shoes and wears well-cleaned ironed clothes.

Due to drastic changes, the body itself becomes a symbol of experience. It gives rise to subjective experiences. The child who does well in athletics and in academic activities experiences positive feelings about athletics and academic activities. Such a child develops positive self-conceptions about these identity components. These in turn, have a positive influence on the overall self-concept.

On the contrary, the child who does not do well in athletics and academic activities experiences negative feelings about these activities. Such a child develops negative self-concept about these identity components. This in turn, has a negative influence on the overall self-concept. Due to more mature cognitive development, the adolescent asks a lot of questions about himself. He may be ensure of what he wants from life, and what parents, peers and society want from him. Thus in this period the child is faced with a identity crisis according to Erikson's ego psychological theory. Erikson calls this stage a stage of identity versus role confusion. "Resolving this conflict of identity versus confusion involves satisfactory answer to many questions: 'Who am I?' 'Where am I going?' What occupation will I choose?'" Flake-Hobson, Robison & Skeen 1983:443). In search of his own identity, the adolescent tries various adult's roles and over-identifies himself with peers and idols such as movie stars or football players, thereby trying to reduce role confusion.

However, some adolescents experiment with things that can be determined to their lives such as smoking and drinking liquor.

If the situation is too confusing, the adolescent may attempt to resolve it by developing a negative identity. For instance, an adolescent whose parents constantly stress the importance of going to school may adopt identity by refusing to do well in school. In turn, this may lead to a negative self-concept, which is usually associated with poor performance. "Negative identity experiences can be positive if they are short-lived and allow the person to gain insight" (Flake-Hobsonetal et al 1983:444).

It is important that the adolescent should resolve the "struggle" for identity, failing which means continued role confusion, that is, not knowing who he is or being unable to choose a satisfactory vocation. This may give rise to various consequences, such as negative feelings about self and about the future, drug abuse, delinquency or suicide attempts.

An adolescent who has managed to resolve the "struggle" and has developed a positive identity moves into adulthood knowing who he is and where he is going. Such an adolescent has a positive self-concept and a role to play in society. The society in turn, accepts him as a responsible young-adult.

3.7 PARENTS'ROLES IN THE FAMILY

3.7.1 Father's role in the family

3.7.7.1 Breadwinner

The father in the family is also regarded as the breadwinner. This implies that one of the father's primary responsibilities is to provide his family the basic necessities of life symbolized by bread.

In ancient days the family's reliance on father's labours was more visible. The father ploughed the soil while the mother ran the household, and together managed the life of the family. The father's hard work of ploughing the soil was rewarded with harvests, which he used to feed the family. The mother used the harvest wheat to prepare bread for the family. It is in this sense that the father is regarded as the breadwinner.

As we are living in an industrial and complex technological era, things have changed. The father needs not to plough the soil in order to win bread for the family, instead, the average father works elsewhere, for instance in an office, behind the wheel of a bus or truck, underground in a mine, or in front of the key board of a computer. He works in order to earn money that will purchase the "bread", the material necessities to sustain his family. In other words, the father has ceased to be "breadwinner" in the true sense of the word, but he has become a salary earner.

All the family members are dependent on the father's income. Even if there are other members of the family who are getting income from the other sources, the father's income remains fundamentally important to the whole family.

Cost of living has led to many women entering the labour market in order to supplement their husbands' income. Therefore, it is important that the father gets a stable reasonable paid job. If the father is unable to get a stable job, he is sometimes compelled to become involved in migrant labouring. This makes it difficult for the father to fulfil other roles. "It is essential to recognise the father's multiple roles as breadwinner, parent, and emotional support for his partner in order to understand how fathers influence children's development" (Lamb 1987:15).

3.7.2 Mother's role in the family

3.7.2.1 Housework

The responsibility of taking care of the housework rests with the mother, even if she is employed outside the family. The mother in the family is usually the member who is overloaded with household work. The mother has to see that the house is clean. This required efforts and time from the mother in the past. Thanks to the advancement of technology, most women in our days are able to clean the house in a short space of time with fewer efforts by means of using machinery. However, not all the families are able to afford to buy these machines, especially in black communities. In some rural areas there is no electricity. This makes it impossible for the blacks staying in these areas to use machinery. Cooking, washing dishes and clothes are also part of the mother's responsibilities.

When a child is born, the household work increases because this means more plates, clothes and people to be looked after. This means extra work for the mother. This includes amongst other things, putting the child to bed, taking care of clothing, contact with day-care centre, school and clinic. Mothers who have grown up daughters share these duties with their daughters. Families who can afford to pay, employ someone to perform some of these duties. This is common amongst white families. This is also enhanced by the fact that many white women are professionals. Therefore, they have to hire people to perform their duties at home on their behalf while they continue with their professions.

In black families conditions are worse for the women, especially working women. Most women work in order to supplement their husbands's income not because they are professionals. Therefore, they cannot employ someone to perform their duties on their behalf at home. They have to wake up early in the morning around about 3:00 or 4:00 a.m. to perform some of their duties before leaving for work. Some of these women are the ones who are working on their behalf of white women and are sometimes referred to as kitchen maids or domestic maids. Some women are working in other sectors of the economy, such as, industries, supermarkets, restuarants, hostels, banks, offices and so forth.

There are a few black women who are in professional careers. These could afford to hire people to assist them with duties at home.

3.7.3 Parents' role in child development: theoretical perspective

3.7.3.1 Freud's Theory

According the Freud's theory the parent-child relationship is important for the child's sex-role development. During the phallic stage, which lasts from approximately three to five or six years of age, the boy develops sexual desires in relations to his mother and would like to take on his father's sexual function. As his father has a sexual relationship with his mother, the boy realizes that he cannot succeed in replacing his father in a sexual respect. This makes the boy to become jeolous and even feel acute hatred of his father. The boy becomes aggressive towards his father and even articulates wishes for his father's death.

The boy's sexual desire for his mother and aggressive behaviour towards his father lead to ridicule and punishment. "The boy experiences this punishment as a threat of castration anxiety" (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen 1989:61). Hence, the boy is faced with the complexity of coping with prohibited desires and intense fear, which Freud calls the Oedipus complex. The boy overcomes this complexity by repressing his sexual and aggresive desires and his castration anxiety and identifies himself with his father. "The boy would like to be big, strong and manly as his father and therefore enjoy the love and respect of his mother" (Meyer et al 1989:61). In this way the boy learns masculine behaviours expected of him by the society at large.

Furthermore, Freud emphasized the father's important role as a symbol of authority. As the boy desires to be like his father, he imitates his father's behaviour to the extent that he assumes some of his father's characteristics, especially the moral codes of the society that are represented by the father. In this way, the boy's superego develops. During the phallic stage, according to Freud, girls experience a female Oedipus complex. During this period, the girl observes that she does not possess a penis and as a result, she experiences anger and hatred towards her mother whom she holds responsible for this "defect". On the other hand, she envies her father for possessing the penis. As a result of this, the girl develops a sexual desire for her father because she thinks that she can acquire the penis from him. The girl's sexual desire for her father and aggressive behaviour towards her mother lead to ridicule and punishment. The girl normally resolves the female Oedipus complex by repressing sexual desire and aggresive behaviour and by identifying herself with her mother. Hence, she imitates the sexual role of the mother in the family. Thus the mother also plays an important role in the child's sex role development.

In the light of Freud's theory both parents play an important role in the sex role development of both the girl and boy. Furthermore, the father plays an important role as a symbol of authority for both the boy and girl. So the presence of both parents in the family is of great importance.

3.7.3.2 Parsons'theory.

"The family is both part of a large system-society – and a subsystem in itself" (Lynn 1974:104). In order for the subsystem (family) to be related to the large system (society) efforts from one member or members of the family are required. "Parsons regards the father as the parent who primarily carries out this role" (Lynn 1974:104). Parsons regards the father's efforts to relate the family to the large society as having an instrumental function.

Fathers are able to carry their instrumental functions because they are less bound to childcare, cooking and cleaning than mothers. Furthermore, fathers spend most of their time working outside the home, are more involved in community affairs and are concerned with politics. This places the fathers in a good position to perform their instrumental functions.

The father is also expected to direct the family towards the pursuit of distant goals. Thus the father has a final word on any major changes such as buying a new car or house, a decision to save money and so on. In this way, the father demonstrates to the family the art of planning and the manner to strive in achieving distant goals.

"Through the discipline and control he applies, he pries the children loose from mother-dependency so that they can grow up and accept their responsibilities as adults in the society" (Lynn 1974:104). In this way the father has also the function to lead his children out into the society. The father as an executive of the family is expected to supply authority, disciplines, and be neutral. He is also expected to make sound and objective judgement. In short, the father's instrumental role includes amongst others, authority, discipline, neutral, sound and objective judgement.

On the other hand, Parsons regards the mother's role of keeping the subsystem (family) functioning smoothly as a unity, as the expressive function. The mother spends most of her time caring for her children, in turn, this usually precludes her focusing her primary attention outside the family. The mother as a caretaker, is expected to maintain smooth relations amongst family members by regulating the tension among them, give them emotional support, and serve as mediator of the father-child relationship. Furthermore, the mother as a peace facilitator, is expected to control rivalry between siblings.

In short, the mother'expessive role includes amongst other things, caretaker, mediator, peace facilitator and acting as buffer between father and child.

3.7.3.3 Erickson's theory.

Parents play an important role in child development. During the infancy stage, the child depends on his mother for his needs such as food, physical care, love, attention and support. Through the constant care, love, attention and support, which the child receives from the mother, he develops a sense of trust. In the light of this, it may be concluded that the mother has the role to create a sense of trust in the child's life. Meyer, Moore and Viljoen (1989:158) state that "mothers create the sense of trust in their children by that kind of administration which its quality combines sensitive care of the baby's individual needs and a firm sense of personal trustworthiness with the trusted framework of their

culture's life style". Trust in turn is essential for the identity development. During early childhood, which covers approximately the second year of life, parents, according to Erickson's theory have the role to encourage the child to be independent. While encouraging independence, parents have the responsibility of protecting their children from unnecessary failure, of inadequacy and doubts about their abilities. During the play age, which embraces the third and the sixth year, parents have the role of imparting moral values to the child. The child internalizes these moral values which are encouraged by his identification with the parent of the same sex. According to Meyer et al (1989:159) "... in more traditional societies the child has more direct opportunities of learning the skills and habits of her culture by observing and participating in activities.

Nowadays parents are also assisted by instutions such as churchus, schools and tertiary institutions to perform some of their responsibilities.

3.7.3.4 Learning theory.

Most learning theorists, such as Skinner, Bandura and others are of the opinion that learning and identification (imitation) are crucial aspects of pre-adolescent personality development. Both parents are engaged in deliberate training, dispering punishment and rewards in attempt to shape their children's behaviour. However, most theorists stress that the father is the parent who administers punishment more that the mother. Thus the father according to these theorists is seen as the more punitive and more effective in the inhibition of antisocial and undesirable behaviours. "Observational learning (modeling) is seen as the crucial process in the sex role development of the young child, and thus the father's role in the development of the son's masculinity is of obvious importance" (Lamb 1976:12).

On the other hand, the modeling of the mother is obviously of great importance for the sex development of her daughter.

However, modeling is not restricted to sex-role learning. Therefore, both sons and daughters might be expected to imitate both the mother and father in at least some apects of their behaviour.

3.7.3.5 Rogers' self-concept theory

Rogers differentiates between the need for positive regard by others and the need for positive self-regard. "The need for positive regard from the others concerns the human being's basic need for approval, appreciation, love, admiration and respect" (Meyer et al 1989:380). Parents are the first people to meet the need for positive regard from others in the life of the child. Thus, both parents have the role to approve, appreciate, love, admire and respect their child.

The need for positive self-regard is closely related to the need for positive regard from others. The child requires the esteem from parents in order to feel positive about himself. Thus parents have the role to regard their child as an important person. "All those people who are closely connected to the individual and who help satisfy his need for positive regard play an important role in his development and in the development of his self-concept" (Meyer et al 1989:385). Therefore, parents play an important role in child's development and in the development of his self-concept.

According to Rogers' theory people who play important roles in child's development and in the development of his self-concept are called significant others.

Rogers emphasizes that parents have the role to accept their child unconditionally. In other words, parents should accept the child for what he is, just as he is. Such a child, according to Rogers, needs not to fulfil specific requirements to gain the esteem of his parents and is therefore able to acknowldge all his needs and express his feelings freely. Hence, the child's self-concept will be congruent to his innate potentials. Such a situation allows full actualization of the child's potentials. "Unconditional acceptance therefore leads to complete actualization of potential and allows the individual to realize all his abilities" (Meyer et al 1989:385).

3.7.4 Father's role in child development

3.7.4.1 Sex role development

There are many factors that play an important role in the sex-role development in the child's life. The father is one of the persons who influences the sex-role development of both girls and boys. One

of the reasons that makes the father play such an important role in the sex-role development of his children is that he is more concerned about appropriate sex-role behaviour than the mother. "Evidence suggests that fathers are generally more concerned than the mothers that their boys and girls develop distinct sex-roles" (Lynn 1974:154) "For example, there is evidence that mothers may be more equalitarian in raising sons and daughters whereas fathers may be more sex differentiating in what they view as appropriate role behaviours for boys and girls" (Mott 1994:99). Thus he constantly makes efforts to encourage his children to practice appropriate sex-role behaviour. There are elements in the father-child relationships and qualities within the father himself, which may be effective in enhancing masculinity in boys and femininity in his girls.

The father sometimes enhances masculinity in his boys and femininity in his girls through differential treatment. This is in line with Maccoby's view as reported by Pruet (1987:36) that the father has a role in rendering his sons "masculine" and his daughters "faminine". According to Lynn (1974:154) the findings from Bronfenbrenner's study revealed that "girls received more affection, attention and praise than boys, and boys were subjected to more pressure and greater discipline, the father mainly accounted for this distinction".

The father's dominance in the family influences sex-role development. This is from a nation that a child chooses to model after a person whom he envies or who has more power than he is. Accordint to Lynn (1974:159) "...the father's dominance in the family seemed to strengthen his son's masculinity without diminishing the femininity of his daughter". The father's nurturance also influences his own son's masculinity. According to Lamb (1976:72) "paternal nurturance refers to the father's affection, and attentive encouragement of his child". Some researchers found that there is a correlation between a father's nurturance and masculinity in the boy from pre-school to college age. Theses researchers further highlighted that when the father combines nurturance with dominance and high participation in childcare, he increases the likehood of high musculinity in his son. The father's masculinity may enhance the son's masculinity if the father exhibits masculine behaviour in the family interactions. "Imitation of the father directly enhances the boy's masculine development only if the father displays masculine behaviour in the presence of his son" (Lamb 1976:90).

In short, the father plays an important role in the sex-role development of both boys and girls.

3.7.4.2 Moral development

A father in the family is viewed as a figure of authority. This implies that the father has a responsibility for moral oversight teaching. The father is obliged to ensure that his children grow up with an appropriate sense of values and norms of the society. Thus the father is responsible for the discipline of his children. If the family belongs to a certain religion, the father is also expected to impart religious values to his children. Hence, the father is regarded as a moral teacher or figure of authority, concerns and dissatisfactions are reported to him with a hope that he is the one who can provide solutions to the problem.

According to Lynn (1974:194) "morality" generally refers to a person's (1) ability to make moral judgement against some articulable standards, (2) resistance to temptation, (3) sense of guilt or remorse after having transgressed, or (4) confession of misdeeds".

The father usually participates in community activities, thus is knowledgeable of its rules and principles, aware of the consequences of their violation. As the father has the responsibility to make sure that his children take their rightful place in the society as citizens, he is expected to urge his children to internalize the culture's basic rules and values.

According to Lamb (1987:240) studies showed that boys whose father were absent, "display less moral internalization".

However, it should be borne in mind that certain qualities within the father himself might enhance or hinder moral development in his children.

The father's interaction with his child influences the child moral development. Lamb (1976:226) "found that fathers of boys who were high on resistance to temptation were ambivalent towards their sons, they were both affectionate and hostile. Further these men believed strongly in teaching their sons the difference between right and wrong.".

The father's warmth, nurturance and affection influence certain aspects on moral development of the child. "The more generous boys perceived their father as nurturing, affectionate, and conforming to a child in distress" (Lynn 1974:196).

"Fathers participation in infant care should enhance the child's moral development by setting the stage for the child's later modeling of the father. Speece found that the altruism of children in grades 3 to 6 (as related by their peers) was positively associated with their father's participation in caring during infancy (as reported by parent interview)" (Lynn 1974:146-147).

When the father combines discipline with affection, this may evoke guilt in his sons after having transgressed. Moral judgement of the son is promoted when the father-son conflicts over moral matters are openly examined and negotiated. Moderate conflict over moral matters seems to be the best in promoting moral judgement compared to severe and minimal conflicts. "The fact that, in men, moderate conflict was associated with the highest level of moral judgement seems reasonable in that moderate conflict allows for open examination of issues" (Lynn 1974:198).

In short, fathers have a greater influence on the moral development of boys than girls. "Father absence affected moral development of males but not of females" (Lamb 1976:231).

3.7.4.3 Cognitive development

"The child's intellectual development seems to be a product of the interaction of biology, family, and society. When a similarity is discovered between the father and child in a particular aptitude or style of thinking, it is difficult to determine how much of the similarity can be attributed to genetic heritage and how much to the social influence of the father" (Lynn 1974:167).

However, it is important to note that when a similarity is discovered between the father and child regarding intellectual aspects, a certain degree of this similarity may be attributed to the social influence of the father.

Most literature studies reveal that the father influences his son's intellectual development more than that of his daughter. According to Lamb (1976:241), this influence can be explained as follows:

"Firstly this may be attributed to the tendency for boys to identify with and model their fathers, especially from about 4 to 9 years of age. Secondly, the father appears to identify with their sons, hence they react in a different way to their sons than to their daughters, they become more interested in the young boy's activities, abilities and behavioural pattern."

"It is suggested here that, as boys identify with the father, they emulate not only attitudes, values, roles, gestures, and emotional reaction but problem solving strategies, thinking processes, and vocabulary as well" (Lamb 1976:242). This emulation of the father's intellectual behaviour enhances the cognitive development of young boys. Lamb (1976:243) reports that Pederson, Rubenstein and Yarrow found that, for black boys five to six months of age, the amount of interaction between the father and child was positively correlated with measures of the son's cognitive functioning, for example, scores on the mental and psychomotor Development indices from Bayley Tests of Infant Development. This finding is consistent with findings of Blanchard and Biller as reported by Lamb (1976:244). Their findings show that boys whose father interacted frequently with them received higher grades than boys whose fathers infrequently interacted with them. Furthermore they also found that early father absence has a greater impact than later absence on boys' intellectual development.

The quality of father-child relationship also plays an important role in the child's intellectual development. "A father who is both warm and task-oriented when teaching something to a young child should have better luck than one who lacks warmth or who does not stick to the task" (Lynn 1974:170). This notion is supported by findings by Michael Romaine as reported by Lynn (1974:170). The said findings revealed that there is a positive relationship between fathers (and mothers) who were task-oriented but warm with their four year old child and the child's grasp of a black-sorting task they tried to teach them. Furthermore, according to Lynn (1974:173) warm and accepting fathers who listen to their sons, seem to enhance flexibility of thought in boys in middle-childhood. Radin & Epstein as reported by Lamb (1976:246) found that paternal nurturance was significantly related to cognitive competence in white boys, particularly middle-class youngsters. In short, paternal nurturance enhances the child's intellectual development.

It goes without saying that the father's hostility and rejection have detrimental effects on a child's intellectual development.

According to Lamb (1974:246) "paternal rejection was related to underachievement in high school boys but not in high school girls.

Furthermore, Lamb (1974:246) states that "very intelligent adolescent boys who had poor relations with their fathers had lower grades than the group whose relationship with their fathers was

considered average. Paternal punitiveness, hostility, rejection and restrictiveness are associated with limited cognitive ability in middle-class males'.

The father's rearing approach, influence the child's cognitive style. "Cognitive style is sometimes called analytic, as oppose to global, or field independent as opposed to field dependent" (Lamb 1974:249). Furthermore, Lamb (1974:249) reports that researchers found a significant correlation between an analytic approach and some components of intellectual competence, such as space ability, and between an analytic approach and non-verbal items on the Wechsler intelligence Scale for children, such as block design and object assembly.

Further findings revealed that there is an overlap between field independent and intellectual competence. Therefore, it may be assumed that a field independent and analytic approach are positively associated with intellectual competence on one hand. On the other hand, it may be assumed that a field dependent and global approach are negatively associated with intellectual competence.

A positive father-son relationship is related to field independence or an analytic approach. Lamb (1974:249) reports that Dyk and Witkin found field independent ten year middle-class white boys were more likely to indicate warm father-son relationship on the Thematic Apperception Test than field dependent boys. Dyk and Witkin reported that Seder's findings revealed that fathers of field dependent boys, but not girls, spent relatively less time with their sons, and time was spent on relatively passive activities such as watching TV.

On the other hand, the activities that the analytic or field independent boys shared with their fathers tended to be active.

In short, the quality and quantity of the father-son relationship and the father's rearing approach have an influence on the child's cognitive development, especially in early childhood.

3.7.4.4 Language development

The father also plays an important role in child's language development. The manner through which the father communicates with a young child differs from that of the mother. The mother or the care giver uses a "baby language" which is understood by the mother or care giver herself and the baby. The "baby language" can not be understood by strangers, its use is confined to the baby and the mother. The father uses the common language when comminicating with the child. "Communicating with fathers, in this view, requires children to adapt their linguistic formulations to the needs of a less familiar listener, and for this reason fathers represent a more challenging communicative partner than do mothers" (Tomasello, Conti-Ramsden & Ewert 1990:115). The adaptation required for fathers is not as radical as that required for a complete unfamiliar adult, in this way fathers may be regardeed as a kind of linguistic "bridge" to the wider community of speakers outside the home environment.

3.7.4.5 Achievement motivation

Mussen, Conger, Kagan and Huston (1990:347) define achievement motivation as the desire to do well in a particular domain, together with the tendency to evaluate one's own performance spontaneously. Achievement motivation is manifested through achievement behaviour, such as working hard or striving for mastery, persisting at a difficult task, and selecting challenging tasks. The factors that determine a child's level of motivation in achieving a particular goal include attainment values, standards of perfomance, expectations, and beliefs about one's ability and attributes about the reasons for success or failure. The question here is, how does the father influence the child's achievement motivation?

The child's achievement efforts are affected by his attainment values, expectations of success, concepts about his abilities and attributions. The child gets these beliefs and values partly from his parents. Therefore, if the father considers mathematics more important for his son's future than that of his daughter, the son's level of achievement motivation for mathematics will be high compared to his daughter.

"Parents' perception of their children's abilities appear to have a direct influence on the children's sense of efficacy and their expectation of success" (Mussen et al 1990:363). This may be attributed to the fact that parents who perceive their child's ability to be high in a certain domain, will in turn set a high standard of perfomance in that domain for the child if the parents have positive attitude towards that domain. This is supported by the study conducted by Poffenberger and Norton as reported by Lynn (1974:176), that students who liked mathematics very much believed that their fathers (and mothers) also had a positive attitude and had high expectations for their children's mathematical achievements.

The nature of the parent-child relationship also plays a role in the child's achievement motivation. "A positive parent-child relationship can affect achievement because it forms a basis for the child to accept the parent's expectations and demands" (Mussen et al 1990:363).

Parenting styles and discipline have an effect on a child's achievement motivation. Authoritative parenting style promotes achievement motivation and task persistence in children. Authoritative parents are moderately affectionate, but they have clear standards and expect children to be mature. They sometimes enforce rules and involve their children in decision making about rules. They also encourage their children to voice their dissatisfaction. Hence, an authoritative father enhances the child's achievement motivation.

Authoritarian and permissive parenting styles discourage the child's achievement motivation.

Parents' teaching behaviour may also affect the child's achievement motivation. Parents who encourage independence, that is, to perform tasks alone when teaching their children enhances achievement motivation in their children. Furthermore, independence training is one of the factors that enhances the child's creativity. Creativity is an important aspect of intellectual development. Therefore, the father who urges independence in his children enhances achievement motivation and creativity, which are so important in intellectual development.

3.7.4.6 Development of self-concept

Vrey (1979:47) defines the self-concept as a configuration of convictions concerning oneself and attitudes towards oneself that is dynamic and of which one normally is aware or may become

aware. Raath and jacobs (1993:2) define a person's self-concept as the image that he has of himself and it is made up of many conceptions that he has to form about himself.

"The self-concept is always highly meaningful to the person concerned, whether it is based on high or low self-esteem" (Vrey 1979:49). Thus self-concept is of great importance to the person's life. It is regarded as the core of person's personality.

A child is not born with self-concept, but it is formed through interaction with others and evaluation of himself in terms of his potentials, appearance and other aspects.

"All individuals are influenced by people around them and especially by the significant people in their lives. Every single experience in a person's life, whether it is pleasant or unpleasant, has an influence on the development of his self-concept" (Raath & Jacobs 1993:18). The significant people who interact with the child early in his life are his parents and probably some other family members. "The child's experiences and conceptions of the attitudes of the significant people in his life, play an extremely important role in forming the child's concept of himself" (Raath & Jacobs 1993:18). In the light of this, the father as a significant person plays an important role in the formation of the child's self-concept. Self-concept is dynamic, and it can either be positive or negative. This is a result of continuous assessment of the child himself in terms of his relationships with others and his potentials. If there is a healthy relationship between the father and the child, this will enhance a positive self-concept. "Adolescents who reported close relationships with their fathers were considerably more likely to have high self-esteem and stable self-images than those who described relationships as more distant" (Olowu 1983:133).

On the other hand, an unhealthy relationship between the father and the child will enhance a negative self-concept. There is a high degree of probability that negative self-concept will have a detrimental influence on the quality of the child's life and on his development.

Hansen and Maynard as reported by Raath and Jacobs (1993:3) have come to the conclusion that a high positive correlation exists between "healthy, enhancing concepts of the self" and academic success. On the other hand, a negative self-concept and underachievement show a high positive correlation". Coopersmith as reported by Raath and Jacobs (1993:4) found that

"children with low self-esteem do not mix easily with a group. In the presence of a social group at school or elsewhere, they remain in the shadows, listening rather than participating, sensitive to criticism, self-conscious, pre-occupied with inner problems".

In short, the child with a positive self-concept has self-confidence and as a result, he does not fear. Thus he is eager to explore and take risks. Such a child participates actively in a variety of activities at home, playground and at school. This makes him to actualize his potential optimally. Since a healthy father-child relationship promotes positive self-concept which is the key element in the child's development, the father must strive to maintain a healthy relationship with his children.

3.7.4.7 Academic achievement

The father plays an important role in influencing his children's academic achievement, both in boys and girls. However, the manner in which the father influences the boys' academic achievement differs from the manner in which the father influences the girls' academic achievement. Participation in his children's academic endeavours has a more profound effect in the son's academic achievement than in the daughter's academic achievement. Lynn (1974:182) refers to a study using fifth-and sixth-grade boys as subjects. Their parents were sent a child-rearing questionnaire and the boys were administered achievement tests. "In all areas of chievement except arithmetic, the more the father participated in his child's academic endeavors, the higher was his boy's achievement. In the case of arithmetic, however, the reverse was true: the more he participated, the worse the boy tended to do".

This finding is in line with Radin's (1986:80) view, in that: "Proficiency in mathematics is one area in which fathers clearly exert influence on their daughters's mental ability. The father's presence, especially when the daughter is between the ages of 1 year and 9 years old, appears to be related to her competence in mathematics, although the reasons offered for his association are highly speculative".

Quantity contact between the father and his son is another factor that may contribute to the son's academic achievement. Radin (1986:244) reports that a study conducted by Blanchard and Biller revealed that boys whose father interacted frequently with them received higher grades than boys whose fathers infrequently interacted with them.

Quality of contact between the father and his son also influence on his son's academic achievement. Radin (1986:246) refers to an investigation of high school students with above average intelligence, obtained results indicating that the boys who had a B average or better perceived themselves as more similar to their fathers than boys with a below-B-average. This implies that the more the son identifies himself with his father, the greater the father's influence on the son's academic achievement.

Father's leadership style is another factor, which influences the quality of contact between the father and his children. Radin (1986:246-8) reports that Cross and Allen discovered that high achieving college men had fathers they viewed as accepting and child centered, while Teachan found that fathers of low-achieving, male and freshmen were more punitive in their attitudes than fathers of high achievers. In addition, Bowerman and Elder observed than 13-to 18-year old middle-class and lower-class boys who were high achievers had fathers who were the most powerful in the family and were democratic in their relationships with their children.

In the light of the above discussion, the father plays an important role in enhancing his son's academic achievement except in mathematics. However, this is determined by other factors, such as quality of contact, personality of the father, and leadership style of the father.

It is important to note that the father's influence may enhance the daughter's achievement in mathematics. Thus the father's presence at home is important for children's academic achievement both in boys and girls.

3.7.5 Mother's role in child development

3.7.5.1 Bearing, rearing and caring of the child

Bearing children is another major responsibility of the mother. However, this responsibility is biologically linked in the sense that it involves biological processes. In the past, families did not have control over the number of children to be born.

Due to the use of contraceptives and other means, families nowadays have control over the number of children to be born and when to be born. The mother carries this responsibility once or twice, or

more depending on the number of children required in the family. The period of motherhood between conception and childbirth is known as pregnancy. This period is associated with its own problems. The woman depends on her husband or relatives for assistance. This period may be associated with physical and emotional problems, such as health problems, fatigue, depression and anxiety about delivery and the health of her baby.

After the birth of the child, rearing and caring of the child rest almost entirely on the mother. "It is well known that fathers, on the whole, are much less involved in infant care than mothers, be it in terms of responsibility, availability, time spent in interaction, or performance of care taking activies" (Ninio & Rinott 1988:652). In line with this view, Langeveld (1986:6) states that the child rearing situation in its primitive-naturalistic form suggests a temporary peripheral role for father. Mother suffices in the first instances as the provider and protector from the view of the child there is, as yet, no father. This means an extra workload of the mother. Starting from breast feeding, nappy changing, bathing the child, giving the child medicine, taking the child to the clinic or doctor and many other duties associated with rearing and caring of the child as he/she grows up.

The constant care which the child receives from the mother gives rise to the sense of trust, which in turn serves as anchoring point for the establishment of relationships between the mother and the child. Through this trust, a strong bond between the mother and the child is formed which serves as the source for establishing relationships with family members and other people.

3.7.5.1 Sex-role development

As is stated in paragraph 3.7.4.1 the father plays an important role in the sex-role development of his child, but this does not imply that the mother does not play a role in sex-role development. Both the mother and the father are concerned about appropriate sex-role bahaviour for their children. "Evidence suggests that fathers are generally more concerned than the mothers that their boys and girls develop distinct sex roles" (Lynn 1974:154). This may be attributed to instrumental role played by the father in the family. However, some studies show that mothers contribute toward the sex-role development of their children. In another study reported by Lynn (1974:155) it is suggested that the mother can enhance the boy's masculinity by direct encouragement. Girls acquire some female role behaviours from their mother through the process of imitation. This is evidenced in the following excerpt:

"There is no way to be somebody's mother without having been, first, someone's child, and the kind of mother I am is all wrapped up with the kind of mother I had. Some of what my mother did is precisely what I have chosen not to do. Some of what she did is imprinted on me so strongly that now and then I hear myself saying to my children the very words that were once said to me' (Maynard 1987:10).

3.7.5.3 Cognitive development

At it is stated in paragraph 3.7.4.3 a child's intellectual development seems to be the product of the interaction between biology, family and society. In view of this notion, it goes without saying that the mother contributes to the child's cognitive development.

In paragraph 3.7.4.3 it was stated that many studies reveal that the father has a more profound influence on the cognitive development of his son than on the cognitive development of his daughter. This can be attributed to the tendency for boys to identify with and model their father.

In the light of this explanation, it is appropriate to assume that the mother may have a more profound influence on the cognitive development of her daughter than on that of her son, especially in early childhood. Once again, identification with the mother and modelling may play a role. As girls identify with their mothers, it may be assumed that they emulate not only attitudes, values, roles, gestures and emotional reactions but problem-solving strategies, thinking processes and vocabulary as well.

Some factors within the mother have an influence on the child's cognitive development. The mother's educational level is one of the factors that influence the child's cognitive development at an early age, especially in girls.

Some literature studies as reported by Lynn (1974:169) reveal that the education of the mother is apparently a better predictor than the education of the father of a child's scholastic aptitude up to age ten, and it is a better predictor of scholastic aptitude in girls than in boys.

Furthermore, Lynn (1974:169) states that "the way a mother handles a child's intellectual interest and activities does influence his rate of mental growth while he is young, at that time the mother usually has much more contact with the child than the father".

3.7.5.4 Language development

The child is born without language, but with means of communication and sounds.

"He is born with speech equipment and a sensory system, which will make future language and speech usage possible. The ability and means with which to acquire language and speech are therefore advantages with which every baby with normal hearing and speech organs is born" (Engelbrecht, Yssel, Griessel and Verstel 1985:11).

Being born with the capacity of acquiring language and speech, does not mean that language can develop on its own. The child must acquire the language by imitating language models, which include parents in an initial stage. The mother is the one who spends most of her time with the child in early stages, when language acquisition is taking place. It may be assumed that she plays a major role in a child's language development. However, it must be stressed that this assumption is based on the amount of time, which the mother spends with the child during the first three years of age when language acquisition of the child is at its peak.

Nevertheless, some studies contradict this assumption. "Studies of children whose mothers and fathers speak to them in different languages have shown this assumption to be false" (Lamb 1987:44). On the basis of this contradiction, it may be assumed that the mother and the father have more or less influence on a child's language development.

3.7.5.5 Moral development

The father cannot be solemnly responsible for the moral development of his children, he is assisted by the mother. They work hand in hand in the moral development of their children. However, it seems as if the father has an upper hand in this aspect, especially in the case of boys. This can be attributed to the father's instrumental role in the family.

Nevertheless, the mother seems to contribute greatly to the moral development of girls. Some studies support this notion:

"Since women usually maintain closer relationships with their parents than do men, this is a reasonable assumption. This study showed that the influence of the mother on daughters

was greater but that the father did have some influences. He clearly influenced the moral judgement of his sons" (Lynn 1974:199).

Firstly, this may be attributed to the fact that the mother serves as a role model for her daughters. So it is possible that the girl acquires some of the moral attributes through medeling her mother.

Secondly, the daughter identifies with her mother. It is possible that through identification with the mother the daughter may internalise some of her moral values.

Thirdly, the mother spends more of her time with her daughter than does the father. When the mother and daughter are together, personal interaction takes place. In the process of personal interaction, learning takes place. Hence, some moral values may be learnt.

The mother's child rearing practice has an influence on some aspects of moral development.

"Despite the theoretical basis for assuming that the father rather than the mother has greater influence on moral development, Martin Hoffman, in his thorough review of the literature (1970b), found that there were actually many more associations between mother's child rearing practices and the child's moral behaviour" (Lynn 1974:194).

Authoritative mothers enhance their children's moral development. These mothers do not simply impose rules to their children, instead they explained the essence of rules and give room for dissatisfaction.

3.7.5.6 Achievement motivation

It is stated in paragraph 3.7.4.4 that the child's level of motivation in achieving a particular goal includes amongst others, attainment value, standard of performance, expectation and beliefs about one's ability and attributes about the reasons for success or failure. The mother may contribute to these qualities in various ways either positively or negatively. Therefore, it may be assumed that the mother may promote or retard the child's achievement motivation.

Furthermore, it is stated that parents' perception of their children's abilities appear to have a direct influence on the children's sense of efficacy and their expectations of success. This is attributed to the fact that parents who perceive their child's ability to be high in a particular domain, will in turn,

set a high standard of perfomance in that domain if the parents have positive attitude towards that domain. Therefore, if the mother perceives her child's ability to be high in a certain subject, let's say in English the mother will set a high standard of performance in English for the child. Hence, the probability is high that the child's achievement motivation will be high.

On the other hand, if the mother perceives the child's ability to be low, she will in turn set a low standard of performance. Obviously, the child's achievement motivation will be low.

In paragrap 3.7.4.5 it was explained that an authoritative parenting style promotes achievement and task persistence in children. Therefore, an authoritative mother promotes achievement motivation in her children.

"A positive parent-child relationship can affect achievement because it forms a basis for the child to accept the parent's expectations and demand" (Mussen et al 1990:363). Therefore, it may be concluded that a positive mother-child relationship may enhance the child's achievement motivation.

A mother's teaching behaviour may also affect the child's achievement motivation. Mothers who encourage independent training when teaching their children are likely to enhance their children's achievement motivation. These mothers praise the child's efforts rather than criticizing.

3.7.5.7 Development of the self-concept

In paragraph 3.7.4.6 it is stated that the child's self-concept is formed through interaction with others and evaluation of himself in terms of his potentials, physical appearance and other aspects. Furthermore, it is stated that the significant other people who interact with the child early in his life are his parents and probably other family members.

In the light of this, the mother as a significant person plays an important role in the formation of the child's self-concept. The nature of the mother-child relationship may influence the formation of the child's self-concept. If there is a healthy relationship between the mother and the child, it will enhance a positive self-concept in the child. On the other hand, an unhealthy relationship between the mother and the child may lead to a negative self-concept.

Other factors within the mother that may influence the child's self-concept include values, self-acceptance, child-rearing practices and self-esteem. Mothers with high self-esteem are likely to have children with high self-esteem. On the other hand, low self-esteem mothers are likely to have low self-esteem children. Olowu (1983:133) states that low self-esteem children tend to be the offspring of low self-esteem mothers. It could be argued that high self-esteem parents convey confidence, trust, love and acceptance of their offspring, which feed the children's self-concept through parental feedback and through identification with the attributes of liked parents. Since high positive self-concept is a key element in child's development, the mother must strive to maintain the child's high (positive) self-concept.

Having so far discussed the parents' role in the family system. The next sub-heading will focus on the negative effects which may be resulted in the father's absence due to the migrant labour.

3.8 THE EFFECTS OF MIGRANT LABOUR ON THE FAMILY SYSTEM.

The number of effects of migrant labour on the family system are infinite, complex and interwoven, especially if one considers the general consequences of migrant labour inside the former homelands as discussed in Chapter two, paragraph 2.4. Each family system is unique, therefore, the extent and the number of effects of migrant labour on each family differ significantly. But, most important, each family system is affected in one way or another. Below are some general effects of migrant labour on the family system.

(i. Overburden to the migrant labourers' wives

In the absence of her husband, the wife is expected to carry her own responsibilities together with her husband's responsibilities. Rienerth (1997:130) states that "when the husband-father is absent from the family, the wife-mother often finds it necessary to assume some of his tasks". In paragraph 3.7, the father's (husband's) responsibilities have been discussed. The father's major role is to generate an income for the whole family as it is stated in paragraph 3.7.1.1. Despite this role, the father is also expected to fix things at home such as window panes, the roof, fences and do gardening. In addition, the father is responsible for the management of fields and livestock (those who are still farming).

In the absence of the husband, all these responsibilities are shifted to the wife. Furthermore, the wife is expected to maintain and control discipline single-handedly. As children get older, it becomes difficult for the wife to maintain and control discipline, as children in the adolescence phase, can easily get out of hand.

(ii. Marital relationship weakens

When people get married, they hope to stay together and share all that they can achieve. Partners need to support each other in times of joy and crisis.

In the absence of the husband during a crisis, the wife has no partner to share her feelings concerning the crisis. Even, during times of joy, the wife has no partner to share her emotional feelings concerning the joy. In such cases, the woman is just like a divorcee or a widow. "Observers pointing to the disastrous effects of labour migration on the family life in Lesotho, describe the wife's position as one of loneliness, helplessness and poverty" (Godorn 1981:61). This creates a situation where a woman may ask herself a lot of questions. For example: "Why did I get married to such a man?", "Did I make a right choice?", "Why should I experience a lonely life if I am married?"

All these questions cause the wife of the migrant labourer to view herself as someone who is living a miserable life. In this way, the wife of the migrant labourer finds herself in an unhappy marriage. The dreams that she had before marriage fade away.

The marital relationship does not bring the joy she expected from it. Thus, the marital ralationship weakens gradually. Furthermore, the wife of the migrant labourer may also experience emotional problems such as stress and depression.

(iii. The father's relationships with family members weaken

The amount of time that the father spends with family members is important because it strengthens his relationships with them, epecially if the father is actively involved in the caring of the family members. In other words, the presence of the father should be felt through his emotional, physical and moral support. In this way a strong bond develops between the father and the family members.

The father's absence in the family as a result of labour migrancy deprives him of the time and involvement in family activities. This may result in a weakening of the father's relationships with the family members. Younger children, below the age of three, tend to forget their father when he spends a long time being away from home. When he visits, they regard him as a stranger. They even run to their mother for refuge when "the stranger" arrives.

(iv. Poor moral development

In paragraph 3.7.4.2 it is stated that the father is the figure of authority in the family. This implies that the father has a responsibility for moral oversight and moral teaching. This responsibility is in line with the father's position in the family. The father is regarded as an executive of the family. In other words, the father forms a bridge between the family and the community. The father usually participates in community activities, thus he is knowledgeable of its rules and principles, aware of the consequences of their violation. This makes the father a suitable role model for the moral development of his children.

In his absence, as result of labour migrancy, this responsibility is shifted again to the mother. The mother may find it difficult to carry this responsibility alone. Parish (1980:535) reports that Hoffman proposed that "there are many reasons in expecting the absence of the father to have an adverse effect on children's moral development. For instance, fathers are one of the two major socialization agents in every child's life – along with the mother – and for this reason alone the father absence could reduce the number of opportunities either parent has for meeting their children's needs". In the light of this, it is assumed that the father's absence may lead to poor moral development in children.

(v. Inappropriate sex role behaviour

In paragraph 3.7.4.1 it is stated that the father is one of the persons who influences the sex-role development to both girls and boys. Radin (1986:78) states that the "sex-role development of both boys and girls has been found to be influenced primarily by the father's behaviour". The father encourages his children to practise appropriate sex-role behaviour.

It is also important to note that most developmental theories of sex-role typing attribute importance to the father's role in this process. However, these theories differ in the manner in which the father influences the child's sex role behaviour.

"Role theorists have suggested that because of his differential treatment of sons and daughters, the father is the most important figure in the reciprocal sex-learning of offspring of either sex". "Psychoanalytic theorists emphasize the daughter's competition with the mother for father's love as a critical factor in identification" (Hetherington 1972:313).

Whatever the different theorists say concerning the manner in which the father influences the child's sex-role behaviour, is in this case of lesser importance. What is important is that they concur that the father plays an important role in sex role typing.

In the absence of the father due to labour migrancy the mother is expected to teach the children appropriate sex-role behaviour. A task she may find very difficult to do, especially in the case of boys who need a father fatigue to identify with. Hence the children may become attuned to inappropriate sex role behaviour, especially if the father becomes absent when the children are very young. This is in line with Biller and Bahm's (1971:180) findings that "if a boy become father absence after the age of 5, the masculinity of his self-concept did not seem to be affected, but if the absence occurred before the age of 5, an interference with the musculine identification appeared more probable".

(vi. Low self-concept

Self-concept is formed as a result of the continuous assessment of the child himelf in terms of his relationships with significant others and his potential. The significant people who interact with the child early in his life are his parents.

Therefore, for the child to develop a positive self-concept early in his life, there should be a healthy relationship between the child and the significant adults in his life. "Parents are significant others to the child because the child sees the parents as being capable of promoting or diminishing the self-concept" (Olowu 1983:132).

In the absence of the father due to migrant labouring, the child interacts with the mother only. This implies that the child is deprived of the opportunity to interact with the father. This may have a detrimental effect on the father-child relationship. In turn, this may lead to the formation of low self-concept in the child. This is not applicable only to a young child, but it is also applicable to an adolescent. "Adolescents who reported close relationships with fathers were considerably more likely to have high self-esteem and stable self-image than those who described those relationships as more distant" (Olowu 1983:133).

(vii. Poor achievement motivation

In paragraph 3.7.4.4. it is stated that the factors that determine the child's level of motivation in achieving a goal include among others, attainment value, standard of performance, expectations, beliefs about one's abilities and attributes about the reasons for success or failure.

Furthermore, it is also stated that the child gets these beliefs and values partly from his parents. Thus the father as a parent has an influence on his children. However, the father's influence is more distinctive on boys than on girls, because boys identify themselves with the father.

If the father considers Science more important for his son's future than that of his daughter, the son's level of motivation for say Science, will be higher compared to that of his sister. This is due to the fact that, firstly the boy identifies himself with the father. Secondly, the father may constantly encourage the son to do well in Science.

In the absence of the father due to labour magrancy, the boy will not have the father with whom to identify and someone to encourage him. In this way the child is deprived of an aspect of motivation.

Furthermore, if the father perceives the child's ability to be high in a certain domain, the father in turn set a high standard of performance in that domain for the child, especially if the father has a positive attitude towards that domain. In the absence of the father due to labour migrancy the child is also deprived of this aspect of motivation.

In paragraph 3.7.4.5 it is also stated that an authoritative father enhances the child's achievement motivation. In the absence of such a father, the child is deprived of authoritative parenting, which is valuable for achievement motivation.

Furthermore, the father who practices independence training enhances the child's achievement motivation. In the absence of the father, the child is also deprived of opportunities for independence training, which in turn has a negative influence on achievement motivation.

In the light of the above discussion, the father's absence as a result of migrant labour may contribute towards poor achievement motivation in his children, especially his sons.

(viii) Lower IQ

The discussion in paragraph 3.7.4.3 reveals that the father plays an important role in the cognitive development of the child. Furthermore, it is highlighted that the father's influence on this domain is greater in boys than in girls. The reasons thereof, firstly, boys identify with and model their father especially at a young age, secondly, fathers identify more with their sons than their daughters and are more interested in the boy's activities, abilities and behavioural patterns.

It is argued that as boys identify with their fathers, they emulate not only attitudes, values, roles, gestures and emotional reactions but also problem-solving strategies, thinking processes and vocabulary. The emulation of the father's intellectual behaviour enhances cognitive development of the young child, which is manifested in higher IQ scores. In the absence of the father due to migrant labour, the child is deprived of someone to identify with and emulate his intellectual skills. In this regard, Dawn (1994:1) states that: "Father absence also tends to result in lower IQ scores of children." "A number of studies have shown that children with fathers at home have higher IQs than those without them" (Davidson 1990:40).

The personality of the father also contributes to his influence on this domain to the child:

"It appears that the more nurturing the fathers, the more young boys model them and internalize their modes of thinking and problem solving. In this way, the boy's cognitive development is stimulated, and the more contact they have with their fathers, the more their intellectual development flourishes" (Radin 1986:79).

There are numerous way through which the father contributes towards the cognitive development of the child. Whatever the way, his physicall presence is a *sine qua non*. Therefore his absence due to migrant labour may contribute towards the child displaying a lower IQ.

(ix) Low academic achievement

If the father's absence contributes to a certain extent towards poor moral development, poor achievement motivation, low self-concept, lower IQ and others, no doubt, it is also detrimental to the academic achievement of the child: "If father absence from home has been shown to create tensions, family breakup, and disciplinary and motivation problems, then it could have lasting effects on children's academic progress" (Booth 1996:250).

In paragraph 3.7.4.6 it is stated that the father influences the boy's academic achievement positively almost to all the subjects except in Mathematics. On the contrary, the father positively influences the girl's achievement in Mathematics. However, it should be noted that factors such as leadership style of the father, quality of contact, quantity of contact, nature of identification and other factors play a significant role in the father's influence on his children's academic achievement.

Thus the father's absence dut to labour migrancy has negative consequences on children' academic achievement.

(x) Poor relationship with teachers and peers

The father's absence may lead to a child's poor moral development as stated above in (iv). This may be manifested through behavioural problems. These behavioural problems may in turn hamper the child's relationship with teachers and peers. Furthermore, according to Davidson (1994:2) "boys lacking presence of a father may also lack self-control, challenging society and becoming more disruptive violent". The child who lacks self-control, is more disruptive and violent and tend to be isolated by the peer group. Thus, the child may find it difficult to form relationships with peers.

In paragraph 3.6.5.2 it is stated that "some significant factors in an acceptance of the child by the peer group include amongst others, age, sex, interest, socio-economic status, appearance, physical skills and personality".

It is appropriate to assume that the child who manifests inappropriate sex role behaviours may be isolated from his peer group. "Males who are father-deprived should be lower in sex-appropriate behaviours and less well socialized. In other words, their gender role development in general and their peer relationships as well should be affected" (Beaty 1995:874). This implies that the child may find it difficult to form relationships with his peer group at primary level. This further deprives him of the opportunity to learn about male or female sex-role behaviour in accordance with his or her sex.

Furthurmore, teachers dislike children who are disruptive and violent. Hence, the child may also have poor relationships with teachers.

3.9 CONCLUSION

From the systematic thinking, the family functions as a system. In order for the family system to function smoothly and properly, each member should perform his duties fairly, otherwise the family system will cease to function smoothly and properly. Co-operation in the family is thus essential.

Parents are key "components" in the family system. Thus they have greater responsibilities than their children. Nowadays most parents realize that education is essential for a better living, and thus they want their children to be educated. Hence, children are charged with the responsibilities of going to school and other institutions for higher education. Furthermore, children assist with household work. In rural areas where farming is of great importance, they assist in farm work. The father's role in the family include the being the breadwinner, being a male sex-role model, moral educator and or figure of authority.

In the light of Parsons' theory, the father performs instrumental functions in the sense that he relates the family (subsystem) to the large system (society). The mother's expressive roles include

amongst others being a mediator, peace facilitator or acting as a buffer between father and children. The mother also plays the role of female sex-role model, moral educator and household worker.

Although differentiation is made on parental roles, this does not mean that each parent works in isolation. From a systematic thinking point of view, co-operation in the family is the key element for the successful family.

In view of the father's roles in the family, his absence has numerous, complex and interwoven effects on the family. "Father-absence is, unfortunately, one of those gross variables that sounds simpler than it is. It involves a varied set of possible effects within and upon the family that is far more complicated than the simpler absence of one person from the family" (Hamilton 1977:51).

The next chapter will address the empirical research design of the study.

CHAPTER 4

EMPIRICAL RESEARCH DESIGN

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In order for a family system to function properly and adequately, each family member must play its role (see paragraph 3.9). Apart from the father's role to generate income for the family, he has numerous other roles to play in the family.

One of these roles is that the father relates the family as a subsystem to the larger society as the system. Parsons regards the father's efforts to relate the family to the larger society as having an instrumental function (see paragraph 3.7.3.2). As the father spends most of his time outside the home and being involved in community affairs, it places him in a good position to carry out his instrumental functions.

Furthermore, the father plays an important role in his children's development. As the father spends most of his time being involved in community affairs, this makes him to be well vested with norms and values of the community. Thus, in the family the father is regarded as figure of authority. As the figure of authority, he also plays an important role in the moral development of his children.

The father is also concerned about the appropriate sex-role behaviour of his children. Thus, he plays an important role in the sex-role development of his children.

The father also plays an important role in the child's cognitive development, achievement motivation and development of self-concept.

In an effort to perform his traditional role as the breadwinner, the father may find it difficult to fulfil this role due to the lack of employment in the neighbourhood or lower salaries. This is mostly common in rural areas or in the former homelands.

In such a situation, the father may be compelled to indulge himself in migrant labour practice. As a result, he may not be able to carry out his other responsibilities. This in turn may have detrimental effects on the functioning of the family as a system.

In this capter a framework regarding the procedure to be followed in gathering information on how the functioning of the family as the system will be affected due to the father's absence as a result of labour migrancy is provided.

4.2 THE AIMS OF THE EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

4.2.1 The general aim of the empirical study

The empirical study is guided by the central research problem, namely: "What are the effects of the father's absence on the family system due to labour migrancy?"

4.2.2 Specific aims

From the above general aim, the following specific aims are formulated:

To investigate the effects of the father's absence due migrant labour on:

- (i) The marital relationship
- (ii) The migrant father's relationship with his children
- (iii) The children's achievement motivation
- (iv) The children's cognitive developmen
- (v) The children's academic achievement
- (vi) The children's relationship with teachers and peers
- (vii) The children's self-concepts
- (viii) The children's personality development
- (ix) Difficulties/problems faced by the women in the absence of their husbands.

4.3 ASSUMPTIONS

Some assumptions underlying this research study are briefly discussed below. "Although it is not necessary to make an exhaustive list of a study's assumptions, the researcher looks carefully for those important to the study and lists them to help establish the theoretical framework used as a basis for organizing the inquiry procedures" (Hopkins 1980:156-7). Below, assumptions are put forward to direct the empirical research.

4.3.1 The absence of the father due to migrant labour may lead to a poor marital relationship

In an ideal situation married couples stay together and share all that they have. Partners support each other in times of joy and crisis. In a situation where the father is involved in labour migrancy, the woman spends most of the time being separated from her husband.

"In the absence of the husband during a crisis, the wife has no partner to share her feelings concerning the crisis. Even during times of joy. The wife has no partner to share her emotional feelings concerning the joy. In such cases, the woman is just like a divorcee or a widow" (see paragraph 3.8 (ii))

"Observers pointing to the disastrous effects of labour migration on family life in Lesotho, describe the wives position as one of loneliness, helplessness and poverty"

(Gordon 1981:61). The happiness that the woman expected before marriage seems to be unrealistic to the wife of migrant labourer.

This may have negative effects on the overall marital relationship. Thus the couples may find themselves in a poor marital relationship.

4.3.2 The absence of the father due to migrant labour may lead to poor father child relationships

"The amount of time that the father spends with family members is important because it strengthens his relationship with family members, especially if the father is actively involved in the caring of family members. In other words, the presence of the father should be felt through his emotional, physical and moral presence and support. In this

way a strong bond develops between the father and the family members" (see paragraph 3.8 (iii)).

The father's absence due to labour migrancy deprives him of the precious time and involvement in family activities. This may have a negative impact on the formation of father-child relationships. "Young children, below the age of three turn to forget their father when he spends a long time being away from home. When he visits, they regard him as a stranger" (see paragraph 3.8(iii)). The attachment bond, which develops through personal interaction between the father and the child is adversely affected due to the father's absence as a result of labour migrancy.

The overall result of the father's absence due to migrant labour may be poor fatherchild relationships.

4.3.3 The father's absence due to migrant labour may lead to low achievement motivation in children

"The child's achievement efforts are affected by his attainment values, expectations of success, concepts about his abilities and attributions. The child gets these beliefs and values partly from his parents. Therefore, if the father for instance considers mathematics more important for his son's future than that of his daughter, the son's level of achievement motivation will be higher compared to that of his daughter" (see paragraph 3.7.4.5).

On the other hand, if the father considers English as a subject to be important for his daughter, the daughter's level of achievement motivation will be higher in English. In the absence of the father due to labour migrancy, the father is deprived of the opportunity to motivate his children to whatever he considers important for his children. Therefore, the children's level of achievement motivation do not attain the level it could have attained if the father was present.

In the light of the above, it is assumed that the father's absence due to labour migrancy may result in a low achievement motivation of his children.

4.3.4 The father's absence due to labour migrancy may negatively influence his children's cognitive development.

"The child's intellectual development seems to be a product of the interaction of biology, family and society. When a similarity is discovered between the father and child in a particular aptitude or style of thinking, it is difficult to determine how much of the similarity can be attributed to genetic heritage and how much to the social influence of the father" (Lynn 1974:167).

Nevertherless, it is important to note that when the similarity is discovered between the father and child in intellectual aspects, a certain degree of this similarity may be attributed to the social influence of the father.

The father's influence on intellectual development seems to be bigger in boys than in girls. This may be attributed, firstly to the tendency for boys to identify with and model their father especially from ages four to nine. Secondly, fathers appear to identify with their sons and react in a different way to their sons than to their daughters.

In the absence of the father due to labour migrancy, the child is deprived of someone to identify with and emulate his style of thinking. Hence, the degree of intellectual development, which is assumed to be contributed through personal interaction with the father, is diminshed. This may in turn, have a negative effect on overall cognitive development of the child. Since boys are greatly influenced by the social influence of the father, they are the ones who may be deprived mostly due to fathers' absence.

Therefore, it is assumed that the father's absence, due to labour migrancy, may result in poorer cognitive development in children.

4.3.5 The father's absence due to migrant labour may result in the formation of low self-concepts in children.

"A child is not born with a self-concept, but it is formed through interaction with others and evaluation of himself in terms of his potentials, appearance and other aspects" (see paragraph 3.7.4.6). "All individuals are influenced by people around them and especially by the significant people in their lives. Every single experience in a person's life,

whether it is pleasant or unpleasant, has an influence on the development of his self-concept" (Raath & Jacobs 1993:18).

The parents are the significant people who interact with the child in his early life. Therefore, the father as a parent influences the formation of the self-concept of the child. "The child's experiences and conceptions of the attitudes of the significant people in his life, play an extremely important role in forming the child's concept of himself" (Raath & Jacobs 1993:18). A nurturing father with a positive attitude towards his child helps to promote the formation of a positive self-concept of the child: In the presence of such a father, the child experiences a pleasant atmosphere of acceptance and love. However, it is important to note that the parents, both the mother and father are essential in the formation of a child's positive self-concept. The role of each parent is important.

In the absence of the father due to migrant labour the child is left with only the mother to interact with. The positive conceptions and pleasant experiences, which are brought on by the presence of the father, will be minimized. This in turn will minimize the formation of the child's positive self-concept.

Therefore, it is assumed that the father's absence due to migrant labour may result in the formation of a low self-concept in his children.

4.3.6 The father's absence due to migrant labour may lead to low academic achievement in his child

The presence of the father plays an important role in the cognitive development of the child (see paragraph 3.7.4.3). The father's presence also plays an important role in the child's achievement motivation (see paragraph 3.7.4.5).

Furthermore, a healthy relationship between the father and the child enhances the formation of positive self-concept of the child (see paragraph 3.7.4.6)

These aspects, namely, cognitive development, high level of achievement motivation and a positive self-concept all together enhance the child's academic achievement. The absence of

the father due to migrant labour may hamper the enhancement of these positive aspects and by implication may hamper the child's academic achievement.

Therefore, it is assumed that the absence of the father due to migrant labour may result in low academic achievement of the child.

4.3.7 The father's absence due to migrant labour may lead to lower moral development in children

The father is a figure of authority in the family. Therefore, he has a responsibility for moral oversight and moral teaching. Hence, the father is obliged to ensure that his children grow up with an appropriate sense of values and norms of the society. Furthermore, if the family belongs to a certain religion, the father is expected to impart religious values to his children. What makes the father a suitable person for this role is that he usually participates in community rules and principles and is aware of the consequences of their violation (see paragraph 3.7.4.2).

The absence of the father due to migrant labour, means the absence of the figure of authority in the family. The mother is left alone to deal with the moral development of her children. This may hamper the moral development of children.

Therefore, it is assumed that the father's absence due to migrant labour may lead to lower moral development in children.

4.3.8 The father's absence due to migrant labour may result in the development of unhealthy personality (antisocial behaviour)in children

Meyer et al (1989:8) define personality as the totality of all the physical, psychological and spiritual characteristics which determines the behaviour of an individual. The child is not born with all these qualities, some are acquired through interaction with environmental factors. Parents are part of the environmental factors, which play an important role in developing some of the qualities of the personality of the child.

The father as a person who bridges the family and the society is concerned about social acceptable behaviour of his children. Thus the father discourages any form of anti-social behaviour in his children through discipline. The father is obliged to ensure that his children grow up with social acceptable norms and values.

In the absence of the father due to labour migrancy, the children are left with the mother alone to discourage any anti-social behaviour manifesting by the children. Due to the lack of the father's assistance, the mother may find it difficult to discipline children manifested anti-social behaviour. In the long run, these anti-social behaviours may become part of children's personality.

In the light of this, it is assumed that the father's absence due to migrant labour may contribute towards anti-social behaviour in children.

4.4 THE METHOD OF RESEARCH

4.4.1 Idiographic research method

In this research study the researcher will make use of the idiographic research approach, which is also known as a case study.

"The basic approach of the case study is to deal with pertinent aspects of one thing or situation, in which the unity for study is an individual, a social institution or agency such as a family or a hospital, or a community or cultural group such as a rural village, a steel town, or a trailer camp, ..." (Good 1959:297).

According to Fox (1969:427) "The basic rationale for the case study is that there are processes and interactions, such as aspects of personality and social functioning, which cannot be studied except as they interact and operate within the individual".

In this study four families whose fathers are migrant labourers will be studied with the aim of determining how the functioning of these family systems are affected by the frequent absence of the father due to labour migrancy.

4.4.2 Selection of the subjects

Firstly, the researcher will select two boys and two girls in grade eleven at Mdzili High School situated in Schulzendal rural village whose fathers are migrant workers (see Chapter 1,1.7). These children will be the main subjects in this study.

Secondly, after the selection of the four children, their families will be approached and requested to take part in the study. Explanation will be given to all the subjects that participation in the research study is voluntary.

4.4.3 Research media

The following research media will be used:

- (i) Thematic Apperception Test (TAT)
- (ii) Individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils
- (iii) High School Personality Questionnaire (HSPQ)
- (iv) Adolescent Self-concept Scale
- (v) School records
- (vi) Personal interviews

4.4.4 Motivation for the use of research media

4.4.4.1 Thematic apperception test (TAT)

This is a projective test consisting of 20 pictures. The subject is requested to create a story which includes what is occurring on the picture, the thoughts and feelings of the characters, what events led up to this situation and what will be the end result of the story.

This projective test may help the researcher to reveal some of the dominant drives, emotions, sentiments, complexes and conflicts of the subjects' personalities.

In this study, this test together with the interview will be used to determine the subjects' relationships with their fathers. In other words, the subjects' attitudes, emotions and sentiments towards their fathers.

This projective test is opted on the basis that the child with a poor relationship with his/her father may not like to talk about his/her poor relationship with the father. By presenting more structured stimuli (pictures), the child may project his/her suppressed thoughts. "There is also less susceptibility to faking because the purpose of projective techniques is usually disguised, and the subject often slackens his or her conscious defences while releasing unconscious material" (Groth-Marnat 1997:467-8).

The use of the TAT cards in this study will help to highlight information with regard to the subjects' relationships with thier families. However, the focus will be on the main subjects' relationships with their fathers. The table below shows the cards to be used, some common themes elicit by the card and the sex of the subject.:

CARD	SOME THEMES ELICITY BY THE CARD	MAIN SUBJECT
		CHILD'S SEX
1	 Child's relationship with parents or some other significant authority figure Ambitious child 	Male and female
2	 Parent-child relationship or relationship with the family Heterosexual relationship 	Male and female
6BM	Mother-son relationship	Male
6GF	Father-daughter relationship	Female
7BM	Father-son relationship (boss-employee situation)	Male
7GF	Mother-daughter relationship	Female
12M	 Relationship between young man and older man Authoritative man and a young one 	Male
12F	 Relationship between young woman and older woman Feelings towards the mother figure or mother-in-law 	Female

4.4.4.2 Individual scale for Zulu-speaking pupils

The individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils measures a number of important facets of intelligence. It consists of ten sub-tests. Each sub-test measures important aspects of intelligence. The first five sub-tests are classified under a verbal scale and the last five are classified under a performance scale.

By means of individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils, the researcher can make interindividual and intra-individual comparisons of the subjects' intelligence. Furthermore, the researcher can determine the subjects' strong and weak points. Each sub-test is briefly described below.

Test 1: Vocabulary

This sub-test consists of five cards. On each card there are four pictures. When it is administered, the subject is given a word or concept orally, which the subject is expected to associate with one of the four pictures on the card. There are ten items for each card. Therefore, the total items for the whole sub-test is fifty.

The sub-test measures the subject's learning ability, general knowledge and the level of his educational environment. Jacobs, Oosthuizen and Petrick (1985:35) assume that "vocabulary is dependent on the educational environment in early childhood and that later education and life experience play a relatively minor role".

Test 2: Comprehension

This sub-test consists of 27 items, which are general questions. The subject is expected to respond by using his or her general knowledge.

This sub-test measures the subject's ability to make a judgement or to use his/her common sense. Furthermore, it also indicates how far the moral attitude of the subject has developed.

Test 3: Similarities

This sub-test consists of 16 items. Each item has two or more concepts, which are similar in certain aspects. The subject is expected to point out aspect(s) of similarities between the two words or concepts.

This sub-test measures the subject's verbal conceptualization and logical thinking. In order to succeed in this sub-test, the subject must have good long-term memory, powers of comprehension and the ability to form appropriate associations between apparently opposite ideas or concepts.

Test 4: Problems

This sub-test consists of 25 items. Items one to fifteen are presented orally and items 16 to 25 are also presented on cards. This sub-test measures the subject's ability to manipulate numeric concepts. In other words, it measures the subject's ability to solve arithmetic problems. To succeed in this sub-test, the subject must have good concentration, understand the four basic operations of arithmetic as well as the sequence of numbers. The ability to manipulate numeric concepts is regarded as one of the criteria for intelligence.

Test 5: Memory

In this sub-test a story is read to the subject, thereafter, the subject is expected to relate the story or anything about the story back to the examiner.

This sub-test measures the subject's short-term memory. According to Jacobs Oosthuizen and Petrick (1985:38) "..., it measures immediate auditive memory span". Short-term memory is an important factor of intelligence, which is required for each level of intellectual functioning.

Test 6: Pattern completion

In this sub-test a subject is expected to complete a pattern. It consists of 24 items. This sub-test measures the subject's visual perception, logical reasoning, ability to reason with the help of figures and concrete reasoning.

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Reasoning is regarded as one of the criteria of intelligence.

Test 7: Blocks

This sub-test consists of 16 items. The subject is expected to use the red, white and red white sides of the blocks in order to form or copy abstract two-dimensional geometric patterns. The subject is expected to form each geometric pattern within a time limit.

This sub-test measures the subject's ability to observe, analyze, synthesize and to reproduce abstract designs. Furthermore, it measures the subject's logical thoughts and eye-hand co-ordination. These abilities are considered to be important aspects of intelligence.

Test 8: Absurdities

This sub-test consists of two practice examples and 18 items arranged in increasing order of difficulty which are administered within a time limit of 30 seconds each. The subject is expected to indicate what is funny or wrong in each picture. In some items the absurdity lies in the fact that an important part is missing or things are upside down and in other items an absurd action or situation has to be understood.

This sub-test measures the following: Basic perceptual and conceptual abilities for the visual recognition, identification and understanding of familiar subjects, forms, situation, the ability to discover absurdity, attention and concentration. These abilities are important elements of intelligence.

Test 9: Form board

This sub-test consists of 11 items. The subject is expected to complete geometric patterns on a form board making use of pieces of plastic, which fit to each other to form a geometric shape.

This sub-test measures the following: Synthesis of correct visual forms, effectiveness of visual observation and visual-motor dexterity. The ability to synthesize parts into an organized, integrated whole is regarded as one of the criteria for intelligence.

Test 10: Mazes

This sub-test consists of ten items. On each item the subject is expected to complete a maze by demonstrating how to move or find the path from the center of the maze to the exit by using a pencil within a given time limit.

This sub-test measures the subject's attention, concentration and eye-hand co-ordination.

4.4.4.3 High school personality questionnaire (HSPQ)

The HSPQ measures a number of aspects of personality. These aspects are clustered together in 14 independent factors. "Each factor is a bipolar continuum and for convenience a letter of the alphabet represents each factor. The poles of each factor are named but they are not necessarily opposite traits" (Visser, Garber-Strauss & Prinsloo 1992:22).

It is important, however, to note that the "high" pole of a factor should not be interpreted as good or the "low" pole as bad. The use of the HSPQ will provide the researcher with a better understanding of the subjects' personality. The bipolar primary factors of the HSPQ are shown below:

	HIGH SCORE (+) (8,9,10)
Reserved (Scizothymia)	Outgoing (Affectothymia)
Concreteness (low intelligence)	Abstract thinking (high intelligence)
Emotional instability (low ego strength)	Emotional stability (high ego strength)
Phlegmatic temperament	Excitability
Submissiveness	Dominance
Soberness (desurgency)	Carefreeness (surgency)
Opportunistic (low ego strength)	Conscientious (high ego strength)
Shyness (Threctia)	Social boldness (Parmia)
Tough-mindedness (Harria)	Tender-mindedness (Premsia)
Zestfulness (Zeppia)	Individualism (Coasthenia)
Self-assurance	Proneness to guilt feelings
Group dependency	Self-sufficiency
Low self-sentiment integration	High self-sentiment integration (self-
(lack of control)	control)
Low ergic tension (relaxedness)	High ergic tension (tenseness)
	Concreteness (low intelligence) Emotional instability (low ego strength) Phlegmatic temperament Submissiveness Soberness (desurgency) Opportunistic (low ego strength) Shyness (Threctia) Tough-mindedness (Harria) Zestfulness (Zeppia) Self-assurance Group dependency Low self-sentiment integration (lack of control)

4.4.4.4 Adolescent self-concept scale

The Adolescent Self-concept Scale measures various important aspects of the self-concept. These aspects are clustered into five major dimensions, namely, physical self, personal self, family self, social self and moral-ethical self.

Each dimension of the self-concept may be compared with other dimensions of the self concept. Furthermore, each dimension may be compared with the overall self-concept, in other words, intra-individual assessment of the subject's self-concept can be made. Thus the use of the self-concept scale will be valuable for the researcher because it will provide him with a better understanding of the subjects' self-concepts.

The five dimensions measured by the Adolescent Self-concept Scale are the following:

- The physical self (the self in relation to physical aspects)
- The personal self (the self in its own psychological relationships)
- The family self (the self in family relationships)
- The social self (the self in social relationships)
- The moral-ethical self (the self in relation to moral and religious norms).

In addition, the Adolescent Self-concept Scale measures self-criticism.

4.4.4.5 School Records

The child spends most of his time at school. Thus school records may provide valuable information about the child if the records are well monitored. The school records will be used specifically in this study for the subjects' academic progress or achievement.

In most cases the pupil's attendance and academic progress are usually summarized in a pupil's school report. Thus subjects'school reports will be consulted.

4.4.4.6 Personal interview

Semi-structural interview

In this interview the researcher prepares certain questions before hand. Other questions arising during the interview are also dealt with. The use of this interviewing method is to determine the marital relationship between the migrant labourers and their wives, parent-child relationships, their achievement motivation and behaviour at school with reference to discipline.

At school the children are under the supervision of the class teachers. Therefore, the class teachers are in good position to know the children's behaviour at school. Thus they can tell whether the children are disciplined or not.

The subjects to be interviewed are class teachers, parents (mothers) and major subjects. Furthermore, these interviews will supplement information from the test media used.

4.5 LIMITATIONS

Each procedure of research approach has its own advantages and limitations. "What the researcher hopes to do is to make each choice so that, in the overall study, the advantages are maximized and limitations minimized" (Hopkins 1980:157). It is necessary to mention

these limitations which the researcher cannot overcome and has to continue the research with them.

4.5.1 Idiographic research method

The study is based on four families. The four families cannot be regarded as a sample for families whose fathers are migrant labourers in a community where this study will be conducted. The community is too big to be represented by four families. In addition, each family is affected in a unique way due to the father's absence.

Therefore, the results cannot be generalized to the general population in the community.

4.5.2 Thematic Apperception Test

According to Groth-Marnat (1997:468) the TAT has the following limitations:

- The standardization in respect to administration and scoring is generally inadequate.
- Difficulty in establishing adequate internal consistency and test-retest reliability.
- Inadequate validation studies.
- Test sensitive to situation variables such as stress, sleep deprivation and differences in instruction, which can significantly alter test performance, thereby reducing the likehood that stable aspects of personality are being measured.
- Another limitation is that TAT was standardized on a white population.

4.5.3 Individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils

The Individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils was designed for Zulu-speaking children.

Hence, the scale was standardized on a sample of Zulu school children. As it will be used to subjects whose mother tongue is Swati, the results may be influenced.

4.5.4 Adolescent Self-concept Scale

When the test was designed the sample was drawn from first year Afrikaans speaking students at a teachers' training college. The researcher did not consider differences in culture or level of development.

Therefore, this scale was designed for matriculated Afrikaans people. In the light of this, it may not produce an appropriate self-concept of pupils at high school whose mother tongue is Swati.

4.5.5 School records

School records may not clearly show the child's academic progress, particularly if tests were not properly monitered. A child may even have cheated in these tests.

4.5.6 Interviews

The greatest limitation of semi-structured interviews is that the interviewer may be biased in his/her perception and interaction process with the subjects. "The bias typically results in considerable variability for both reliability and validity as well as difficulty comparing one subject with the next" (Groth-Marnat 1997:74).

In the Swazi culture there is an expression which says: "Tibi tendlu atikhishelwa ngaphandle". This implies that bad things occurring within the family should not be exposed to the public or to ousiders. In other words, they should be kept secret. This may hinder the interview. The subjects may pretend that things are fine with the intention of keeping secret the bad things occurring within the family.

4.6 CONCLUSION

This chapter provided a framework regarding the procedures, which will be followed in gathering information on how the functioning of the family as a system is affected by the father's absence due to labour migrancy.

In the following chapter, the results of the empirical investigation will be presented.

CHAPTER 5

THE EMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter the information gathered through the use of various media is being presented. For the sake of confidentiality of the four families which took part in this research project, each family is labelled with a letter. Thus letters A,B,C and D are ascribed to the four families respectively. Furthermore, the names of the four major subjects have been changed to protect their dignity.

5.2 DATA

5.2.1 Family A

This family consists of ten members: The father, the mother and eight children. Of the eight children, four are boys and the other four are girls. The father is a migrant labourer while the mother is a housewife when the research project is conducted.

Fikile is the fifth child of the eight children. She is one of the four major subjects in this research project. She is 16 years old and in grade eleven.

5.2.1.1 Fikile's self-concept: Adolescent self concept scale

DIMENSIONS	RAW SCORE	CLASSIFICATION
Physical self	9/18	Low
Personal self	12/18	Medium
The self in relation to family and relatives	13/18	Medium
The self in relation to the social community	9/18	Low
The self in relation to values	11/18	Low
Self-criticism	7/10	Medium
Over-all self-concept	61	Low

5.2.1.2 Fikile's intelligence quotient: Individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils

Sub-test	Raw	Scaled	Stanine		Belo	w		Avera	ıge		Ab	ove	Strong (+)
	score	score	score										
, , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , , ,	Marie Branches and the public parameter		V4	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Weak (-)
1 Vocabulary	41	12	6						•				
2 Comprehension	28	7	3			•<							-
3 Similarities	29	10	5	 				•					
4 Problems	15	10	5	1				•					
5 Memory	29	14	8								•		+
6 Pattern compl	6	6	2		•								-
7 Blocks	3	6	2		•						-		-
8 Absurdities	3	6	2		•								=
9 Form board	29	8	4				•						
10 Mazes	29	9	4	<u> </u>									

	Scaled score	IQ	Stanine
VERBAL SCALE (VIQ)	53	104	5
PERFORMANCE SCALE	35	80	2
(PIQ)			
GLOBAL SCALE (GIQ)	88	91	4

Mean of verbal scores (SEm = 3,102) (3,1)

Average =
$$12+7+10+10+14$$

= $\frac{53}{5}$
= $10.6 > 10.6 - 3.1 = \frac{7.5}{5}$ or $10.6 + 3.1 = \frac{13.7}{5}$

Mean of performance scores (SEm = 2,822) (2,8)

Average =
$$\frac{6+6+6+8+9}{5}$$

= $\frac{35}{5}$
= $7 > 7 - 2.8 = 4.2$ or $7 + 2.8 = 9.8$

5.2.1.5 Pikite's personanty: High school personanty questionnaire	5.2.1.3	Fikile's personality: High school personality questionnaire
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FACTOR	RAW SCORE	STEN SCORE	CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTION				
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	FORM A		HIGH/AVERAGE/LOW					
Α	9	5	Average	Uncertain				
В	7	5	Average	Uncertain				
С	9	5	Average	Uncertain				
D	9	4	Low	Deliberate, stodgy, placid				
Е	3	2	Low	Obedient, mild, dependent				
F	3	1	Low	Sober, silent, serious				
G	11	5	Average	Uncertain				
Н	10	6	Average	Uncertain				
I	9	2	Low	Practical, tough-minded				
J	9	6	Average	Uncertain				
0	14	7	High	Discourage, worrying,				
				self-reproaching				
Q2	11	7	High	Makes own decisions,				
				resourceful				
Q3	10	5	Average	Uncertain				
Q4	10	5	Average	Uncertain				

Anxiety =
$$(11-C) + D + (11-G) + (11-H) + 0 + (11-Q3) + Q4$$

$$7$$

$$= (11-5) + 4 + (11-5) + (11-6) + 7 + (11-5) + 5$$

$$7$$

$$= 39$$

$$7$$

$$= 5,57 \text{ (Average)}$$

Extroversion =
$$A + F + H + (11-J) + (11-Q2)$$

$$= 5 + 1 + 6 + (11-6) + (11-7)$$

$$= 5 + 1 + 6 + 5 + 4$$

$$= 21$$

$$= 4,2 \text{ (Low)}$$

5.2.1.4 Fikile's academic progress: school reports

MDZILI SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRESS REPORT DECEMBER 1998 GRADE 11					MDZILI SECONDARY SCHOOL								
					PROGRESS REPORT JUNE 1999 GRADE 11								
Subject	Max	Min	Marks	Class average	Subject	Max	Min	Mark	Class Average				
								s					
Siswati	100	40	37	42,4	Siswati	100	40	50	37,6				
English	100	40	30	38,7	English	100	40	11	19,5				
Maths	100	40	34	36,0	Maths	100	40	23	11,4				
Biology	100	40	42	55,9	Biology	100	40	40	32,4				
P.Science	100	40	35	32,5	P.Science	100	40	50	44,0				
Geography	100	40	27	41,3	Geography	100	40	34	44,3				
TOTAL	600	240	205	246,8	TOTAL	600	240	208	189,2				
AVERAGE	100	40	34,1	41,1	AVERAGE	100	40	34,6	31,5				
(%)					(%)								

5.2.1.5 Fikile's responses: Thematic apperseption test

(NB: This has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

CARD 1

"This person has placed a violin on a table cloth. He tried to play it, but has failed. Then he put it on the table, sat down and thought what he is supposed to do. When he was thinking, he realized that he could not be able to play the violin. Then he abandoned it on the table ..."

(Then, what will be the outcome?) "He has abandoned it and is thinking, he also feels sad".

CARD 2

"Here,.... I don't know what I can say."

CARD 6GF

"She was sitting, whilst she was sitting and was unaware that a man had come and he appeared ... smoking a smokepipe because she was unaware, she was shocked by the man's appearance. She remained shocked, then she looked away. She was afraid. Ah ..."

(What are these people thinking?) "This one thinks that this one is a criminal because he had arrived unexpectedly. This one (pointing to the man in the picture) is unaware that this one is shocked by his arrival ..."

(What will be the outcome?) "... This one is going to run away because she is shocked and afraid".

CARD 7GF

"This one, ... she has been praying. While she was praying, ... she went to the hospital. When she was at the hospital, this one arrived and found that this one has a baby. Then, they sat down, thought and looked at the baby. When they looked at him (baby), ... then they realized ... and then thought how are they going to raise the baby because they (women) are both here at hospital ..."

(What will be the outcome?) "They will go home".

CARD 12F

"This one has sat down and looked there. While this one was sitting, she thought. While she was thinking, this one came, sat behind her, looked there and put his hand on his cheek and thought. Then, both of them were thinking. Not one looked at the other. They were thinking. They faced in different directions ..."

(How do they feel?) "They are worried. Thier thoughts make them feel sad ...

(What will be the outcome?) "... The end result is that they will feel sad. The manner is in which they are thinking, they are sad. They can't be in happy. They are in a sad situation".

5.2.1.6 Personal interview with Fikile

(This interview was conducted in Swati and then translated into English)

Key: F stands for Fikile

R stands for Researcher

R: How do you feel about your studies this year?

F: I feel better

R: What are your objectives concerning your studies?

F: My main objective is that I want to perform better than last year.

R: Now, tell me. Who encourages you to study?

F: It is my brother.

R: Who assists you with your studies at home?

F: It is my brother, because the subjects that I am doing, he is also doing them.

R: What standard is your brother doing?

F: Standard ten.

R: At this school?

F: Yes.

R: Now, if I can ask you to tell me briefly about life at home. What can you say?

F: (Silent).

R: What can you say?

F: About life?

R: Yes. Anything about life that you feel like telling me.

F: (Silent).

R: Is it difficult to tell?

F: Yes. I am unable to tell you.

R: Right. If I can ask you to tell me briefly about your father. What can you say?

F: (Silent).

R: What kind of a person is your father?

F: I don't know what kind of a person my father is.

R: Right. What is good about him and what is bad about him?

F: Nothing bad about him.

R: Then what is good about him?

F: (Silent for a few seconds). He is able to pay for us at school and he is able to meet other needs.

R: Now, if I can ask you to tell me briefly about your mother. What can you say?

F: ...Mother?

R: Yes.

F: (Silent).

R: What is good about her and what is bad about her?

F: ...Nothing bad about her.

R: What is good about her?

F: If there is something that we need, we inform her. If she has, she gives us.

R: Now, tell me briefly about your brothers and sisters.

F: You mean all of them?

R: About anyone or about all of them.

F: We all love one another because if we are given work here at school, we try to assist each other where we experience difficulties until we are able to understand.

R: Thank you Fikile.

5.2.1.7 Personal interview with Fikile's class teacher

(This interview was conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

Key: R stands for Researcher

FCT stands for Fikile's class teacher.

R: How does she behave here at school?

FCT: She is a child who respects although.. like many other children. In some circumstances she may misbehave, which is normal.

R : Right. How is she performing in her studies?

FCT: With regard to studies, when she started, she was a "right" person, but now, ... since last year, she is deteriorating in performance.

R : Has she been deteriorating in performance since last year?

FCT: Yes.

R : Don't you have an idea what causes her to deteriorate in performance?

FCT: I don't have an idea, but according to my opinion, she is not serious.

R: Is she not serious?

FCT: If I view her, because it depends on a standard, ...

R : OK

FCT: ... as you know. When the child progresses (meaning from one standard to another), the

subjects become tougher.

R: Yes. They become tougher.

FCT: Only to find that she puts effort into her studies as she did in the previous standard instead

of putting in more effort.

R : OK.

FCT: This is my personal point of view.

R: I see

FCT: We are going to talk to them and try to find out what is the problem (meaning learners who

are not doing well in grade eleven).

R: I see.

FCT: If I view her, she should be in general stream (meaning social sciences).

R: OK. How is her relationship with other children?

FCT: In that aspect she is good.

R: Is she good?

FCT: Yes. She has many friends.

R : Right. How is her relationship with teachers?

FCT: Her relationship with teachers is good. She is not the child who is at logger heads with

teachers.

R: How is she in school activities such as sports?

FCT: She is playing.

R: Is she playing?

FCT: Yes. She participates very often.

R: Thank you very much for your time.

5.2.1.8 Personal interview with Fikile's mother

(This interview was conducted in Swati and then translated to English).

Key: R stands for Researcher

FM stands for Fikile's mother

R: If I may ask you to describe Fikile's personality, what would you say?

FM: I can say that she behaves well. But I don't know whenever she is out.

R : Just say whatever you know abour her at home.

FM: She is a good person. She always stays at home and whenever she is out, she has gone to fetch the fire wood.

R : Does she fetch fire wood?

FM: Yes.

R : Is she obedient?

FM: Yes. She is obedient. I can rely on her whenever I want to send a person.

R : Are you dependent on her?

FM: Yes. Yesterday when I arrived at home, I found that she had already done the washing and she was busy cooking.

R : How does she behave when her father is present?

FM: She behaves well.

R: Is there no difference when her father is absent?

FM: She behaves the same.

R : Does your husband usually work far away?

FM: He usually comes home every Friday, even if he works far away. Because sometimes he Works in Swaziland.

R: I see.

FM: He he usually comes home every Friday or Saturday.

R : If your husband is away to work for five days or more, what difficulties are you faced with as the mother?

FM: It is very difficult. As you know, each family has its own problems.

R: I see.

FM: I play a role of a mother as I have explained the other day. On the other hand, I play a role of a father. When the father is away ... you don't know where he is. Either in work or somewhere else.

R: I see.

FM: You find that sometimes when he comes back, he has no money. Then you, as the mother, you are expected to try to do something.

R : OK

FM: So I weave traditional mats for living. I usually send a child to Shiba mine to sell these woven mats. I have been sending Fikile for the past many years to sell the woven mats to Shiba mine because there are many relatives there where she can be accommodated for a few days. This enables me to buy clothes for them (children).

R : It means you are faced with a difficult task when your husband is absent?

FM: Ah! Even if he is present. If he says "I have nothing", there is nothing you can do.

R : OK

FM: The clothes that they (children) are using this year, I bought them on my account at Bee Gee store. I have been struggling to pay my account.

R: I see.

FM: I paid up my account last month (referring to April 1999 since the interview was conducted in May 1999).

R : Tell me. Is your husband's job not permanent?

FM: It is permanent, but you will never know where he stays. A man can be deceive by other women easily.

R : OK

FM: When he is away from home, he forgets about the children and feels that he should abandon everything here at home.

R: I see.

FM: When you ask yourself ... and you have children. You keep on asking yourself. You find that there is no answer. Then, you need not to fool yourself. You want them to learn.

R: I see.

FM: I have one child at Mgobodi. He is in form II. Fikile is in form IV. Two of my children are in form V and two young ones.

R : OK

FM: I have eight children. Out of the eight children, only one left school. All seven are at school.

R : OK

FM: The one who left school will continue with studies through correspondence.

R : If your husband can find a job nearby such as at Malelane or TSB ... (interrupted by FM's response)

FM: He works at OMANIA in Hectorspruit.

R : Does he work in Hectorspruit?

FM: They only send him away during the week, but at the weekend, he comes back.

R: I see. How will it be if he can work here at home?

FM: It will be the same. If he does not want to give you the money, you can not force him.

R : OK

FM: Even if you can ask him, "Where is the money?" he doesn't tell. He usually gets a salary bonus every December. But if you ask him, "Where is it?" he will not tell you.

R: I see.

FM: Maybe he will tell you that he has not yet received it. But when he receives it, he will not tell you. Then you have to see for yourself.

R: I see.

FM: If you fold your arms you will suffer. You must do something to get money.

R : If I can ask you to describe your husband's personality, how will you describe him?

FM: I don't know how to describe him. Sometimes he comes home to give you money to buy food. Sometimes he comes without money. Sometimes he does not pay the account for the furniture and when he is asked, he will say "I have problems". But these problems are not known to me.

R: I see.

FM: So, I don't know how he behaves himself or where he spends most of his time. I am suspicious, maybe he is establishing another home. You will never know.

R : What fathering style does he use? (referring to various styles of fathering such as laissezfair, democratic and autocratic).

FM: He is an autocratic person. He is very strict.

R : Is he very strict?

FM: Yes.

R : Does he not tolerate the children's mistakes?

FM: No.

R : Does he beat them?

FM: Yes. But he is patient. So, I urge him to beat them.

R: I see.

FM: In turn, they complain to me. They say that I usually report to their father for even a minor offence.

R : OK

FM: Fikile is still under my control. Because I will beat her severely, I sometimes hand her over to her brother for punishment.

R : Does your husband drink liquor.

FM: Yes. It is part of his life.

R : Maybe he spends most of his money on beer?

FM: All the money! Even if you drink beer, you must think about your children and future.

R: Yes. I agree.

FM: If I fold my arms, people will laugh at us.

R: I see.

FM: If one member of the family dies, the people will laugh at us.

R : In other words, you are the pillar of the family?

FM: I have been telling him that "I am your mother, and on the other hand, I am your father".

R: I see.

FM: If he gives the school fees for the children, to him, it is enough.

R: I see.

FM: He usually tells the children that if they fail, they have to pay for themselves.

R: Thank you for your time.

5.2.1.9 Interpretation of data and preliminary findings.

(i) Fikile's self-concept

Fikile's overall self-concept is low. This may be attributed to low physical self, the low self in relation to the social community and the low self in relation to values.

However, three aspects of her self-concept are on average: Personal self, the self in relation to family and relatives and self-criticism.

(ii) Fikile's intelligence quotient (IQ)

According to the results of the individual Scale of Zulu-speaking Pupils, Fikile's global intelligence quotient is 91. The stanine thereof is 4. Therefore, it is classified as low average.

Fikile's performance intelligence quotient is 80. The stanine thereof is 2. Therefore, it is classified as low.

Fikile's verbal intelligence quotient is 104. The stanine thereof is 6. Therefore, it is classified as high average.

Fikile was expected to perform within the range of scaled scores of 7,5 and 13,7 in verbal performance.

Fikile's scaled score in memory is slighty above the expected range, that is 14. This suggests the possibility of good attention, low anxiety, and easy contact with reality.

Fikile's scaled score in comprehension is slightly below the expected range, that is 7. This suggests the probability of ineffective judgement and full of doubt.

(iii) Fikile's personality profile

On six of the personality factors Fikile has chosen the "uncertain" option. This may be indicative of (1) uncertainty and /or (2) lack of self-knowledge. She seems to be obedient, mild and dependent (Factor E-), practical and tough-minded (FactorI-), worrying and self-reproaching (Factor O+) and resourceful with a tendency to make her own decisions (Factor Q2+). This last factor is in contradiction with her Factor E- score that indicates dependency and obedience. These contradictory findings may be ascribed to her feelings of uncertainty.

Anxiety and extroversion

According to the calculation of the anxiety and extroversion factors, Fikile's anxiety and extroversion are 5,7 and 4,2 respectively. Therefore, Fikile has an average anxiety score and low extroversion score. This may indicate that she is more introverted. There may be some things in her life that cause a degree of anxiety.

(iv) Fikile's academic achievement

Fikile's Progress Report of December 1998, Grade eleven, shows that her academic performance was poor.

In all the six subjects she performed below the class average. Thus she failed grade eleven and was expected to repeat the following year, that is in 1999.

Fikile's Progress Report of June 1999, Grade eleven, also shows that her academic performance was poor. However, it shows a slight improvement in comparison with the December 1998 Progress Report. In four subjects, Fikile had performed above the class average, that is, 50 %, 23 %, 40 % and 50 % in Siswati, Mathematics, Biology and Physical Science respectively, with the class average being 37.6 %, 11.4 %, 32.4 % and 44 % in Siswati, Mathematics, Biology and Physical Science respectively.

Fikile had performed below class averages on two subjects, namely in English and Geography: She obtained 11 % and 34 % in English and Geography respectively with class averages 19,5 % and 44,3 % in English and Geography respectively.

Fikile's overall academic performance was above the class average by 3,1 %. However, this could not warrant Fikile to pass because it is below the minimum average required to pass, that is 40 %.

In short, Fikile's academic performance was poor. Her father's absence due to labour migrancy may be a reason for her poor school performance.

(v) Fikile's achievement motivation

When Fikile was asked how she felt about her studies, she responded as follows: "I feel better", and "My main objective is that I want to perform better than last year". From these responses, it is deduced that although Fikile aims at bettering her performance, she was not aiming at high performance. This may be indicative of low achievement motivation.

When Fikile's class teacher was asked how Fikile was performing at school, she responded as follows. "With regard to studies, when she started, she was a "right" person but now ... since last year, she is deteriorating in performance". Deterioration in performance is another symptom of low achievement motivation. Though this is contradicting to Progress Reports, of December 1998, grade eleven and June 1999, grade eleven.

When Fikile's class teacher was asked what could be the reason for Fikile's deterioration in performance, she responded as follows: "I don't have an idea, but according to my opinion, she is not serious, ... ", "as you know, when the child progresses, the subjects become tougher" and "Only to find that she puts effort into her studies as she did in the previous standard instead of putting in more effort". From these responses, it seems that Fikile was not serious about her studies. This may be attributed to poor motivation.

In the light of the above discussion, it may be concluded that Fikile's achievement motivation may be improved.

(vi) Fikile's behaviour

Fikile's class teacher, when asked about Fikile's behaviour, said the following: "She is a child who respects although ... as like many other children. In some circumstances she may misbehave, which is normal".

Fikile's mother said when asked about Fikile's personality: "I can say that she behaves well. But I don't know whenever she is out".

It seems that Fikile's overall behaviour is good. She is obedient and well-behaved.

(vii) Fikile's relationship with teachers and peers

Fikile's class teacher reported the following with regards to her relationship with other children: "In that aspect, she is good" and "Yes. She has many friends".

In the light of this, it seems that Fikile enjoys good relationships with other children. She seems to be an outgoing person.

This view of Fikile's teacher is contradictory to Fikile's personality profile which indicates that Fikile tends to be more introverted. Furthermore, Fikile's class teacher said the following when asked about Fikile's relationship with teachers. "Her relationship with teachers is good. She is not the child who is at logger heads with teachers". Hence, it seems that Fikile's good relationships with the teachers are positive.

(viii) Difficulties/problems faced by Fikile's mother in the absence of her husband

In the personal interview with Fikile's mother, the mother said, when asked about the difficulties in the father's absence, "It is very difficult. As you know, each family has its own problems", "I play a role of a mother as I have explained the other day. On the other hand, I play a role of a father. When the father is away, ... you don't know where he is. Either in work or somewhere else", "You find that sometimes when he comes back, he has no money. Then you, as the mother you are expected to try to do something".

From these responses, it was clear that Fikile's mother was experiencing some problems in the absence of her husband. Fikile's mother had to play the role of the mother and the father at the same time in the father's absence. Another problem was that in certain instances the father did not bring the money to Fikile's mother. So, Fikile's mother had to do something in order to get money to support the family. This is revealed where Fikile's mother said in the personal interview: "So, I weave traditional mats for a living. I usually send a child to Shiba mine to sell these woven mats. I have been sending Fikile for the past many years to sell the woven mats to Shiba mine because there are many relatives there where she can be accommodated for a few days. This enables me to buy clothes for them", "The clothes that they are using this year, I bought them on my account at Bee Gee Store. I have been struggling to pay my account".

Furthermore, Fikile's mother uttered the following statements during the interview: "In turn, they complain to me. They say that I usually report to their father for even a minor offence", "Fikile is still under my control. Because I will beat her severely, I sometimes hand her over to her brother for punishment".

These statements can be linked to the statements mentioned earlier where Fikile's mother said: "I play a role of a mother as I have explained the other day. On the other hand I play a role of a father".

When all these statements are put together, it seems that Fikile's mother has difficulties with regard to discipline of the children.

In short, it is clear that Fikile's mother was faced with difficulties/problems of playing double roles: That of father and mother. This does not only apply to looking after the family and bringing up children, but also to support the family financially and to discipline them.

(ix) Fikile's relationship with her mother

Cards 1, 2, 6GF and 12F of the Thematic Apperception Tests were used with an intention of uncovering the relationship between Fikile and her mother. Fikile's response to these cards did not address the relationship between mother and daughter.

This may suggest a troublesome mother-daughter relationship in the sense that she did not recognise or acknowldge the implied mother figure in the cards.

During the personal interview, Fikile said when asked to say something about her mother: "... nothing bad about her", If there is something that we need, we inform her. If she has, she gives us". Thus the mother is a provider of what they need in terms of material needs. This may be in accordance with her TAT-responses.

Fikile's first response to this question was one of silence. After being prompted, she gave the above answer. It seems that it is difficult for her to pinpoint her feelings about her relationship with her mother.

Fikile's mother's description of her daughter that indicates that Fikile is obedient, is to a certain degree in accordance with her personality profile.

"I can say that she behaves well. But I don't know whenever she is out". "She is a good person. She always stays at home and whenever she is out, she has gone to fetch fire-wood", and "Yes. She is obedient. I can rely on her whenever I want to send a person".

From these responses, it is clear that Fikile's mother had viewed her daughter as an obedient person who behaved well and had a positive attitude towards her daughter.

(x) Fikile's relationship with her father (migrant labourer)

During the personal interview, Fikile said, when asked to say something about her father: "I don't know what kind of a person my father is", "Nothing bad about him", and "He is able to pay for our school fees and he is able to meet other needs". Fikile's response to the initial question was one of silence. She seems uncertain about her feelings toward her father. It may be because the children only see him occasionally, and there might be no real bond between them.

Fikile's response to card 6GF (the father-daughter card) of the Thematic Apperseption Test reveals a possible unhealthy relationship between the female and the male in the picture: She portrayed the female character as a person who fears the male character. Furthermore, she portrayed the female

character as someone who views the male character as a criminal. The end result of the event as portrayed by Fikile was that the female character would run away from the male character.

(xi) Marital relationship between Fikile's parents

Fikile's mother responded as follows when she was asked about the nature of her husband's job: "It is permanent, but you will never know where he stays. A man can be decieved by other women easily", "When he is away from home, he forgets about the children and feels that he should abandon everything here at home", "When you ask yourself ... and you have children. You keep on asking yourself. You find that there is no answer. Then you need not fool yourself. You want them to learn".

The mother's first response shows that she was suspicious about her husband. This is illustrated by the following words: "... you will never know where he stays. A man can be deceived by other women easily".

Secondly, the mother's response shows that her husband was less concerned about her and his whole family. This is inferred from the mother's words where she says: "He forgets about the children and feels that he should abandon everything here at home". Another inference that can be made from these words is that there is no healthy relationship between the father and the family members, especially between the father and the mother. One cannot forget and abandon one's family if there is a healthy relationship between oneself and one's family.

Fikile's mother responded as follows when she was asked how she would feel if her husband could get a job nearby such as at Malelane: "It will be the same. If he does not want to give you the money, you cannot force him", "Even if you can ask him, "Where is the money?" he will not tell. He usually gets a salary bonus every December. But if you ask him, "Where is it?" he will not tell you", and "Maybe he will tell you that he has not yet received it. But when he receives it, he will not tell you. Then you have to see for yourself", and "If you fold your arms you will suffer. You must do something to get money".

Fikile's mother responded as follows when she was asked to describe her husband's personality: "I don't know how I can describe him. Sometimes he comes home to give you money to buy food. Sometimes he does not pay the account for the furniture and when he is asked. He will say, "I have problems. But these problems are not known to me", and "So, I don't know how does he behave himself where he spends most of his time. I am suspicious, maybe he is establishing another home. You will never know".

Firstly, what can be inferred from these responses is that her husband was not a reliable person and father. Secondly, the wife is suspicious about her husband of being having an affair with someone where he had been working.

In the light of the above discussion, it is concluded that the marital relationship between Fikile's father and mother is poor.

5.2.2 Family B

This family consist of ten members: The father, the mother and eight children. Of the eight children, six are girls and the other two are boys. The father is a migrant labourer while the mother is a housewife. Nomsa is the fifth of the eight children. She is also a major subject in this research study. She is 14 years and in grade eleven.

5.2.2.1 Nomsa self-concept: Adolescent self-concept scale

DIMENSION	RAW SCORE	CLASSIFICATION
Physical self	13/18	Medium
Personal self	8/18	Low
The self in relation to family and relatives	10/18	Low
The self in relation to the social community	13/18	Medium
The self in relation to values	13/18	Medium
Self-criticism	5/10	Low
Over-all self-concept	62	Low

5.2.2.2 Nomsa's intelligence quotient: Individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils

Sub-tests	Raw score	Scaled score	Stanine score	Below		Below Average			Above			Stron (+)	
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Weak (-)
1 Vocabulary	39	12	6						•				
2 Comprehension	33	11	6						•				
3 Similarities	29	11	6						•				
4 Problems	20	15	8								•		+
5 Memory	21	12	6						•				
6 Pattern compl	9	8	4										
7 Blocks	3	7	3			4							-
8 Absurdities	10	11	6						•				
9 Form board	36	11	6						•				
10 Mazes	36	11	6										

	Scaled score	1Q	Stanine
VERBAL SCALE (VIQ)	53	104	5
PERFORMANCE SCALE	35	80	2
(PIQ)			
GLOBAL SCALE (GIQ)	88	91	4

Mean of verbal scores (SEm = 2,957) (2,9)

Average =
$$12+11+11+15+12$$

= $\frac{61}{5}$
= $12,2 > 12,2-2,9 = 9,3$ or $12,2+2,9 = 15,1$

Mean of performance scores (SEm = 2,677) (2,7)

Average =
$$\frac{8+7+11+11+11}{5}$$

= $\frac{48}{5}$
= $9.6 > 9.6 - 2.7 = \underline{6.9}$ or $9.6 + 2.7 = \underline{12.3}$

5.2.2.3	Nomsa's per	sonality: Hig	sh school	personality	questionnaire	(HSPQ)

	mm			
FACTOR	RAW	STEN	CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTION
	SCORE	SCORE		
	FORM A		HIGH/AVERAGE/LOW	
Α	3	1	Low	Critical, reserved,
				cool
B	6	4	Low	Dull, less intelligent
C	10	6	Average	Uncertain
D	8	4	Low	Deliberate, stody,
				placid
E	7	5	Average	Uncertain
F	11	6	Average	Uncertain
G	7	2	Low	Casual, quitting,
				undependable
Н	11	7	High	Venturesome, thick-
			_	skinned
I	9	2	Low	Practical, tough-
				minded
J	9	6	Average	Uncertain
0	11	5	Average	Uncertain
Q2	7	4	Low	Group follower,
				values social
				approval
Q3	9	4	Low	Careless, ignores
				standards, lux
Q4	8	4	Low	Relaxed, composed

Anxiety
$$= (11-C) + D + (11-G) + (11-H) + 0 + (11-Q3) + Q$$

$$= (11-5) + 4 + (11-5) + (11-6) + 7 + (11-5) + 5$$

$$= 6 + 4 + 6 + 5 + 7 + 6 + 5$$

$$= 38$$

$$= 5,4 \text{ (Average)}$$
Extroversion $= A + F + H + (11-J) + (11-Q2)$

= 5,2 (Average)

5.2.2.4	Nomsa's ac	ademic progress:	School	reports
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MDZILI SECONDARY SCHOOL					MDZILI SECONDARY SCHOOL					
	PROGRESS REPORT					PROGRESS REPORT				
**************************************	DECEMBE	ER 1998 GI	RADE 11			JUN	E 1999 (GRADE 1	Ĭ	
**************************************	NAME OF I	LEARNER	: NOMSA		N	IAME O	F LEAR	NER: NO	MSA	
Subject	Max	Min	Marks	Class average	Subject	Max	Min	Marks	Class Average	
Siswati	100	40	53	42,4	Siswati	100	40	62	40,5	
English	100	40	45	38,7	English	100	40	33	25,0	
Maths	100	40	40	36,0	Maths	100	40	18	25,7	
Economics	100	40	59	37,6	Accounting	100	40	35	20,8	
Accounting	100	40	52	41,0	P. Science	100	40	80	60,4	
B. Econ	100	40	59	43,1	B. Econ	100	40	27	28,3	
TOTAL	600	240	308	238,8	TOTAL	600	240	255	200,7	
AVERAGE (%)	100	40	51,3	39,8	AVERAGE (%)	100	40	42,5	33,4	

5.2.2.5 Nomsa's responses: Thematic Apperseption Test

(This has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

CARD 1

"In this event, I see a boy. He is sitting at the table. He has placed a book and a violin on the table. It means that he is thinking, as he looks at these things. It appears as if he is not reading. He is thinking. If I look at the boy, it seems as if he does not have an eye. He has one eye. One eye can not see, the other eye can see".

"Ok, here ... If I look at this person, he is in thought. The thought is that he cannot see".

"Let me start afresh. Firstly, I see a boy. He is sitting. Secondly, it means that this boy is thinking. If he looks at these things, he is being inspired. It seems as if he is the child who likes to play. He feels angry because ... one eye cannot see. The other eye can see. Then, he does not feel like a normal person. He is unhappy".

(What will be the outcome?) "He will end up ... he will remain as he is. He will not change. He will end up, ... it means, ... he will not be a normal person. He cannot see properly".

CARD 2

"Here, ... it means that it is in a place. It is because ... it appears here to be ploughing fields. Then, I see a woman. She seems to be holding a bible. It means, ... this woman is going to a church. This one (pointing with a finger at the picture). The older one, he appears to be coming to the fields in order to plough. But this one, ... she appears to be feeling sorry and she is not feeling well spiritually, ... She seems to be feeling guilty, ... the manner in which she appears to be standing".

(What will be the outcome?) "You mean the outcome for everything? (Yes, outcome for everythig) "The end result for this one (pointing) will be good because he is going to get food and this one's outcome will be good because she is going to see the Kingdom of God. This one, seems to be guilty, ... It means if she is feeling guilty, her outcome will be good because she is going to leave her bad deeds".

CARD 6GF

"In my view, here it appears to be in a house. This child was sitting, it seems as if she was studying. It means they were sitting in the evening. While they were sitting, a criminal appeared ... smoking tobacco. She felt shocked, it means in her mind she was wondering where does the man come from. The end result for this person ... it means the outcome will be bad because she does not know what the man is going to do to her, whether he is going to assult her or kill her. Her outcome will be bad".

CARD 7GF

"Here, ... what can I say? ... I can say, it is in a house in a sitting room. They are sitting on sofas. This woman is either a mother or a lady. She appears to be reading. There is something which she is reading while she is holding a baby. This one, the manner in which she appears to me, the thing which she is looking at ... in other words, I can say she is worried about her baby. It means the baby is not well spiritually. Then, she is thinking about what troubles the baby. It seems as if this is not the baby, this thing (whispering)".

"It means that here, she is thinking about what troubles her baby, whether she (baby) will survive or not. She is in deep thought but she is looking at something. Her eyes show that there is something at which she is looking, but they are sitting in a house. Their outcome will be bad because the baby, ... they are supposed to take the baby to a clinic ... hospital to get help but they are sitting with her (baby). It may happen that the baby may die while they are sitting with her".

CARD 12F

"Here, in my view, these people are in a place. I can say, it is in a house. They are standing ... they are standing. They appear to be looking at something. Their eyes show that they are looking at something. It means here, the one who is standing is a grandfather ... in my view ... I can say and a certain father. The grandfather and the man are still strong. This one, ... on his face, he looks terrifying. If I look at them, they differ. This one is clear, it is a normal person. This one, his eyes are not familiar ...".

(What do they think and how do they feel?) "You mean these people? (Yes.) (Long pause). "This one, it appears that he is thinking ... this one is thinking because he feels guilty about the manner in which he is built (meaning the physical body), if he looks at this one".

(How does he feel?) "He feel sad". (What about this one?) "This one is thinking. The other one arrived unexpectedly to this one. It seems as if he is not aware that there is a person behind his back. It seems as if he has focussed his attention somewhere else. In other words, this one does not see this one".

(What will be the outcome?) "The outcome ... This one will end up realising that there is someone because a person has senses. He will sense that there is something behind his back and turn. Then he will see that there is a person. Hence, he will be shocked".

5.2.2.6 Personal interview with Nomsa

(This interview was conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

(Key: R: Stands for Researcher

N: Stands for Nomsa

R: How do you feel about your studies this year?

N: You mean this year?

R: Yes, this year. How do you feel about your studies?

N: The performance in my studies has lowered. Hence, I do not feel well about my studies.

R: So tell me. What lowered your performance?

N: Ah ... I don't know. I suspect the lack of studying.

R: Lack of studying?

N: Yes. Because initially I used to sleep at one o'clock at night, but now I sleep around ten o'clock.

R: I see.

N: I don't wait until one o'clock.

R: OK. What disturbs you?

N: At home we do not have electricity. Hence, my mother used to complain, saying that we are using up the candles.

R: Who encourages you to study at home?

N: Nobody.

R: Is there nobody who encourages you to study at home?

N: Yes.

R: Who assists you with homework and assignements?

N: You mean someone who assists me?

R: Yes. When you are doing homework and assignments at home.

N: Nobody. I do it for myself.

R: How is life at home?

N: We are living but life is tough at home.

R: Is it tough?

N: Yes.

R: Will you please tell me briefly, what makes life tough at home?

N: It is tough because now I am in standard ten and I am attending afternoon studies.

R: I see.

N: You hear them complaining, saying that why am I spending long hours studying at school. They are no more interested in allowing me to come to attend afternoon studies.

R: I see.

N: But I go out defiantly to attend afternoon studies.

R: Who is complaining?

N: It is my mother and my brothers.

R: Don't they want you to pass?

N: I don't know, because they are saying that I will not go back to school next year, ... but they want me to pass. On the other hand, they don't want me to attend the afternoon studies.

R: They want you to pass but they don't want to allow you to attend afternoon studies?

N: Yes.

R: Are they saying you are not going to continue with studies next year?

N: Yes. They say I will not continue with studies next year.

R: Are you doing standard ten?

N: Yes.

R: What reason are they giving you for not continuing with studies next year?

N: They are saying that I must give the young one a chance to study. They cannot afford to continue to finance me in my studies.

R: I see. If I can ask you to tell me briefly about your father. What can you say?

N: About my father?

R: Yes.

N: I can tell you that my father is a very selfish person, because ... my father is a selfish person.

R: I see.

N: Because things which are needed here at school, my father is against it.

R: OK.

N: Now, we are expected to go for a trip but he does not care about us.

R: I see.

N: Even if you ask something, he does not give you whatever you ask.

R: OK

N: If I can pass and ask him to give me money to go to the university, he will not give me any.

R: I see.

N: He is a selfish person.

R: Do you wish to go to a college?

N: Yes. I wish.

R: Or university?

N: Yes. I wish.

R: Right, I understand your concern but I will try to assist you in finding bursaries. So, If I can ask you to tell me briefly about your mother. What can you say?

N: My mother is a person who listens and wishes to ... do good things for us. The only problem is that she does not have money and she does not work.

R: I see.

N: Even if she wishes to do something for us desperately, she cannot.

R: OK.

N: She wishes to assist us.

R: Is your father not giving your mother the money?

N: He does give her money.

R: Does he give her money?

N: He gives her money, but she has a lot to do with the money. We are many at home.

R: If I can ask you to tell me briefly about your brothers and sisters. What can you say?

N: About my brothers and sisters?

R: Yes.

N: My brothers and sisters. I don't know what can I say. They are people who do not listen because at home ... I am the older one who is left and the other one who is still schooling. But he is older than me, ... it is because he is failing. The others had left.

R: If you say they do not listen, what do you mean?

N: They do not respect my mother. They regard her as a young child.

R: Whom are you referring to, you mean the young ones who are at home?

N: The young ones ... those who are at home. As time goes on, they will not respect her (meaning the mother) and the one who is doing standard six does not respect her.

R: OK. Do you respect her?

N: I respect her because if she gives me instructions, I carry out those instructions.

R: You only disrespect her when she says you should not attend afternoon studies?

N: In that aspect I do not respect her (laughs). If I respect her in that aspect, I will fail.

R: Thank you very much for your time.

5.2.2.7 Personal interview with Nomsa's class teacher

(This interview was conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

Key: R stands for Researcher

NCT stands for Nomsa's class teacher

R: What kind of a person is Nomsa?

NCT: Nomsa is a good person in almost everything.

R: Is she good in everything

NCT: Yes. Even her behaviour is good.

R: How is her relationship with other children?

NCT: Eh! ... in this aspect I can say she does have friends.

R: I see.

NCT: But she is a type of a person who is satisfied to have one friend.

R : Only one friend?

NCT: She is not the type of person whom you can find talking with many other children.

R : It is typical for her because according to her HSPQ test profile I found that she is a reserved

and cool person. She is not a talkative person (referring to the HSPQ results).

NCT: Yes.

R : According to her HSPQ test profile.

NCT: She is the type of a person who does not interact with many children.

R: How does she relate with the teacher?

NCT: She relates well with the teachers.

R: Does she relate well with the teachers? NCT: Yes. We don't have problems with her.

R : Does she participate in extra-mural activities?

NCT: Awu! ... She is doing nothing.

R: Thank you very much for your time.

5.2.2.8 Personal interview with Nomsa's mother

(This interview has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

Key: R stand for Researcher

NM stands for Nomsa's mother

R: If I may ask you to describe Nomsa's personality, what can you say?

NM: As a person, I can say she has a good personality.

R: Is she a good person?

NM: Yes. Because I stay with her and I have seen nothing bad about her.

R: Have you not seen bad things about her?

NM: No.

R: In other words, she is obedient?

NM: Yes. She is obedient.

R: I see. As the father spends most of his time far away at work, how does she behave in his

absence?

NM: No. She has not changed. She is not like the other children who like to play netball.

R: I see.

NM : And when they go to play, they leave unfinished work at home which they are expected to do.

R: I see.

NM: Whenever she works, she works seriously.

R: I see.

NM: When she comes back from school, she sits down with her books.

R : OK.

NM: You see. I can say she is a well-behaved child

R : As the father is working away from home, you are now charged with the responsibility to

look after the family on the father's behalf. What difficulties are you encountering?

NM: There are many difficulties which I am encountering.

R: Are there many difficulties?

NM: There is nothing that I can do about them.

R: I see.

NM: You find that sometimes we run out of food before he arrives at month-end.

R: You mean before he arrives at month-end?

NM: Yes. This makes it tough for me.

R : OK.

NM : He usually comes at month-ends and finds that I have made debts. I usually inform him

about these debts and he gives me the money to pay the debts.

R : If your husbands can find a job nearby home and stay here, how would you feel?

NM: There is nothing that I can say (laughs). I am used to the fact that he works far away.

R : Are you used to him working far away?

NM: Yes. It may happen sometimes he works nearby. We see the husbands (referring to neighbouring husbands) who stay here at home, they have different problems. But my

problems are better because I am used to them.

R : You mean for your husband to work far away?

NM: Yes. Because our love does not diminish. It stays well (laughs).

R: (Laughs).

NM: You see. Our relationship is healthy.

R : Is your relationship healthy?

NM: Yes.

R: I see.

NM: If he is far away ... Those who stay here. We see them. They quarrel with their wives and

shout at each other.

R : OK.

NM: What I can say is that I am used to him working far away.

R: What kind of person is your husband?

NM: ... Husbands are essential. If you live alone it is not good.

R: Is not good?

NM: Yes. It is good that there should be a father at home. Because we depend on him for a

living.

R : What fathering style does he use?

NM: He is an autocratic person. He is very strict. But I am used to him.

R: Thank you very much.

5.2.2.9 Interpretation of data and preliminary findings

(i) Nomsa's self-concept

According to the results from the Adolescent Self-concept Scale, Nomsa's overall self-concept's raw score is 62, which reflects a stanine of 3, which indicates a low self-concept. Nomsa's self-concept in relation to her personal self, the self in relation to family and relatives and self-criticism is low.

However, three aspects of Nomsa's self-concept, namely physical self, the self in relation to the social community and self in relation to values are on average.

(ii) Nomsa's intelligence quotient (IQ)

According to the result of the individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils, Nomsa's global intelligence quotient is 107. The stanine thereof is 6. Therefore, it is classified as high average.

Nomsa's performance intelligence quotient is 97. The stanine thereof is 5. Therefore, it is classified as on average.

Nomsa's verbal intelligence quotient is 115 and the stanine thereof is 7. Therefore, it is classified as above average

According to her verbal IQ score, she is expected to perform within the range of 9,3 and 15,1. Her performance falls within this range and there is thus no discrepancy.

She also performed within her range on the performance sub-tests.

(iii) Nomsa's personality profile

It seems that Nomsa is introverted (Factor A-) with a tendency to be placed and stodgy (Factory D-). She scores a 2 on Factor G which indicates a tendency to be casual and undependable. This tendency is in according with her scores on Factors Q3- and Q4- which indicate carelessness, ignoring of standards, lax and relaxed.

Anxiety and extroversion

Anxiety and extroversion scores are averages. She appears to be relaxed. However, the average extroversion score of 5,2 is a contradiction to the lower score on Factor A.

(iv) Nomsa's academic achievement

Nomsa's Progress Report of December 1998, grade eleven, shows that she has performed well above the class average in all six subjects.

Nomsa's Progress Report of June 1999, grade twelve, shows that, once again, she has performed well above the class averages in four subjects. Her marks for Mathematics and Business Economics, 18 % and 27 % respectively, were below average.

In short, Nomsa's academic progress was satisfactory. Therefore, it may be concluded that her father's absence did not affect her academic performance negatively.

(v) Nomsa's achievement motivation

When asked how she felt about her studies, she responded as follows: "The performance in my studies has lowered. Hence, I do not feel well about my studies".

The fact that she scored lower in two subjects, compared to the previous year, may indicate that her motivation to study and to achieve has been lowered.

Furthermore, when asked the cause responsible for lowering her performance, she responded as follows: "Ah ... I don't know. I suspect the lack of studying", "Yes. Because initially I used to sleep at one o'clock at night, but now I sleep around ten o'clock", and "I don't wait until one o'clock.

From these responses, it can be concluded that Nomsa lacked internal and external motivation. As a result, her achievement motivation is low.

In addition, when asked about any disturbances with regard to her studies, she responded as follows: "At home we do not have electricity. Hence, my mother used to complain, saying that we are using up the candles".

The lack of electricity could be attributed to the family's financial status, which, in turn, may have an influence on Nomsa's achievement motivation. Here her mother also plays a role: By discouraging the over-use of candles, Nomsa's mother demotivates Nomsa's achievement.

Lastly, when Nomsa was asked who encouraged and assisted her with her school work, she responded as follows: "Nobody", and "Nobody. I do it for myself".

These responses may indicate a lack of external motivation from her parents.

(vi) Nomsa's behaviour

When Nomsa's class teacher was asked to describe Nomsa's personality, she responded as follows: "Nomsa is a good person almost in everything", "Yes. Even her behaviour is good". When Nomsa's mother was asked to describe Nomsa's personality, she responded as follows: "As a person, I can say she has a good personality", and "Yes. Because I stay with her and I have seen nothing bad about her". As the interview went on, Nomsa's mother uttered the following statement: "You see, I can say she is a well-behaved child".

From these responses it could be deduced that Nomsa is well-behaved.

(vii) Nomsa's relationship with teachers and peers

When Nomsa's class teacher was asked to describe Nomsa's relationship with other children, she responded as follows: "Eh! ..., in this aspect I can say she does have friends", "But she is a type of a person who is satisfied to have one friend", and "She is not the type of person whom you can find talking with other children".

From these responses, it is inferred that Nomsa prefers to have one friend. This is in accordance with her personality profile which suggests an introverted personality.

During the personal interview with Nomsa's mother, the mother uttered the following statement: "No. She has not changed ... She is not like other children who like to play netball". From this statement it could be concluded that Nomsa does not prefer group activities.

When Nomsa's class teacher was asked whether Nomsa was participating in extra-mural activities, she responded as follows: "Awu! ..., she is doing nothing". This response is in line with Nomsa's mother's view of her.

When Nomsa's class teacher was asked about the manner in which Nomsa was relating to her teachers, Nomsa's class teacher responsed as follows: "She relates well with the teachers", and "Yes. We do not have problems with her".

On the basis of the above responses, it is concluded that Nomsa enjoys a healthy relationship with her teachers.

(viii) Difficulties/problems faced by Nomsa's mother in the absence of her husband

When Nomsa's mother was asked about the difficulties which she was encountering in the absence of her husband, she responded as follows: "There are many

difficulties which I am encountering" "There is nothing that I can do about them", and "You find that sometimes we run out of food before he arrives at month-end".

From these responses, it seems that Nomsa's mother is encountering many problems in the absence of her husband due to labour migrancy. Some of these difficulties are related to the lack of sufficient money. For instance, food does not last for the month and her husband only arrives with money at the end of the month.

As the interview went on, Nomsa's mother uttered the following statement: "Yes. This makes it tough for me". This statement is probably summarizing all the difficulties and problems which are faced by Nomsa's mother in the absence of her husband.

(ix) Nomsa's relationship with her mother

When Nomsa was asked to describe the mother, she responded as follows: "My mother is a person who listens, who wishes to ... do good things for us. The only problem is that she does not have money and she does not work", "Even if she wishes to do things for us desperately, she cannot", and "She wishes to assist us, but she has nothing to assist us".

Firstly, Nomsa's mother is concerned about her daughter. Secondly, Nomsa's response shows that there is trust between herself and the mother ("... a person who listens ..."). It seems that there is a good relationship between Nomsa and her mother.

In turn, when Nomsa's mother was asked to describe Nomsa's personality, she responded as follows: "As a person, I can say she has a good personality", and "Yes. Because I stay with her and I have seen nothing bad about her".

Furthermore, as the interview went on, Nomsa's mother said, "Yes. She is obedient". These positive views about Nomsa by her mother also suggest that the relationship between them are positive.

(x) Nomsa's relationship with her father (migrant labourer)

Nomsa's response to card 6GF reveals a poor relationship between a female child and a male adult. The outcome of the story is also negative.

When Nomsa was asked to comment on her father, she responded as follows: "I can tell you that my father is a very selfish person, because ... my father is a selfish person", "Because things which are needed here at school, my father is against it", and "Now, we are expected to go for a trip but he does not care about us".

From Nomsa's responses, it seems that her father is against things that might benefit his daughter.

Secondly, it seems that Nomsa persceives the father as not caring about her. These may indicate a poor father –daughter relationship.

As the interview went on, Nomsa said, "Even if you ask something, he does not give you whatever you ask", "If I can pass and ask him to give me money to go to the university, he will not give me any".

From these responses it can be deduced that Nomsa does not trust her father to provide for her future.

(xi) Marital relationship between Nomsa's parents

When Nomsa's mother was asked how she would feel if her husband could find a job nearby, she responded as follows: "There is nothing that I can say. I am used to the fact that he works far away", "Yes. It may happen ... sometimes he works nearby. We see the husbands who stay here at home, they have different problems. But my problems are better because I am used to them", and "Yes. Because our love does not diminish. It stays well".

From these responses, it seems that Nomsa's mother has accepted the situation of her husband being far away. It has even become normal to her. Secondly, despite their situation, the love between Nomsa's mother end her husband has not diminished. These responses indicate a positive marital

relationship. Further on in the interview, Nomsa, mother's response of "You see. Our relationship is healthy", strengthens the inference that their marital relationship is good.

5.2.3 Family C

This family consists of ten members, including the father, the mother and eight children. Of the eight children, six are girls and two are boys. Three of the olders girls got married and are not staying with the family. Hence, when the research was conducted, the family was left with seven members.

The father is a migrant labourer, while the mother is a domestic worker in the local village when ther research was conducted.

Sipho is the fifth of the eight children and is one of the major subjects. He is 20 years old and in grade eleven.

5.2.3.1 Sipho's self-concept: Adolescent self-concept scale

DIMENSION	RAW SCORE	CLASSIFICATION
Physical self	12/8	Medium
Personal self	9/8	Low
The self in relation to family and relatives	16/18	High
The self in relation to the social community	7/18	Low
The self in relation to values	11/18	Low
Self-criticism	3/10	Low
Over-all self-concept	58	Low

5.2.3.2	Sipho's intelligence quotient: Ind	ividual Scale for	Zulu-speaking Pupils
	Siprio o mitambanto dactione ma	ATAMOMI DOME TOT	Bara speaking r spirs

Sub-test	Raw	Scaled	Stanine		Belo	W		Avera	ige		At	ove	Strong (+)
	score	score	score										
				1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Weak (-)
1 Vocabulary	31	5	2	-	•								
2 Comprehension	33	8	4	1			>						
3 Similarities	15	4	1	•									
4 Problems	15	8	4										***************************************
5 Memory	27	13	7							>			+
6 Pattern compl	6	5	2		•					 			-
7 Blocks	4	6	2										-
8 Absurdities	3	5	2	1	-								***
9 Form board	52	13	7							•			+
10 Mazes	30	8	4	1			•			 			

	Scaled score	IQ	Stanine
VERBAL SCALE (VIQ)	38	83	3
PERFORMANCE SCALE (PIQ)	37	83	3
GLOBAL SCALE (GIQ)	75	81	3

Mean of verbal scores (SEm = 3,424) (3,4)

Average =
$$\frac{5+8+4+13}{5}$$

= $\frac{38}{5}$
= $7.6 > 7.6 - 3.4 = 4.2$ or $7.6 + 3.4 + 11.0$

Mean of performance scores (SEm = 2,738) (2,7)

Average =
$$\frac{5+6+5+13+8}{5}$$

= $\frac{37}{5}$
= $7.4 > 7.4 - 2.7 = 4.7$ or $7.4 + 2.7 = 10.1$

5.2.3.3 Sipho's personality: High school personality questionnaire (HSPQ)

FACTOR	RAW SCORE	STEN SCORE	CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTION
	FORM A		HIGH/AVERAGE/LOW	
Α	5	3	Low	Critical, reserved, cool
В	6	4	Low	Dull, less intelligent
С	6	3	Low	Emotionally immatured and unstable
D	16	9	High	Unrestrained, nervous
Е	4	2	Low	Obedient, mild, dependent
F	9	5	Average	Uncertain
G	10	4	Low	Casual, quitting, undependable
Н	10	6	Average	Uncertain
Ĭ	11	7	High	Tender-minded, sensitive, protected
J	7	4	Low	Vigorous, goes readily with group
0	17	9	High	Discourage, worrying, self- reproaching
Q2	9	5	Average	Uncertain
Q3	8	3	Low	Careless, ignores standards, lax
Q4	13	8	High	Tense, driven, irritable

Anxiety =
$$(11-C) + D + (11-G) + (11-H) + 0 + (11-Q3) + Q4$$

$$= (11-3) + 9 + (11-4) + 7 + (11-6) + 9 + (11-3) + 8$$

$$= 8 + 9 + 7 + 5 + 9 + 8 + 8$$

$$= 55$$

$$= 7,8 \text{ (High)}.$$

Extroversion =
$$A + F + H + (11-J) + (11-Q2)$$

$$5$$

$$= 3 + 5 + 6 + (11-4) + (11-5)$$

$$5$$

$$= 3 + 5 + 6 + 7 + 6$$

$$5$$

$$= 27$$

$$5$$

$$5,4 \text{ (Average)}$$

5.2.3.4 Sipho's academic progress: School reports

MDZILI SECONDARY SCHOOL					MDZILI SECONDARY SCHOOL				
PROGRESS REPORT					PROGRESS REPORT				Γ
	DECEMBI	ER 1998 GI	RADE 11	161		JUN	E 1999 (GRADE I	1
	NAME OF	LEARNER	R: SIPHO			NAME (OF LEA	RNER: S	IPHO
Subject	Max	Min	Marks	Class average	Subject	Max	Min	Mark	Class Average
								s	
Siswati	100	40	46	42,4	Siswati	100	40	51	40,5
English	100	40	50	38,7	English	100	40	31	25,0
Maths	100	40	47	36,0	Maths	100	40	35	25,7
Biology	100	40	55	55,9	Biology	100	40	67	49,4
P.Science	100	40	55	32,5	P.Science	100	40	33	27,2
Geography	100	40	71	41,3	Geography	100	40	69	32,8
TOTAL	600	240	324	246,8	TOTAL	600	240	286	200,6
AVERAGE	100	40	54	41,1	AVERAGE	100	40	47,6	33,4
(%)					(%)				

5.2.3.5 Sipho's responses: Thematic Apperception Test (This has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

CARD 1

"What led to ... to this situation is that this person is thinking. He is thinking about his violin ... as if he does not see where he is suppose to start when he wants to play ... and the end result is that he perceives himself not in a position to play the violin. That is why he is thinking in this manner".

(How does he feel?) "He feels angry ... the manner in which he holds himself. It shows that he is worried".

CARD 2

"This is a school child. She is going to school. She is from home, leaving her father and mother in the fields. They are ploughing ... they are ploughing in order to survive. She is going to study at school for herself in order to uplift them at home. Then end result is that she as a school child, wants to be something in the community. She feels happy about going to school, the manner in which she appears and her parents are happy about what they are planting in the fields. They appear to be happy. They are happy".

(What will be the outcome?) "You mean this lady?" (I mean everything occurring here.)

"The outcome is that they will find themselves living a normal standard of life".

CARD 6BM

"These are people who are in love ... If I look at them, the man seems to be angry and the woman in turn became angry. The woman ... it seems as if they didn't understand each other. The woman decided to leave, and the man became angry and looked down. The woman has told herself that 'I am leaving because we misunderstand each other'. The result will be separation'.

CARD 7BM

"These are two men. They are close to one another. This means that there is something under discussion. This shows that they like each other and understand one onother. This illustrate that ... they are going to help each other until they are separated by death. The manner in which they are close to each other shows that they understand one another".

(What led them to be so close to each other?) "Just matters which they are fixing". (How do they feel?) "They feel happy ... This means that they understand each other".

(What will be the outcome?) "The outcome ... the manner in which they understand each other, if I look at them. It may happen that they will be separated by death".

CARD 12M

"This is a patient. If I look at him, it seems as if he is the patient lying on a bed. It means that they want to ask for a priest to pray for him ... because he is sick. Because he is lying on the bed. So, the priest is trying to pray and bring him before God ... so that he can save him. The outcome is that if God wishes ... by virtue of putting His hands on him, it may happen that he can be healed".

5.2.3.6 Personal interview with Sipho
(This interview has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)
Key: R stands for Researcher
S stands for Sipho

- R: How do you feel about your studies this year?
- S: I am feeling "right".
- R: What do you mean when you say you feel "right"? Are you going to succeed or what?
- S: I don't know quite clearly.
- R: Don't you know quite clearly?
- S: Yes. Because I am behind with some of my studies.
- R: According to your wish, how do you intend to perform in your studies?
- S: Through dedication, I think I must try to perform well.
- R: Who assists you with your studies at home?
- S: Nobody.
- R: How is life at home?
- S: Ash! ... life is difficult at home, but it will be solved.
- R: Do you say life is difficult but it will be solved?
- S: Yes.
- R: If I can ask you to tell me briefly about your father. What can you say?
- S: My father is a person who cannot be found at home easily.
- R: Does he not spend much time at home?
- S: No. He stays far away and he has three wives. This makes it difficult for him to see what is happening at home.
- R: If I can ask you to tell me briefly about your mother. What can you say?
- S: Mother.
- R: Yes.
- S: My mother is a dedicated person who encourages us about school work and to behave well at school. She also helps us at home.
- R: Now, tell me about your brothers and sisters.
- S: (Silent).
- R: What can you tell me about your brothers and sisters?
- S: M ... my brother ... I don't know what I can say about my brother because he is not present at home these days. Most of the time ... I was interested in studying subjects such as English that time.
- R: OK.
- S: Now that I am in matric, the work is overwhelming, so I feel I should not waste my time in English so much. We used to argue about English.
- R: With your brother?

S: Yes.

R: OK.

S: If maybe there was something which he did not know which I knew.

R: What standard did your brother pass?

S: He passed standard ten.

R: Are there no young ones at home?

S: There are young ones.

R: Tell me briefly about them.

S: Ah ... the young ones ... I just look at them, but ... (laughs).

R: (Laughs too).

S: I do not consider them seriously.

R: Don't you consider them seriously?

S: Yes.

R: Are you more concerned about your brother?

S: Yes.

R: And your mother?

S: Yes.

R: Thank you very much.

5.2.3.7 Personal interview with Sipho's class teacher

(This interview has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

Key: R stands for Researcher

SCT stands for Sipho's class teacher.

R : How does Sipho behave himself here at school?

SCT: He behaves very well.

R : How does he perform in studies?

SCT: He is also good.

R : How is his relationship with other children?

SCT: He has relationships with other children. But he relates with children who belong to the

same church religion as him.

R: I see.

SCT: But this does not mean that he quarrels with other children.

R : OK.

SCT: He only likes to be with that special group (referring to children belonging to the church religion with Sipho).

R: I see. Thank you very much for your time.

5.2.3.8 Personal interview with Sipho's mother
(This interview has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)
Key: R stands for Researcher

R : If I may ask you to describe Sipho's personality. What can you say?

SM: (Laughs). I don't know how can I describe his personality. What I can say is that he is a school child.

R : What you know is that he is a school child only?

SM: Yes.

R: If you look at him here at home, what kind of a child is he? Because you may have two or three children, but you may find that they are different. Do you see?

SM: Yes.

R: If I ask you about your children, you cannot say that they are the same. There must be something which makes them to be different in the manner in which they behave or do things.

SM: There is nothing ... I cannot say that he has once caused trouble for me.

R: I see.

SM: He may learn bad things because as he grows up, he may change.

R : OK.

SM: As far as I am concerned, I have seen nothing bad about him.

R: In other words, he is a well-behaved child?

SM: Yes. I have seen nothing bad about him. He has been to many schools.

R: I see.

SM: But we have never heard about an offence from a single school.

R: I see.

SM: Or that he has done something wrong, never.

R: I see.

SM: I even said to him if God can help you to pass standard ten, I will give a party for you, because you will have surpassed others who started schooling with you.

R: How does he behave when the father is absent?

SM: No problems.

R : As the father is working away from home, you are now charged with the responsibility of looking after the family on the father's behalf. What difficulties are you encountering?

SM: Ah ... if you are a woman at home you must stand up for all the difficulties. You need to tell yourself that 'God you know because you have taken me from home and gave me this family'.

R: I see.

SM: Whether it is difficult or what. I must perservere.

R : OK.

SM: And secondly, 'You have given me these children'.

R: I see.

SM: There is nothing that I can do.

R: I see.

SM: I need to tell myself that this is my home. Even if my husband may go away. I know that at the end he will come back.

R : It means even if you come across difficulties, you have told yourself that you have to persevere?

SM: Yes. Nothing else.

R : If your husband can find a job nearby and stay at home, how will you feel?

SM: I will be very much happy.

R: I see.

SM: It is not our choice that our husbands should work far away.

R : OK.

SM: It is because there are no jobs nearby.

R: I see.

SM: I will be very much happy if he can work nearby because we will know that even if he can spend two days at work, the third day he will be at home.

R : If your husband can be given a house where he is working at the moment, will you join him?

SM: Yes. I would be happy.

R : If I can ask you to describe your husband's personality. What can you say?

SM: He is a good person ... There is nothing bad. I have never heard anyone saying that he has committed a crime.

R : I see

SM: To the aspect of polygamy, I can say a man keeps on marrying other women until he dies.

R : What fathering style does he use?

SM: He is an autocratic person. Children can not do whatever they want. Even with myself, he is very strict. He lays down the rules for me how to run the family affairs. He wants a dignified home.

R: Thank you very much for your time.

5.2.3.9 Interpretation of data and preliminary findings

(i) Sipho's self-concept

According to the results from the Adolescent self-concept Scale, Sipho's self-concept is 58. The stanine thereof is 3. Therefore, Sipho's self-concept can be classified as low.

Other aspects of Sipho's self-concept which can be classified in the low category, are personal self, the self in relation to the social community, the self in relation to values and self-criticism.

Only one dimension of Sipho's self-concept is classified in the medium category, that is his physical self-concept.

(ii) Sipho's intelligence quotient (IQ)

According to the results of the Individual Scale for Zulu-speaking Pupils, Sipho's global intelligence quotient is 81 and the stanine thereof is 3. This is classified as below average.

Sipho's performance intelligence quotient is 83 and the stanine thereof is 3. This is also classified as below average.

Sipho's verbal intelligence quotient is 83. The stanine thereof is also 3 and it is also classified as below average.

Sipho was expected to perform within the range of 4,2 and 11 on verbal scores. Sipho's memory is above the expected range (stanine 7). This may suggest the possibilities of: good attention, low anxiety and easy contact with the reality.

Sipho was expected to perform within the range of 4,7 and 10,1 in performance scaled scores. Sipho's score on the form board sub-test is above the range (stanine 7). This may suggest the possibilities of: good perceptual-motor co-ordination, good visualising ability and creative ability.

(iii) Sipho's personality profile

Sipho appears to be an introverted person (Factor A-), emotionally immature (Factor C-), nervous (Factor D+), obedient and mild (Factor E-), tender-minded and sensitive (Factor I+), a boy who easily feels discouraged and tends to worry (Factor O+). He scored a high 8/10 on the anxiety Factor Q4 and it can be speculated that Sipho is, altogether, not a happy child.

Anxiety and extroversion

According to the anxiety and extroversion scores, Sipho's anxiety and extroversion are 7,8 and 5,4 respectively. This shows that Sipho experiences anxiety and his extroversion is average. Sipho's high score relates to his personality profile which also indicates a high anxiety score.

(iv) Sipho's academic progress

Sipho's Progress Report for December 1998, grade eleven and June 1999, grade twelve, show that Sipho had performed well above the class average, either per subject or overall averages.

Therefore, it can be concluded that the father's absence due to labour migrancy has not affected Sipho's academic performance negatively.

(v) Sipho's achievement motivation

Sipho's response to the question: "How do you feel about your studies this year?" First elicits a feeling of it being "right". His next few responses however, indicate a degree of doubt and uncertainty as to whether he is going to succeed. He is motivated to perform well and is prepared to de dedicated to his studies. This is an indication of positive achievement motivation.

From his response that 'Life is difficult at home ...' one can speculate that home-related problems are influencing his performance and motivation.

(vi) Sipho's behaviour

Sipho's class teacher reports the following on Sipho's behaviour at school: "He behaves well". Sipho's mother's view of Sipho's personality is reflected by the following statements: "There is nothing ... I cannot say he has once caused trouble for me", and "He may learn bad things because as he grows up, he may change", and "As far as I am concerned, I have seen nothing bad about him".

From these statements, it seems that Sipho manifests good behaviour both at school and at home. The researcher has, however, detected a note of defensiveness in the mother's tone of voice.

She further comments on Sipho's behaviour: "I have seen nothing bad about him. He has been to many schools", "But we have never heard about an offence from a single school", and "Or that he has done something wrong, never". These comments further support that Sipho manifests good behaviour.

In his father's absence Sipho also shows good behaviour and his mother says that she has "No problems" with him.

From the mother's responses, taken on face value together with his class teacher's responses, it seems that Sipho manifests good overall behaviour.

(vii) Sipho's relationship with the teachers and peers.

Sipho's class teacher describes Sipho's behaviour at school as follows: "He behaves very well". His good behaviour may imply a good relationship with his teachers.

On the question of nature of Sipho's relationship with other children, the class teacher responds as follows: "He has relationships with other children. But he relates with children who belong to the same church religion as him", "But this does not mean that he quarrels with other children", and "He only likes to be with that special group".

It seems that, although he has positive peer relationships, he prefers the small group of friends from his own church.

(viii) Difficulties/problems faced by Sipho's mother in the absence of her husband

When Sipho's mother was asked about the difficulties she is encountering in the absence of her husband, she responded as follows: "Ah! ... if you are a woman at home you must stand up for all difficulties. You need to tell yourself that "God you know because You have taken me from home and gave me this family", "Whether it is difficult or what, I must persevere", "And secondly, "You have given me these children", "There is nothing that I can do", and "I need to tell myself that this is my home. Even if my husband may go away. I know that at the end he will come back".

Although she does not explain the nature of her difficulties, one can deduce from her responses that life in general is not satisfactory. There almost seems to be a feeling of despondency and a positive acceptance of her fate.

The problems encountered by Sipho's mother are also witnessed by Sipho himself. This is revealed during the personal interview with Sipho where he says: "Ash! ... life is difficult at home, but it will be solved", "My father is a person who cannot be found at home easily", "Yes. He stays far away and he has three wives. This makes if difficult for him to see what is happening at home".

In the light of the above discussion it is concluded that Sipho's mother is encountering many difficulties/problems in the absence of her husband due to labour migrancy.

(ix) Sipho's relationship with his mother

The Thematic Apperception Test reveals some of Sipho's feelings about his parents. Sipho's response to card 2 indicates the relationship between a female child and her parents. The relationship between the said child and her parents is good. This is revealed through the frequent use of the word "happy" in the following sentences: "She feels happy about going to school, the manner in which she appears and her parents are happy about what they are planting in the field. They appear to be happy. They are happy" (see Sipho's response on card 2).

Sipho views the figures in card 6BM as two people in love. He does not respond to the mother-son stimulus of the card. One can speculate that he sees his parents' relationship in this picture.

Sipho has positive feelings towards his mother. This is reflected in his responses: "My mother is a dedicated person who encourages us about school work and to behave well at school". This response shows that Sipho's mother cares about her son and his school performance.

It can be deduced that Sipho has a good relationship with his mother.

x) Sipho's relationship with his father (migrant labourer)

Sipho's response to card 7BM (the father-son relationsip theme) indicates the relationship between the two male adults. This relationship is in a form of friendship. This may suggest that Sipho has a best friend whom he trusts to share his problems with.

In the light of Sipho's responses about his feelings for his father (which is mostly negative), it does seem that this story rather reflects friendship between friends.

When Sipho is asked to comment on his feelings about his father, he responds as follows: "My father is a person who cannot be found at home easily", "Yes. He stays far away and he has three wives. This makes it difficult for him to see what is happening at home". Sipho's responses reveal that he views his father as a person who does not care about him or the rest of the family. This shows that the father-son relationship does not seem to be very positive.

xi) Marital relationship between Sipho's parents

Sipho's response on card 6BM, which relates the story of two people in love, may be a reflection of his parents' marital relationship. The story and its outcome is one of misunderstanding and eventually separation because of this misunderstanding. Sipho's responses about his father: "My father is a person who cannot be found at home easily", and "Yes. He stays far away and he has three wives. This makes it difficult for him to see what is happening at home", indicate a troublesome relationship.

Sipho's mother's view on their marital relationship indicates a different picture: She accepts her husband's polygamy, but does not say how she feels about it. She reveals that he is a strict person. One can speculate that he has also laid down the rules regarding his way of life and she has to accept them.

Sipho's view of his parents' relationship and his mother's view of her marital relationship do not correspond. It may be that Sipho experiences his father's absence in a different way than his mother does. It may also mean that Sipho has different feelings about his father's other wives and families – that because of them, they suffer.

5.2.4 Family D

This family consists of twelve members, including the father, the mother and ten children. Six are girls and four are boys. Bheki is the sixth child. He is also one of the major subjects. He is 15 years old and in grade ten. The father is a migrant labourer, whereas the mother is a housewife. During one of the last few days before the study was completed, Bheki's father was retrenched from work.

5.2.4.1 Bheki's self-concept: Adolescent self-concept scale

DIMENSION	RAW SCORE	CLASSIFICATION
Physical self	10/18	Low
Personal self	5/18	Low
The self in relation to family and relatives	10/18	Low
The self in relation to the social community	12/18	Medium
The self in relation to values	8/18	Low
Self-criticism	5/10	Low
Over-all self-concept	50	Low

5.2.4.2	Bheki's intelligence of	quotient: Individua	al Scale for Zulu-	-speaking Pupils

Sub-test	Raw score	Scaled score	Stanine score	Below Average			ge	Above			Strong (+)		
				Ī	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	Weak (-)
1 Vocabulary	30	7	3			•		ļ				-	-
2 Comprehension	34	12	6						>				
3 Similarities	18	7	3			•<							-
4 Problems	16	12	6						•				
5 Memory	28	14	8								7		+
6 Pattern compl	7	7	3										_
7 Blocks	2	6	2		•<								-
8 Absurdities	6	9	4				•						
9 Form board	33	10	5					1					
10 Mazes	36	I I	6	†					1				

	Scaled score	IQ	Stanine
VERBAL SCALE (VIQ)	52	103	5
PERFORMANCE SCALE (PIQ)	43	91	4
GLOBAL SCALE (GIQ)	75	96	4

Mean of verbal scores (SEm = 2,957) (2,9)

Average =
$$7 + 12 + 7 + 12 + 14$$

= $\frac{52}{5}$
= $10.4 > 10.4 - 2.9 = 7.5$ or $10.4 + 2.9 = 13.3$

Mean of performance scores (SEm = 2,677) (2,7)
Average =
$$\frac{6+6+6+8+9}{5}$$

= $\frac{43}{5}$
= $8,6 > 8,6 - 2,7 = 5,9$ or $8,6 + 2,7 = 11,3$

5.2.4.3 Bheki's personality: High school personality questionnaire

FACTOR	RAW SCORE	STEN SCORE	CLASSIFICATION	DESCRIPTION
	FORM A		HIGH/AVERAGE/LOW	
A	14	8	High	Warm, soft-hearted,
				participating
В	4	2	Low	Dull, less intelligent
C	11	6	Average	Uncertain
D	3	1	Low	Deliberate, stodgy, placid
E	8	5	Average	Uncertain
F	7	3	Low	Sober, silent, serious
G	9	4	Low	Casual, quitting,
				undependable
H	8	5	Average	Uncertain
I	5	3	Low	Practical, tough-minded
J	7	4	Low	Vigorous, goes readily with
				group
О	9	5	Average	Uncertain
Q2	10	6	Average	Uncertain
Q3	13	7	High	Self-controlled, self-
				respecting
Q4	10	6	Average	Uncertain

Anxiety =
$$(11-C) + D + (11-G) + (11-H) + 0 + (11 - Q3) + Q4$$

$$= (11-6) + 1 + (11-4) + (11-5) + 5 + (11-7) + 6$$

$$= 36$$

$$= 5,1 \text{ (Average)}$$

Extroversion =
$$A + F + H + (11-J) + (11-Q2)$$

$$= 8 + 3 + 5 + (11-4) + (11-5)$$

$$= 8 + 3 + 5 + 7 + 5$$

$$= 28$$

$$= 5$$

$$5,6 \text{ (Average)}$$

5.2.4.4 Bheki's academic progress: School repo
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MDZILI SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRESS REPORT DECEMBER 1998 GRADE 11 NAME OF LEARNER: BHEKI					MDZILI SECONDARY SCHOOL PROGRESS REPORT JUNE 1999 GRADE 11												
												NAME OF LEARNER: BHEKI					
												Subject	Max	Min	Marks	Class average	Subject
					Siswati	100	40	36	55,8	Siswati	100	40	32	37,6			
English	100	40	54	58,2	English	100	40	14	19,5								
Maths	100	40	63	48,9	Maths	100	40	10	11,4								
economics	100	40	32	52,6	Economics	100	40	15	23,3								
Accounting	100	40	37	42,4	Accounting	100	40	34	33,8								
B Econ	100	40	44	45,4	B Econ	100	40	10	24,0								
TOTAL	600	240	266	303,5	TOTAL	600	240	115	149,6								
AVERAGE (%)	100	40	44,3	50,6	AVERAGE (%)	100	40	19	24,9								

5.2.4.5 Bheki's responses: Thematic Apperception Test

(This interview has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English).

CARD 1

"The reason why this person is sitting in this manner. It is because he is studying. He wants to learn how to play songs by using his violin. Secondly ... the mood, he is in the mood of wanting to be a singer. The outcome is that he will end up singing".

(How does he feel?) "You mean him?" (Yes). "He is thinking". (What is he thinking?) "He thinks how is going to play a song".

CARD 2

"This one is thinking of ploughing ... Another thing is that ... he ... has needs ... concerning crops. He is ploughing here. Then, his mood ... he is angry".

(What about these? (pointing at the card) "This one, it appears as if she wants to go to a church".

(What will be the outcome?) "You mean about everything?" (Yes). "The outcome will be that they will reap and get food".

CARD 6BM

"It means this one is thinking of wearing this hat. The second one seems to be thinking deeply. The result is that they will end up walking together".

CARD 7BM

"This one seems to be angry. Then this one looks at this one, wanting to know what made him to be angry".

(What led them to be together?) 'It is because this one wants to comfort this one (pointing with a finger at the picture) from the mood in which he finds himself. At the end this one will be comforted'.

CARD 12M

'It means this one ... is asleep. Then this one it seems as if he wants to kill this one. He wants to grip him by his throat. At the end, this one will wake up and then they will be fighting'.

5.2.4.6 Personal interview with Bheki

(This interview was conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

Key: R stand for Researcher

B stands for Bheki

R : How do you feel about your studies this year?

B: I don't feel well.

R : Don't you feel well?

B: Yes. It is because there are problems at home.

R : Do you wish to tell me briefly about these problems?

B: Yes. I can tell you briefly.

R: OK. Tell me briefly.

B : The problems is that our father does not want to do things for us at home ...

R: I see.

B: As he is supposed to.

R: OK. I see.

B : Even if we ask something, he does not give us.

R: It is not due to the fact that he does not have money?

B : That does not matter. If he does not have money, he must say that he does not have money, then we will understand that he does not have money and see what we can do. But if he keeps on shouting, this confuses us.

R: Thank you, Bheki, for sharing your problems with me. How if I can talk to your father and try to persuade him to be supportive to the family?

B: No. It will not be successful. My father does not want to listen to someone from outside (meaning someone who is not part of the family).

R : OK. Let us continue. Who helps you with your studies at home?

B : My older brother used to help me, but he is not there any more.

R : I see. If I can ask you to tell me briefly about your mother. What can you say?

B : My mother is far better than my father because she is sympathetic in most cases.

R: I see.

B : Even if I ask something that she has, she will not shout at me, instead she will simply give it to me.

R: Thank you, Bheki. Now tell me, do you have brothers and sisters?

B: Yes.

R: If I can ask you to tell me briefly about them. What can you say?

B : You mean about their physical bodies?

R: Anything.

B : They are good. The only problem with them is that they do not like to play. They like to study most of the time.

R : It means your brothers and sisters are serious about their studies?

B : Yes.

R : Thank you very much Bheki.

5.2.4.7 Personal interview with Bheki's class teacher

(This interview has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

Key: R stands for Researcher

BCT stands for Bheki's class teacher.

R : How does Bheki behave at school?

BCT: He does not behave well.

R: He does not behave well?

BCT: Yes. And his relationship with us (referring to the entire staff) is not right.

R: I see.

BCT: He is the type of child ... yes he is immature.

R:OK.

BCT: But when he speaks with the teachers, he does not see that 'this one is older than I am'.

R: I see.

BCT: He does not differentiate when he is speaking with adults who need to be respected.

R: Yes. Mr Khoza once told me that he once punished him for his misbehaviour.

BCT: And his performance has deteriorated.

R: I see.

BCT: Initially, when he arrived here at school, he was doing very well.

R: I see.

BCT: But now his performance has deteriorated.

R : Does he participate in extra-mural activities?

BCT: Nothing.

R: According to his intelligence, I can say he is an average person.

BCT: We have notice that, but what causes deterioration in his performance is his behaviour.

R : But when I asked him about his poor performance, he said to me it is because there are

problems at home.

BCT: It is his behaviour which is problematic at home.

R : OK.

BCT: Probably, the parents are not happy about him any more. They are always engaged in talks

concerning his offences.

R: I see.

BCT: Hence, his parents are not interested in him any more.

R : But when I asked him, he said that the problem is that they do not want to give him enough

support at home, especially the father.

BCT: No. He is lying.

R: Is he lying?

BCT: Yes.

R: Thank you very much for your time.

5.2.4.8 Personal interview with Bheki's mother

(This interview has been conducted in Swati and then translated to English)

Key: R stands for Researcher

BM stands for Bheki's mother.

R : If I may ask you to describe Bheki's personality, what can you say?

BM: (Silent).

R: As your child. What kind of a person is he?

BM: It is a difficult question (laughs).

R: You know your child. Probably, you are the one who knows him better than I do. There is very little that I can say about him.

BM: You are right. He is the person who pretends not to pay attention when you talk to him whereas he is listening. He is quick to respond whenever you are instructing him.

R : How does he behave at home?

BM : You mean the manner in which he cares about his physical body?

R : The manner in which he cares about himself, the manner in which he behaves and interacts with other children.

BM: When it comes to interacting with other children, he enjoys interacting very much with other children. He likes to play. Furthermore, he likes to be neat and clean. He enjoys playing with other children who are older than him.

R: Your husband had once worked far away, am I correct?

BM: Yes.

R : How did he behave when your husband was far away from home?

BM: I don't really know about that because when my husband is not at home, they are expected to look after the cattle.

R: I see. How does he behave in the present of his father?

BM: He does not go away when his father is present. He stays at home and behaves well.

R : What difficulties did you encounter when your husband was working far away from home?

BM: You mean about him (Bheki)?

R: I mean any difficulties that you encountered not necessarily about Bheki only. As your husband was away, you were expected to be a mother, a father and everything at home. What difficulties were you encountering at that time?

BM: The difficulty that I faced when my husband was away was to discipline the children because when you are alone you are faced with all the challenges at home.

R: I see.

BM: You must see to it that they come home before sunset and whether all the cows are in a kraal, and nothing wrong has been done. Boys are troublesome because they sometimes come late from the sport field.

R : Except what have you mentioned. Were there other difficulties?

BM: No.

R : How did you feel when your husband was working far away from home?

BM: I felt bad about it because I sometimes needed money and there was no one to give me money.

R: I see.

BM: Sometimes groceries were finished and money was a problem. He was far away and used to visit us at month-ends.

R : How do you feel now that your husband is back home?

BM: Eh! ... now it seems as if there are problems regarding the children. As children grow up ...

R: I see.

BM: They do things which are beyond us.

R: I see.

BM: For instance, when a child is grown up, she does whatever pleases her. It is not like when she was young where you could punish her.

R: I see.

BM: She can do whatever she likes when she is grown up.

R: Does she?

BM: Yes. As my daughters do.

R: I see.

BM: Now it has become very tough due to my two daughters because they gave birth in the same year.

R : OK.

BM: The worse part of it is that we don't really know who the fathers of these babies are.

R: I see.

BM: This is what we have encountered as a family and it was very tough.

R: I see. It was very tough for you. BM: There was no peace in the family.

R: Has this happened when the father was at home?

BM: Yes. He was present.

R: If I can ask you to describe your husband's personality. What can you say?

BM: He is a person who cannot be patient. He fails to be patient with any person. But he expects you to be patient with him. He is very 'kwaai'.

R: In other words, if I understand you correctly, he is not patient with the children and with you

BM: He is failing to do this.

R : Thank you very much for your time and for answering the questions.

5.2.4.9 Interpretation of data and preliminary findings

(i) Bheki's self-concept

According to the results from the Adolescent Self-concept Scale, Bheki's over-all self-concept's raw score is 50. The stanine thereof is 1. Therefore, Bheki's over-all self-concept can be classified as low.

Specific aspects of Bheki's self-concept which are classified as low are: physical self, personal self, the self in relation to family and relatives, the self in relation to values and self-criticism. The self in relation to the social community has a medium score.

(ii) Bheki's intelligence quotient

According to the results from the Individual Scale for Zulu speaking Pupils, Bheki's global intelligence quotient is 96. The stanine thereof is 4. This is classified as low average.

Bheki's performance quotient is 91 and the stanine thereof is 4. This is also classified as low average.

Bheki's verbal intelligence quotient is 103 and the stanine thereof is 5. This is classified as average.

Bheki was expected to perform within the range of 7,5 and 13,3 in the verbal scaled scores. Bheki's vocabulary and verbal reasoning scaled scores are below the expected range. Therefore, this may suggest the possibilities for depression, inability to think abstractly and a low level of education in the environment.

When it comes to his performance scaled scores, Bheki performed within the expected range, that is between 5,9 and 11,3.

(iii) Bheki's personality profile

Bheki seems to be extroverted (A+), self-controlled and self-respecting (Q2+). He scored low on Factor D, which may indicate a stodgy and placid nature. In contrast to his outgoingness, he tends to be silent and serious (F-). There is also a degree of casualness and a tendency to quit (Factor G-).

Anxiety and extroversion

According to the calculation of the anxiety and extroversion factors, Bheki's anxiety and extroversion scores are 5,1 and 5,6 respectively. It seems that Bheki does not experience a high level of anxiety.

(iv) Bheki's academic achievement

Bheki's Progress Report for December 1998, grade ten, shows that Bheki has performed below the class average by 6,3 %. Furthermore, Bheki has performed below the class averages in five subjects, namely, Siswati, English, Economics, Accounting and Business Economics.

Bheki has performed above class average on Mathematics. However, Bheki has passed because his average was above the minimum average.

Bheki' Progress Report for June 1999, grade eleven, shows that he has performed below the class average in five subjects, namely, Siswati, English, Mathematics, Economics and Business Economics. Bheki obtained 32 %, 14 %, 10 %,15 % and10 % in these subjects respectively. He only performed slightly above the class average in one subjects, Accounting. Bheki has obtained 34 % in this instance, while the class average was 33,8 %. Bheki's over-all performance is poor and his father's absence due to labour migrancy, may be a factor affecting his performance.

(v) Bheki's achievement motivation

Bheki's responses to card 1 of the TAT reveals an ambitious theme, which can be linked to achievement motivation (see card 1, item 5.2.4.5). On the basis of his responses, it can be assumed that Bheki's achievement motivation is high. Looking at his performance, though, it does not reflect his motivation to achieve. In the interview he also said: "I do not feel well" about his studies. He describes it to "problems at home" (see paragraph 5.2.4.6). From these responses it seems that Bheki feels bad about his studies and problems at home may negatively influence his achievement motivation.

In elaboration of his response, he says: "The problem is that out father does not want to do things for us at home ...", "As he is supposed to ", and "Even if we ask something, he does not give us". This may indicate that Bheki feels that his father is not fulfilling his role as a provider for his family.

To the question of who assists him with studies, he responds as follows: "My older brother used to help me, but he is not there any more". It seems that there is nobody to encourage Bheki in his studies.

During the personal interview with Bheki's class teacher, she said, "His performance has deteriorated", "Initially, when he arrived here at school. He was doing very well", and "But now his performance has deterioted". Bheki's deterioration in performance might be attributed to low achievement motivation which, in turn, may be caused by personal problems.

The motivation to achieve which became apparent in Bheki's response to card 1 of the TAT, seems to be undermined by difficulties and personal problems. Thus, something is preventing him from achieving in the way he would like to.

(vi) Bheki's behaviour

Bheki's class teacher responds as follows when asked about his behaviour: "He does not behave well", and "Yes. And his relationship with us is not right". From these responses it is quite clear that Bheki is manifesting negative behaviour at school. This sentiment is also shared by another

teacher at school: "Yes. Mr Khoza once told me that he once punished him for his misbehaviour".

Furthermore, Bheki's class teacher states: "It is his behaviour which is problematic at home". "Probably the parents are not happy about him any more. They are always engaged in talks concerning his offences", "Almost everyday people come to his home to report about offences committed by him, such as assaulting other children", and "Hence, his parents are not interested in him any more".

From these responses, it is deduced that Bheki shows problematic behaviour not only at school, but also outside school and at home.

Taking all responses into consideration, it seems that although Bheki manifests negative behaviour, his mother does not want to address it, even though the teachers say that his parents "are always engaged in talks concerning his offences".

(vii) Bheki's relationship with teachers and peers

The class teacher's responses as to how Bheki behaves at school was, "He does not behave well", and "Yes. And his relationship with us (teachers) is not 'right'". From these responses, it seems that Bheki has poor relationships with his teachers. The class teacher further says: "When he speaks with the teachers, he does not see that 'This one is older than I am', and "He does not differentiate when he is speaking with adults who need to be respected".

Regarding Bheki's relationship with his peers, the teacher responds as follows: "Probably, the parents are not happy about him any more. They are always engaged in talks concerning his offences", and "Almost everyday people come to his home to report about offences committed by him, such as assaulting other children".

From these responses it is clear that Bheki does not have a good relationship with his peers.

Bheki's mother, however, relates a different picture. She says: "When it comes to interacting with other children, he enjoys interacting with other children very much. He likes to play. Furthermore, he likes to be neat and clean. He enjoys playing with other children who are older than him".

Either she does not want to reveal Bheki's real behaviour to the researcher, or she turns a blind eye to his behaviour. Once again, Bheki's preference to play with older children, may suggest a poor relationship with children of his own age.

In conclusion, it does seem that Bheki's relationship with his teachers and peers are not positive.

(viii) Difficulties/problems faced by Bheki's mother in the absence of her husband

When Bheki's mother is asked about the difficulties she is encountering in the absence of her husband, she responds as follows: "The difficulty that I faced when my husband was away was to discipline the children because when you are alone you are faced with all the challenges at home", and "You must see to it that they come home before sunset and whether all the cows are in the kraal and nothing wrong has been done. Boys are troublesome because they sometimes come late from the sports field".

From these responses, it can be deduced that Bheki's mother was encountering difficulties, especially with regard to disciplining the children. she also has to ensure that their cattle were looked after.

Her feeling about her husband are reflected in the following responses: "I felt bad about it because I sometimes needed money and there was no one to give me money", and "Sometimes the groceries were fininshed and money was a problem. He was far away and used to visit us at month-ends".

From these responses, it is deduced that a major problem was to ensure that there was enough food to last for a month. She had not been able to succeed in doing so.

Her feelings about her husband being back home, indicates that, even then, the children do not behave properly. Both parents find it difficult to discipline the children. This may be because the children do not accept their father's discipline as he was seldom at home. Bheki's mother says: "Eh! ... now it seems as if there are problems regarding the children. As children grow up, ... ", "They do things which are beyond us", "For instance, when a child is grown up, she does whatever pleases her. It is not like when she was young where you could punish her", "She can do

whatever she likes when she is grown up", "Yes. As my daughters do", "Now it has become tough due to my two daughtes because they gave birth in the same year", and "The worse part of it is that we don't really know who the fathers of these babies are".

The father viewed the situation as a result of the lack of discipline from the mother while he was far away at work. Thus, there was no peace in the family.

(ix) Bheki's relationship with his mother

Bheki describes his mother as follows: "My mother is far better than my father because she is sympathetic in most cases", and "Even if I ask something that she has, she will not shout at me, instead she will simply give it to me".

From these responses, it is deduced that Bheki views his mother as a person who cares about him and who is sympathetic. It can be assumed that Bheki has a good relationship with his mother.

(x) Bheki's relationship with his father (migrant labourer)

Bheki's description of the problems that he experiences regarding his father, is as follows: "The problem is that our father does not want to do things for us at home ... "Even if we ask something, he does not give us", and "That does not matter. If he does not have money, he must say that he does not have money. Then we will understand that he does not have money and see what we can do. But if he keeps on shouting, this confuses us".

From these responses, it is deduced that Bheki views his father as a person who is careless, selfish and unsympathetic. This is deduced from these words: "... our father does not want to do things for us ... Even if we ask something, he does not give us".

Furthermore, it is deduced that Bheki views his father as a person who is irrational and aggresive. This inference is deduced from Bheki's words: "That does not matter. If he does not have money, he must say that he does not have money. Then he will understand that he does not have money and see what we can do. But if he keeps on shouting, this confuses us".

(xi) Marital relationship between Bheki's parents

Bheki's mother describes her husband's personality as follows: "He is the person who cannot be patient. He fails to be patient with any person. But he expects you to be patient with him. He is very 'kwaai'.

It seems that Bheki's father expects patience from everybody, although he himself can behave as he wishes. This may have a negative influence on the marital relationship as well as the father-children relationship.

Furthermore, Bheki's mother says: "There was no peace in the family".

On the whole, it seems that the atmosphere at home is strained and tense. This may also be the case in the parents'own relationship with each other.

5.3 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the information gathered through the use of the various media has been presented. Furthermore, the data have been interpreted and preliminary findings have been made.

The four families who took part in this study were labelled by letters A,B,C and D for the sake of confidentiality. Furthermore, the names of the major subjects were changed to protect their human dignity.

In the next chapter the findings of the study will be presented. In addition guidelines to cope with or minimize the impact of the problems associated with migrant labouring will be recommended.

CHAPTER 6

FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS, LIMITATIONS AND GUIDELINES

6.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter findings gathered through literature and empirical studies will be presented.

Furthermore, guidelines will be recommended to family members to cope with or minimize the impact of problems associated with migrant labouring.

Limitations of the study will be highlited. Recommendations for further research to counter the said limitations of the study under discussion will be provided.

6.2 FINDINGS FROM THE LITERATURE STUDY

6.2.1 Introduction of migrant labouring

The manner in which the migrant labour system was introduced to Natives in South Africa was unique: Before Europeans arrived in South Africa, Natives were dependent on hunting and traditional subsistence farming. Natives had abundant land for their traditional ways of farming.

To induce Natives in Africa into the labour system, Europeans, on their arrival changed Natives from their traditional ways of living, appropriated their land and relocated them into Native Reserves. The size of the land was too small to continue with Native traditional subsistence farming methods. In this way, Natives had to be dependent on Europeans through selling their labour. Since then, migrant labour has been used up to this era.

Another unique feature of the migrant labour system in South Africa, is that migrant workers are predominantly either married or unmarried males. Married males leave behind their wives and children in the former homelands (Native Reserves), where conditions are appaling.

On the positive side, it has played an important role in the growth of the economy of South Africa. Furthermore, it provided job opportunities for many South Africans from the former homelands and many people from neighbouring countries, such as Lesotho, Mozambique and Swaziland.

6.2.2 Overburden to migrant labourers' wives

In the absence of the husbands due to labour migrancy, wives of migrant labourers are expected to play double roles. Firstly, they have to play a role of a mother. Secondly, they have to play a role of a father. This makes it difficult to execute all their responsibilities adequately (paragraph 3.8 (i)).

6.2.3 The marital relationship weakens

The life of many migrant labourers' wives are characterized by loneliness, helplessness and poverty. This weakens the marital relationship with their husbands. They no longer enjoy what they expected in the marriages. They live a miserable life characterized by massive problems (paragraph 3.8 (ii)).

6.2.4 The father's relationship with family members weakens

The amount of time that the father spends with family members is important because it strengthens his relationships with family members, especially if the father is actively involved in the caring of the family members. As the father spends most of his time at far-away work places due to labour migrancy, this deprives him of the golden opportunity to strengthen his relationship with family members. Thus, the father's relationship with the family members is weakened (paragraph 3.8 (iii)).

6.2.5 Poor moral development

The father is regarded as the figure of authority in the family. In the absence of the father this responsibility is shifted on to the mother. The mother may find it difficult to execute this role, firstly, because of his position in the family, secondly, when the children are at the adolescence stage. The mother may find it difficult to enforce moral values through discipline. This may result in poor moral development in children (paragraph 3.8 (iv)).

6.2.6 Inappropriate sex role behaviour

The father plays an important role in the sex-role development of both boys and girls. The father's absence due to labour migrancy may result in an inappropriate sex-role behaviour amongst his children (paragraph 3.8 (v)).

6.2.7 Low self-concept

Self-concept is formed as a result of continuous self-assessment of the child in terms of his relationships with significant others and his own potential. The significant people who interact with the child in his early life are his parents. For the child to develop a positive self-concept, there should be a healthy relationship between the child and the parents. In the father's absence, the healthy relationship is compromised. This may result in the formation of low self-concept in children (paragraph 3.8 (vii)).

6.2.8 Poor achievement motivation

In most cases the father plays an important role in motivating children to perform well at school. In the father's absence due to labour migrancy the father is deprived of the opportunity to motivate and even to assist his children with academic work. Thus, this may lead to poor achievement motivation amongst his children (paragraph 3.8 (vii)).

6.2.9 Lower IOs

It has been revealed that the father plays an important role in the cognitive development of the child. The father's influence in this domain is greater on boys than on girls. This is due, firstly, to the fact that boys identify with and model their fathers especially at a young age, secondly, fathers identify more with their sons than with their daughters. In the process, boys do not only emulate attitudes, values, roles, gestures and emotional reactions but also problem-solving strategies, thinking processes and vocabulary as well. This enhances cognitive development of the young child which is manifested in higher IQ scores. In the father's absence due to labour migrancy, this may have a detrimental effect on the cognitive development of the child (paragraph 3.8 (viii)).

6.2.10 Low academic achievement

If the father's absence may contribute to a certain extent towards poor moral development, poor achievement motivation, low self-concept, lower IQ and other negative effects, then no doubt, his absence may also be detrimental to the academic achievement of the child. Thus, the father's absence may lead to poor academic achievement (paragraph 3.8 (ix)).

6.2.11 Poor relationships with teachers and peers

It is stated that the father's absence may lead to poor moral development. Poor moral development may manifest in behavioural problems. These behavioural problems may in turn hamper the child's relationships with teachers and peers. Thus, the father's absence may lead to poor relationships with teachers and peers (paragraph 3.8 (x)).

6.3 FINDINGS FROM THE EMPIRICAL STUDY

6.3.1 Self-concept

All four subjects have a low self-concept according to the Adolescence Self-concept Scale. The self-concept is influenced by a variety of factors, one of which is the child's relationship with significant others in his/her life (paragraph 3.7.4.6). If the father is often absent, as is the case with a father who is a migrant labourer, the father-child relationship will suffer.

Research has also indicated that the child with a low self-concept does not mix easily within social groups and is subjected to self-criticism (paragraph 3.7.4.6). Of the three subjects, only Bheki seems to be an outgoing child. However, according to his teacher his interpersonal relationships are troubled.

6.3.2 Cognitive development

Three of the four subjects' Global Quotient scores, as measured on the Individual Scale for Zuluspeaking pupils, are below average. The other subject's score is high average.

A child's cognitive development is also influenced by multiple factors, one of which is the role of the father. Research indicates that the father's influence is especially evident in boys' cognitive development. For instance, a warm, accepting father enhances his son's flexibility of thought (paragraph 3.7.4.3). Migrant fathers who are for long periods of time absent from their families, miss the opportunities to assist their children's cognitive development. He is not around to engage his children in activities which develop for instance, thinking skills and problem-solving strategies.

6.3.3 Children's personalities

The salient findings about the major personalities are: Introversion, dull and less intelligent, deliberate, stodgy and placid, practical and tough-minded, anxiety and uncertainty.

6.3.4 Children's academic progress

Academic perormance can be influenced by many factors. In the case of the four subjects, it seems that their low self-concepts, lower level of cognitive development and low achievement motivation co-jointly affected their academic performance negatively. All of these may in part be ascribed to the absence of the father figure.

6.3.5 Children's achievement motivation

Due to the father's absence, the mother has to fulfil his role as well. With this, she experiences many difficulties which leave her with no or little time left to assist and encourage the children with regards to their school work. This lack of external motivation and interest, may inhibit internal motivation which, in the long run, impacts negatively on achievement motivation.

6.3.6 Children's behaviour

On the basis of the data collected through the personal interviews, it has been deduced that out of the four major subjects, three subjects had manifested good behaviour. Only one subject had manifested bad behaviour. Therefore, it was concluded that the probability of bad behaviour amongst children of migrant labourers was less.

However, the opposite may be true in other circumstances. For instance, in a situation where all the siblings are involved in the research, the result may be different. Furthermore, in a situation where a family does not hide bad things occurring within the family, like in the case of Swazi families. (See paragraph 6.6.3).

6.3.7 Children's relationships with the teachers

According to the data collected through the personal interviews, it has been concluded that out of the four major subjects who took part in this research study, three of them had good relationships with the teachers. Only one subject had a poor relationship with the teachers.

Therefore, it was concluded that the father's absence due to labour migrancy has no negative influence on the children's relationships with the teachers. However, the results may be different if all the siblings of each family were involved.

(See paragraph 6.6.2)

6.3.8 Children's relationships with peers

According to the data collected through the personal interviews, it has been concluded that out of the four major subjects, three of these subjects had manifested poor relationships with peers. Only one subjects had manifested a good relationship with the peers.

Therefore, it was concluded that the father's absence due to labour migrancy played a role in the children's relationships with the peers.

6.3.9 Children's relationships with the fathers (migrant labourers)

From the data gathered through the personal interviews and the cards of the Thematic Apperception Test, it has been deduced that three of the four major subjects had poor relationships with their fathers. Only one case was inconclusive. However, in this case there was a probability for a poor relationship with the father.

Of the three children who had poor relationships with their fathers, each child had his/her own perceptions and ways of articulation of the poor relationship with the father.

The major contributory factor in poor relationships with the fathers amongst the three major subjects, had been attributed to the fact that the father concerned in each case was careless. The first major subject of the three who had poor relations with the father was Nomsa. Nomsa's poor relationship with her father can be attributed to carelessness, mistrust and his unsymphathetic attitude. This had been deduced from Nomsa's words during the personal interview where she said: "my father is a selfish person", "... my father is a selfish person", "Because things which are needed here at school, my father is against it", "Even if you ask something, he does not give you whatever you ask", and "If I can pass and ask him to give me money to go to the university, he will not give me any" (see personal interview, paragraph 5.2.2.6).

The second major subject of the three, was Sipho. Sipho's poor relationship with his father had been attributed to carelessness and lack of proximity of his father. This has been deduced from Sipho's words during the personal interview, where he said: "My father is a person who cannot be found at home easily", "Yes. He stays far away and he has three wives. This makes it difficult for him to see what is happening at home" (paragraph 5.2.3.6).

In the case of the third major subject, Bheki, the poor relationship had been attributed to carelessness, selfishness, his unsympathetic attitude, aggression and irrationality. This had been deduced from Bheki's responses during the personal interview where he said: "Even if we ask something, he does not give us", and "That does not matter. If he does not have money, he must say that he does not have money. Then we will understand that he does not have money and see what we can do. But if he keeps on shouting, this confuses us" (paragraph 5.2.4.6).

Lastly, it was concluded that the father's absence due to labour migrancy had detrimental effects on the father-child relationship. Alternatively, the father's absence might have led to poor father-child relationships.

6.3.10 Children's relationship with the mother

From the data collected through the personal interview and cards of the Thematic Apperception Test, it has been deduced that all the four major subjects in this research study enjoy healthy relationship with their mothers.

Of the four major subjects, each child had his/her own perception and ways of expressing the healthy relationship with the mother. However, the common major contributing factors were caring, supportiveness and positive attitudes of the mothers. In addition, proximity had played a significant role too.

The first major subject was Fikile. Fikile's healthy relationship with her mother had been attributed to caring, supportiveness and probably proximity of her mother. This has been deduced from Fikile's words during the personal interview where she said: "If there is something that we need, we inform her. If she has, she gives us" (paragraph 5.2.1.6). Other factors were Fikile's obedience

and her mother's positive attitudes towards her daughter. This has been deduced from her mother's words where she said: "Yes. She is obedient. I can rely on her whenever I want to send a person" (paragraph 5.2.1.8).

The second major subject who had a healthy relationship with her mother, was Nomsa. Nomsa's healthy relationship with her mother had been attributed to caring, supportiveness, trust and the positive attitude of ther mother. Firstly, this has been deduced from Nomsa's words where she said: "My mother is a person who listens, who wishes to ... do things for us". Secondly it can be deduced from her mother's words: "As a person, I can say she has a good personality", "Yes. Because I stay with her and I have seen nothing bad about her", and "Yes. She is obedient" (paragraph 5.2.1.8).

In Sipho's case, his healthy relationship with his mother had been attributed to caring and supportiveness. This has been deduced from Sipho's words: "My mother is a dedicated person who encourages us about school work and to behave well at school. She also helps us at home" (paragraph 5.2.3.6).

In the case of the fourth major subject, Bheki, his healthy relationship with his mother had been attributed to sympathy, supportiveness and care. This has been deduced from his words: "My mother is far better than my father because she is sympathetic in most cases", "Even if I ask something she will simply give it to me" (paragraph 5.2.4.6).

Lastly, it was concluded that the father's absence, due to labour migrancy, had led to imbalance in children's relationships with parents. On the one hand, it led to poor father child relationships. On the other hand, it led to healthy mother-child relationships.

6.3.11 Marital relationship

From the data collected through the personal interviews, it has been deduced that three of the four women in this research study had poor marital relationships with their husbands, while only one had a healthy marital relationship, although each of these three women had their own perceptions and ways of expressing these poor marital relationships.

The first woman had been suspicious that her husband had extra-marital relationships with other women. The suspicion was deduced from Fikile's mother's words during the personal interview: "..., but you will never know where he stays. A man can be decieved easily", and "When he is away from home, he forgets about the children and feels that he should abandon everything here at home" (paragraph 5.2.1.8).

In the case of Sipho's mother, she was more concerned about her husband having many wives though she pretended not to be worried about it. This was deduced from the personal interview where she said: "To the aspect of polygamy, I can say any man keeps on marrying other women until he dies" (paragraph 5.2.2.8).

Bheki's mother was unhappy about the fact that her husband was not patient and that there was no peace in the family. This was revealed from the personal interview. "He is a person who cannot be patient. He fails to be patient. But he expects you to be patient with him. He is very 'kwaai', and "There was no peace in the family" (paragraph 5.2.4.8).

Lastly, it was concluded that the fathers' absence had a detrimental influence on marital relationships. Alternatively, the fathers' absence due to labour migrancy had led to poor marital relationships in three of the four families.

6.3.12 Difficulties/problems faced by the migrant labourers' wives

From the data collected through the personal interviews, all four women confirmed that they had been experiencing many difficulties. However, each women viewed these difficulties/problems from her own perspective, although some of these problems were commonly expressed.

The major common difficulty expressed by the women was related to money. They said that food was finished before their husbands could arrive at month-end. Though this was common, each woman had her own way of dealing with this difficulty. Two of these women had opted to work in order to cope with the difficulty. Another one had opted to make debts each month, so that when her husband came back, he could pay these debts. The fourth women had not revealed how she had coped with this difficulty.

Another difficulty expressed by three women, was discipline. One of these women revealed that because of the difficulty of maintaining discipline, peace in the family had been destabilized. This was revealed where she said during the personal interview: "There was no peace in the family" (paragraph 5.2.4.8). In this family two daughters fell pregnant and it was not known exactly who impregnated them.

Another problem uncovered through the personal interviews with these three women, was related to marital relationships. These women had been suspicious that their husbands had been involved in extra-marital affairs with other women.

The second woman was unhappy about the fact that her husband had not been patient and that there was no peace in the family.

The third one had known that her husband had other wives. This was revealed when she said during the interview: "To the aspect of polygamy, I can say any man keeps on marrying other women until he dies (paragraph 5.2.3.8).

Some of the difficulties had not been mentioned specifically during the personal interviews.

Lastly, it was concluded that the fathers' absence due to labour migrancy had caused many difficulties/problems for their wives.

6.4 CONCLUSIONS

6.4.1 The assumption underlying the children's self-concept is that the fathers' absence due to labour migrancy may result in the formation of low self-concept in children (paragraph 4.3.4). From empirical findings, all four major subjects have an overall low self-concept. Therefore, on the basis of this, it can be concluded that empirical findings concur with the literature findings.

Hence, the assumption is acceptable to this research study.

6.4.1 The main assumption underlying the children's behaviour is that the fathers' absence due to labour migrancy may lead to anti-social behaviour (paragraph 4.3.8). Empirical findings reveal that three major subjects have manifested good behaviour.

Therefore there is a discrepancy between the literature and empirical findings. This discrepancy may be attributed to the limitations of the study (see the limitations of the study paragraph 6.6).

6.4.2 The assumption underlying the children's achievement motivation is that the fathers' absence, due to the migrant labour practice, may lead to low achievement motivation.

Literature and empirical findings concur with the assumption. Findings from the empirical research study reveal that four major subjects have low achievement motivation.

Therefore, the assumption is acceptable to this research study.

6.4.3 The assumption underlying the children's intellectual development is that the fathers' absence due to labour migrancy may result in low intellectual development in children. From empirical findings, three major subjects have an overall IQ below the average. Therefore, it can be concluded that the empirical findings concur with the literature findings.

Thus, the assumption is acceptable to this research study.

6.4.4 The assumption underlying the children's academic achievement is that the fathers' absence due to migrant labour may lead to low academic achievement (see paragraph 4.3.6). From empirical findings, two of the four subjects have been performing below class averages. This includes a boy and girl. The other two subjects have been performing well above the class averages. Therefore, literature findings are not in line with empirical findings of this research study.

The discrepancy between literature and empirical findings may be attributed to the limitations of the study (see limitations of the study paragraph 6.6).

6.4.5 The assumption underlying the children's relationship with teachers is that the fathers' absence may lead to poor moral development which in turn hampers the children's relationship with teachers. Empirical findings reveal that three of the four major subjects have good relationships with teachers. Therefore, there is a discrepancy between literature and the empirical findings.

This discrepancy may be attributed to the limitations of the study (see limitations on the study paragraph 6.6)

6.4.6 The assumption underlying the children's relationship with peers is that the fathers' absence may lead to anti-social behaviour which in turn, may hamper the children's relationship with their peers. Empirical findings reveal, contrary to the assumption, in the sense that three of the four subjects manifest socially acceptable behaviour with their peers. However, three of the subjects appear to be introverted. As a result their relationship with their peers is poor.

Therefore, the poor relationship with peers may be attributed to other factors, such as introversion, rather than to anti-social behaviour or the absence of their fathers.

6.4.7 The assumption underlying the children's relationships with their fathers is that the father's absence due to migrant labour, may lead to poor father-child relationships. Empirical findings reveal that three of four subjects have poor father-child relationships. This is in line with literature findings.

Hence, the assumption is acceptable to this study.

6.4.8 The assumption underlying the marital relationships is that the husbands' absence due to migrant labour, may lead to poor marital relationships. Empirical findings reveal that three of the four women interviewed had poor marital relationships with their husbands.

Therefore, literature and empirical findings concur with the assumption.

Hence, the assumption is acceptable to this research study.

6.4.9 Another assumption is that fathers' absence many lead the mother to face many difficulties/problems. Empirical findings reveal that all the women have been experiencing many difficulties and problems. This is in line with literature findings and the assumption.

Therefore, this assumption is acceptable to this reseach study.

6.4.10 In the light of the above conclusions, it is clear that the father's absence from home, due to labour migrancy, hampers the proper functioning of the family system. Therfore, the father's absence leads to malfunctioning of the family system.

6.5 GUIDELINES TO FAMILY MEMBERS TO COPE WITH OR MINIMIZE THE IMPACT OF PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH MIGRANT LABOURING

6.5.1 Introduction

Although only four families formed the basis of the empirical study, the researcher is of the opinion that valuable information regarding the effects of the migrant labour practice has been obtained. Even though findings connot be generalized (sample too small), it can serve as basis for designing guidelines to assist families who are subjected to migrant labouring.

In the father's absence due to migrant labour practice, family members, especially the father and the mother should double their efforts in their roles to cope with or to minimize the impact of problems associated with this phenomenon.

The researcher suggests the following guidelines to help families cope or minimize the impact of problems associated with migrant labouring.

- (i) Guidelines for marital relationship
- The father should make a double effort to compensate for his absence at home.

 Communication with his wife through whatever means, such as telephone and letter is very important. The father should constantly remind his wife that he loves her and his family.

'The marital relationship also may grow and consolidate through the shared experience of parenting as well as suffering for the new strains placed on it' (Rapoport, Rapoport & Strelits 1977:29).

- The father should frequently visit his family during his holidays. During these holidays, he must show love, warmth, and caring, he must be supportive economically and emotionally. According to Pederson as reported by Stears (1990:11) "studies suggest that emotional support from the husband and a satisfying marital relationship enhance the mother's competence and sense of well-being, which in turn influence the mother's behaviour with the child". In short, his presence should be felt.
- The father should always avoid deeds and utterances that may lead to suspicion. He must be reliable and faithful to his wife.
- The father should also encourage his wife to visit him, as far as possible, at work places, to avoid suspicion and mistrust. The mother should support her husband's efforts to make their marital relationship healthier. She should also communicate frequently with her husband in whatever means. During holidays when her husband is present, she should show mutual love and warmth.

(ii) Guidelines for the father-child relationship

- Though the father spends most of his time at work, he should make sure that his presence is felt during the holidays. According to Boychuk (1989:23) a father who is willing to assume the responsibilities in a sensitive, caring and nurturing way is likely to be more successfully involved with his children.
- The father should communicate effectively with his children and in his communication with them, he should encourage his children to voice out their feelings, ideas and concerns.
- He should also constantly enquire about their school performance, what problems they encounter at school, and what assistance they need from him. This will enable the father to address his children's concerns and problems. Although the father may not be able to provide all the solutions, his attempts and interest in them will show that he cares and is concerned about them.
- The father should adequately support his family economically and emotionally.
- The father should be reliable both in deeds and words to his family.

- The mother should strengthen the bond between the father and his children through communicating to her children about the important roles the father plays in the family. She should constantly tell the children that their father cares and loves them. This can change the children's possible negative perception towards their father and create trust between them.
- The children must respect and be obedient to their father. If the father provides them the platform to voice their feelings, ideas, needs, concerns and problems, the children should use the platform effectively.

All these put together, can help to bring about a positive father-child relationship.

- (iii) Guidelines to enhance the children's self-concepts
- For a child to develop a positive self-concept, there should be a healthy relationship between the child and parents. Thus, the father-child should be healthy and positive.
- Parents should be aware of their influence on their children's self-concepts. They have to realize that a positive self-concept leads to a happy, well-adjusted child.
- (iv) Guidelines to enhance the children's cognitive development
- During the holidays when the father is at home, he should be actively involved in caring and playing with his children to make up for the time he spends away at work. Apart from relaxing activities, he should engage the children in intellectual games, such as word puzzles and problem-solving games.
- He should actively create opportunities for his children to identify with him and to
 emulate his thinking and problem-solving skills. These activities should be engaged in
 from a young age, so that the children's cognitive development can be stimulated and
 enhanced.
- (v) Guidelines to influence the children's achievement motivation
- Father, who are migrant workers, should educate their children to be independent and self sufficient. This can be done by equipping the children with thinking and performance

skills. In this way, it may lighten the burden on the mother so that she does not have to do all the "thinking" -work as well.

- Father should set a high but realistic standard for achievement. This will encourage the children to achievement, even if it is in order to please their father. External motivation is likely to turn into internal motivation.
- The father should help his children to set goals for their future. He can take them to career information centres and different working environments to broaden their career opportunities and horizons. With a realistic goal to achieve, encouragement from his parents, the child is likely to be motivated to achieve.
- (vi) Guidelines to enhance children's academic achievement
- The stated guidelines recommended to improve the father-child relationship, children's self-concepts, cognitive development and achievement motivation are likely to lead to an improvement in the child's academic achievements.
- The father should also be interested in the children's academic progress by monitoring their progress.
- (vii) Guidelines regarding difficulties/problems faced by migrant workers' wives
- A common major difficulty expressed by all the women in this study, is related to
 insufficient funds to provide in the families' needs while the fathers are away. The father
 should acknowledge this difficulty and ensure that he either gives his wife enough money
 to survive for the whole month, or alternatively, he could open an account at a grocery
 shop.
- Another difficulty is related to discipline. In a family discussion, the father could explain to the children that when he is away, their mother substitutes him regarding discipline. The children should respect their mother's role as disciplinarian. If children are very undisciplined and manifest problem behaviour, a behavioural record may be kept. He then can deal with the child when he is back home. If the children behaved well in his absence, he should praise and reward them for supporting their mother by being well-behaved and disciplined.

6.6 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

6.6.1 Small sample

Only four families were included in the empirical study. Thus, the findings cannot be generalized to the entire population of fathers who are migrant labourers.

However, the findings provide a picture of how the functioning of the family might be effected due to the father's absence as a result of migrant labouring.

6.6.2 Limited number of participants per family

From each of the four families, only the mother and the relevant subject were included in the empirical study. The father could not be involved as he was not available at the time of the research. This may lead to one-sided views as the father cannot give his side of the story.

6.6.3 Cultural beliefs

This empirical study was based on four Swazi families. One of their cultural beliefs is contained in the Swazi expression, which says, "Tibi tasendlini atikhishelwa ngaphandle". This implies that bad things occurring within the family should be kept secret within the family. Therefore, it might have happened that during the personal interviews some subjects did not reveal all the difficulties and problems they are experiencing. This was especially true in Bheki's case where his mother did not acknowldge his problem behaviour, even though his teachers said that he was in constant trouble because of his behaviour.

6.6.4 Media used

The *Thematic Apperception Test* and the *Personal interviews* were conducted through the medium of Swazi. Therefore, the researcher had to translate the subjects' responses from Swazi to English after each session. In the process of translation it might have happened that grammatical errors were made. This might have hampered the interpretation of responses.

The Adolescent Self-concept Scale is standardized for white, matriculated individuals. The researcher did not have another choice than to use this medium and he has kept his limitation in mind when interpreting the data.

6.7 **RECOMMENDATION FOR FUTURE STUDY**

(i) Inclusive research needs to be conducted

Inclusive research in this case refers to the inclusion of all members of the selected family to be included as subjects.

(ii) Specific issues

Specific issues can be addressed in order to obtain in-depth knowldedge regarding the effect of migrant labour. Issues are for example:

- children's cognitive development
- children's behaviour
- children's academic performance
- children's self-concepts.

6.8 CONCLUSION

In this chapter the findings from the literature and empirical studies were presented. Although the findings from the empirical study were not very conclusive, they did succeed in presenting a picture of how the family of a migrant labourer experiences the father's absence.

From the findings and conclusions, it was possible to recommend guidelines to family members to cope with or minimize the impact of problems associated with migrant labouring.

The researcher hopes that this study will serve as encouragement for other researchers to address this ever-growing practice and its multi-faceted related problems in South Africa.

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