The emergence of *Ina-ethe migration*: Mpondo men and continued migrant labour post-apartheid

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Declaration of authenticity

I Sandla Sakhe Sikho Nomvete declare that this is my original work. Where secondary material has been used (either from printed sources or the internet), this has been carefully acknowledged and referenced in accordance with the requirements of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Humanities, University of Pretoria.

Signature:

Sandla Nomvete

Date: 13 May 2021

Dedication

To my mother **Nozipho MamKhonde Nomvete,** I dedicate this work to you. You have been nothing but my strength!! *Ngenene izinto zexabiso kulixabiso ukuzilinda!!!*

"In the absence of money the next plausible thing to invest in is your education"- Sandla Nomvete, 2014

"Go confidently to the direction of your dreams, live the life you have imagined"-Henry Thoreau

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Abstract

This thesis contributes to an understanding of the continued reliance on mining migrant labour. It explores why men from Mpondoland in Flagstaff and Lusikisiki in the Eastern Cape Province continue to leave their homes to settle for work in the North West Province (Rustenburg mines) even though the authoritarian structures that supported the migrant labour system have been abolished. This thesis draws its premise from an analysis of post-Marikana events that highlighted the centrality of migrant labour to industrial action. This came after some in the government and industry stated that the migrant labour system was something of our colonial and apartheid past.

Using the logic of Burawoy's extended case method and mixed methods, this research studied mine workers in two contexts: In the context of migrant households in Mpondoland and in Rustenburg, a labour receiving area, in which migrants live and work. The study found that at the centre of continued reliance on migrant labour is the improving nature of migrant work for a significant proportion of the permanently appointed segment to the labour market. It suggests that, for these workers, there has been a move from cheap labour power centred migration to what this study refers to as *ina-ethe migration*. This type of migration is underpinned by reciprocal relationships between male migrant workers and their wives, a phenomenon best highlighted in the interplay of masculinities and femininities in the migrant household. Within the constraints of patriarchy, the migrant labour system has transformed both femininities and masculinities in a way that continues to motivate men to take up jobs in the mining sector. *Ina-ethe migration* is further underscored by improved relations between migrant workers and the mines now characterised by better remuneration and improved working and living conditions.

In essence, this study suggests that the social reproductive and other socio-economic roles of women in migrant households in the labour sending areas challenge hegemonic masculinities. Therefore, Mpondo men continue to rely on migrant work to meet their traditional obligation as traditional providers and heads of households. Furthermore, the rewarding nature of the current mining sector ensures migrant labour is a plausible option for Mpondo men. This is especially in view of the minimal economic activity that denotes the former labour reserves.

Keywords: *Ina-the migration*, migrant labour, migrant worker, mining, cheap labour, social reproduction, household, masculinity, femininities.

Abbreviations and Acronyms

AMCU	Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union
AMWU	African Mine Workers Union
ANC	African National Congress
CBD	Central Business District
CoM	Chamber of Mines
DMR	Department of Mineral Resources
EC	Eastern Cape
EEA	Employment Equity Act
FRELIMO	Front for the Liberation of Mozambique
GGDP	Green Gross Domestic Product
IHLM	Ingquza Hill Local Municipality
IRDP	Integrated Rural Development Plan
KMs	Kilometres
LRA	Labour Relations Act
LRAs	Labour Receiving Areas
LSAs	Labour Sending Areas
MCSA	Mineral Council South Africa
MHSA	Mining Health and Safety Act
MHSC	Mining Health and Safety Council
NLD	Native Labour Department
NP	National Party
NRC	Native Recruitment Corporation
NUM	National Union of Mine Workers

NW	North West
OHSA	Occupational Health and Safety Act
RDO	Rock Drill Operator
RNLA	Rand Native Labour Association
RDP	Reconstructive Development Plan
SAHO	South African History Online
SLP	Social Labour Plan
STATS SA	Statistics South Africa
SWANLA	South West African Native Labour Association
SWOP	Society Work and Development Institute
TEBA	The Employment Bureau of Africa
TIPS	Trade and Industry Policy Strategies
WNLA	Witwatersrand Native Labour Association

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Introduction and prologue

Oscillating migrant labour of Mpondoland's people between their homes and distant cities is not a new phenomenon. Growing up in Flagstaff's Ndakeni location in Mpondoland, it was not uncommon for my family and our neighbours to have relatives working in a city far from home. Although my grandfather died before I was born, I have been told that he had first worked as a general worker underground and later as a Mabhalane (clerk) at a gold mine in Westonaria near Johannesburg. Men from our village either worked in the sugar cane plantations in Durban or the gold mines of Johannesburg. While the former city is approximately 300 kilometres from home, the latter is about 800 kilometres from home. There was nothing sinister about this or about a household without a father figure throughout the year except during the Christmas holidays when men traditionally returned home from the mines. In fact, while growing up, most young men dreamed of having the chance to live away from home and particularly, in Durban and/or Johannesburg, two major cities. Even though further away from home than Durban, Johannesburg with its gold mines and relatively higher levels of income was favoured. However, recently because of the decline of gold mining and increase in platinum mining, many are attracted to the platinum mines of Rustenburg. Of course, young people growing up in the villages of Mpondoland had no informed understanding of why people migrated. They did not fully comprehend why people had to leave their families for most of the year and only return for a mere month once a year. Mills (1959) asserted that the private troubles were not understood as public issues, such as the case for migrant families. However, what was known was that the return of a father figure, an older brother or an uncle spelled gifts, good food and festivities during their return. This was even more so for the elderly who, through experience, understood the returns of migrant labour. However, at times, men did not return because of rock falls or the permanent lure of the city.

While growing up and studying the history of our country at school and during the process of developing my sociological imagination (Mills 1959) at a post-schooling level of education, I came to learn about the abnormality of migrant labour. I started to understand that the men of Mpondoland should not have left their homes to work in such distant places from their homes. It became clear from encounters with literature that the system of migrant labour that many in our communities grew up aspiring to was part of a system of coercion. Furthermore, the oscillating mining migrant labour system is a legacy of our painful colonial and apartheid past.

However, the pressing question is if the system of oscillating migrant labour in South African mines a key feature of colonial and apartheid South Africa was, why is this approach of seeking employment on mines still so prominent in post-apartheid South Africa. Although many institutional arrangements that maintained this system structurally no longer exist, many workers seem to choose to continue to set up temporary shelters near mines and then return to so-called sending areas at certain times of the year and at the end of their tenure as mineworkers. To the best of my knowledge, no one has systematically attempted to provide a sociological answer to this question.

Therefore, in this study, I explored this question of continued reliance on migrant labour ethnographically in two locations, namely, Lusikisiki and Flagstaff as labour sending areas (LSAs) from the Eastern Cape, and Sondela and Nkaneng[1], informal settlements near Rustenburg in the North-West Province, as labour receiving areas (LRAs) and temporary residences for mine migrants. I have endeavoured to find explanations for the continued reliance on migrant labour of men from Mpondoland. My main suggestion in the thesis is that this phenomenon is best explained through what I call *ina-ethe migration*, which roughly translated means give and take. This form of migration comprises certain continuities and important discontinuities with past practices of migrant labour. Therefore, through this concept, I was able to navigate this question of continuity by exploring changes in mining migrant labour in a democratic era and ultimately, what has not changed. By employing the concept *ina-ethe migration*, the relationship between migrant workers and capital was explored. Questions of working and living conditions, remuneration, shifting and non-shifting class positions, and identity in the past and the present were examined. The concept assisted in explaining interactive and competing gender roles in the household between migrants and their wives and how that affects the decision to take up migrant work and the continued reliance on migrant labour. This concept is further supplemented by three other concepts: [2]*Imibutho,* [3]*Izibaya* and *class in transit*. In this study, *imibutho* locates one in the Mpondo household. It is a social and economic activity within which Mpondo women, more specifically the mineworkers' wives participate as their contribution to the household livelihood. *Imibutho* affords an understanding

[1] Nkaneng is a SeTswana word known as Nkanini in isiXhosa. The two words have the same meaning, stubbornness and are used interchangeably by SeTswana and IsiXhosa speakers around the platinum belt. See Nkomo (2018).
[2] Imibutho is an IsiXhosa word stated in its plural form that means 'unions'. In its singular form, it is Umbutho. This is elaborated further on the theory chapter where its meaning is contextualised for purposes of this study.
[3] Izibaya is also an IsiXhosa word stated in its plural form and it means 'kraals'. In its singular from it is 'Isibaya', it also explained further later in the context of the thesis.

of the question of continuity by placing one within the dispositions of women in the Mpondo household. It further sheds light on how that may contribute to men engaging in migrant labour owing to women's dispositions. In essence, *imibutho* invokes the all-important and yet implicit question of gender in relation to migrant labour. On the other hand, *izibaya* assists an understanding of modern migrant men and how they have adapted to changes and improved what has not changed. *Izibaya* refers to migrants' cattle ownership in Rustenburg, which is a relatively new phenomenon. Broadly, the notion of *izibaya* sheds light on important urban and rural links, how migrant men maintain their sense of identity and continue to keep cattle as an important component of masculinity construction among other things. Furthermore, the presence of *izibaya* serves as a primary illustration of reciprocity between labour power and capital to some level. Finally, the notion of a class in transit is an attempt to capture the continuities and discontinuities of modern mineworkers' class positions; elsewhere in the thesis, this is referred to as an *ina-ethe migrant* labour system.

At the core this study, it is suggested that there has been a shift from the colonial and apartheid migrant labour system towards migrant labour characterised by principles and practices of a democratic dispensation. This is demonstrated by the removal of coercive authoritarian structures that maintained the cheap migrant labour system. In the study, it is argued that migrant workers in the current dispensation reserve more agency and have been enabled to act on their own dispositions rather than just structural situations. In other words, the Mpondo men have continued to rely on the migrant labour system post-apartheid based on their understanding of the system's role in the construction of their own sense of self and ultimately their masculinities. Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) stated that work for Mpondo men is closely linked to the construction of masculinities. Therefore, taking up work in the mines is important for their traditional position of leader and/or [4]head of the household. The study further revealed that at the centre of continuing with and joining of migrant labour by Mpondo men is the question of a changing gender order in the Mpondo migrant household, which is closely linked to transformed femininities and reconfigured masculinities. In the study, it is argued that the household and community space in Mpondoland is better navigated by women for social and economic activities that are essential for the livelihood of households. Therefore, for men, taking up migrant labour becomes a plausible act in the face of transforming femininities.

[4] Migrants in the thesis are sometimes referred to as 'head of households' and 'husbands' in order to describe how they perceive themselves and how they are perceived by others. Moreover, these descriptions fit the traditional perception of men in Mpondoland, an essential point to understanding Mpondo men and masculinities.

Therefore, working in the mines affords Mpondo men an opportunity to contribute to the household actively in the form of economic remittances. They perceive this as an important aspect of their manhood (see Moodie &Ndatshe 1994). At home, the women determine how the remittances are spent and replanted in social economies for the benefit of the household. These social economies hereinafter referred to as *imibutho* were underscored during the 2014 five-months strike as they supplemented absence of the primary household and thereby allowing striking workers to go on. This is the *ina-ethe migration* relationship, which is demonstrated and explained in the course of the thesis.

In line with the above assertions that the migrant labour system has moved away from the previous regime's conditions, this study demonstrated that modern working and living space has shifted from the conditions of the past. Accordingly, this affects how people currently view migrant labour. In this study, it is contended that in comparison to the periods of colonialism and apartheid, the working and living conditions of workers have improved significantly. Furthermore, although with certain continuities and discontinuities, living and working conditions are safer, more humane and are underscored by a deeper sense of dignity. Thus, the Mpondo men's engagement in migrant labour in the mines may be regarded as a choice rather than a reaction to coercion.

In the workplace, workers have a voice and are protected by various legislative frameworks. These frameworks include workers' rights to refuse to work under dangerous conditions, the reasonable provision of leave and their rights to engage in collective bargaining. More significantly, migrants are remunerated reasonably for their labour. The improvements in their material possessions are evidence thereof. However, if South Africa is compared to other mining countries such as Australia and Canada, which have somehow epitomised the global standard, one can deduce that further improvements in workers' conditions are imperative.

Even in the migrant households in Mpondoland, much has changed; this is reflective of *ina-ethe migration.* In 2013, I was part of a team of researchers that conducted a study commissioned by the Department of Monitoring and Evaluation for the Presidency. As a field researcher, I went to some of the LSAs in Lusikisiki to speak to some mineworkers who at the time had been on strike, which shook the platinum belt, for six months. I found small and modest mineworkers' houses, which were barely furnished, in these communities. During this period, men and women complained about mine wages, stating they were not sufficient to meet their needs. In 2017, after the 2014 platinum wage agreements, when I went to do fieldwork

for the present study, I discovered that many things had changed. Mineworkers' houses had been extended and new houses had been built. Houses were fully furnished, nicely painted and had satellite DSTV panels, which were suggestive of an expensive television subscription. One of the interviewees believed the structure of her house could compete with that of professional teachers. Her voice reflected the satisfaction she perceived because of the benefits her husband enjoyed. This as well as the many other continuities and discontinuities highlighted in the different chapters capture this new form of migration, which is central to the continued reliance on migrant labour.

In conjunction with Harold Wolpe's cheap labour power thesis, which assisted in providing an important understanding of Mpondo men's reliance on migrant labour in the contexts of colonialism and apartheid, the concept of *ina-ethe migration* was employed in this study to explore this complexity of continued reliance on migrant labour in a democratic dispensation. This concept further interacts with other conceptual tools, particularly those provided and engaged by scholars such as Pierre Bourdieu, Michael Burawoy, Harold Wolpe, Karl Von Holdt, Robert Morrell, Raewyn Connell, Sarah Mosoetsa, Nomkhosi Xulu-Gama and Asanda Benya.

1.2. Problem statement

Much research has been conducted on South African migrant labour by scholars from various disciplines (e.g., Legassick 1975; Moodie 1992; Natrass 1995; Ramphele 1994; Wilson 1972; Wolpe 1972). While these different scholars have made notable contributions to the study of migrant labour in South Africa, not many, even the newer generation of scholars, have explored oscillating mining migrant labour to the mines with a view to understanding mineworkers, their household and the reasons they continue to take up migrant labour despite the abolishment of the coercive system of apartheid.

In 2012, South Africa encountered one of the longest strikes in her labour history when rock drill operators (RDOs) in Rustenburg's platinum belt demanded a monthly wage of R12 500 (Chinguno 2013a). Migrant labourers mainly from the Eastern Cape (EC) were at the centre of the strike (see Alexander *et al.* 2013). At the time of the wage demands, the RDOs were reported to be earning between approximately R3 000 and R5 000 per month. These wage demands meant that, if agreed upon, the RDOs would receive an approximate 200% increase (Chinguno 2013a:160). A settlement was ultimately reached between the Association of Mineworkers and Construction Union (AMCU) and the industry. Given the centrality of wage

levels in these events, the involvement of many migrant labourers from former homelands and a recent revival in the interest of Harold Wolpe's work (see Scully & Webster 2019 and Friedman 2015), I revisited Wolpe's cheap labour power thesis in order to consider its relevance in understanding why migrant labour as a system still persists in the post-apartheid era. Wolpe (1972:426) stated, "Apartheid 'modernises' the system of cheap migrant labour and perfects the instruments of labour coercion." Although this system is noted by Wolpe as an integral part of apartheid, migrant labour still prevails as a system that has reproduced itself beyond its designated regime. One may ask why this system has persisted even though many expected it to wane and what the implications of this are for how we understand systems of social reproduction. In an attempt to explore this continuation of an apartheid legacy, I employed Michael Burawoy's extended case method based on ethnographic research I conducted in the areas noted. In an attempt to unearth nuances around this subject of continuity, I attempted an understanding beyond migrant worker narratives only. Rather, I sought to understand reliance on migrant work in two areas: The home LSAs and the workplace LRAs. The importance of conducting this migrant labour study, its usefulness to literature and how it could theoretically advance migrant labour studies in South Africa are subsequently discussed.

1.3. Rationale of the study

Migrant labour is not new in South Africa (Wilson 1972:1) and neither is the oscillating migrant labour system in the mining industry. In the early days of mining and in an attempt to fill the ever-increasing demand and need for labour in South African mines, workers were recruited from different parts of the continent and country. The former homelands, mainly the former Transkei and Ciskei, now in the Eastern Cape, were major sources of labour (Bundy 1972; Crush 1986; Leys 1975; Wilson 1972). In order to meet this demand for workers, recruiting agents were sent to the former reserve areas. Although systems of recruitment agents who in their traditional sense were primarily concerned with recruitment matters have declined, continued labour migration remains a reality, except where there has currently been a decline in the number of foreign migrants in South African mines (Bundy 1972; Crush 1986). Workers, mainly from the Eastern Cape, continue to constitute a significant percentage of the workers in the South African mining industry; at present, 35% of the 240 000 workers recruited by Teba (The Employment Bureau of Africa) (Forrest 2015). Thus, although migrant labour may have declined during the last few decades, it continues to be a significant factor in the country's mining industry. In addition to Forrest's mainly qualitative attempts to describe the continuation of migrant labour on the mines, quantitative data trends as noted in Bezuidenhout

and Nomvete (2014) and Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015) also confirmed continued migration trends.

Furthermore, research has been conducted by scholars such as Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015) on Rustenburg's spatial order post-apartheid with reference to the platinum belt. Their findings confirmed the claims of continued migrant labour. By employing the 2011 census data, they revealed that in Nkaneng in Rustenburg, an informal settlement, IsiXhosa speaking people who were primarily migrant labourers from the Eastern Cape accounted for 42 % of the population in that community whereas the local Setswana speaking people accounted for a mere 15.5 %. Furthermore, Bezuidenhout and Nomvete's (2014) population pyramids, which they generated from the 2011 census data, confirmed these claims. The number of men between the ages of 16 and 35 years in Ingquza Hill municipality (IHLM) have continued to decrease while in Rustenburg, men outnumber women by 54 000, a rare phenomenon (See Fig 1).

While these studies have revealed the continued reliance on migrant labour and some structural conditions that underscore this, research to understand the phenomenon from the perspectives of migrants, their families and the communities from where they come is scarce. Accordingly, there is no sociological account of why migrant labour continues in South Africa outside a coercive system as it was under the colonialism and apartheid regimes. By employing an ethnographic approach, observations and in-depth interviews, this study attempted to address this gap in the literature. By using information from both Mpondoland and Rustenburg, the historic question of why people continue to leave their homes and work in the mines outside a forceful regime was primarily addressed. Wolpe (1972) previously focused on modes of production, which were regulated by previous regimes in such a way that forced men in the homelands to migrate. During the colonial phase, subsistence farming subsidised the low wages of migrant mineworkers by carrying the burden of social reproduction. According to Wolpe, when these subsistence economies became unviable, the coercive nature of the apartheid system tightened its control over migrant workers. Popular discourse has tended to concur with these structural notions and has, therefore, attributed continued migrant labour to inadequate farming methods and infertile lands in the former homelands among other structural arguments. This has resulted in the negation of the worker agency and what might have become the local culture amongst Mpondoland men over the years. By using *ina-ethe migration* as a conceptual and theoretical tool, a theoretical contribution was made in this study that helps us interpret migrant labour and its continuity in new and revised ways. *Ina-ethe migration* suggests a move away from structural systems of coercion that characterised the migrant labour of the previous

regimes. Instead, it denotes a move towards an agency based on migrant labour underscored by best practices and a migrant labour system that has better and stronger links to the LSAs. Furthermore, *ina-ethe migration* highlights the interplay between masculinities and femininities in the broader migrant labour system terrain. By supporting conceptual tools, this study also borrowed the use of other concepts of habitus and social reproduction, which both speak to worker agency, an important component of the migrant labour system otherwise overshadowed by the structural coercive instruments of the past. The curious question of the Mpondo men's continued reliance on migrant labour beyond an authoritarian regime is thus highlighted. I have shown with the support of others that there has been no scientific inquiry into this puzzle. Therefore, to address the gap, the research question that formed the basis of the study is as follows:

- **In light of the fact that the migrant labour system is still in place despite the authoritarian institutions that maintained it falling away, how can the continued reliance on migrant labour by people from Mpondoland to the platinum belt be explained?**

1.4. Outline of chapters

In this chapter, the study was introduced in its entirety. Drawing briefly from existing literature, the gaps and therefore, the problems in the study of mining migrant labour presently were identified. Accordingly, the significance and rationale behind the assumption of the study were also provided. Importantly, key arguments readers can expect in the course of the thesis were identified.

In Chapter 2, the theoretical and conceptual framework adopted in the study is outlined. This framework provided the tools and lenses with which to examine the phenomenon of continued migrant labour. A range of theories and conceptual tools were employed in order to unpack some of the complexities that were identified as phenomena that cannot or should not be interpreted from singular but plural lenses. In this chapter, the theoretical journey of the thesis is explained. It delves into gender theories of social reproduction in an attempt to make sense of continuities. To supplement this with cultural understandings, notions of field and habitus are also engaged. Of importance, the concept *ina-ethe migration*, which is central to understanding migrant labour presently, is introduced. This concept is employed at different levels of the thesis in order to explain different aspects of continued migration to the mines by Mpondo men.

Chapter 3 of the thesis comprises a literature survey. In this chapter, a brief but important history of migrant labour in South Africa across sectors and in particular, in agriculture and early mining is provided. The history of migrant labour in the South African gold mines, which were central to the rapid growth of migrant work in South Africa, is examined in-depth. The decline of Southern African labour in South African mines is also explained. Furthermore, a history of migrant labour into South Africa by men from Southern African countries such as Lesotho, Malawi and Mozambique as important contributors to the South African labour history is explored. The mining migrant labour in those countries as a bid to highlight South Africa within the context of other African countries is also briefly outlined. The question of migrant labour in Mpondoland and how Mpondo men came to be an integral part of the migrant labour system is also studied. Because the purpose of this study was to understand the life trajectory of the mineworker in order to understand the continued migrant labour dynamics, the literature on migrant households is also examined. A broader picture of law and institutions that maintained the migrant labour system is presented. The last section of this chapter focuses on the platinum city boom and contemporary migrant labour events and trends linked to the platinum belt.

The methodology employed in the present study is presented in Chapter 4. In other words, the who, what, how and where was the study conducted are outlined. A blueprint of how the study was conducted is provided. The extended case method was adopted in the study. By employing an ethnographic approach with the support of in-depth interviews, information about the LSAs of Mpondoland and the LRAs of Rustenburg was sourced. Furthermore, alternative ways of conducting research in rural areas using ethnography as well as challenges thereof are highlighted.

In Chapter 5, the first attempt to answer the main research question on continuity and continued reliance on migrant labour by the people of Mpondoland is presented. The attempt at answering the question is largely indirect because it deals primarily with the findings emanating from ethnographic work and interviews conducted in Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. The role of the mineworkers' wives is explored in this chapter. The notion that fitting social reproductive roles in the household and other socio-economic activities assert femininity within the household is argued. Furthermore, in this chapter, I have debated that the latter challenges male masculinities and as such invokes thoughts of migrant labour, which is habitus for many men in Mpondoland. The concept of *imibutho* to describe some of the social reproductive activities performed by women outside of the normative that normally include care work is introduced.

In Chapter 6, the primary research question from the angle of the institutions that maintained the migrant labour system in the regimes of colonialism, apartheid and post-apartheid (democratic dispensation) is examined. The centre of these institutions includes mining compounds, migrant recruitment institutions, the Chamber of Mines (COM (now Minerals Council South Africa (MCSA)) and legislation. How these institutions and others have transitioned over time is reviewed. By employing these institutions, I have argued that the state of these post-apartheid institutions mirrors an *ina-ethe migrant* labour system. Nevertheless, the view that these institutions are central to understanding how the migrant labour system has persisted over time is presented.

In Chapter 7, the question of why Mpondo people continue to rely on migrant labour to Rustenburg is explored. The answer to this question is based on the cheap labour thesis trajectory, which places emphasis on labour reserves in a quest to understand migrant labour in South Africa. Consequently, the current modes of production in Mpondoland (Flagstaff and Lusikisiki) are examined in an effort to explain the continued reliance on the system. Furthermore, what has and has not changed, namely, the continuities and discontinuities that have implications for continued reliance is investigated. Ethnography and in-depth interviews were employed. The concept of *ina-ethe migration* was used to interpret the findings. This chapter is unique in that the findings were based on the question, "Why did you migrate to Rustenburg?"

In Chapter 8, the unique situation of *izibaya* (cattle kraals) in Rustenburg wherein mineworkers engage in cattle farming activities is presented. The shifts in how things were conducted in the past and are currently are highlighted. In other words, the phenomenon of Mpondoland, which was consistent with farming for subsistence and is now a phenomenon of the LRAs too is explored. One may ask what this means. Although this is answered at length in the chapter, in essence this phenomenon is a symbolic move among others that mirrors *ina-ethe migration* at play.

The thesis is concluded in Chapter 9. An overall synthesis of all the contributions, debates and conversions that were revealed in form of ideas and literature is provided. The limitations of the present study and recommendations for further research as well as implications for the future of migrant labour studies in South Africa are identified.

In the next chapter, by means of a conceptual and theoretical framework, tools to assist readers to comprehend the study are introduced.

Chapter 2: From cheap labour to *ina-ethe* migration: conceptualising continued migrant labour post-apartheid

2.1. Setting the theoretical journey

The central sociological problem raised by this study is how social practices, in this case the oscillating migrant labour system, continue to exist when the institutions that seemingly created and maintained such practices no longer exist (see Chapter 1). One may ask whether this is a matter of delayed habituation or whether there are new structural reasons men still leave their homes in the rural Eastern Cape to work on the mines of Johannesburg and Rustenburg. Mine labour migrancy does not exists in a vacuum. An early attempt at theorising migrant labour system can be traced to the work of Wolpe (1972). Wolpe used the concept the cheap labour power in an attempt to account for the exploitative work conditions of migrant mineworkers during the colonial and apartheid eras. Although the cheap labour power thesis became popular post publication in 1972, it was also met with a lot of critique and [5]criticism that rendered it unpopular and perhaps irrelevant to some. Kantor and Kenny (1976) dismissed it as being based on primitive Marxist economics. Further, they argued that there was nothing cheap about migrant labour as the administrative costs of the system were too high and therefore did not benefit capital. Hudson (1986) focused his critique on the pass laws and how they were used in the cheap labour power thesis argument. He held that Wolpe did not understand the fundamental purpose of influx control. Therefore, he rejected the notion that influx control had a negative impact on economic growth as elucidated in the cheap labour power thesis. He argued that in the 1960s and 1970s, economic growth was at its peak. However, in the 1980s, when pass laws were relaxed the economy was at its worst (see also Burawoy 2004; Friedman 2015; Hudson 1986 Posel 1991and 1983 on their critique on Wolpe). The late 1960s abandonment of the fixed gold price as well as the shortage of labour as a result of the withdrawal of Malawian labour force after 1974 (see chapter 3) led to significant hikes in wages (Crush, Yudelman and Jeeves 1991 and Moodie and Ndatshe 1994). This also significantly challenged the very basis of the cheap labour power thesis. As such, the cheap labour power thesis for many years can be argued to have experienced null and perhaps rarity of use as a conceptual and theoretical tool.

[5] See Friedman (2015: 135-175), he wrote an excellent chapter titled "Critique of pure reason: the cheap labour thesis's critics in his book titled "Race, Class and Power: Harold Wolpe and the Radical Critique of Apartheid. His biggest critics in that chapter are represented as done in-text.

It was the more 'recent' mention of cheap labour thesis by AMCU and others however, that invited my consideration of Wolpe's thesis. In a 2014 memorandum to the Impala Platinum CEO, AMCU referred to the continuation of the stance of cheap labour power in South African mines. In this memorandum in which AMCU called for the scrapping of all systems that perpetuate cheap labour, they stated "since the inception of mining in the second half of the 19th century, mining has been characterised by labour intensive processes underpinned by cheap labour from labour reserves that were used as cannon fodder to supply African men to work in these mines" (AMCU 2014:2). This mention of cheap labour highlighted the relevance of Wolpe (1972) in contemporary political discourse. Of course, some may argue that the mention of cheap labour was mere political rhetoric aimed at gaining popularity. Nevertheless, supported by these assertions of an active and rapidly growing union in the mines, I attempted to gain insights into continued migrant labour through the cheap labour power thesis lenses.

In a book commissioned by the Lilies Leaf Trust on works and contributions of Wolpe, Friedman (2015) also revisited the cheap labour power thesis. In some ways this solidified my interest of revisiting the cheap labour power thesis. In academic corridors at South African Universities, including the University of Pretoria's sociology department, debates had begun around the usefulness of the 1972 text. Burawoy (2004) whilst giving Wolpe's memorial lecture, had already invoked the relevance of the cheap labour power thesis. In the lecture on the informalisation of work, he suggested that subcontracting and casualization had weakened labour and therefore, they had become the new forms of achieving cheap labour power. More recently, Scully and Webster (2019) used the cheap labour thesis to analyse contemporary relations between rural areas and the capitalist sector and justify its relevance in understanding those who remain as low wage earners. They argued that the majority of those who work in the capitalist sector as low wage earners come from rural areas and ultimately return to rural areas.

Considering this theoretical resurgence, it therefore made sense to consider the cheap labour thesis as a theory of departure in this study. The cheap labour thesis looked at significant regimes in South African history, colonialism and apartheid, which promulgated certain coercive laws that intensified and perpetuated the migrant labour system. Moreover, it examined modes of production in the two regimes, which were important for government in determining a low wage. In particular, this was how people in the reserves earned their means of subsistence and determined whether they were able to produce a surplus, which was viewed as a way to justify a cheap wage labour regime for black African workers. This justification was based on the notion that if the natives produced enough for subsistence, there would be no

need to pay them a decent wage and a cheap labour supply would be ensured. Therefore, the surplus in production would supplement the cheap wage economy. Crush (1992) corroborates this, especially for areas like Mpondoland where there were areas that remained with usable land.

In light of the above, it was logical to pay attention to this theoretical resurgence given the event of Marikana that was wage based. Moreover, at this point the cheap labour thesis had assisted me into understanding, at least to some level the persistence of the cheap migrant labour system over two epochs. All of this was not without identifying where it fell short. As already alluded to above, the cheap labour thesis was simply overtaken by events both the economic and political level. Crush (1992) also identified structural reforms by the Chamber of Mines which sought to ensure a prolific and 'inflexible' labour supply. Among these enforcements was the introduction of contracts of no lesser than 52 weeks, with a provision of 4 to 6 weeks leave at the end of each year. Crush (1992) also stated that outside structural forces was growing rural poverty and unemployement which necessecited migrant work.

Ethnographic work, interviews and observation during fieldwork showed that the cheap labour power thesis was not enough in advancing the understanding of the reproduction of social systems. Findings revealed an all-important gender question, a subject often implicit in migrant labour studies. As such, the progression of this theoretical chapter largely shifted to gender theories of social reproduction. The subject of gender is an important and prominent feature in elucidating the question of continued migrant labour of Mpondo men. Reminiscent of Moodie and Ndatshe's (1994) work in Mpondoland, research found an important interplay of masculinities and femininities. These findings made it necessary to consider gender concepts and theory if the subject of continuity is to be explored fully. In this chapter, an attempt is made to develop a conceptual and theoretical framework within which we can begin to understand continued mining migrant labour in a democratic dispensation. In this chapter various conceptual and theoretical frameworks interact. The thesis examines a few sociological frameworks in order to enrich our understanding of the phenomenon under study. Concepts as written by some scholars are engaged as extended from. This is because, while concepts of masculinities and femininities are for example, captured well by a scholar such as Connell, her explanations do not go far enough in helping us to sociologically ground the experiences of the rural households in the Eastern Cape and also give us understanding mineworkers' lived experiences as migrants in the same depth as the works of Benya (2016) and Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) on the same subject. Notions of field and habitus are also engaged. The notion

of the field assists us in being able to understand LSAs as spaces within which mineworkers as agents are reproduced biologically and socially and LRAs as spaces of production. The concept of social reproduction serves as a linking thread. It assists us to interpret continuity from a social and biological point of view as is shown in this chapter. These seemingly divergent theoretical tools assist us in pulling together the response to the complex question of a continuation of a social system.

As one would have noted above, this chapter draws a lot from Bourdieusian concepts in social reproduction, field and habitus. Von Holdt, (2013), a South African sociologist, critiqued the usefulness of Bourdieu in analysing the South African social strata. He acknowledged Bourdieu's theoretical contributions as valuable and unique in explaining and interpreting social order. He commended Bourdieu's unique approach in using cultural meanings such as language and symbols to explain social stratification over time. In developing his theories of understanding social order and social stratification, Bourdieu (1962) observed societies in France and those in the former French colony of Algeria. These two countries both have distinctly different histories in relation to South Africa. Therefore, Von Holdt argued that because of the context, our social realities are opposites and therefore, he questioned the usability of Bourdieusian concepts in the context of South Africa. One of his most popular concepts is one of symbolic violence, which he explained as "gentle violence, imperceptible and invisible to its victims" (Bourdieu 2001:2). Because this form of violence is not aggressive, Von Holdt debated that in the context of South Africa this concept may not necessarily be relatable as violence in South Africa has been historical and presently "rough, physical, all too visible in battered, punctured and dying bodies, whether its police violence against strikers, subaltern, violence against foreigners or domestic violence against women" (Von Holdt, 2013:25). Although Von Holdt expressed reservations of using Bourdieu in the South African context, in this study, I have argued that of social reproduction, habitus and the field are useful in an attempt to explaining reproductions of social systems, in this case of migrant labour system.

The concepts of (hegemonic) masculinities and (emphasised) femininities largely informed by the studies of Benya (2016), Moodie and Ndatshe (1994), Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) and Connell (1985, 1987) among others are discussed. Engaging with gender theory in this study moves one beyond only government-instituted frameworks that were established through law and institutions revealed in the cheap labour power thesis. Rather, it draws one closer to the family institution that has its own implicit structures, which manifest a particular

gender order in the migrant labour system question. The idea of the gender order underlying the migrant labour system has always been implicit in understandings of how it came into being and was transformed under colonialism and apartheid. The cheap labour power thesis points to the fact that production and reproduction are separated spatially. While mining is conducted in Johannesburg and the Free State, subsistence agriculture in LSAs subsidises the social reproduction of migrants and their families. The single-sex compound was designed for mines so as to maximise productivity and minimise the cost of housing single men. Family life happened back home. However, very few scholars understood the system explicitly as a gendered order, which produced and transformed masculinities and femininities. Moodie and Ndatshe's (1994) work is possibly an exception to this rule in that he attempted to understand how migrant labour impacted on how men and women saw and performed their masculinities and femininities. He noted the performance by men of femininities as "mine wives" in the compound while back home women who managed households took on *ubudoda* or manhood in the absence of men. It is no accident that Moodie's work influenced Connell (1987). Elder (2003) conducted a similar study on hostels in South Africa. He argued that understanding masculinities and femininities was central to understanding the violence that engulfed South African hostels in the 1990s. More recently, Benya (2016) has made a significant contribution to our understanding of how femininities are performed by women who work in mines. This is also discussed in this chapter.

As a conceptual and theoretical contribution, in the final section of this chapter, *ina-ethe migration* is introduced. *Ina-ethe migration* is a conceptual tool that assists one in in navigating some of the complexities of mining migrant labour continuity of men from Mpondoland currently. *Ina-ethe migration* captures modern day migration of Mpondo men and enhances the understanding of continuity that has not been captured by other conceptual tools. *Ina-ethe migration* demonstrates important continuities and discontinuities within the migrant labour system. It also allows one to interpret masculinities and femininities and how they play out in migrant households in Mpondoland where the migrant labour system is negotiated. The concept reveals the household not only as a site of social reproduction but also as a site of production. This is best understood through the concept of *imibutho*, which is a social and economic activity that is conducted in Mpondo households for livelihood purposes. The notion of *izibaya*, which entails cattle farming in Rustenburg and the LSAs, is also introduced. *Izibaya* reveals an important urban and rural link as well as an important assertion of masculinity by maintaining

an important traditional feature of masculinity construction in cattle ownership (see Moodie and Ndatshe 1994).

2.2. Femininities, masculinities and the social reproduction of the migrant labour system

Most of the research on masculinities and mine work in South Africa has been conducted from the perspective of production. These include Breckenridge's (1998) study on white men masculinities and how those were imposed on black men masculinities in South African gold mines. Moodie (1994) studied workers and how their masculinities were shaped from the perspectives of production and the LSAs. Moodie's study in Mpondoland and the gold mines as well as Connell's (1995) study on masculinities have influenced the present study. The approach of understanding mineworkers in the post-apartheid and democratic era is attempted. More specifically, a discussion on changing and challenged masculinities as well as transforming femininities in the migrant workers' domain within the post-apartheid and democratic era is attempted.

Masculinities

A superficial reading may result in the belief that there is one form of masculinity. On the contrary, there are multiple forms of masculinities, which are defined as "reconfigurations of practice that are constructed unfold and change through time…" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005:852). Morrell (1998) referred to two types of masculinities: Subordinate and subversive masculinities, which he stated exist only among dominated groups who may be resistant to dominant masculinities. Although this definition may be employed to define Mpondo men masculinities, I am of the view that neither defines Mpondo men as I have captured them in this study nor as they have been captured in Moodie and Ndatshe (1994). Connell (1995) asserted that not all masculinities enjoy the same level of influence. As per their linguistic constructs, some are more powerful as social forces and others less so. As social forces, masculinities are fluid, dynamic and not insulated from change that may come in the form of culture, race, class and gender (Morrell 1998). Connell, on the contrary, proposed four categories of masculinities: Oppositional, dominant, submissive and complicit.

In trying to locate the Mpondo mineworkers within the broader label of masculinities, I have drawn from the logic of Morrell (1998) who suggested a deductive approach be employed to introduce the concept of hegemonic masculinity to make sense of others. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005:832) explained the concept as "understood as the pattern of practice (this

done, not just a set of role expectation) that allowed men's dominance over women." They further asserted this type of masculinity to be distinguished categorically from the rest and as one enacted by a few men. They argued that ideologically it sets itself apart from subordinate masculinities and resonates with a global perception, which ensures the subordination of women. Furthermore, they stated that those that benefit from the system of patriarchy are best characterised by this form of masculinity while those who do not portray masculine domination are perceived as exhibiting complicit masculinities. Connell and Messerschmidt asserted that hegemonic masculinity refers to a form of ascendency through culture, institutions and persuasion. To summarise these assertions, Cheng (1999:420) suggested that "the social construction and reproduction of the ideal type of masculinity" is found in all descriptions of hegemonic masculinities. The central question at hand amidst all these discussed forms of masculinities is whether they can be applied to the context of Mpondo men. This rhetorical question is asked with the notion that first, men are not a homogenous group and therefore, cannot be classified in simple categories. Second, it is based on the understanding that men may enact one or more forms of masculinities depending on their current situation. What therefore for Mpondo men? Can we argue that certain qualities within hegemonic masculinities define these men? Possibly, one can put forward this argument if one borrows ascendency through culture, institutions such as the family and subordination of women in terms of who is considered the head of the household.

In an attempt to work with the concept of masculinity from the context of the global south and thus, move away from conceptualisation that he associated with the global north, Mfecane (2016) theorised Xhosa masculinity. He suggested that unlike the above categories of masculinity, the practice of rite of passage (*ulwaluko)* is at the centre of masculinity. Xhosa males practise this rite of passage from boyhood to manhood (Mfecane 2016). With the exception of Mpondoland, it was largely performed in areas of the Eastern Cape. However, the custom has now been largely adopted in Mpondoland. This rite of passage involves isolation from the general society and location in a secluded area where one is circumcised and given manhood teachings by an assigned man or groups of visiting men (Mfecane 2016; Ngwane 2003; Ntombana 2011). Once returned and reintegrated in the general community, one is given the status of *indoda* (a man) and is expected to enact *ubudoda* (manhood). This encompasses doing things associated with *ubudoda* such as building a homestead (*ukwakha umzi*) (see Moodie and Ndatshe 1994), marrying and participating in community discussions as an earned status (Ntombana 2003).

In contrast, Ratele (2013:145) stated that the concept of masculinity is often viewed as a form of social construct and not a biological determined phenomenon. Therefore, he argued that the concept is not merely assigned to men's bodies by virtue of physical appearance, genetics and possession of male genitals. However, Mfecane (2016) argued that for Xhosa men, the status of manhood and masculinity is closely tied to the physical body. Vincent (2008) further stated that not only does a person hold a symbolic meaning of manhood, but it is the very symbol with which one can legitimise his status to other men if his masculinity and/or manhood are in question. Having personally gone through this process, I wish to concur but also add that this sense of masculinity is also earned through the process of endurance, of physical and emotional pain that comes with separation, rejection of western anaesthetics and medicine, and irregular diet among other things. But how does this assist us in answering the question of continuity of Mpondo men's reliance on migrant labour to the mines? Although Mpondo people see themselves largely as a separate nation from the Xhosa, which may true, in the country, they are mostly viewed as homogenous even though there are small differences in language and practices. Certain practices such as *ulwaluko* have become an important feature for Mpondo men, something commonly associated with the Xhosa and Basotho in the past (see Moodie and Ndatshe 1994). Among most men that I interacted with in Rustenburg, many stated they had gone through the rite of passage before ultimately taking up migrant work. Furthermore, this was also evident in how we interacted as graduates of initiation school. These interactions varied from how we sat while drinking beer, sending another to buy beer, who spoke first and how we reacted when an elder arrived. This suggests, therefore, that *ulwaluko* has become a central feature of these men's masculinities. Moreover, some who had not completed their rite of passage went home after earning wages and performed the ceremony. Although this may not enlighten one about the question of continuity, it affords an understanding of the shifts in how masculinity is constructed among other things.

Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) conducted a study among Mpondo men who took up migrant work in the mines at a time the custom of rite of passage was still a taboo in Mpondoland. However, Mfecane (2016) referred to Moodie and Ndatshe in relation to the notion of *ubudoda.*

Moodie and Ndatshe (1994:37-38) also referred to this sense of adapting to changing masculinities. After conducting research in 1988 with mineworkers in Lusikisiki, they were curious to find out if strength in combat, which they were notorious for in the mines, was an important construction of their own masculinities. On the contrary, they revealed that Mpondo men associated *ubudoda* (manhood) and/or a sense of masculinity with the ability to extend the

self and help others. They associated it with taking care of *umzi* (the household) and therefore, the ability to take necessary decisions in the household as well as the ability to settle disputes. Mineworkers further constructed their masculinity in relation to the workplace; they were focused, staying true to their course, physical strength and maintaining good relations with fellow mineworkers as well as solidarity (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994:38).

As revealed in subsequent chapters, this study reaffirms the centrality of construction of masculinities to continued migrant labour. Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) wrote eloquently on ownership of cattle and building of homesteads as a central feature in the construction of *ubudoda*. These, among other things, are central in the discourse of why men from Mpondoland have continued to migrate to date.

A discussion on Mpondo women femininities, however, takes forward the discussion of social reproduction of a system. In so doing, it displays an interplay of masculinities and femininities and how that subsequently leads to migrant labour continuity. This is discussed subsequently.

Femininities

In gender discourse, there appears to be a general consensus that the concept of femininities is under-theorised (see Benya 2016 and Schippers 2007) even though the subject has been studied extensively throughout the world in an attempt to interpret different issues confronting women in various spaces and institutions. Benya used the concept of femininity to explain the reconfiguration of femininities of women mineworkers in platinum mines underground. In his early work, Moodie used the notion of *ubufazi* (femininity) to describe the role of migrant workers' wives in migrant households in Mpondoland (see also Moodie and Ndatshe 1994). Cheng (1999) used the concept in an attempt to make sense of organisational power and gender performances within a spiritual organisation. Pyke and Johnson (2003) employed femininity as a central concept to make sense of racial interplay among white and Asian women. Some scholars like Schippers merely explored the expandability of the concept in order to make it broadly useful in interpreting phenomena linked to the dynamics of women and womanhood. Yet, there has been no consensus on a conceptual definition of femininities. Consequently, Benya (2016: 84) described femininities in what she labelled as being in the most basic form "as a relational gender category associated with and mainly practiced by females who identify as women." She suggested that the concept of femininity is often associated with weakness, softness and social reproductive functions such as emotional labour and care work.

As in the case of masculinities, it has been suggested that there is not only one form of femininities. Benya (2016) further stated some have attached the notion of hegemony and therefore, the concept of hegemonic femininities to the concept of femininities. However, this notion of hegemonic femininities was subsequently refuted by Connell (1994) who coined the concept of hegemonic masculinities. She lamented that hegemonic femininities do not exist as the premise of hegemonic masculinities itself lies in the subordination and domination of the other. Subsequently, she argued that no femininity subordinates the other. However, as noted previously, some have contended that there are alternative ways of looking at hegemonies and masculinities. Pyke and Johnson (2003) used the concept to explain femininities portrayed by white women towards their Asian counterparts, which ultimately subordinate other racialised femininities. They asserted that hegemonic femininities are those held in high status in dominant cultures and thus, "emphasize superiority of certain women over others" and ultimately, privileging those over the other group (see also Benya 2016:85).

With the mixed reception and largely challenged notion of hegemonic masculinities, Benya (2016) was opposed to other scholars seeking alternative concepts. She referred to Glenn and Mc Dowell (1999) who introduced the concepts of dominant or emphasised masculinities. In contrast, they suggested emphasised femininities unlike hegemonic masculinity do not subordinate other gender categories. Alternatively, emphasised femininities are understood as being compliant with the most dominant femininity, which accommodates hegemonically male interests and subsequently, undermines the cultural articulation of other femininities (Connell 1987). Connell further asserted that emphasised femininity is concerned with maintaining the status quo of gender relations.

Therefore, according to Benya (2016), femininities are relational, dynamic and fluid. She stated that the concept of femininities allowed her to negotiate and navigate complexities of women mineworkers underground. She further argued that with the understanding and application that has been noted, femininities can be understood to be performative and are products of institutions' expectations, culture and power relations. Moreover, she stressed that when there is situational change, culturally or otherwise, performances also change. Therefore, this implies that femininities are configured and reconfigured. One may ask about women in the migrant households of Mpondoland. Do these different femininities apply?

To explore the concept of femininities further, it is imperative to examine the much-debated concept of hegemonic femininities. Hegemony on its own refers to dominance. Connell and

Misserschmidt (2005) noted in their criticism that hegemonic masculinities suggest subordination and domination of other categories of masculinities. Inversely, hegemonic femininities, therefore, suggest dominance and subordination over other femininities. Connell refuted this notion. In the context of Mpondo women, the findings of this study revealed their femininities are founded on the nobleness of how they manage the household at different levels of social reproductive labour as well as the ability to provide and make decisions. Therefore, their femininity at this level did not interact with the other. Rather, it was founded primarily on their socialisation as young girls, women and wives. Because they exist within societies and therefore, interact in community activities such as community unions linked to livelihood strategies, in this way their femininity interacts with those of others. However, the women that participated in this study had similar dispositions due to the nature of the research design. The findings revealed a similar group of women with similar life experiences as migrant workers' wives and women socialised in villages with similar rural lifestyles. However, it cannot be claimed that these women were a homogenous group. However, these women may have shown characteristics of other femininities in different aspects of their femininity. However, hegemonic femininities, which are founded on the notion of dominance, did not describe this group. Rather, the Mpondo women in this study practised collaborations through formations of *imibutho* and therefore, demonstrated no intent of dominating one another.

Connell and Misserschmidt (2005) asserted that emphasised femininities were compliant with hegemonic masculinities and accepted the status quo. This mirrored the women represented in this study. As revealed in Chapter 5, women in Mpondoland appreciate traditional gender roles. In particular, they accept the gendered division of labour in household matters. However, this study revealed that they have transformed their femininities in that they also play important roles often associated with men. They are able to be providers, make decisions in the absence of their husbands, engage in economic activities, collaborate with their husbands on family matters and manage finances. In some ways, this is in contrast to the absolute acceptance of the hegemonic masculinity status quo, which suggests absolute domination. Rather, the women in this study demonstrated a sense of agency in challenging some of what is normative in traditional gender roles. Modern day mineworkers attest to much collaboration with their wives, which suggests that they are better at making decisions that affect the household because of their omnipresence in migrant households in Mpondoland. Accordingly, the power dynamics are shifted towards women who, in return, act freely and consequently, transform their femininities. Women take over the management of finances to such an extent that men

find another way to store their wealth away from the control of their wives in the form of cattle that are kept in Rustenburg.

Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) described women who enact masculinities as displaying qualities of *ubudoda.* However, the group of women in this study identified only as women in relation to gender categories. Moreover, the sense of womanhood they project in their communities and households with which they identify are associated with an esteemed sense of *ubufazi.* To suggest that women have *ubudoda,* takes away from *ubufazi* as a category that can possess strength, provision and decision-making. To suggest that women possess *ubudoda* glorifies male abilities that complement women. Therefore, when one argues that women enact *ubudoda,* the assumption that women's strength and abilities can only be viewed in relation to that of men is reinforced. Therefore, I am of the view that *ubufazi* is transformed beyond the ability only to deal with matters the household. Rather, it suggests expansive social reproductive labour with tangible economic outcomes that are necessary for sustaining the household. I am of the opinion that femininities and masculinities interact collaboratively in Mpondo migrant households in order to realise the common goal of building and sustaining a household. I am not suggesting that men and women in Mpondo households have equal power. Rather, women's positions in the household have improved, femininities have transformed and the benevolent role of women in migrant households can be viewed in the eyes of esteemed *ubufazi*, a category of femininity in which the women classify themselves. The notion of *ubudoda* by Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) had already began to show us the give and take relationship between men and women. However, it does not go far enough in explaining contemporary relations between man and women in the context of *imibutho* and social grants that have fundemantally altered household dynamics.

The interactions between *ubudoda* and *ubufazi* are succinctly captured in the concept of *ina-ethe migration,* which I have employed in this study to capture the reciprocity and interplay at the level of the workplace and in migrant households in Mpondoland. In the next section, how *ina-ethe migration* can assist one to navigate an understanding of the continued post-apartheid mining migrant labour system is explored.

2.3. The field, habitus and continued migrant labour

Bourdieu (1984) defined a field as forces within which agents occupy positions that statistically determine the positions they will take with respect to the field. Occupying these positions is aimed at either conserving or transforming the structure of relations of process that is

constitutive of the field. Bourdieu's simplified definition of the field is apt in explaining the question of continued migrant labour in Mpondoland. As revealed in subsequent chapters (see Chapters 7 and 8), men in Mpondoland take the responsibility of being able to provide for their families very seriously. This strong will in being able to provide is largely tied to the construction of their masculinities as it often determines one's position in the household. Similarly, for women, the ability to execute social reproductive responsibilities and take on leadership of family in the absence of the traditional household head as well as the overall management of household affairs is closely tied to the construction of femininities (see Moodie and Ndatshe 1994). Therefore, when linking this perspective to the concept of the field, men and women are agents and Mpondoland and Rustenburg are the field. Accordingly, men in Mpondoland assume work in the LRAs in an attempt to preserve that which is expected of them-habitus. In the same vein, women that are left behind in Mpondoland take charge of the broader homestead and provide leadership on various fronts, reproductive and otherwise. All of this constitutes their habitus. It is noteworthy that every field has its rules and, in this case, the rules of the game that play out in Mpondoland also play out in Rustenburg as Mpondo men reproduce a bit of themselves in the LRAs. This phenomenon is best captured by Nkomo (2018) who gives an excellent account of the social make up of migrant worker's lives in Rustenburg (see also Moodie and Ndatshe 1994 on migrant cultures).

Bourdieu (1984:170) wrote about the concept of habitus, which he defined as "a structuring structure, which organises practices and the perception of practices." Thus, habitus refers to cognitive structures that resonate with an individual because of internal and external influences. These may include how family and society influence an individual towards particular norms, thoughts, tastes and belief systems. Placed within context of the current study, men and women in Mpondoland are born within invisible structures that somewhat influence individual choices, behaviour and to some level life chances. Due to the history of Mpondoland as a labour sending area, structures are set in a manner that suggests that it is a responsibility of a man to go out and seek work in the mines as many men in the same region have done for over a century. Similarly, for women, structures are such that women assume leading responsibility of all household matters often in great consultation with the migrant husband. Inadvertently, this structuring structure allocates roles (in this case gender roles) within each field and determines rules of engagement for the women in the LSA and the men in the LRA.

The concept of habitus is discussed in order to invoke the question of migrant worker agency. The notion of habitus, although defined as a structuring structure, acknowledges that the

structure itself organises the way in which things are understood. Therefore, from that understanding individual decisions and choices are made. Although structural arguments about migrant labour may suffice to an extent, they do not account for an individual's choice of being part of the system. Structural arguments as put forth in the cheap labour power thesis negate cultural submissions that the migrant labour system is a generational practice for men in the former labour reserves and thus, the possibility of it having being internalised and therefore, perceived as a normative practice for men of working age groups in those areas exists. Mzoxolo Magidiwana, one of the victims of the Marikana massacre who survived but was crippled by gunshot wounds alluded to this agency. However, in his agency, he also alluded to material conditions that precipitate the decision to migrate. In the documentary *Miners Shot Down* (2014), Magidiwana speaking in IsiXhosa stated:

> *…. a black person works under extremely painful circumstances, in this place a black person is a slave forever. You find that your father was a Mtshin Boy (RDO) and left the mine as a Mtshin Boy. You at home realise that hunger and poverty looms in your family, you then too decide to come and work as a [6]Mtshin Boy and be supervised by the son of the white man that supervised your father...*

Drawing from the emotional assertions of the mineworker, one cannot overlook the possibility of people wanting to emulate what has been seen for generations as a noble act from men. Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) alluded to the fact that Mpondo men's act of joining the migrant labour system became an inherent part of their community. Migrant labour was viewed as an act of nobility and therefore, living up to one's manhood. This notion of habitus and migrant labour is discussed in Chapter 6.

With a migrant labour system that has survived segregation, apartheid and democracy, it is clear that a case of social reproduction may be evident. Using Bourdieu (1977) interpretation of the concept of social reproduction, the complex nature of the continued migrant labour system is explored in the next section.

2.4. Social reproduction and continued mining migrant labour

In discussing the concepts masculinity and femininity, this chapter has attempted to make sense of how a social system has reproduced itself. Similarly, engagement with these concepts has

[6] Mtshin Boy stems from the word 'Machine Boy' used to refer to black Rock Drill Operator during the apartheid and colonial periods. Although it is a job category mineworkers often pride themselves in, being called Machine Boy was meant to cause malice and degrade. This is especially because black mineworkers were much older than some of their bosses and often with families to be referred to as boys. It must be noted that mineworkers also referred to young white bosses as 'Bass Boy', a name that has become synonymous with strong cows in Mpondoland.

also shown as it will in the rest of the thesis how masculinities and femininities have been reproduced, transformed and reconfigured. In the same light, habitus is based on socially reproduced cognitive structures which influence how one ought to behave. Therefore, I have employed social reproduction to weave together the interplay between migrant labour system, gender relations and cultural practices as displayed by the Mpondo men and their wives under investigation in this thesis. As discussed in the preceding sections, social reproduction allows for a deeper interrogation of migrancy as a pre-democratic phenomenon and why it has become the habitus Mpondo men in this study. The quote by Mzoxolo gives credence to this argument and thus suggests that migrancy as the only thing Mpondo men have become accustomed to – habitus. The system and how it is reproduced find articulation in the oscillation between Eastern Cape and Rustenburg (field). This, therefore, speaks to the lack of economic opportunities in the Eastern Cape (push factor) post-apartheid. This lack of opportunities drives young men who are subject of this study into the mining areas (pull factors). While this is arguably an economistic approach, Bourdieu provides the necessary sociological grounding to interpret how those affected make sense of these experiences. It is here that the nexus between the more cultural meaning expressed through the notion of *ubododa*, understood as a rite of passage and the related gendered meanings of these experiences help reproduce the system, notwithstanding the underlying economic persuasions. Here, femininities, masculinities and economic logics meet to reproduce and sustain the migrant labour system as a way of life for Mpondo men of the Eastern Cape. These are the continuities and the discontinuities to which I refer. However, it is important to point out that, migrancy under the current epoch, takes place under what I refer to as *'Ina-ethe migration'* (I discuss Ina-ethe in the sections to follow). As fields, the Eastern Cape and Rustenburg intertwine to reproduce a habitus – traceable to the colonialism era, that finds expression in migrant labour system post-apartheid. This is not to suggest that migrant Mpondo workers are a docile group of man, but simply that their choices are articulated within a system that has, arguably, been institutionalised over time (*see Ina-ethe* below).

Social reproduction is employed differently. In the feminist sense, this concept refers to "activities and attitudes, behaviours and emotions, responsibilities and relationships directly involved in the maintenance of life on a daily basis, and inter-generationally" (Laslett and Brenner 1989:382). According to Laslett and Brenner (1989), the concept social reproduction encompasses other phenomena that relate to the social reproduction of food, clothing, social organisation of sexualities and the general socialisation of children. Brown *et al.* (2013:89)

described social reproduction as incorporating care work. By extension of the meaning, they assumed a Marxist approach and stated that in a capitalist sense, social reproduction may also mean social reproduction of labour power in abstract terms. This may include the biological reproduction of a new generation of workers. Rai, Hoskyns and Thomas (2013) explained that social reproduction encompasses both the biological reproduction of the labour force and unpaid production in the home of both goods and services as well as the reproduction of culture and ideology. To corroborate these assertions, Mosoetsa (2011) demonstrated how households were important spaces for social reproduction. In her work, she showed how homes, away from the workplace, could serve as fragile sites of stability for retrenched men and women of the Mpumalanga and Nhlalakahle townships in KZN. She stated that homes provided dignity in the face of indignity that is joblessness. Homes became a hideout place where people recouped in preparation for the next job opportunity so as to support their families. Moreover, the household space allowed the retrenched either to engage in the less paying home-based work or trading fruits and vegetables in the informal economy (Mosoetsa 2011). The latter concurs with Weeks (2007) who stated in Marxist and feminist terms that domestic production and social (re)production are part of capitalist production, albeit, without profits. These feminist positions around the social reproduction of the migrant labour are in accordance with an argument raised in this study. The social reproduction lenses of Laslett and Brenner (1989) locates us within the migrant household in Mpondoland. Through their conceptualisation, one is able understand how women in Mpondoland reciprocate the labour power of men. The teaching of activities, attitudes, behaviours, responsibilities and relationships is something that happens at the behest of women in LSAs in the absence of migrants as social reproductive exercise. These are but a fraction of what women do in the LSAs but are significant in showing *ina-ethe* relations between man and women. This is the partnership between men and women to which Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) refer. Social reproduction happens at home at the hands of women for the benefit of the husband and production happens in the workplace for the benefit of the woman and the broader family. Even in the biological sense, labour power is reproduced in the labour sending areas. In this instance, the notion of habitus is at play as the majority of young men tend to grow up and emulate what they deem to be a way of life in their communities. As will be shown in the discussion chapters, some mineworkers continue to rely on migrant labour based on the legacy of those that came before them. Households in Mpondoland are important sites of social reproduction and remain beneficial to capital as the role of household management by women enables men to continue selling their labour to the mines.

Men that take up migrant work adopt what Moodie and Ndatshe referred to as migrant cultures, which include a particular way of life in the mines and how that is also linked to rural life through forms of remitting and organisations. Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) spoke of migrant men entrusting each other with sending of monies and letters home each time a migrant went home. This phenomenon continued to play itself out in Rustenburg. During the ethnographic exercise I observed that travelling migrants would be asked by their counterparts to go and observe for example an ongoing construction of a house and give robust feedback. Although to a lesser extent, men also still entrust their colleagues with taking money home on their behalf. This for them would mean avoiding long queues at the banks on their off days. similarly, it would save their next of kin a trip to town where they would collect money mostly from Ubank or any other financial institution. Taking turns in buying and sharing of alcohol also continued to form part of migrant cultures. Keeping of cattle by migrants, on the other hand, can be considered as a modern migrant culture as it is becoming common practice among a growing number of men in the platinum belt (see also Nkomo 2018). All these migrant cultures highlight important relations of reciprocity among migrant workers best captured through *ina-ethe* migration discussed next. In the same vein the continued existence of these migrant cultures also shows how social practices have also been reproduced.

2.5. *Ina-ethe migration*

In this section, I refer to two basic types of migration that I believe are important to understand the concept in question. These are internal and international migration. Internal migration refers to cross-provincial movements where people leave their places of birth to seek social and economic opportunities elsewhere (see Manik 2007). International migration refers to cross-border movements by people in search of social and economic opportunities in other countries outside of their own (see Manik 2007). *Ina-ethe migration* does not refer to the latter. It can be contended that it is a subset of the former since it refers to movements by people from the Eastern Cape Province to the North West Province in the same country. However, the movement between these provinces alone does not explain why this migration is *ina-ethe migration*.

Ina-ethe is an IsiXhosa word that when directly translated means give-and-take, an exchange of one thing for another. *Ina-ethe* means and suggests reciprocity, a motion of exchange. Therefore, *ina-ethe migration* is a type of migration characterised by mutual exchanges, reciprocity and consequently, mutual benefit based on someone's actual physical act of migrating. Moreover, the concept *ina-ethe migration* is based on the exchange of a migrant's

labour power in return for a decent wage. Therefore, this *ina-ethe migration* is further characterised by improved remittances and tangible *intsebenzo* (fruits of one's labour) is based on decent wages. This type of migration extends beyond wage related explanations and benefits. *Ina-ethe migration* also denotes the post-apartheid migrant work space characterised by easy movements between the home of the migrant and the workplace Moreover, it is also characterised by migrants' ability to move their own prized possessions in the form of material goods and such with ease. Accordingly, *ina-ethe migration* is the post-apartheid migrant labour system that allows migrant workers space to reap the envisaged rewards of their own labour. In other words, the workplace that has emerged has moved away from a cheap migrant labour system to a much more transformed *ina-ethe migrant* labour system that rewards decently and dignifies and protects the migrant. This type of migration is further characterised by post-apartheid labour laws that protect the worker from labour coercion and/or abuse. *Ina-ethe migration* exists within the context of a post-apartheid work place and in the new millennium has configured and reconfigured itself.

The concept *ina-ethe migration* emerged from my fieldwork and is based on responses by respondents that had experienced working under the cheap migrant labour system. Having experienced the two extremes under apartheid and post-apartheid, they stated that they are "at least now seeing what they are working for." They suggested that the fruits of their labour were a lot more visible than they had been previously. Even the female respondents (wives of mineworkers) at home stated that they now realised why their husbands needed to be away from home most of the year. These mineworkers who were echoed by their wives in Mpondoland stated that they, to a great extent, were beginning to see the value of their labour especially after the 2012 promulgated wage negotiations in the platinum belt. Therefore, based on the 2012 wage outcomes and on-going negotiations for improved working conditions, workers currently experience an improved sense of exchange of labour for a dignified wage, and working and living conditions. This cannot be compared with mineworkers' experiences of the past. For them, that means *ina-ethe migration.*

Ina-ethe migration is further illustrated by the interactive relations between migrant husbands and their wives. Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) referred to these interactions as male-female partnerships, which are born of the common interest of building *umzi*. Furthermore, this form of migration was further illustrated by Murray (1981) who stated that migration of husbands to the mines challenges women and often directs them into bigger family responsibilities, all linked towards the building of *umzi*. Therefore, I am of the opinion that what Moodie and

Ndatshe referred to as male-female partnerships and what Murray stated is an assumption of responsibility describes *ina-ethe migration* to a certain extent. However, when describing *ina-ethe migration* from the lenses of husband and wife relations in this study, I considered both to be equals in so far as interests relate to *umzi*. This is especially with the reconfigured position of women in the household environment who manage social welfare monies, remittances and reinvest them to local economies hereinafter referred to as *imibutho*. *Imibutho* and other socio-economic activities empower women in the migrant household and significantly improve their authority while simultaneously challenging hegemonic patriarchal authority. Although this is the case, men and women remain unequal in many respects as all these developments happen within the confines of a patriarchal society where men are still considered and consider themselves as head of household. With this economic activity they are also able to contribute economically to the household and thus solidify their position. Moodie and Ndatshe found that although with mutual interest of building *umzi* husbands and wives were not equal in partnerships. Post-apartheid, findings show the same as patriarchal leadership in Mpondoland persist more so because migrant men continue to possess better economic muscle than their counterparts, a phenomenon that has always been tied to their masculinity (see Mosoetsa 2010). Nevertheless, that women are able to contribute meaningfully within the migrant household in a manner that complements remittances which are the contribution of the husband is a display of a give-and-take relationship.

This may be further interpreted from the conceptualisation of *ubudoda* (manhood) and *ubufazi* (womanhood). In describing *ubudoda*, Moodie and Ndatshe suggested it is linked to competence, benevolence and the ability to carry out household activities. Furthermore, these may include making decisions and managing family feuds. They further revealed that *ubufazi* is linked to weakness and limitations to execute household activities. This is also demonstrated with the suggestions that women can have *ubudoda.* I am of the view that the notion that *ubufazi* is the opposite of *ubudoda* is fundamentally flawed. In contrast, I believe that *ubufazi* is characterised by the ability to conduct activities, decision-making, social reproductive work and economic activity, which are all signs of strength. Consequently, I argued that the women in the present study were equal to their husbands as role players within the migrant household. I am of the view that this demonstrates a transformed type of femininity that does not manifest from a subordinate position but instead challenges masculinity. Moreover, the relationship of *ina-ethe* between migrant husbands and their wives revealed something about transformed masculinities. Therefore, *ubudoda* has an extended meaning that includes men that have similar

but yet improved relations with their wives in the household. In essence, the relationship of *ina-ethe* (reciprocity) and collaboration between mineworkers and their wives reflects reconfigured masculinities and transformed femininities that have worked and therefore, earned leverage in migrant households.

Earlier in the chapter, the concepts of *imibutho* and *izibaya* were introduced. *Imibutho* is the plural of *umbutho*[7]. These words may be loosely translated to mean union or unions (see also Nkomo 2018). However, in the context of this study, they refer to a collaborative socio-economic activity that wives of mineworkers as well as other women in the village engage in to support one another financially and socially. *Izibaya* is a kraal in English. In this study, *izibaya* describes a social and economic activity in which Mpondo men (and other men) in Rustenburg engage. All of these concepts are able to place us in the two fields in Rustenburg and the Eastern Cape and assist us in understanding livelihood and culture in the two fields. At a theoretical level, however, they assist us to understand relations broadly of reciprocity hereinafter referred to as *ina-ethe.* These concepts are better discussed in chapters 5 and 8, respectively.

2.6. Conclusion

This chapter drew from different theoretical strands to makes sense of reproduction of asocial systems. The use of these different conceptual strands helps pull together the complex question of continued migrant labour. Bourdieu's concepts of habitus field and social reproduction help to drive the strong cultural component as a plausible answer to migrant labour continuity. They assist follow migrant workers from their homes to the place of production. In the same light it enables one to understand the migrant household in Mpondoland as an important field for production and reproduction. Femininities and masculinities, on the other hand, help interpret and explain intimate social and economic relations within the migrant household and subsequently how these have shifted overtime. Through understanding these, we are able to see the interplay of *ina-the migration* in the husband and wife relations.

[7] Nkomo (2018:137) describes *umbutho* as an association were people gather and discuss mutual interests.

Chapter 3: A literature survey of mining migrant labour in South Africa

3.1. Introduction

Migrant labour is a global phenomenon that cuts across all professions and national boundaries. Scholars of various disciplines have written from several corners of the world to inform, elucidate and explain varying phenomena on the subject. As an example, in her second edition titled *Servants of Globalization: Migration and Domestic Work,* Parrena (2015) wrote on the entrance of Filipino domestic workers (mostly women) into the global market. In her book, she theorises on how domestic workers of Filipino origin interact with different social reproductive spaces in different countries among other things. Crush and Tawodzera (2016) have written on the question of food security among Zimbabwean migrants, skilled and unskilled, living in South African urban spaces. In their book, they examined areas relating to reasons for migrating, household income, educational levels of migrants and the question of remittances. In 2013, I explored external medical doctor migration by South African doctors. This was an exploration of why these professionals migrated to other countries even though they were among the highest earning professionals in the country at the time. In 2015, however, I began a journey of writing on internal migration by unskilled and semi-skilled South African men to the platinum mines, north-west of the country (see also Bank, Posel and Wilson 2020). While the question of migration is evidently broad as I have attempted to show above, this study focuses on the latter.

The purpose of this chapter, therefore, is a literature survey on some of the most significant events that directly affected and continue to affect the mining migrant labour landscape in South Africa. Accordingly, an account for early migrant labour in South Africa with the view to locating the reader in context is attempted. The purpose of this chapter is also to provide a historic account of how the migrant labour system was sustained in the different regimes of governance. Consequently, different laws and institutions that maintained the migrant labour system despite the changes that have continuously shaken the mining industry are discussed. An account of the rise and decline of Southern African labour in South Africa, which sparked rapid cross-border migration, is also first provided. In this chapter, I also provide historic insights into the migrant household in the Mpondoland as an important institution considered

central to continued migrant labour in this study. At the end of this chapter, there is a discussion on Mpondo migrants today.

3.2. Early migrant labour in South Africa

Migration is old as humankind and the concept of migration itself is nothing new to African tribes. African people had been nomadic for between 30 and 40 years before the arrival of the white settlers in 1652. African people moved from place to place in search of fresh and fertile lands where they ploughed and earned their living (Allen 1992; Wilson 1972). These moments were not as rapid as what would eventually be nevertheless. Following the arrival of settlers and the subsequent formalisation of markets, agriculture became one of the country's first prominent economy and thus accelerated migration. Farmers in the Cape depended on labour supply from workers that had come from the former Ciskei and Transkei (now part of the Eastern Cape Province) (Wilson 1972). In the 19th century, the habit of migration for economic reasons had become the norm. Allen (1992) stated that young Africans, mainly men, as women were restricted to domestic activity, travelled miles from their tribal homes to acquire wage employment elsewhere. This period occurred before South Africa was industrialised. Thus, people from the Eastern Transvaal, which is now part of the Limpopo Province as well as those from Mozambique and surrounding areas had to walk thousands of kilometres on foot in search of jobs including being kitchen servants, messengers and general labourers.

According to Wilson (1972), the discovery of the first diamond in 1886 in Kimberly set the migration process in South Africa in motion. By 1874, merely eight years after minerals had been discovered, the mining town of Kimberly employed no less than 10 000 black workers *(ibid)*. As a result of this diamond rush, white farmers who at the time constituted a significant part of the economy experienced pressure due to the limited and contested labour supply (Wilson 1972). These black workers were contracted to work in the mines for periods lasting between three months and two years depending on the distance between work and their traditional homes and/or how much money of what they needed had been accumulated (Allen 1992; Jeeves 1985; Moodie 1994; Wilson 1972). The discovery of gold in 1886 on the Witwatersrand marked a turning point in South African migration and migrant labour (Wilson 1972). There was a major demand for labour on the Witwatersrand. Consequently, men arrived from all over the African continent to ply their trade in the country's gold industry (Crush, Jeeves, and Yudelman 1991). By 1897, merely 10 years after the discovery of gold, roughly 100 000 men were employed on the Witwatersrand (*ibid*). These men came from the so-called

former homelands and labour reserves. However, most of men came from all over the African continent and in particular, Southern Africa.

3.3. Southern African labour in South African mines

The stories of our neighbouring countries, namely, Angola, Botswana, Malawi, Lesotho, Swaziland, Tanzania and Zimbabwe are no different to that of South Africa's former homelands. Their movement to South Africa was also exacerbated by the discovery of minerals in Kimberly and the discovery of gold much later in Johannesburg and more so the need for labour after the discovery of these minerals (see Allen 1992; James 1992a; Moodie & Ndatshe 1994; Whiteside 1988). At the onset, the arrival of foreign labour in South Africa was not substantial and was accordingly, shared across the sectors of the country's economy, which included the manufacturing and agricultural sectors that had bemoaned the loss of labour to the then strongly emerging mining economy (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). As noted previously, a decade after the discovery of gold, the Witwatersrand attracted approximately, although with systematic force, about 100 000 men. Consequently, the growth of the mining industry affected other sectors of the economy at least where labour supply was concerned (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). However, in the mining industry, labour supply was not a significant problem. Yet, by the 1920s and the 1930s, South Africans still constituted the significant majority in South African mines. However, the Second World War posed a major threat to the South African economy during the 1940s. Many men, especially white males, had to go to war. Consequently, the employment numbers of South Africans in the mines dropped significantly. This left the Witwatersrand COM with no choice but to source labour from wherever it could be found (Allen 1992; James 1992b; Moodie & Ndatshe 1994; Whiteside 1988; Wilson 1972). Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) stated, mine owners, with approval of the state, spread their recruiting networks deep into the heart of tropical Africa in an attempt to find cheap non-proleterianised labour. Even decades before the war, in 1887, the Chamber had resolved to establish a labour recruiting agency, the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association (WNLA). A development to ensure a perennial supply of cheap labour first set out to recruit labour in Mozambique and thereafter, elsewhere in the continent (James 1992b). To ensure a local based labour force, the Native Recruitment Corporation (NRC) was also formed in 1912. To address this situation labour supply distress, the WNLA entrenched itself in the continent and intensified its recruiting strategies. Moreover, the Chamber through the WNLA established a three-decade programme, which focused on recruiting workers mainly from Central Africa. This changed the demographic outlook in that foreign labour constituted the majority of the labour force in

the 1960s (*ibid*). Thereafter, for more than a decade, foreign labour became the most important source of cheap labour supply. Even though South Africa enjoyed much cheap migrant labour from the rest of the continent, this situation was not only unique to the country. The British Empire had also entrenched its *modus operandi* in all of its colonies such that there were striking similarities between South Africa and other British colonies in relation to how mines operated.

In South Africa, a significant amount of labour came from the former homelands in the then Transkei (now part of Eastern Cape Province). Alongside the AmaMfengu, AbaThembu, and AmaBomvana, AmaMpondo provided a sizeable amount of labour force to South African capital. Below, I draw the reader's attention to a brief history of how AmaMpondo joined migrant labour. Special attention is draw to this region in line with it being the focal area of this study.

3.4. The history of migrant labour in labour in Mpondoland

The wreck of the Sao Joao in 1552 and thus, the people of Mpondoland found their way into history books. Before this time nothing about their lives had been recorded. At the time of the wreck, the people of Mpondoland are recorded to have been pastoralists and semi-agrarians who lived in huts made mainly of sticks and grass, and seldom sticks and mud (Beinart 1982; 1979; Derricourt 1976; Wilson 1959). They dressed up in cow or any other animal skin and moved from place to place after various events such as soil infertility, an unfortunate loss of a family member or the spread of cattle disease (Wilson 1959). These were their only movements.

Even later in the century when the agricultural economy had become formidable, the Mpondo people were reluctant to move and consequently, they only got involved in migrant labour later (Beinart 1982; 1979). After the discovery of diamonds, they remained reluctant and would not even cross Umtamvuna River to work in the sugar plantations in Natal *(ibid).* Beinart added that missionaries that were stationed in the Mpondoland region aligned the Mpondo people's reluctance to migrate and work to the amount of wealth they possessed in cattle that they traded to pay their taxes. Furthermore, they also linked it to the productive nature of their pastoral activities, which was enough for subsistence *(ibid).*

Speaking in a broader context, Beinart's (1982;1979) work is further supported Bundy (1972) who stated that long before and after the arrival of white settlers, locals were in a position sustain themselves. He argued that their form of traditional farming could sustain thousands of

African peasants. He further suggested that this form of farming was sufficient enough and they had made considerable adaptations to match and compete with white farmer's modern farming methods. Consequently, migrating for wage labour was not a necessary activity for locals as settlers hoped.

However, after they lost hundreds of cattle to the Rinderpest, manipulation of the African peasant economy to suit white capital and coercive legislation that weakened African peasant productivity, the people of Mpondoland were willing to migrate. Over 2 000 people out of a population of 200 000 in Mpondoland went to LRAs. Presently, people from the Mpondoland region constitute a significant number in migrant labour spaces, particularly in the mines.

It is not coincidental that currently the people of Mpondoland who earlier resisted the migrant labour system now constitute a significant number of migrants in mining spaces. Coercive measures taken by different regimes including the apartheid regime after 1948 ensured a consistent supply of labour. In order to understand how the AmaMpondo came to join migrant labour, some of the coercive measures alluded to are discussed. These include the implications of legal frameworks aimed at enhancing labour supply and various institutions that played a role in enforcing migrant labour. Furthermore, the AmaMpondo question and how they ended up constituting the largest number of migrants even though they, unlike other ethnic groups, started much later is examined.

3.5. Seeking migrant labour: Law, institutions and traditional authority

Law and Taxation

Mineral magnates developed and refined two instruments to ensure adequate labour supplies: the law and recruiting organisation. Amongst the laws enacted to push blacks into the service of white employers were those relating to those of taxation. Although they did not prove very successful in increasing the supply of labour they are significant as demonstrations of the power of mining financers to make laws in their favour. For example, the Glen Grey Bill which incorporated a labour tax of ios, a head selected on male natives was introduced to the Cape Parliament by the chief of magnates, Cecil Rhodes, who was also Prime Minister, (Wilson 1972:3).

Law played a significant role in terms of attempting a prolific labour supply. As indicated, taxation was amongst the key regulations that would ensure this. When the government of the day realised that the natives were "too rich" and therefore, did not need to work in the mines,

which affected the labour supply, it was necessary for them to devise new tactics. The Glen Grey Bill of 1894 was amongst the first laws of coercion that later benefitted labour supply.

The Glen Grey Bill of 1894 was set out by Cecil Rhodes for purposes that would benefit farmers and other sectors in the Cape Colony that were struggling to get natives who were willing to engage in wage labour. However, the nature of the Bill was such that it also benefited other sectors of the economy including the mining industry. Three outstanding provisions had implications for labour supply, albeit, not the expected outcome. First, the Glen Grey Bill made provisions that limited land ownership and occupation by natives and thus, left them with little land to work and stay. This created, inversely, the need for wage work amongst natives. Second, upon an informed realisation by mining magnate Cecil Rhodes that natives could be active economic participants, he argued that all black males aged 21 and older needed to work and therefore, needed to be encouraged as such. Third, as means to enforce this suggestion, the Bill made provision for a new labour tax of 10 shillings per annum applicable to all males of working age. Anyone who could not honour this tax was punishable by law (Allen, 1992; Bundy 1972; Thompson 2003; Wilson 1972). This Bill laid the foundation for some of the laws discussed subsequently.

In 1895, the government in South Africa also introduced the Hut tax for all adult males of age 21 and older, married and unmarried. A wife was regarded as a hut and therefore, depending on the number of wives each native male had, tax was payable per head (Unknown). In 1899, the Hut tax was also introduced in Botswana, another British colony. It is still unclear why this form of tax was imposed on natives, whether for the benefit of labour supply in South Africa or for the purposes of the country's revenue. However, concerned officials admitted that the imposition of the Hut tax yielded a double-edged result: One of improved labour supply and the other of improved revenue. Although they insisted that improving labour supply was not the primary goal, they were aware of the inverse effects on labour supply (Massey 1978). In addition, the Poll tax, which was payable under the Contagious Diseases Law No 12 of 1895, added immense pressure on all native males provided for, that is, those of ages of 21 and older (Bundy 1972). Furthermore, the Master and Servant Act of 1901 and the Native Servant Act of 1901, in their very own nature, criminalised refusal to work for the government of white rule at any level. Subsequently, any refusal to oblige was met with consequences. The fear imposed on the black man encouraged him to do work outside of his will. The Squatters Rent Act of 1903 was paid by people that occupied land legally and the Poll tax paid by African males put

such financial constraints on the African male peasant that he saw the need to participate in wage labour away from his land (Bundy 1972; Giliomee 2003; Leys 1975; Wilson 1972).

Amongst other Acts, the 1913 Land Act ensured that the white minority legally appropriated 87% of useful land, leaving the black majority with 13% of land that was as productive as that of the white minority (Bundy 1972; Mamdani 1996; Ntsebeza 2006). As expected, the land that could be occupied soon became overcrowded, the soil became infertile and there were not sufficient grazing fields for the cattle *(ibid).* The apartheid government benefitted from the land dispossession and the enactment of taxes as evidenced by the influx of immigrants onto the Witwatersrand and the normalisation of migrant labour later in the century. These men had to sign interim contracts with individuals and institutions to become part of the migrant labour system.

The contract system

The contract migrant labour system was one of the structures put in place by the government to initiate the migrant labour system, which were evident in multiple facets in the early industrialisation of South Africa. The first facet was seen in Mpondoland in the early decades of migrant labour. During this period, recruiting migrants were placed under the control of white traders that were situated in areas that later became prominent LSAs (Beinart 1979). Following the loss of cattle to the Rinderpest, the migrant contract included cattle advances from the trader as the intermediary of the employer. The trader would release a beast to the prospective migrant as an advance payment; however, the beast would remain the property of the employer until such time the migrant had paid his dues through labour and was deserving of the beast (Beinart 1979). The cattle advances proved problematic as means to lure men into the mines in the long-term and consequently, a coexisting recruitment strategy had to be rife. The tout system was effected. Through touts, men were recruited on their way to look for work in Kimberly (Allen 1992). Some of these touts or specialist recruiters also went into magisterial towns such as Bizana and Flagstaff, which were major LSAs and were strategically located on roads that infiltrated the whole of Mpondoland (Beinart 1979). The last facet of recruitment occurred through the later establishment of labour centres and recruitment stations in the LSAs (Allen 1992).

Institutions

The discovery of minerals in Hope Town created the need for a cheap labour supply at various levels. To ensure this, different institutions were formed by mining magnates over the years in order to ensure a systemic and prolific labour supply. The COM, an overarching institution that looks after the interests of mineworkers, was formed in 1887, a year after the discovery of gold on Langlaagte farm. From that date henceforth, the Chamber has played a role of advancing the interests of all mining houses. Consequently, this led to the development of other smaller institutions, many of which until recently prioritised the sourcing of cheap labour (see James, 1992a; Minerals Council South Africa 2018; Wilson 1972).

The first institution that was developed for the benefit of the mining industry was the Native Labour Department, which set out to source labour both locally and abroad (Wilson 1972). As an employers' association, the COM soon formed WNLA in 1897 with the objective of finding workers initially in Mozambique and later anywhere in the continent. Just over a decade later, the Chamber intensified recruitment by forming the NRC, which would find labour in the former reserves. The establishment of these recruitment institutions by the Chamber eliminated competition as all employers were represented by the chamber. All services and provisions given to migrant workers were standardised. This included the length of shifts, food supply, length of day and a standardised low wage free of spiralling owing to competition. By 1977, these old recruitment organisations, the NRC and WNLA had reinvented themselves amidst the on-going challenges and were merged into a comprehensive organisation known as TEBA (Jeeves 1985).

Traditional Authority

In what was an increasingly difficult environment to source labour, where wage labour was still viewed as a foreign phenomenon and in some ways a form of submission to the white settlers, it was important to incorporate local authorities. As local authorities, mine recruiters believed they would be able to motivate locals to participate in wage labour in what was an economy in transit. Some traditional authorities, especially those from the Zulu Kingdom as well as AmaMpondo, resisted this collaboration with recruiters and mine bosses (Allen 1992). However, elsewhere in the country and continent, traditional authorities, that is, chiefs and headmen had made arrangements with recruiters to force their subjects to learn the "honour" of working for paid labour (Massey 1978). These chiefs and headmen were compensated for their efforts in the form of credit, money and/or presents. Even where tax was concerned,

traditional leaders and authorities were instrumental in that they were also compensated with 10% of the taxes they collected. Accordingly, this handsome form of payment propelled the chiefs to force their subjects to work for their own benefit (Allen 1992; Beinart 1979; Bundy 1972; Thompson 2003).

Life in the compounds

As noted previously, men that left their traditional homes lived in shacks and huts around mining areas for periods of three months to two years in Kimberly and later in the gold sector. The compound system was first used for labour control and to guard against diamond theft and worker unruliness in Kimberly (Allen 1992; Wilson 1972). At first, the compound system had only been established for Chinese indentured workers that had come to aid labour shortages in 1904 (Allen 1992, 2003a; Moodie 1994).

The compound system was introduced in the gold sector much later. It was used as means to absorb the pressure of the influx of immigrants that came from the so-called reserves and some parts of Africa (Allen 1992). These compounds also served as control systems to ensure that black workers did not move to the urban areas that were designated for white people by the Native (Urban Areas) Act of 1923 (Allen 1992; Phakathi 2012; Sitas 1996 and Xulu 2012). Furthermore, the compound system ensured that black workers were under absolute surveillance. This meant their movements in and around the compounds were monitored and this further ensured a decrease in worker absenteeism and curbed labour turnover (Phakathi 2012). Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015) stated that the COM viewed the establishment of compounds in the cheap labour migrant system as a significant achievement. Because these compounds were single sex hostels, only men could live in them because they were the only people allowed to sell their labour in the mines at the time.

Furthermore, these hostels were characterised by restrictive symbols such as galvanised iron fence, two guarded turnstile gates and barbed wire that allowed for the absolute control of the mineworkers. It also was a means of crowd control because the two gates could be closed in times of trouble (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). These compounds resembled nothing like a habitat for human beings; in other words, they were not conducive for human settlement as such. For reasons noted previously, the control and monitoring of the migrant workers was of pivotal importance to the mining bosses and more so to the government of the time. Consequently, the compound manager's offices were strategically placed in a position so that he could see events as they occurred inside the compounds (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994).

Each compound comprised 52 rooms of 60 walled barracks with concrete bunks, two rooms of 40 bunks each. Although they were barely habitable, there were between 1 000 and 5 000 men in each compound (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994).

These men had left their own household in what could be argued as a state of contentment. According to historic texts such as those of Wilson (1972), Jeeves (1985) and Allen (2003a), rural households before the discovery of minerals earned their mode of subsistence through agrarian means and lived in mostly hut mud houses until the introduction of taxes, which forced them to leave their homes. Although the establishment of the compound system was praised by mining bosses as an innovative and formidable initiative, it does appear that, comparatively, rural life may have provided a more conducive living environment.

In addition to the unfavourable conditions of the migrant labour system for the migrant worker was the separation of the mineworker from his family. The Native Act of 1923 discouraged family visits. The single sex nature of the compound also discouraged visits from spouses. Even though South Africa saw a major transition in the 1980s with the abolishment of the pass laws, Macmillan (2012) noted that this was not enough to persuade the mine bosses to house mineworkers with their families. Consequently, families that had moved to the urban areas occupied new squatter camps in and around the mine (Macmillan 2012). Even with the development of new mining towns such as Rustenburg, continuities of the policy of apartheid still prevail to date. Mining bosses remain reluctant to assume the responsibility of housing mineworkers and their families (Macmillan 2012).

The compound and/or hostel system was also prevalent in spaces outside mining. Writing on hostels on the east of Johannesburg, Sitas (1996) echoed Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) stating that these structures were at the centre of capital accumulation. The hostels in the east of Johannesburg, unlike those in the mines, were administered by both companies and the municipality. They also served a multicity of industries which unlike the mines made it difficult for the administrators to have absolute control *(ibid).* This according to Sitas (1996) was the major distinguishing feature between mine compounds and hostels. He asserted, however, that the hostel system was merely a historic extension of the latter.

Although the latter may be supported by the cheap labour thesis theory, Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) referring to what they called migrant cultures stated that occupational culture literature provided strong evidence that mine work had important implications for one's self formation, that is, one's masculinity. They explained that the inherent dangerous nature of the job worked

advantageously in boosting men's masculinities. Furthermore, they argued against an anti-structural argument and rather, took into account the worker habitus, that is, worker agency. Elaborating on the migrant culture they stated, "Migrant miners were certainly exploited and disciplined, and they knew they were. For some of them, the self-formative pressures of compound life were irresistible, and they became creatures of the mine" (Moodie & Ndatshe: 23). This quote provides one with an opportunity to challenge literature that leaves worker agency at the mercy of structural arguments as there is a clear argument for worker agency and habitus that is raised in this study.

3.6. The decline of Southern African labour in South African mines

As noted previously, migrant labour for South African mines was sourced wherever it could be found. The South African government went as far as China in their efforts to meet the needs of the gold industry, which was threatened by labour shortages between 1904 and 1908, as the local supply of labour could not suffice (Crush 1986a). Because the Southern African region was at close proximity to and had good relations with British colonies as well as good trading relations with former Portuguese colonies, cheap labour from those areas was almost certain. Consequently, the South African government extended its search to the region to meet the rising demand. Accordingly, between 1886 and 1973, foreign cheap labour already constituted approximately 50% of the country's labour force (*ibid*). Crush added that the discovery of goldfields in the Orange Free State (now Free State Province) increased the presence of foreign labour between 1951 and 1961. The number of migrant worker increased from 306 000 to 414 000 in that 10-year period with the majority of workers being foreign nationals from the Southern African region (*ibid*).

Of the 414 000 labour force in 1961, local labour accounted for only 175 000 (42%) of the labour force. By 1971, the local labour force had decreased to 85 000 (21%). During the same period, foreign labour increased by 80 % (Crush 1986a; First, 1959; Leys 1975). It is evident from these figures that foreign cheap labour played a significant role in sustaining cheap migrant labour in South Africa. However, the period from 1974 to 1977 marked a turning point in the South African mining industry with particular reference to foreign migrant labour. Relations with the former British and Portuguese colonies did not guarantee cheap labour post-independence. From the 1980s, foreign labour in South Africa decreased. In the sections that follow, an account of how some of the labour was lost from some of the countries that served as prolific suppliers of cheap labour is provided.

Malawi

The Malawian labour force in the South African gold mines constituted approximately 130 000 of the entire mining labour force (James 1992b). Until the mid-1970s, the Malawian labour force was the largest in comparison to the other neighbouring countries that provided cheap labour to South Africa. Following the death of 74 Malawian mineworkers in April 1974 in Francistown, Botswana, on a WNLA chattered flight, the then Malawian president Hastings Banda suspended and subsequently, put an end to the supply of the Malawian labour force pending an outcome of an enquiry into the crash (Crush 1986b; James 1992a; Whiteside 1988). However, it was uncertain how these former migrants would be absorbed into their own economy, which was much less viable (Crush 1986). Chirwa (1996) suggested that President Banda may have capitalised on the incident of the plane crash in Francistown. He argued that the plane crash may not have been the only reason the Malawian government decided to withdraw its labour supply. He asserted that it was in the interests of government and local entrepreneurs in Malawi to retain labour power locally so as to develop a new capital city, Lilongwe and boost infrastructural development with roads that would influence the expansion of the agricultural economy. He also wanted to divert the labour force to the tea and tobacco estates in Malawi. Furthermore, there was increasing pressure from the women's league of the Malawian Congress Party that wanted their countrymen in the country's own peasant economy (Chirwa 1996; James 1992a; Whiteside 1988).

Furthermore, with the rise in communicable diseases, in particular, HIV and AIDS, in October 1987, the South African government adopted an unpopular stance and prohibited those said to be carrying the virus and already suffering from AIDS from immigrating to the country. Those who already carried the virus and had AIDS, after being tested locally, faced inevitable deportation. Thus, by February 1988, 101 Malawians who had survived 1974 were deported. Those coming into the country had to produce HIV free certificates. The situation worsened to such an extent that in the same year, the South African COM stopped importing labour from Malawi altogether. The South African position deeply disturbed the Malawian government such that the remaining relations between the recruiting agency, TEBA and the government deteriorated (Chirwa 1996). This further worsened the labour supply from what was once a close ally.

Mozambique

With some countries still living under colonialism in the early and mid-1970s, events elsewhere in the world had a direct impact on these colonies. For example, the coup that ousted Spinola in April 1974 set in fast motion Mozambique's independence from Portugal as a colony. In June 1975, Mozambique gained its independence. However, at this time, because Malawi had already withdrawn its labour force from South Africa, the majority of the labour force was now sourced from Mozambique (James 1992b; Moodie &Ndatshe 1994). The independence of Mozambique resulted in the rise to power of a socialist organisation, Front for the Liberation of Mozambique (FRELIMO), which was totally opposed to the cheap migrant labour system. Accordingly, like the government of Banda, they too had long-term goals of withdrawing their labour from South Africa and deploying them in the country's agricultural economy in the south of Mozambique (James 1992a). FRELIMO was aware of their country's high dependence on mine wages and thus, did not immediately assume their stance, which contemptuously opposed the migrant labour system (First 1983; James 1992a). Nevertheless, the mere independence of Mozambique affected the nature of the relations between the country and labour agency WNLA because the relationship had been forged with the Portuguese colonial administration in Mozambique. James (1992a) stated that at the time FRELIMO took over the country they also instituted new ways of issuing passports. However, because the new system took long to implement the new system, by 1976 only four of the 21 recruiting agencies were in a position to issue new work papers. This meant that labour supply to South Africa decreased substantially. The South African government had also come to realise that their reliance on foreign labour was too high and therefore, devised new plans to minimise foreign labour in the mines (*ibid*).

Lesotho

Even though some Lesotho government officials were opposed to the migrant labour system and viewed it as a brutal demeaning of the black body, the Lesotho labour force maintained its presence in South African gold mines. They became a central group in the gold mining labour force after the mid-1970s and into the late 1980s after the withdrawal of both Malawi and Mozambique who had established themselves as the centre of South Africa's labour force. The militant nature of the Basotho during strikes in the 1980s and their centrality to industrial action made them increasingly less attractive to the Chamber. Consequently, by 1987, the COM resolved to reduce the recruitment of Basotho into the gold mines (James1992a). Although this

move has significantly affected the Basotho presence in South Africans to date, they have remained biggest foreign presence in South African mines since then.

Zimbabwe

South Africa and Zimbabwe have always enjoyed good employment. James (1992a) noted that there were between 50 000 and 70 000 Zimbabwean migrants in South Africa in the 1960s. However, these migrants worked in other sectors of the economy and not the mining sector. Following the loss of the prolific labour supply from Malawi in 1974 and later from Mozambique in 1976, the former chief recruiter to Malawi invited his colleagues to consider Zimbabwe as an area from which cheap labour could be sourced *(ibid)*. When the South African Chamber went ahead with this consideration, it was met with resistance by the Zimbabwean Chamber that generally struggled for labour supply and could also not compete with South African wages. The South African Chamber ignored the Zimbabwean Chamber and negotiated directly with the government. The Zimbabwean government obliged in an effort to address unemployment amongst the youth whom they feared would join the war at the time. At the end of 1974, although an agreement to recruit 20 000 youth was reached, the numbers continued to decrease each year. This was because Zimbabwean mineworkers were placed in the worst mines even though they were better educated than their South African counterparts. Accordingly, with many unfavourable conditions in the mines, they challenged the authorities. By 1980, when Zimbabwe gained its independence, Robert Mugabe, the newly elected President expressed his dislike of the exploitative migrant labour system and thus, revoked TEBA's recruiting licence in Zimbabwe. By 1981, only 112 Zimbabwean workers remained in South African mines (James 1992a).

Botswana and Swaziland

Like all countries in the Southern African region, Botswana and Swaziland played a role in the supply of labour to South Africa even though they had less of a presence in the mining sector in comparison to South Africa's other neighbouring countries. They supplied approximately 25% of the labour that Malawi, Mozambique and Lesotho supplied. However, they were not immune to the political changes in the region that affected South Africa's labour supply. Consequently, the presence of both Botswana and Swaziland diminished consistently into the early 1990s.

With all the political changes in the region that threatened the cheap foreign labour supply to South Africa, as noted previously, local labour increased (see Crush 1992). For the first time in the history of the South African mining labour history, locals constituted the majority of the labour force. During this period of transition in the South African mines, the foreign labour force decreased significantly by 61% and in contrast, the local labour force increased by 250% *(ibid*). Therefore, one may assume that these events changed the face of the South African mining industry and that of labour in South Africa in general.

As noted in Chapter 1, this thesis in its entirety is centred around the notion of the continued reliance on migrant labour by South African men from Mpondoland, in particular, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. Therefore, in the next section, the history of migrant labour in Mpondoland is examined in order to locate the reader in the trajectory of the people that have arguably become the very pulse of the South African mining industry.

3.7. A historical insight into the families of migrant workers

One of the most substantial gaps in the literature on mining migrant labour in South Africa is that it does not provide clear narratives of migrant worker life trajectories. Scholars such as Sharp and Spiegel (1990) wrote about the lives of the families of mineworkers and their wives over two decades ago. Accordingly, there is a need for a more in-depth study on the everyday lives and livelihoods of migrant worker families currently. Much of the literature that captures mining migrant labourers in South Africa at present often relates where these migrants work, what they do and how they go about with their lives away from home. It is very seldom that literature provides a narrative of how families survive in the absence of someone who is often the breadwinner and/or the head of the household. From personal observations, as someone that grew up in a LSA, I am inclined to believe that household life in the presence of a breadwinner is significantly different in his absence as far as household dynamics are concerned.

The household remains a very important aspect in migrant labour because it is the most fundamental space that one can begin to understand the migrant, his agency and his habitus. It is also the space from which one can begin to understand and therefore, answer the question of why migrant labour continues in the present dispensation. Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) noted that in the 1940s, migrant workers from Lusikisiki remitted 60 to 70% of their wages to their families in the LSAs. Bezuidenhout and Nomvete (2014) revealed that this culture continues. This in its nature suggests it is imperative to understand the household and further highlights

the importance and role of the migrant worker as head of the household. The economics of the household and how they survive in the absence of the breadwinner have largely remained unexplored.

Getting remittances, financial or otherwise, from the migrant labourer has been a key feature of the migrant labour system. Moodie and Ndathse (1994) noted that as remitting a portion of their hard-earned money, migrant workers who came from neighbouring villages would send their colleagues to pass envelopes with money to their families. At different times during the year, different mineworkers returned home to their villages for various pressing reasons. This would be an opportune time for others to send whoever was available and could be trusted to their respective families. The development of recruiting stations and TEBA in particular played a significant role in administering these transactions. This meant that workers would no longer gamble by sending their fellow colleagues that could or could not be trusted at times (Allen 1992). These remittances would attend to any role required within a household be it purchasing food, house maintenance, school fees or even buying cattle.

Contrary to the general assumption that wage remittances improved the household economy, Sharp and Spiegel (1990) suggested otherwise. Writing on the role of women as heads of households in the absence of their migrant husbands, they suggested that minimal or no remittances reached the households. Consequently, this necessitated their wives to take up new lovers to supplement the shortages in the household economy. Sharp and Spiegel's suggestion relates to two things that researchers may want to study: Historical low wages associated with mining migrant labour and the much debated notion of mineworkers having two families.

The social responsibility of heads of households in migrant labour discourse is often not considered. The everyday functioning of the household in the absence of the household head is often taken for granted.

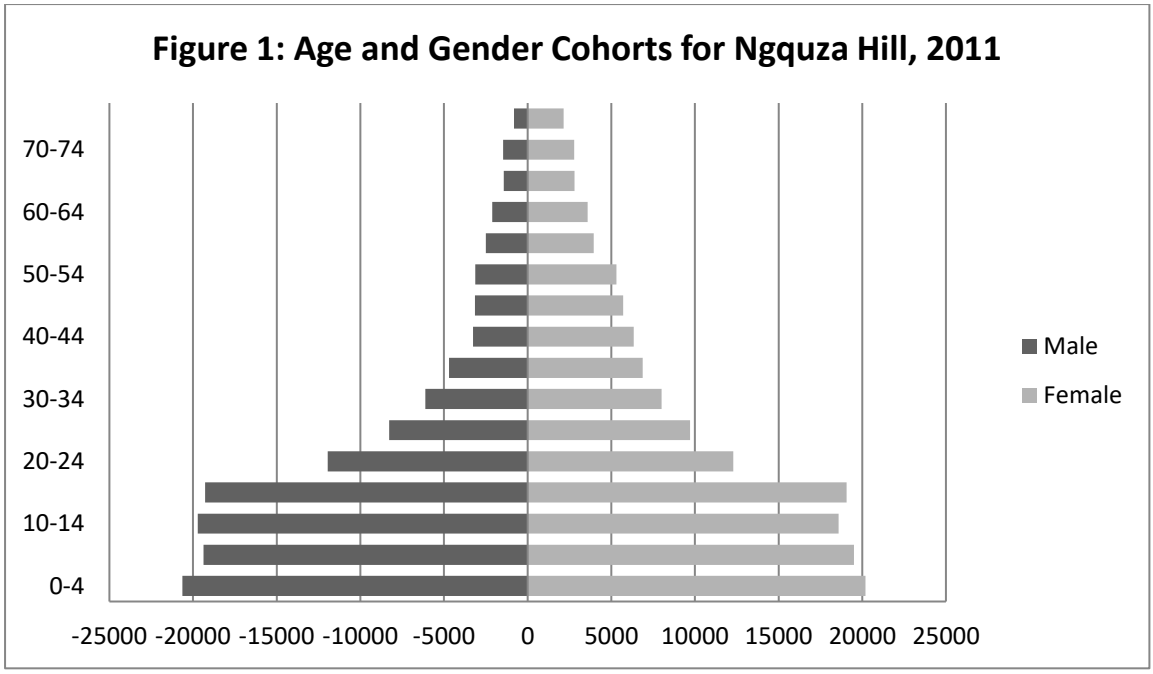
Ngwane (2003) mirrored a migrant labourer in his home and accordingly, demonstrated the role of the migrant labourer as the head of a household. Ngwane captured the cultural activities that take place during December and Christmas holidays, which include *Lobola* negotiations, unveiling of tombstones, a boy's rite to passage and the performance of rituals (*ibid).* Although these activities can be done at any given time of the year, my use of them during this time is to illustrate the effects of cheap migrant labour on the household. The system, in effect, paralyses an aspect of household functioning.

In this section, the historic trajectory of the migrant household has been briefly highlighted. In particular, issues around livelihood strategies and in particular, remittances and how they are at the very centre of a migrant worker's agency have been noted. Furthermore, the negative consequences of migrant labour including infidelity and decision-making related to ceremonious occasions because of the absence of the father figure in migrant households were discussed. Without a doubt, there were many other negative and positive events that had an effect on the migrant household. Moreover, these effects were not only restricted to households with mining migrant workers. They translated to the broader community, which had its men distributed all over the mines of Johannesburg and the Free State. Therefore, in the following section, the legacy of mining migrant labour in Mpondoland is examined by considering some of the most recent data available currently.

3.8. Migrant labour in Mpondoland today

In this section, migrant labour trends in South Africa post-apartheid are explored. The latest available statistical data of the South African National Census is employed to highlight the movement of people between the LSAs and the LRAs.

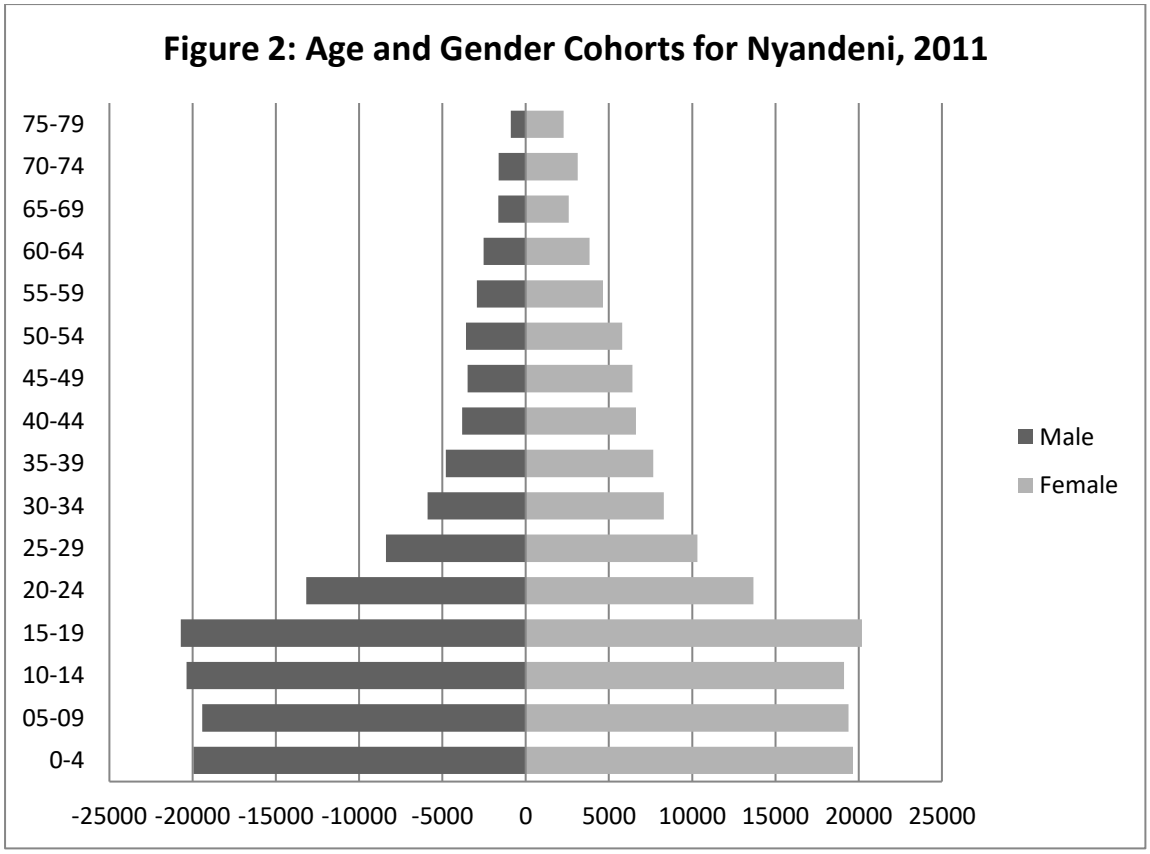
Apart from Wolpe (1972) who flagged migrant labour to be an apartheid strategy, others such as Forrest (2015) have also suggested that the migrant labour system is losing its momentum. Although to an extent this assumption may be true owing to new recruitment regimes that are linked with the casualization of work, census data derived from Rustenburg, a LRA and Ingquza Hill Municipality, a LRA suggests a strong continuation and reliance on the system. An examination of the population pyramids that follow is necessary to understand this reliance.



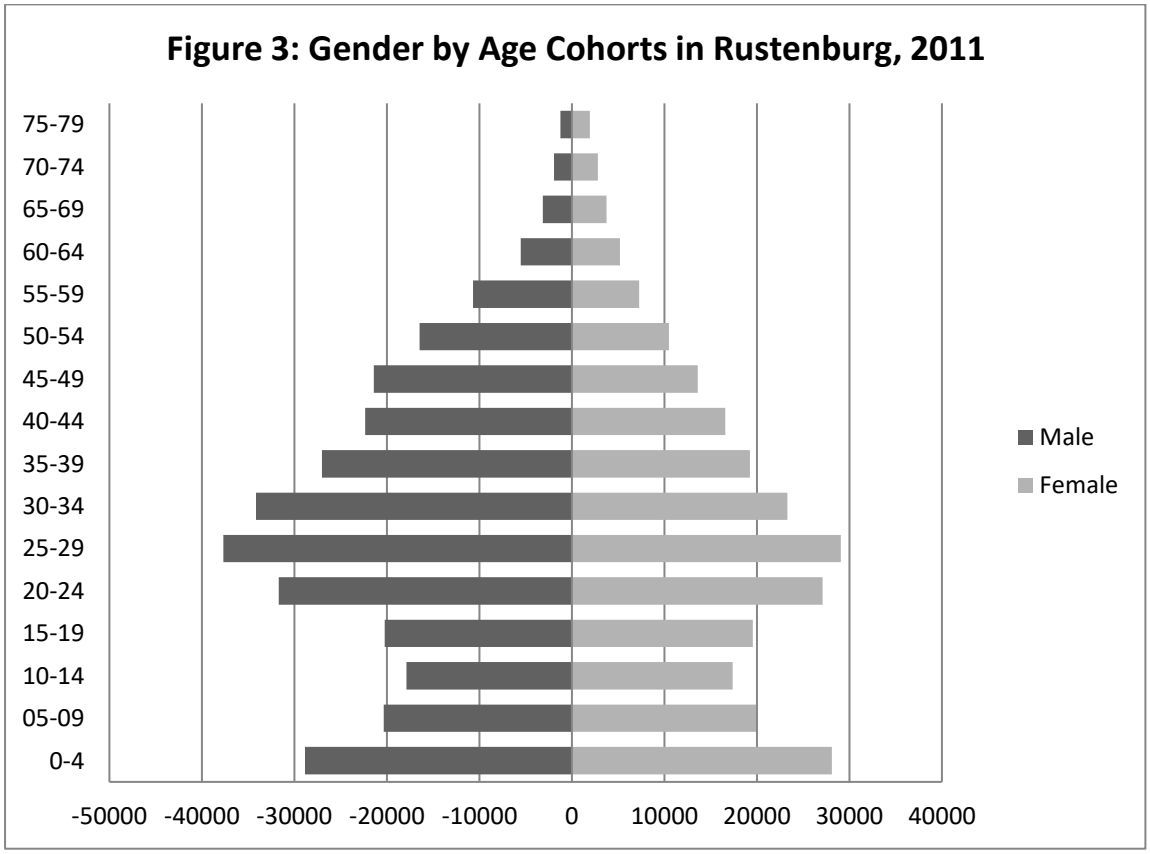
Source: Statistics South Africa Census data for 2011

Ingquza Hill Local Municipality is located within the broader OR Tambo district Municipality in the Eastern Cape Province. As previously noted, it forms part of the former Bantustans and former reserve areas of South African mining magnates. As depicted in Figure 1, Ingquza Hill Local Municipality continues to be one of the key LSAs in the country. In an attempt to show that migrant labour continues at a significant scale, the reader's attention is drawn to the pyramid depicted in Figure 1 as well as those that follow.

In Figure 1, the pyramid illustrates loss of people at Ingquza Hill Local Municipality as they approach the legal working age. Combined with Figure 2 (Nyandeni Local Municipality), these two pyramids suggest that LSAs are losing many people between the ages of 20 and 64 years. On the contrary, in the LRA of Rustenburg, there is an increase in the number of people in these age group categories (Figure 3), thus, suggesting Rustenburg is a LRA. It is difficult to make conclusions from these pyramids alone and therefore further research is needed.

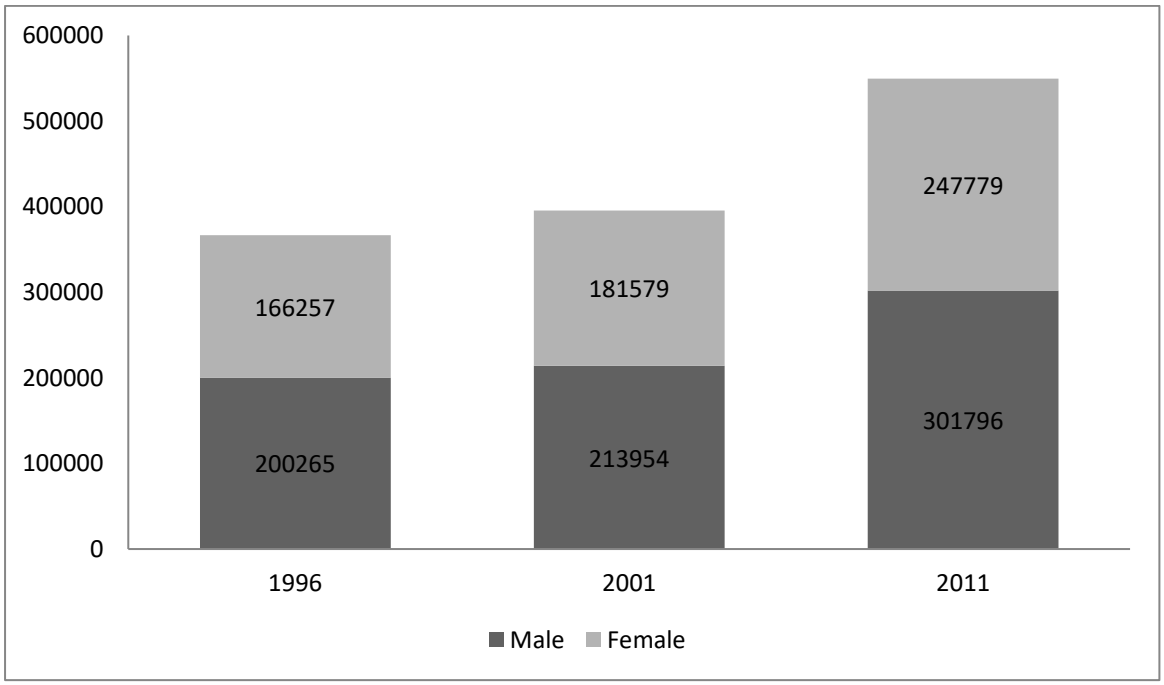


Source: Statistics South Africa Census data for 2011



Source: Statistics South Africa Census data for 2011

Figure 4: Rustenburg Male and Female population, 1996, 2001, 2011



Source: Rustenburg Male and Female Population, 1996, 2001, 2011

Figures 1, 2 and 3 depict that in the working age group, men outnumber women by a great margin. Figure 4 shows that in 2011, men continued to outnumber women by a 54 000 margin. The global male to female ratio suggests that the statistics in the figures may be odd. However, the masculine nature of mining work and the historical male dominated nature of the mining industry may assist us in understanding this phenomenon.

Statistical data, which sought to highlight continued reliance on migrant labour by men from Mpondoland, has been provided in this section. Any notion that suggests the demise of the mining migrant labour system has also been challenged in this section. Furthermore, the legacy of dependency on migrant labour by men from Mpondoland has been revealed.

3.9. Mining migrant labour today and the growth the platinum industry

Mining migrant labour is not only a phenomenon of our colonial and apartheid pasts. It remains with us today. The census data of 2011 as reflected in the form of population pyramids above support this. The events preceding the Marikana massacre on August 2012 and the events on the day that led to the deaths of men mainly from the Eastern Cape confirm the presence of migrants in the platinum city (see Alexandra at al. 2012; Sinwell and Mbatha 2016). The recent

works of Nkomo (2018), Chinguno (2015) and Benya (2016) confirm the continued presence of migrants in Rustenburg. They have, respectively, stated that the platinum belt is populated mostly by men and women from the Eastern Cape, Lesotho and Mozambique. As one will note during the course of this thesis, this pattern has not changed. In this study, I have identified the same and suggested some of the occupational categories that these different ethnic and cultural groups appeared to be involved in, in and outside of the mine shaft (see chapters 5 and 6).

As noted above, mining migrant labour in large volumes previously happened to the East and West Rand's Johannesburg gold mines, for decades. Mpondo men that migrate to Rustenburg, Northam and coal mines in Mpumalanga still refer to any workplace north of the Eastern Cape as [8]*eGoli*. This exodus changed fundamentally in the 1980s as the gold industry, which was the flagship of the country's mineral resources for over a century, saw a considerable decline (Chinguno 2015; Forrest 2015). The prime position has been taken by platinum which grew by 67% between 1994 to 2009 while gold declined by 63% in the same period. The gold sector had always been characterised by a large workforce. In 1990, for example, the sector employed 376 474 workers in contrast to 60 000 in platinum in the same year. Just over two decades later this changed significantly. Platinum grew by over 300% (197 847) in its workforce and accounted for 36.5% of the general mining workforce (Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2016; Chinguno 2015; Nkomo 2018).

With the discovery of gold in 1886, it took 37 years for platinum to be later discovered in 1923 by Adolph Erasmus 15 kilometres west of Naboomspruit (now Mokgopong in Limpopo) (see Hochreiter et al. 1985; McDonald and Tredoux 2005 and Nkomo 2018). It was the discovery of 1924 and the extraction in 1925, however, that set things in motion and changed the face of South African mining. Hans Merensky, a geologist and Andreas Lombard, a farmer discovered a much more significant deposit of platinum in Rustenburg, which is said to possess 80% of the world's reserves (Caps 2010; Chinguno 2015).

The demand for jewellery in the United States of America and the withdrawal of supply by Russia in the 1920s drove the platinum economy in South Africa (Rubin and Harrison 2015). Moreover, after the Second World War, the introduction of platinum in the process of oil refinery sustained the platinum market. This was more so when there was demand from China,

[8] The word *eGoli* comes from the English word gold. It has been used to refer to South Africa's Johannesburg city. Like the word Gauteng (which is the name Province where Johannesburg is located) it means place of Gold.

Japan and Europe due to resurging industries. The commitment to clean air and curbing air pollution by wealthy nations further strengthened the demand for platinum in the 1970s (Nkomo 2018; Rubin and Harrison 2015; Whitburn 2010). The move to electronic catalytic converters whose components comprise of platinum boosted the demand of the commodity (Bannon 2012; Chinguno 2015). The boom in the demand of platinum happened at the backdrop of a declining gold industry coupled with job losses (Chinguno 2015). This led to major shifts in migration patterns as migrants moved from the gold to platinum industry.

3.10. The events of massacre and the wage shift

Migrant labour to the mines has historically been characterised by cheap labour. Cheap labour mainly from the former Bantustans and other countries in the SADC region such as Lesotho, Mozambique and Malawi were the backbone of the South African economy (Wolpe 1972). Although the 1970s saw a steady increase in mining wages, this has not been at a pace that allowed mineworkers to take care of themselves, their households (in the LSAs and the LRAs), and their many dependants often assumed to be approximately 15 for each mineworker (Sinwell 2020). Like gold, before 2012, the platinum industry was characterised by what AMCU (2012) considered to be cheap labour, a phenomenon which characterised colonial and apartheid regimes. This has since changed considerably and not without its victims.

Hattingh (2010) stated that from mid-2009, mineworkers in the platinum belt had already started with numerous occupations and sit-ins. Retrospectively, perhaps this should have been a warning sign for mining magnates of what could be on the horizon. In a country with a record of collective bargaining procedures outside of platinum and negotiations through organised labour within platinum, however, it can be argued that what followed could have never been foretold.

It was the 18% retention allowance afforded to mine blasters that set the Marikana events in motion. This retention allowance prompted RDOs to demand a 200% increase, which meant a salary adjustment from R3 000 to R9 000 (Chinguno 2013c; Stewart 2013). They were not willing to compromise their demands. RDOs have always been central to the production process in South Africa and the world. During the early days of mining theirs was considered as a high skill only performed by a few. Although this prestige and status may have waned to an extent with the discovery of the hand-held drill, this group of workers in South Africa and the world still consider themselves somewhat a working-class elite (Stewart 2013). Evidently, RDOs wanted their status to match their income, especially in an event where their own

colleagues had been considered for such a significant leap. It was at the backdrop of this understanding that RDOs made their demands.

The RDO strike started in the January 2012 at Impala platinum mine and spread to other sectors. The strike was led by worker committees elected by RDOs among themselves. This group of workers refused representation by the NUM, the only recognised union at the time which they believed to be in collaboration with management. Like management, the NUM viewed the demands of the RDOs as preposterous. They wanted workers to observe protocol and negotiate with management through the union. It was clear at this point that workers had lost all confidence in the union and were willing to go it alone (Alexandra et al. 2012; Chinguno 2013b; Stewart 2013; Sinwell 2020; Sinwell and Mbatha 2020). In the same light, workers were considering the idea of an alternative union in AMCU. Similar to the character of the strike, which possessed high levels of intimidation and violence, AMCU appeared more militant and appealing to workers. In communication they used [9]*Fanakalo* which appealed to workers and also used strong political rhetoric. This is a phenomenon that NUM had been seen to have lost. There had become a huge irreconcilable gap between union NUM and its members (Chinguno 2013).

The strike seized to be an RDO strike as many workers were drawn in via persuasion, coercion and intimidation. At Impala, the strike started with 5 000 RDOs and led to a further 12 000 workers downing tools. At Lonmin, on the other hand, it started with 3 000 RDOs, thus, leading up to 24 000 workers going on strike (Chinguno 2013b; Stewart 2013). Having started their strike in January 2012, by the end of March RDOs at Impala had secured their desired increase to R9 000. A few kilometres from Lonmin the same could not be said. Although management negotiated with worker committees in emulation of the occurrences at Impala, the salary situation was not emulated. Instead, management offered RDOs a shift allowance of between R500 to R750, which was vehemently declined by workers. Following these events, Lonmin management went back on their word and refused to negotiate outside the recognised union *(ibid).*

[9] Fanakalo is a pidgin language historically used in South African mines. It is made up of Sesotho, English, Afrikaans and IsiXhosa words. The use of this language is discouraged by some in democratic South Africa as it is associated with the painful colonial and apartheid past. However, some find it as a meaningful way of communication. Therefore, there are political differences on the continued use of the language (see also Nkomo 2018).

More workers joined the strike as momentum picked up and workers demanded R12 500 for RDO. Going on the offensive, workers marched to the NUM offices demanding the union to stand back from their matters. The union responded with violence and this became a significant point in the negotiation. Championed by union AMCU, which had come to challenge the NUM hegemony in the sector, workers convened at the kopjie where subsequently 34 mineworkers were killed by state police (Alexandra at al. 2012; Chinguno 2013a).

With union AMCU now in the picture as the majority union following the unpopularity of the NUM, on the 23 January 2014 another strike on wages ensued. Mirroring the events of 2012, the strike presented volatile conditions. Workers and union AMCU were relentless and uncompromising in their demands. These negotiations were protracted such that the negotiations between union and the companies lasted five months. During the five-month strike, most workers left the platinum belt and returned to the different LSAs without income. As such, workers needed to find alternative means and ways of subsistence. The bovine economy (which includes selling of cattle) discussed in chapter 8 of this thesis and the rural economy of *imibutho* discussed in chapter 5 became important means of survival. Thus, in the gains of post-Marikana events these were the 'invisible hands' that drove persistence and the fight by the mineworkers. The 2014 platinum belt strike became the longest strike in the history of South Africa (Chinguno 2013a). Following promulgated negotiations, violence and unwavering sacrifice, the parties involved agreed on an increment that would take effect over a three-year period.

Given these gains, Sinwell (2020) argued that this changed the political trajectory in South Africa. He further suggested that the above-mentioned events restored the dignity of black mineworkers as seen with the wage increases. For Sinwell (2020), the events of Marikana and post-Marikana were more than just a living wage which they pronounced. Instead, it was a fight for a family given that they support families in the LSAs and the LRAs. The victories of Marikana afforded them this.

3.11. Wages and a fragmented labour force

From the outset, the foundation of mineworker's contract was on cheap labour. Using the works of scholars such as Wople (1972) and First (1982), in this chapter I have stressed in a myriad of ways that mining magnates spent much time devising plans on how to source cheap labour. Consequently, legal frameworks and institutions were put in place to ensure that whatever labour was received remained cheap no matter the amount or nature of work (see Allen 1992;

Wilson 1972). According to Allen (1992), the determination to keep labour cheap tempted mining authorities to even look west of the African continent. However, with minimal success in their exploits, they remained within Southern Africa.

Although the cheap wage regime was a success for more than a century in South Africa, slight changes were witnessed after the formation of AMWU in the 1940s. Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) suggested, however, that the improvement did not go beyond subsidising a little rural subsistence. In the early 1970s, in particular, 1974 to 1975, a significant shift in the wage regime occurred following a yield to the demands of workers by the COM and certain mining houses. During this period, there was also a shortage of labour following the withdrawal of Malawian mineworkers by President Hasting Banda. Soliciting local labour for much improved wages was therefore of prime importance for capital. The formation of NUM in 1982 improved the wage situation further alongside other demands for improved mining hostels and treatment of workers. In 1983, the NUM had already been negotiating for a 30% increase in wages a year after its formation and subsequently, settled at 14% with the COM in 1984 (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). Owing to this history, in recent years there has been a steady increase in mineworkers' salaries. This can be corroborated with centralised collective bargaining processes witnessed in some industries, excluding the platinum industry, every few years. Since the 1970s, there has been a rapid move towards a decent wage regime that remunerates its labour force. In the past six years, wages and salaries have increased for mineworkers across the industry. I believe this trajectory has been deeply influenced by events in the platinum belt, which have been discussed above. Events in the platinum belt resulted in a 100% increase in wages, which I am inclined to believe set tone and precedence for improved wages in other commodities as well. Salaries still vary across the different commodities nevertheless. The graph depicted in Figure 9 illustrates minimum wages by sector in 2012.

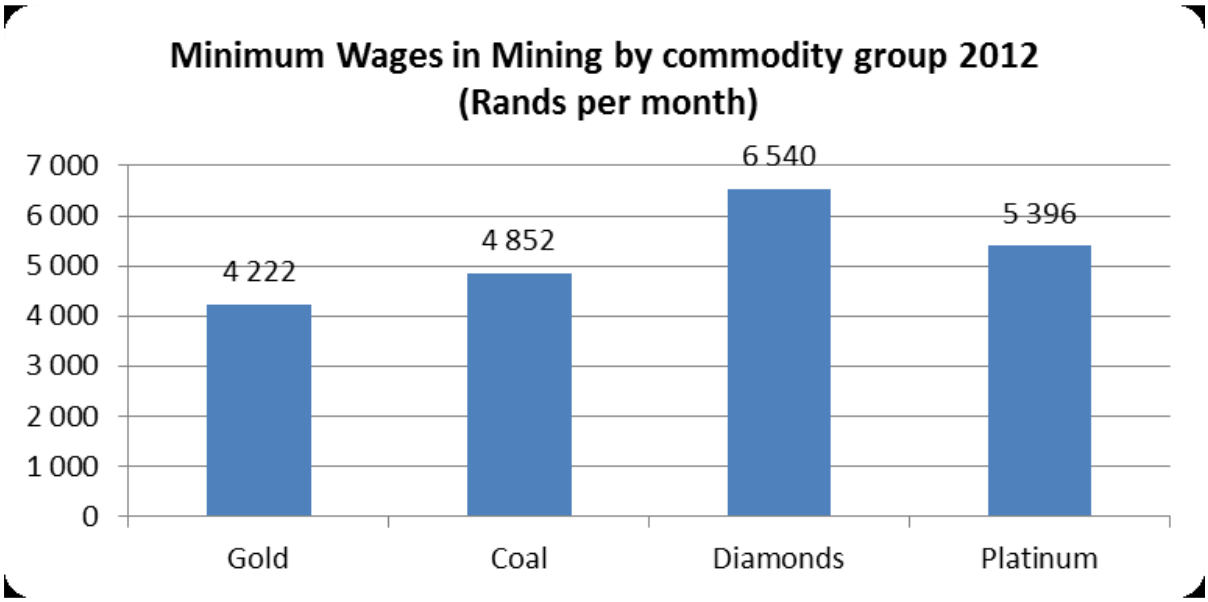


Figure 5: Source: LRS data base

This graph mirrors the wage situation in the South African mining industry in 2012. The salaries at the time were relatively low especially in an industry that leads the country's economy in terms of revenue. These findings by LRS were, however, before the six-month strike and wage negotiations that engulfed the platinum belt. AMCU tabled an entry salary of R12 500. In corroboration with some of the claims made in relation to the steady increase in mineworker salaries in the last six years, it is imperative to study the graph in Figure 6.

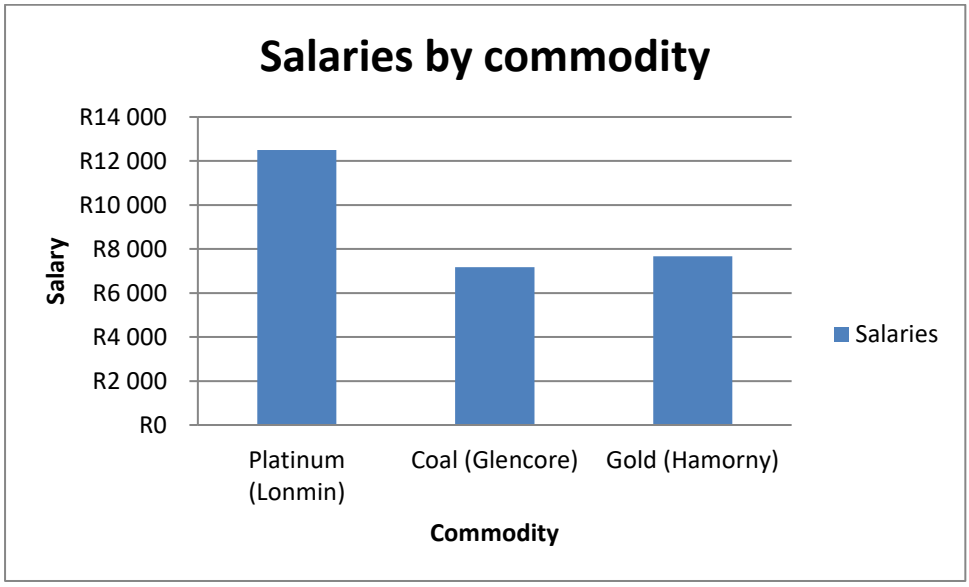


Figure 6: Salaries by commodity 2018

The entry-level salaries in different commodities were selected randomly for the graph in Figure 10. Data on coal is based on the 2015 to 2016 wage agreements between MCSA and their concerned unions. Data on the gold industry were sourced from MCSA on the gold industry wage negotiations for 2018. The data on the platinum industry are based on the wage agreement between AMCU and mining companies in the platinum belt. As depicted, wages in the platinum belt surpass those of other commodities. Notwithstanding the latter, the ways for other previous commodities have improved by at least R2 000 since 2012. Moreover, the gold and coal sector had resumed negotiations with employer representatives at the time this chapter was authored. This, therefore, suggests that some wages are likely to have improved significantly since then.

Permanent and sub- contracted workers

The primary focus of this study is on permanent workers in the platinum belt. However, it would be an injustice to ignore the growing number of sub-contracted workers that have been a noticeable feature of the South African mining industry. "*Amandla!!! Ngawethu!!!"* is a slogan that suggests that power rests with the people. Although this may true in many contexts, neoliberalism that came with labour market flexibility has resulted in atypical forms of employment, including sub-contractors that have taken back some of this power. Forrest (2015) stated that a third of mineworkers in Rustenburg, about 38 000 were contracted and 105 069 were permanent. Having a third of the workforce on short-term contracts is a threat to job security and subsequently livelihoods. Organised labour does not represent sub-contacted workers and thus, whatever gains are made through organised labour do not translate to workers outside of unions (Buhlungu 2010). Consequently, worker classified to be sub-contracted are often left outside. Large pay gaps, therefore, are a consequence between contracted and permanent workers (Forrest 2015). To stress this point, Forrest (2015: 517) who thus elucidated these disparities in detail:

> *Wide pay differences result between contracted and permanent labour doing the same work, at times alongside each other. One Amplats permanent RDO earned R8804 per month basic, plus an RDO allowance of R1000 which, if taken with a living out allowance (LOA) of R1 737 and overtime of R1000, amounted to R11 641. Another permanent Implats RDO earned a basic of R6540 per month, and LOA of R1850, and an extra shift of R536 amounting to R8390. By contrast, one contracted RDO earned a basic of R3 060 plus a bonus of R1080, amounting to R4 140 (with net pay of R1688 after deductions including a garnishee court order deduction to pay creditors at the point of salary payout of R969). Another contracted RDO earned a flat R3920. At Implats the basic rate for a winch scraper*

was R4 488 per month plus a bonus of R3 657 and LOA of R1 296, which amounted to R9441. The basic rate for a contracted winch scraper was R3 230. Incorrect job descriptions and grading amongst contracted workers also resulted in large differentials. At one company, a contracted load haul dumper (LHD) was earning R15,600 whilst a contracted colleague doing the same work earned R4750 because he was graded as a transporter rather than an LHD (Worker C 2013). Variations in shifts also meant contract labour was unable to predict monthly earnings. A belt attendant contract worker paid on a shift basis rather than on a basic rate earned R1 367 for 12 shifts and another R3 283 for 19 shifts. Contracted labour nearly always earned significantly lower rates, sometimes by as much as R3 000–R4 000, than permanents in the same job category.

The quote above shows significant shifts from a cheap labour regime to a decent wage regime. Similarly, this quote also demonstrates inequalities and segmentation within the labour force. What this means, therefore, is that while there may be a similar if not the same experience for workers underground, rewards certainly do not mirror the experiences. This suggests that our understanding of *ina-ethe* migration must be within the context of continuities and discontinuities as other workers can be argued to still be experiencing a cheap wage regime even post-Marikana. In other words, the victories of the Marikana events cannot or should not be viewed from a homogenous outlook. Subcontractors perhaps should be viewed as the greatest loss that has led to a fragmented and segmentation of the workforce.

3.12. Employment trends in the South African mining industry post-apartheid

One of the significant shifts in South African employment trends has been on the recruitment front. TEBA, an institution that has historically been on the forefront in the recruitment local labour no longer operates to the same significance. At its prime post-apartheid, the institution operated a database of over three million workers. Workers currently seek employment by themselves. They rely on themselves and their networks in the LRAs to find jobs (Forrest 2015). Thus, the significance of TEBA has declined significantly *(ibid).*

As winds of change came over TEBA, so have they in employment patterns across the industry. In 1980, the gold industry employed almost 800 000 workers. Two decades later this changed significantly as gold employed just over 400 000 workers (Forrest 2015; Stats SA 2001). A decade earlier, the gold industry had also recorded numbers below the 400 000 mark at 376 473 workers (Chinguno 2013b). The platinum industry has historically employed far less employees than gold such that in 1990 the industry employed just above a quarter of what was in gold in the same period at 60 000. In 2012, the demand for platinum caused a sharp increase in employment numbers seeing the industry reach 197 847 personnel.

As it has been happening steadily over the years in gold, the number of workers in the platinum industry has also steadily declined due to job losses caused by weak commodity prices, decline in demand for commodities and a weak currency (Capel 2015). Figure 11 illustrates this steady decline in employment numbers by commodity.

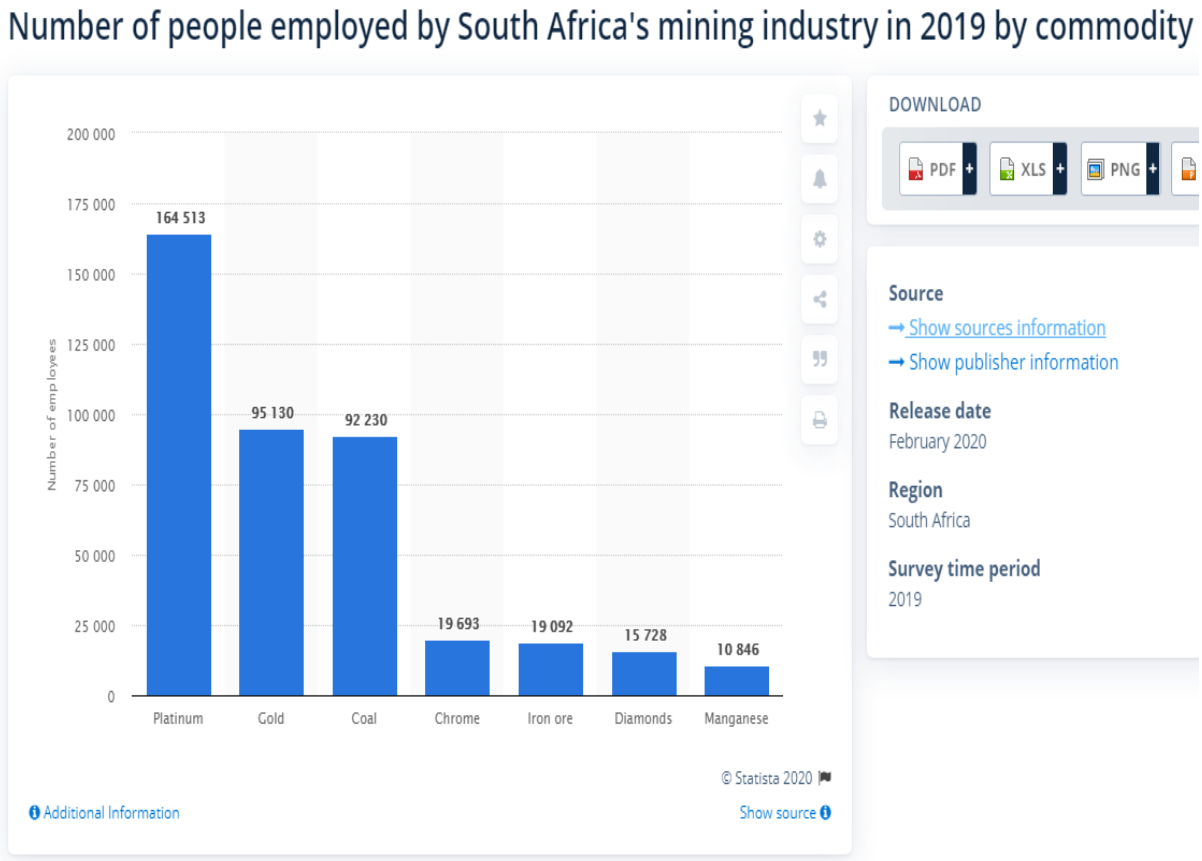


Figure 7: Number of people employed by the SA mining industry 2019. Source: Satista

While the numbers of employment especially in platinum and gold has been declining over the years, Stoddard (2020) reported that this trend of job losses has shifted a bit as mining companies are employing a few more workers. Stoddard's report was based on the MCSA's *Facts and Figure* publication, which stated that there was an 0.8% increase in the number of workers employed by the mining industry. As noted earlier in this chapter, the mining sector employed 523 632 workers in 2012. In 2018, this number had dropped to 456 438, signifying a significant number in job losses. By the end of 2019, however, these numbers increased again to 460 015 *(ibid).*

3.13. Conclusion

This chapter provided a literature survey of the mining migrant labour trajectory in South Africa to date. First, early migrant labour migrant labour in its different facets of the colonial, apartheid and post-apartheid periods were discussed. The different laws that maintained a perennial flow of a cheap labour supply were provided so as to illuminate the coercive nature of the system and its brutality over the years. Although briefly, the role of Southern African countries in providing a cheap labour force to South African mines that were in a dire need for a labour force was outlined. Also, in order to show how the system of migrancy has sustained state and privately-owned institutions that secured the existence of the system in the continent is discussed. In this regard, compounds, traditional authorities, recruiting agencies and government as institutions were, therefore, explored. The historic relations between Mpondo men and the mines over the years have also been explored. This chapter ends with specific discussions on migrant labour to Rustenburg and events that have engulfed the platinum belt. These include but are not limited to events preceding and post-Marina, wages and employment trends.

Chapter 4: Methodology

4.1. Introduction

In the previous chapters, I provided an introduction, background and an overview of the study. The Mpondo men's continued reliance on migrant labour was briefly outlined.

This chapter serves as a blueprint to the whole study in that it takes the reader through the entire research process. An explanation of where and why various things occurred during the research process is provided. In essence, the different methodologies employed in the entire research process are outlined. Guided and centred on the extended case method approach, these multiple methods include ethnography, participant observation, in-depth interviews and the use of secondary data.

4.2. Research design and methodology

The field of social sciences is a contested terrain. One may assume that this is a result of the multiplicity of disciplines that exist in the field. Regardless of the veracity of this assumption, the different epistemological and ontological underpinnings in each of the disciplines cannot be overlooked. Consequently, it is imperative for researchers to locate their work within a particular school of thought so as to assist the broader direction of the research process.

Accordingly, researchers are often confronted with choosing the type of method they intend using to address the research problem (Babbie & Mouton 2008). In my experience, the decision is often determined by what kind and how many respondents are of interest to the researcher, how the researcher wants to conduct the research and ultimately, how the researcher wants to present the findings upon completion of the study. This decision often depends on whether a qualitative or quantitative research approach has been employed. The former is ontologically entrenched and is concerned with questions of social entities. It is concerned with whether or not "social entities can and should be considered objective entities that have a reality external to social actors, or whether they can and should be considered social constructions built up from the perceptions and actions of social actors" (Bryman 2012:32). The latter is epistemologically entrenched and therefore, interested in whether or not the social world can and/or should be studied through the lenses of natural sciences, that is, a positivist outlook.

All research studies are interested in giving an account of all the collected data, that is, the maximum representation of the findings. Neuman (2011:165) stated, "We strive to collect empirical data systematically and to examine data patterns so that we can better understand and explain social life." For the purposes of this study, both qualitative and quantitative research

methods were employed to illustrate and support the claims and suggestions made. Accordingly, a multiplicity of data collection methods, that is, a triangulation of methods was employed. Triangulation refers to the use of multiple methods of obtaining data. For example, in this study, I utilised in-depth interviews, informal dialogue, and ethnography or observation to collect data. Neuman (2011:164) used the example of surveyors and sailors; he stated, "Surveyors and sailors measure distance between objects by taking observations from multiple angles or viewpoints." He argued that by doing this they tend to acquire a good fix on an object's true location. He added that in social sciences, the same model of taking multiple measures of the same phenomenon by using different tools should be adopted. Consequently, in this study, I used multiple methods to collect data and further analysed statistical documents in the form of census data. The use of these multiple methods was motivated by the fact that by using triangulation one improves the reliability and validity of the findings (Neuman 2011). The merits of these different methods are discussed subsequently. In the following section, I discuss what I have referred to as an overarching method of data collection. Furthermore, how I applied its logic in a quest to make the maximum use of it by employing other data collection methods, namely, dialogue, observation and interviews is discussed.

4.3. The extended case method

Primarily as means to collect data, I employed the logic of the extended case method. According to Burawoy (1998), this method is based on the premise of a reflexive model, that is, a model which is concerned with not distancing itself from the persons it intends to study. Furthermore, this model is based on multiple methods such as dialogue, observation and in-depth interviews in an interim journey to discover social realities about the respondents of interest.

Burawoy (1998:5) stated, "The extended case method applies reflexive science to ethnography in order to extract the general from the unique, to move from micro to macro and to connect the present to the past in anticipation of the future, all by building on pre-existing theory." Burawoy explained the extended method by first acknowledging that the concept was coined at the Manchester School of Anthropology. He argued by using the case of the Manchester School of Anthropology that instead of collecting data from informants, the anthropologists at the school applied the logic of the extended case method. He noted that these researchers began to record their respondents' behaviour in a given space and during a specific time, thus, subjecting themselves to objective data. In this process, they observed the everyday lives, events, dramas and struggles of their respondents. Consequently, they were able to understand

the normative, causes and consequences by understanding the life trajectories of the people they studied (Burawoy 1998). The extended case method, as Burawoy used it, is grounded on the will to understand social phenomena across space and time. Burawoy's extended case method is embedded in ethnographic research. According to Burawoy, ethnographic logic has two facets. Researchers can either contain it or use it to their advantage. In the first facet, researchers minimise their involvement with participants and consequently, observe them from a distance and learn about them from others and/or intermediaries. Survey research is an example (*ibid*). Burawoy noted that in the second facet, researchers can assume a theory that guides them in their interaction with participants. This approach rejects the latter and assumes a reflexive model of science that encourages attachment rather than detachment from participants. The extended case method's use of a multiplicity of methods, which assumes a somewhat closer proximity to the participants in terms of relations and otherwise, was adopted.

In relation to the extended case study, one may ask what the researcher is extending. As noted previously, this study was conducted in two main geographical areas in the country: The Eastern Cape Province (home province) and the North West Province. Consequently, the interest of wanting to understand this group of people over a period of time called for the use of the extended case method, which focuses on understanding respondents in different spaces and time with the intention of obtaining robust data. Therefore, in this study, I extended by studying and understanding mineworkers through their families and their places of birth as well as the place in which they resided at the time of the study. The purpose of this study was to understand the mineworker's life trajectory through his family and also to understand the family itself before endeavouring to understand the mineworker and his experience. Burawoy (1998) referred to this as reflexive research. Therefore, methodologically, the contribution of this study is that it is the first of its kind to explore the mineworker from his household to his working place.

4.4. Research sites

It is necessary to locate the reader geographically into the research areas before discussing the research sites to afford readers the opportunity to organise their thoughts around some of the arguments and claims made in the subsequent chapter. The map of the Eastern Cape Province is depicted in Figure 5. Flagstaff and Lusikisiki, the towns where the research was conducted, can be found in the north-east of the province, close to the coastal line. These two places are referred to as LSAs and/or labour reserves.

Source: https://www.sleeping-out.co.za/Eastern-Cape-Map.asp Accessed 21 May 2018

Figure 8: Map of the Eastern Cape Province

The map of the OR Tambo District Municipality can be found in Figure 6. The exact geographical areas where labour continues to be sourced is depicted. Local municipalities including IHLM as the municipality in question are shown.

Source: https://municipalities.co.za/map/1035/ingquza-hill-local-municipality Accessed 21 May 2018

Figure 9: Map of the OR Tambo District Municipality

The map of the North West Province in which Rustenburg is a LRA and a place of work, is depicted in Figure 7. The distance between Rustenburg Municipality as a LRA and IHLM as a LSA is 948 kilometres.

Source: https://www.sleeping-out.co.za/North-West-Map.asp Accessed 21 May 2018

Figure 10: Map of the North West Province

By employing the same logic of the extended case method, this study was conducted in three areas: Flagstaff, Lusikisiki and Rustenburg (Nkaneng). I chose Flagstaff, which is my place of birth, and Lusikisiki as the research sites because they form part of the larger Mpondoland region. Mpondoland as a region and the two towns of Flagstaff and Lusikisiki form part of the former Bantustans and therefore, were reserves and sources for mining migrant labour. Previous research experiences in other projects, literature, statistics and being born in Flagstaff have taught me that the Mpondoland region and in particular, these two towns still comprise a significant number of people who continue to take up mining migrant work in different mining towns and specifically, Rustenburg. Therefore, I believed that the availability of prospective research respondents would be high in these towns. Accordingly, when I commenced the study and after a prolonged stay in the field around these areas, my assumption was proven to be correct; even though they could not all be selected as respondents, I discovered many potential

respondents. My choice of these two towns was also based on my familiarity with the region and therefore, I was almost guaranteed access to execute the research plan as an insider. However, in such cases, researchers often battle with the question of positionality because of their proximity to the people under study. Although I took this into account, I relied on the time spent doing ethnographic work and how it changes one's original view of his or her respondents as well as the respondents' view about the researcher over time.

More specifically, I chose Ndakeni village in Flagstaff and Mdikana village in Lusikisiki for ethnographic work. Ndakeni village is my home village and therefore, I was certain men from the village worked in the mines. Furthermore, because I am known in the village, access would be easier. I gained access to Mdikana by a family acquaintance. The remaining respondents came from the villages; Six trees, Kwa-Ngocoya and Ngobozane in Lusikisiki, and Galatyeni, Ndakeni, New Town and Zama Zama location in Flagstaff.

The second and very important phase of this research was conducted in the townships of Sondela and Nkaneng informal settlements in Rustenburg in the North West Province. Rustenburg was chosen as a research site because the platinum boom has diverted attention from the gold belt as the primary employer of choice, which was the case since the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand in 1886. Consequently, currently, most men who leave their households in the Eastern Cape for the mines are likely to choose the platinum belt over other possible destinations. It is fashionable for young men in Mpondoland and in particular, in the towns of Flagstaff and Lusikisiki to search for employment in Rustenburg. Furthermore, Rustenburg epitomises a contemporary mining town in South Africa in which I was confronted with both old and new challenges as I sought to understand the dynamics of mining migrant labour currently.

Most of the ethnographic study was conducted on a day-to-day basis in Sondela. Networks had advised me that the targeted population group for the study could be found in the township. The majority of the in-depth interviews was conducted in Sondela based on the amount of time spent in the area. Nkaneng informal settlement has become a very popular settlement that interests most researchers because of its proximity to Marikana where mineworkers were massacred and thus, the insight of its people is sought. Accordingly, Nkaneng also became a research site. It offered a different set of data because I gained access to its modern mining hostel. Due to networks and the contact person in the area, I also encountered a much older generation of mineworkers.

4.5. The application of the extended case method

Applying the extended case method meant studying the worker from his home or household in Lusikisiki and Flagstaff through his family and surroundings as well as following him to his workplace and surroundings in Rustenburg. During the nine-month period, I spent conducting this study, I constantly tried to implement the extended case method approach. I was cognisant that my location in both the Eastern Cape and North West were not exclusive but an extension to understand the mineworkers. First, I immersed myself into the communities of the mineworkers and their families. Overtime, having gained access, I got into constant engagements with community members and family members in an attempt to understand the life where the mineworkers came from and their specific family dynamics. After a time and with the improved rapport between myself, the families and community, people grew comfortable and began to talk more about their everyday realities that have seen family members, friends and neighbours continuing to rely on migrant work. This research experience, with observation at the centre, offered me an extended experience of Flagstaff and Lusikisiki as spaces of social and economic activity. Thus, in some ways, it also assisted in the understanding of justifications and reasons for continued reliance on migrant labour as expressed by the people in the region. As noted previously, living with mineworkers' families as extensions of the mineworkers offered insights into the rationale of individuals' migratory decisions. This is expressed at length in the discussion of the findings.

4.6. Gaining and negotiating access

Even in regular social set-ups such as social clubs, churches, schools and even braais to which one receives an invitation, it is often very difficult to immerse one's self in an already existing group of people. In these spaces, different people in these groups can either openly welcome or overtly resist one. How one reacts to that reception often determines the length and success of one's stay in that particular group or community. This is no different for researchers who often get into spaces where they are often unknown and strangers that are looking for something that benefits them. This is often a difficult position. Bryman (2012) highlighted this stage of negotiating access as being the most difficult in the quest to solve a research problem. Indeed, the three phases of the fieldwork process in this study were most difficult. What made negotiating access somewhat easier was the fact that I was accessing open communities as opposed to closed communities and/or organisations. Although this was the case, entering people's homes is always difficult because it involves infiltrating their personal spaces. Mosoetsa (2011:18) alluded to the latter: "The dynamics of this research process were often

complicated. Entering people's personal spaces and asking difficult questions such as 'How do you survive?' required great sensitivity." Mosoetsa also used the participant observation method, which she commended as the best method when becoming immersed into people's lives because one does not have to pose questions.

Going into people's households in the absence of men who are often the head of a household in traditional communities added an element of sensitivity to this study. In traditional communities, entering another's home may be regarded as invading if one is not properly announced and not introduced to the neighbours. Consequently, I had to request permission not only from the wives who were at home but also their husbands as the heads of the households before I entered their homes. Fortunately, the wives of these mineworkers acted as intermediaries in that they informed their husbands of my wishes and thus, I was granted permission to enter the respective households. This access to the households and individuals is discussed in detail in the next section.

4.6.1. Gaining and negotiating access in Ndakeni and Mdikana Locations

As stated previously, Ndakeni location is my village of birth. Consequently, I chose to start my fieldwork there. I also believed that by making my home village, where I felt comfortable, the first of my research sites, my study would gain momentum. Thus, this would allow me to make mistakes in a place where I knew my stay could be extended with comfort should the need arise. However, this was not necessary.

My access to the village was a natural one as I am also a son of the village and therefore, a stranger to none. However, I still needed permission to obtain access to the identified household. Because I understand the politics of the village in which young men visiting houses of migrated men is frowned upon, I asked an elder family relative to approach the family on my behalf to explain my intentions before I visited to explain the nature of my study. I was subsequently invited to the household. Furthermore, the head of the household in Rustenburg openly approved of my stay in his home. My access to this household in Ndakeni was also made easy because my family and the family in question attend the same church. Consequently, the families enjoy mutual respect, which enhanced their trust in my intentions as a researcher.

Although more difficult than the situation in my home village, that in Mdikana location was not very different. I identified a man from Lusikisiki who worked for a cooperative, which my mother had started, and was also a minister of a church. I asked him kindly to identify someone for me that would be willing assist so that I could observe that person's family. He had a

congregant that he was certain would oblige. Consequently, after my observation in Ndakeni, I moved to Mdikana. I was openly welcomed by the homeowner. However, my role in their home was not clearly understood because they had many adult children who still lived at home. These adult children all had daily commitments and thus, it was difficult to gain their trust. Consequently, I explained my intentions to them individually when they were available. The length of the ethnographic study helped me as with time I earned their complete trust. Because I was observing a household in a community, some community members who saw my vehicle parked asked who I was and what I was doing there. In the interest of openness, I explained the purpose of my research. Consequently, during my stay, a number of people sat with me and engaged in all sorts of discussions.

4.6.2. Gaining access to Sondela and Nkaneng in Rustenburg

My experience in Rustenburg was the total opposite of how I had experienced negotiating and gaining access in Ndakeni and Mdikana. First, in Sondela, which became my main research site, I did not know anyone that could help me access mineworkers. My living arrangements made it more difficult to have access to mineworkers in that I rented a place called Million Dollar from a fellow PhD student from the area, just outside Sondela, which had more locals that migrant mineworkers. During my first days of observation in Sondela, I found it difficult to identify anyone I could confidently say was a mineworker. Even after I had identified them, it was also difficult to know whether they were from Flagstaff or Lusikisiki, my target group. This was made more difficult by the fact that mineworkers have awkward shifts. For example, some worked from 22:00 until 8:00 the next morning and thus, slept during the day, which made it very difficult to meet with them.

On the first day, I decided to park my car at a car wash and make copies of my consent forms. Consequently, I also introduced myself as a researcher to those around. I learned about shift systems from the car wash owners and workers who were mainly Shangaans from Mozambique as well as a young man from Port St Johns who worked at the internet café where my copies were made. He was waiting for an opening at one of the local mines so that he could soon take up mine work. Once the people at the car wash and internet café knew about me, this became my regular spot as I tried to familiarise myself with patterns of work in Sondela and meet new people that would be beneficial to my study. However, a week later, it became apparent that the identified spot would not yield results and therefore, I needed to change my strategy.

A gentleman rented a backroom from my colleague at the university behind the house I rented. He was from Lusikisiki and worked at Impala Platinum mine as an electrician. It became apparent to me that he satisfied the demographic criteria of the people that I wanted to interview. Strategically, I decided to use him as a contact person that would help me identify others and not ask him to be a respondent. Unfortunately, because of his busy schedule he was unable to directly assist me, but referred me to a young man, Gomen who played for the same football club as him. Gomen had recently finished his matric and was waiting for an opportunity to go to college or university the following year. I introduced myself and the study to Gomen who then advised me on how we would go about identifying possible respondents. He suggested that I attended his team's football matches and training sessions as it only comprised people from Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. Consequently, I attended their training sessions and trained beside these gentlemen and was slowly introduced to them until such time I was known as a person and researcher. It was also important that I became visible on weekends too. Consequently, I enjoyed drinks with the gentlemen and on occasion, bought drinks for them; the norm of where we all come from. Being around these mineworkers regularly allowed for deeper trust and friendships. As we sat and socialised we would agree on days when interviews would be conducted with certain individuals. Some even alerted me that they were ready to talk and therefore, suggested a date.

When the consenting cohort from the football club was finished, Gomen suggested that we engage in door-to-door visits and ask people to participate. These visits were based on his knowledge of the people that liked him as a young man in Sondela and admired his football skills. These men would also help us identify others through the snowballing method.

In Nkaneng, a neighbour from my home village who had worked in the mines for more than 40 years helped me to identify Disco. His wife, a school teacher, had worked with my mother before she retired. Therefore, I used that network to access Disco. Nkaneng is a few kilometres from Sondela where my research was primarily based and therefore, on some weekdays and weekends I spent time with Disco and his colleagues who were a much older group than the cohort in Sondela. We visited their *Isibaya* (Kraal) located about 400 metres from the residential units. I explained my research to Disco. As an adult with children at university, he understood and invited some of his colleagues to listen so they would understand that there was no harm in participating in an interview. I went to residential units with him where he introduced me and my work. He, therefore, helped me set up appointments with those that obliged.

4.6.3. Gaining access to wives of mineworkers in Mpondoland

The women whose houses I observed assisted me in identifying other women who were the wives of migrant workers based in Rustenburg. While on some occasions they introduced me and the research, on other occasions I went on my own and asked if I could interview various people. I also used the database from a previous study I had conducted for the Sociology of Work Unit (SWOP) at the University of the Witwatersrand to identify women that could assist me with this study. Because of our previous relations, they were helpful and willing to assist me with my personal research.

4.7. Selection of respondents

In this section, the selection of the respondents is discussed including who and why I chose them for this study. Mason (1996:83) defined sampling and selection as "principles and procedures used to identify, choose, and gain access to relevant units which will be used for data generation by any method." She further stated that populations of interest are often too large and at times, challenging to access. She added that it is mere practicality that necessitates researchers to focus on a particular rather than the whole. In her assertions, she used an example of a researcher that may be interested in studying British women and argued it would be a practical impossibility to interview all of them. Likewise, it would have been impractical to interview all men from Mpondoland who work in Rustenburg as well as their families. Consequently, in this study I opted to conduct research based on 40 in-depth interviews with mineworkers and 10 in-depth interviews with mineworkers' wives. It is noteworthy that the 10 wives that participated in this study were not necessarily the wives of the 40 mineworkers that participated in this study. Although this would have been ideal, it proved rather challenging and time consuming to negotiate.

The primary respondents were mineworkers across ages. I made a deliberate attempt to have a good age representation because of the generational differences and experience of the mining space amongst the different mineworkers. The respondents were classified into three age group categories: 24-35, 36-49 and 50-65 years. Gender representation was irrelevant in this study because it had no scientific significance with regard to what the study sought to achieve. The families of mineworkers and wives of mineworkers were secondary respondents. I employed the western definition of nuclear family, which included the wife or husband of the mineworker and their immediate children in the household. In cases where the mineworkers were not married, I focused on the household, which the respondent identified as a family.

I was concerned with also interviewing families of mineworkers because the primary purpose of the study was to understand why people continue to rely on migrant work post-apartheid. I am of the view that the act of migrating cannot be solely understood from only the position of the actor but those affected as well. Therefore, I believed that there were sociological nuances that could be drawn from the side of the family.

4.8. Methods of collecting data

Participant observation - I am cognisant of the dilemmas of participant observation as noted by Babbie and Mouton (2008) and May (2011), specifically, being a member of a group while observing the group at the same time and the challenge of whether to be overt or covert in one's observation. Literature has suggested fundamental characteristics of this method that necessitates its adoption in research. This method is concerned with first-hand information that includes the researcher being involved in the day-to-day practical activities of the subjects under study. Moreover, it further refers to the observation and recording of the culture, language and economic and social practices of the people or village being studied (Babbie & Mouton 2008; Bryman 2012; Marshall & Rossman 1995; May 2001). During the study, after immersing myself into the field during the first week, it was easy to forget that I was an outsider. This was beneficial for the people who were being observed because they felt free with me not standing at a distance or frequently asking questions as events unfolded. During significant moments of interest, I became aware of my role as a researcher. Accordingly, day-to-day recordings centred on what stood out. Moreover, because personal information was of interest in this study, my approach to the field was openly covert thus allowing the observed to clarify certain things, which they thought were important for my study.

In-depth interviews – Face-to-face in-depth interviews were conducted to collect data. Mason (1996) stated that face-to-face in-depth interviews offer the researcher an opportunity to gather information about the phenomena being studied from the perspective of the social actor or the person being studied. Babbie and Mouton (2008) and May (1996) further stated that the method of in-depth interviewing allows for the observation of non-verbal cues when one engages in this purposeful conversation with the social actor. At times, respondents, especially when asked sensitive questions may give certain responses while their body language and/or nonverbal cues indicate another response. Respondents' verbal responses may contradict their body language. Therefore, this method allows the researcher to make a personal assessment beyond what has been said. Moreover, the conversational nature of this data collection method gives the researcher the opportunity to develop rapport properly with the respondent as the conversation

matures. Consequently, this leads to mutual trust and likeliness of reliable data (Marshall & Rossman 1996). This method was applied and proved successful during the duration of the research process.

Secondary information – Bryman (2012:549) noted, "The state is the source of a great deal of information of potential significance for social researchers. It produces a great deal of statistical information. In addition to such quantitative data, the state is a source of a great deal of textual material of potential interest, such as Acts of Parliament and official reports." Statistical outputs from Stats SA and various municipal websites and reports were employed in this study. The country's constitution as well as prior and current government Acts were also used as secondary information. Finally, journal and newspaper articles, books and websites were also employed as secondary sources.

Audio recording – Audio recordings are said to be a challenge as historically, people have never wanted their opinions and voices to be kept for long lest their views are used unethically. However, before the interviews were conducted, the respondents consented to having their interviews recorded. I explained that I would not be able to write down everything they said during their interviews.

4.9. Ethical considerations

Babbie and Mouton (2008) asserted, "Ethical issues always arise out of our interaction with other people, other beings (such as animals), and the environment, especially where there is potential for or is a conflict of interests." In many fields in the social sciences including Philosophy, Psychology, Sociology, History and Anthropology, ethical issues are debated constantly. People have argued at various levels that what may be ethical for one may not necessarily be ethical for another. However, the ethical standards of social research were adhered to in this study. This was achieved through a thorough study of the code of research ethics prescribed by the Faculty of Humanities at the University of Pretoria as well as the intense study of the ethics involved in social research methods. I had to self-introspect for biases and be aware of possible material and notions that could infringe on ethical codes and standards. Consequently, I adhered to a number of ethical practices, which are subsequently discussed.

4.10. Voluntary participation and informed consent

Researchers have to adhere to the code of voluntary participation. Wagenaar and Babbie (2004) stated that social researchers often agree on five basic principles of ethical considerations of

which voluntary participation is the first. They further stated that this principle is important in that often when researchers enter the field, it may be perceived as an intrusion by a stranger into people's personal lives. Therefore, it is imperative to obtain informed consent from respondents especially as research often involves divulging personal information. I ensured the people in the different spaces where this study was conducted were fully aware and understood that they were under no obligation to take part in the study. I also assured them that they could withdraw if they did not feel comfortable with the questions. Respondents were approached verbally for consent and later presented with an informed consent form, which they had to sign before the interviews were conducted.

All the interviews were recorded; as noted previously, this was explained to each respondent. All introductions that included names and the respondents' clan names were done before the audio recorder was switched on in the interest of protecting identities. Although the respondents were regarded as semi-educated and accordingly, I expected them to resist being recorded, they showed understanding that it would be difficult to capture a conversation in writing.

4.11. Physical and psychological harm

Neither did this study involve any physical contact with the respondents nor did it subject them to any automotive or moving object and therefore, no physical harm was done to any of the respondents. The questions asked were related to basic family history, livelihood, and life in the mining communities and therefore, the respondents were not asked any types of questions that would render them to psychological harm or something linear.

4.12. Deception

Big international and local surveys often reward participants and others, unethically so, and even make grand promises of how the research outcomes will directly affect them positively. Those who have taken part in prior surveys often assume that any other researcher will either have rewards when looking for respondents and/or will make grand life changing statements about the future of the people should they participate in the research. This has been a challenge, particularly in urban settings where market research is growing at a rapid pace. In this study, the deception of the respondents and prospective respondents was avoided entirely. Bryman (2012:143) explained, "Deception occurs when researchers represent their work as something other than what it is." In this study, I first clearly expressed that I was a student at a university who was merely interested in carrying out interviews and observations for degree purposes. I

added that I was the one in need of help as opposed to the other way around, which is often the case when researchers enter the field. Consequently, people expected nothing of me or from me, but an enquiry based on my research interest. In other situations, people often want to benefit by asking what they gain from taking part in the study. Fortunately, in the case of my research, as an insider-outsider, many respondents were happy to associate with me and remarked that it was good to see one of their own studying the mining industry as opposed to typical cases where they have had to deal with people who were absolute strangers to them.

4.13. Confidentiality and anonymity

Babbie (1998:440) stated, "The clearest concern in the protection of subjects' well-being is the protection of their identity, especially in survey research. If revealing their survey responses would injure them in any way, adherence to this norm becomes all the more important." In ensuring the two norms of confidentiality and anonymity simultaneously, I ensured that there was no use or abuse of people's names. I also ensured that people's shared information was not abused by linking it to people's names. Anonymity and confidentiality were of prime importance and therefore, the respondents were allocated pseudo names after their interviews. Consequently, no response can be linked to any of the respondents.

4.14. Risk to respondents

The nature of this research and questions asked posed no threat or harm either physically or otherwise to those that participated in the study. Consequently, at the beginning of each interview, the respondents were assured that there would be no direct or indirect implications because of their contribution to the study.

4.15. Reflexivity: The experience of research in Flagstaff, Lusikisiki and Sondela, Rustenburg

In the process of social enquiry on any phenomenon, we enter the field and naturally have an impact on ourselves and those around us in some way. This can either be a direct or indirect influence on that particular social setting and more so when conducting ethnographic research, which implies direct encounters with people in their natural settings. Moreover, we enter the space that is the field with our own sociological assumptions and therefore, in some way, intellectual positions that may affect how we conduct our intellectual project. In this study, I, as the researcher, needed to be conscious of this as I infiltrated different spaces and stayed amongst people regularly that I would not otherwise have done. Accordingly, this critical situation of awareness about one's self as an external-internal force was an invitation for me to apply reflexivity based on encounters with the field. Bourdieu (1992) writing on epistemic

reflexivity highlighted three types of biases, which he suggested may blur researchers' positions in the field. These biases include social, academic, and the intellectualist biases. Social bias is that which includes the researchers' class and gender. Bourdieu argued this is the most obvious and can easily be controlled by the researcher. In relation to the academic, he suggested that sociologists often have a perspective of their work, which can often be swayed. Intellectualist bias is based on the notion that researchers enter the field with their own ideas merely to interpret events as they see them and not to solve them. Therefore, he argued that this may be a missed opportunity to inform (see also Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992).

As noted previously, the study was conducted in three main areas: Flagstaff, Lusikisiki and Rustenburg. My interaction with these three spaces was affected by at least one of the three biases. Flagstaff and Ndakeni location, where the ethnographic work was conducted, are my town and village of birth, respectively. When I chose this area as a research space, I was conscious of the fact that in terms of village class position because I come from a middle-class background, people would somehow fill obligated to participate in the study for association reasons. Furthermore, my own mother is a community leader in church and other local organisations that strive for the livelihood of rural people through cooperatives. I realise that her involvement in such noble courses may have influenced how people reacted to my presence in their homes and during general interactions. However, the challenge of working with people that you grew up in front of is that they continue to view you as a child and therefore, there was continuous pressure to impress and demonstrate maturity in order for people to be in a space in which they would share the most confidential information about themselves and their families. In many parts of rural South Africa, questions of age and seniority are very pertinent and play an important role on what you can access as information as well as the type of questions you may ask your elders. The question of seniority and class position applied in Mdikana, Lusikisiki as people felt they needed to go out of their way to accommodate my assumed needs even though I had expressed none. Where gender is concerned, on all occasions and regardless of the age gap between the respondents who were old enough to be my parents and me, there was the societal issue of a stranger frequenting an absent husband's house. This was an issue because historically in LSAs such as Flagstaff and Lusikisiki there have been cases of infidelity involving young contractors and wives of mostly absconded mineworkers and/or generally other young men in the village. My situation was not unique, but this invited me to seek further involvement in the community social setups in order to earn trust and respectability as a researcher on site. Time spent with people during the ethnographic

experience became an important factor for people to trust me as a researcher interested in a particular issue and more, importantly a researcher who was one of the one people. In other words, I was a researcher that could no longer be considered to be from the outside.

Not much was different in Rustenburg because I also had to consider positionality entering a mining community where questions or questioning and/or observation was not openly welcome owing to the historic nature of mineworkers and journalists who are often perceived to be spying for management in instances of industrial action. Social bias was again the most prominent in that there was a class dynamic with the researcher entering the predominantly working-class group of people that lived in RDP houses and other informal settlements. Although this may, in some ways, have naturally created a gap between researcher and respondents, the opposite was achieved. My obvious middle-class background because of my association with the university was declared and knowledge about certain things that the respondents seemed to aspire to drew us closer in that I served as a bridge between them and their aspirations. For example, because were aware of me being a student, some expressed wishes of obtaining qualifications and others wanted university application forms for their siblings and children. In these situations, I was able to offer advice and therefore, I was openly welcomed. By going into a community with mostly males from the Eastern Cape, my gender also contrary to the meanings given by Bourdieu, played a significant role in that we understood each other on a certain level having all gone through similar rites of passage.

Academic bias is one of the most common errors committed by researchers in the field because often most have preconceived notions of what the complexion of the field will be like. However, researchers also try hard to remove themselves from those notions with and without success. Although this study was not exempt from this bias, the number of months spent conducting ethnographic work assisted me as the researcher to unlearn some of the biases and interpret data as it manifested itself. Thus, the study, which was conducted over a nine-month period, benefitted.

4.16. Limitations of doing research in rural areas

All research comprises limitations, which may be linked to the researcher or field. The researcher may experience conflict in relation to the field or the limitations may be associated with the experience of the field itself. I encountered both.

The limitations that were related to the field and me were due to the fact that I studied a community in which I grew up. Although many would consider this to be an advantage where

access is concerned, distancing myself from my village of birth and now viewing it as a research site proved challenging and needed my prior research interest in order to mitigate this natural factor. Consequently, much cognitive awareness was needed on my part knowing that my presence in Ndakeni location was not that of my regular home visits during university and public holidays. Furthermore, I made my family aware of this so that I would be excused from daily family responsibilities, which were generally the norm.

Even in the family where I conducted my ethnographic work, it took time for me to be viewed as part of that family and its daily activities. This was based on the fact that I came from a so called prominent family in the area by rural standards and that my own mother was a community leader. Consequently, I needed to prove myself beyond doubt by executing certain chores that a well-off child was not expected to do and eat types of traditional foods with which I was not familiar. I also experienced this in Mdikana. In both instances, I was able to mitigate the situation.

Conducting research in rural areas is peculiar and yet, very exciting. Because of low levels of literacy, people often do not understand what one is trying to achieve. I experienced this as a challenge until I likened it to a big school assignment. Accordingly, at each step, I needed to explain why I was interested in doing something and/or why I kept asking various questions.

Finally, rural areas have minimal social activities at both a societal and household level. Therefore, I needed extreme patience to conduct the research because on some days, nothing of research significance would take place. Researchers that are not used to such environments may assume that whatever they are meant to be looking for is not there. These areas may appear to be monotonous and boring. Researchers may be tempted to think that they have exhausted their ethnographic work. Having grown up in a village, I anticipated the daily activities in rural households.

4.17. Data analysis

This study employed the use of both quantitative and qualitative data analysis, with the former, albeit, to a much a lesser extent. Quantitative data analysis is usually used in survey research and mostly by large corporations and government to generate statistical data, which is much easier to analyse. I made use of quantitative data by conducting a qualitative analysis of already existing statistics of Stats SA. Qualitative data analysis was used, which Bryman (2012) noted is difficult owing to the large amounts of data generated in qualitative research through observation, interviews and documents. Recurring themes and patterns in my field notes as

well as in interviews conducted were observed. Thus, analysis was conducted in relation to the themes that emerged, which were compared to the broader research question (see Wagenaar and Babbie 2004).

At a practical level, this process of establishing themes meant that I needed to translate interviews in writing from mostly IsiXhosa to English in order to be able to make sense of the data in the prescribed language. Extensive hours were spent listening to interviews, which was central to the recollection of the ambiance at the time of the interview. The latter included shared jokes, tensions and the general environment during the time of the interview. This allowed me to reflect some of the nuances that I may have missed during the interviewing process and therefore, identify emotive and significant moments.

4.18. Limitations of the study

The South African mining industry comprises many minerals and/or commodities noted previously. However, because Rustenburg has been an area in which labour has increased, the focus was on platinum. Therefore, the findings cannot be generalised across the industry. Only a brief outline of other commodities was given. Furthermore, the study was localised within particular towns in Mpondoland even though there are other Mpondo towns and other areas of the Eastern Cape that are significant LSAs to Rustenburg.

In an attempt to understand the continued reliance on migrant labour, women mining migrants who have increased in the platinum belt were excluded. It is recommended that scholars address this limitation and engage in specific issues and their reliance on migrant labour. It is also recommended that studies be conducted to shed light on women's entrance into migrant labour. This, to some extent, may assist scholars in understanding the men and women's continued reliance on migrant labour.

The omission of contract-based workers that currently form a significant proportion of the mine work labour force is another limitation in this study. Sub-contracted workers have been highlighted in this study as a grey area in the mining industry in general. Their minimal representation, which does not allow for a nuanced analysis, is a gap worthy of further research.

Finally, the study concentrated on understanding the continued reliance on migrant labour by concentrating mainly on workers that are classified in the category of the working class. Those from the Mpondoland region who work in senior management positions and mining engineers were not considered for selection. It is recommended that future studies explore the latter.

4.19. Conclusion

Through the application of Burawoy's extended case method approach, this study has offered a unique approach, which can be used in Sociology in the quest to make sense of people's social lives. The application of this method in this study reaffirms the sociological paradigm, which suggests that in order to make sense of our world we ought to study the various institutions that constitute our societies. In trying to understand the Mpondo men's continued reliance on migrant labour, this study not only explored men who are directly involved in the migratory process. Instead, the approach involved first studying the family institution in order to unearth nuances that may not be otherwise have been apparent to those directly involved in the migration process.

In this chapter, the areas in which this research was conducted were described. Through descriptive narratives, I attempted to situate the reader in the different research sites. The different research methods that were applied in the study were outlined. How I dealt with challenges, albeit, within permissible and ethical boundaries were explained. This first chapter on the findings draws on my participant observations and in-depth interviews conducted in Mpondoland (Flagstaff and Lusikisiki). The purpose thereof is an attempt to understand the functioning of the households in the LSAs. My interest in this was to shed light on why the migrant labour system continues.

Chapter 5: *Imibutho* at core: Livelihoods, social reproductive work, and the migrant labour system

5.1. Introduction

To fully understand the events of the Marikana massacre Benya (2015) argued that one needed to understand the social reproductive role of women and that this would assist in making sense of the events leading up to the events of the massacre. She futher stated that an account on and from women would help better understand the notion of calss struggle beyond production lines and thereby offering a nuanced understanding. This chapter emulates this method in approach, to understand continued reliance on migrant labout by Mpondo men, it focuses on Mpondo women and the social reproductive space in the labour sending areas. As a point of departure, this chapter briefly describes two families, the Balisa and Valela households as case studies that invite understanding of the migrant household in Mpondoland and to an extent, the centrality of women in the migrant labour discourse.

The Balisa family

The Balisa household was observed based on the premise that Mr Balisa, the head of the household, works at Sibanye's Siphumelele Platinum mine in Rustenburg, North West, South Africa. Mr Balisa has a wife and five children whom he supports through his monthly salary. His eldest son is in a TVET college almost 180 kilometres away from home. His second born son is a grade 11 pupil in a school approximately 60 kilometres away. His three other children that include two girls and one boy are all school pupils at a local school within walking distance. All these children are under the parental care of Mrs Balisa who is what traditionally would be described as a housewife. She runs a vegetable garden, keeps livestock and mainly does reproductive work in the family. In other words, she provides care by giving in ways that include preparation for school, bathing the little ones and feeding them amongst other things. Another extended family member who is of pre-school going age and who is also under the guardianship of Mrs Balisa also lives in the household. This young member of the family is also Mrs Balisa's niece as he Mrs Balisa's sister's son who herself still attends high school.

Mr Balisa's home comprises two major houses and a six cornered rondavel. The main house is a two-bedroomed house with a living room and a kitchen. This house is used primarily by Mrs Balisa and the four children that she looks after and this is where the main bedroom is situated. The second house is an old flat that is used primarily by the two older sons whenever they visit home. There is also a garden in the spacious yard, which at the time of observation was green and planted with vegetables. There is also a kraal with cattle, sheep and goats. Pigs and chickens are found amongst other domesticated animals.

The livelihood and roles of Mrs Balisa in the absence of her husband

Mrs Balisa and her children depend primarily on her husband's remittances, which arrive at the end of each month in monetary form. In fact, Mr and Mrs Balisa have a stop order arrangement that ensures that a certain portion of Mr Balisa's earnings are sent directly home without his interference. This monetary remittance plays a myriad of roles within the household. These roles include buying food for those that still live in the household, paying off debts that may have been incurred during the month and paying for miscellaneous items such as school field trips and school uniforms.

To supplement this income from her husband, Mrs Balisa also receives money in the form of social grants for the four children that stay with her as the two other sons are no longer eligible to get social grants as they are older than 18 years. This money is used to supplement expenses that may arise during the month, which may include a shortage in school fees, payments to the burial society, buying new shoes if the old ones have either been lost or worn out and even buying cooking utensils or meat if necessary.

Mrs Balisa has never worked in the formal economy and has never worked as a domestic helper either. She explained the former was because of minimal formal education for which she did not receive any form of certification to seek employment and in relation to the latter she cited low wages at the expense of her household. Mrs Balisa previously sold clothes and food stuffs at pension pay-outs in and around Bizana, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. She later abandoned this work because she felt the need to be actively involved in the upbringing of her children as this meant that she would have very early mornings and only return home late at night. The absence of privately owned transport did not help and she felt it was increasingly dangerous for a woman to be travelling at 3:00 to various stations. Subsequently she abandoned the trade.

As means to supplement these forms of income, Mrs Balisa would from time to time assist neighbours remove weeds from their gardens in exchange for R40 per day. She insisted this was not compulsory but stated that at times it was wonderful to have loose cash. Mrs Balisa's garden also supplemented household food. In her garden she had planted maize, which she could eat and feed her children with while still soft corn and she had pumpkins and potatoes, which would be harvested as soon as they were ready. She also planted other vegetables like cabbage, carrots and spinach, which she could pick on a daily basis.

On occasion, the family runs out of all its reserves and all forms of income. Mrs Balisa then goes to the closest shop, which is owned by a Somali or Ethiopian to get foodstuffs on credit. She uses the social grant money from her children or that of her husband at the end of the month to pay for these items.

The domesticated animals including goats, sheep, cattle and chickens in the household also. play an important role in maintaining the livelihood of the family. Apart from being domesticated for consumption, which is the norm in communities, the Balisas sometimes trade some of their livestock in exchange for money when necessary. For example, one day Mrs Balisa and family needed to make a burial contribution to one of the extended family members. Realising that it was mid-month and the family finances were insufficient, Mr Balisa made a

call from Rustenburg ordering that one of his goats be sold so that his family could make a contribution to his cousin's burial. As such, livestock are a store of value.

Mrs Balisa as an agent of social reproduction in the household

From these observations, it became clear that Mrs Balisa is primarily a caregiver, not only to her own children but the community at large. Amongst things that she has to do is visit her husband's home frequently to check on the well-being of her mother-in-law. Moreover, she also spends a great deal of time visiting houses of extended family members with bereavements where she assists with the preparation in the days before the funerals. Mrs Balisa is also a member of two community based burial societies. She is expected to contribute a certain amount of money to one of the societies while the other requires a burial contribution from its members when one loses a loved one. This society extends from the Ndakeni location to Zama-zama and encompasses a network of women that financially support one another in times of tragedy.

The Valela family

The Valela family are based in Lusikisiki in Mdikana village. The head of the household, Mr Valela works at Sibanye's Jabula platinum mine in Rustenburg in the North West Province of South Africa. He and his wife have five living children, three daughters and two sons, all of whom are adults and no longer of school going age. The first-born daughter is married and looks after her own family and her life has no bearing on the livelihood of the family in question. The second born daughter is mentally challenged but is able to provide reproductive support in the household in the form of household chores and looking after the young. The third daughter is an ANC ward committee member who plays a pivotal role in supplementing the household finances. During my stay at her home, I observed her contributions clearly, which came in the form of groceries and buying of electricity from time to time. One of the two brothers, the eldest, is a street vendor in the Lusikisiki CBD; he sells snuff, which he prepares traditionally at home after drying up tobacco leaves and aloe, and later grinding the leaves and burning the latter to produce a mixture with a flavour. The selling of snuff in town also assists him in contributing what he can to the household when there is a need. The other son works at a supermarket, Spar, as a merchandiser. He too contributes where necessary and sees to the support of his daughter who lives with them. All Mr and Ms Valela's children have children of their own and thus, the Valelas have five grandchildren who all live in the same house. With the exception of one, they are all in primary school. Accordingly, there are 10 family members in the household.

The Valela home comprises two flats. One flat has two bedrooms and a multi-purpose living area that serves either as a diner, kitchen or lounge. The other flat is behind the main flat and is used by the two brothers as a bedroom for both of them while the other is used by the mother, two ladies and the grandchildren. In this home, there are domesticated chickens, which are used for consumption when there are visitors or the mother feels like it. There is also a maize garden,

which during harvest time is used to make samp, feed chickens and for personal consumption while it is soft. The garden also has pumpkin and wild vegetables that can be consumed.

The livelihood and roles of Mrs Valela in the absence of her husband

There is more than one way in which the Valela family survives. Mr Valela remits in financial form money that is used to buy food for the rest of the family. At the end of each month, Mr Valela deposits his money through Ubank (former TEBA Bank). During my stay with the Valelas, his money was collected predominantly by the youngest daughter who would come home with groceries and some money for her mother. Almost every fortnight Mrs Valela brews *Umqombothi* (African beer), which she sells to the community to earn her own living. She usually targets pension and social grant pay-outs before she brews her beer as many pensioners in her village, men and women, are her customers. Certain shops allow social grant advances and thus, Mrs Valela strategically brews her beer in anticipation of a larger customer base. To supplement this, the three working children in the household also contribute with foodstuffs and buying of electricity amongst other things.

Mrs Valela works in her garden and spends most of her mornings fetching firewood and water, which she uses to prepare beer. Unlike Mr Balisa, Mr Valela remits a very small amount of money to his family. This is evident in the photographs that follow.

Social reproduction

Mrs Valela remains the primary caregiver to both her adult children and her grandchildren. In the absence of her husband, in her traditional household she acts as head of the household and makes all the decisions about the household. She is a member of the Zionist church and spends much of her time also doing church work, which includes praying with the families of those bereaved, cleaning the church and other related things. She is also a member of a food stokvel that divides food at the end of each December for families to enjoy during December festivities. She is also a member of local burial societies where they make financial and food parcel contributions if any member of the society has lost a family member or a close relative.

Photograph 1: Balisa home. The house with the green roofing, a block of flats and a rondavel is the Balisa home in Ndakeni location, Flagstaff

Photograph 2: Valela home. This is the main flat in the Valela household. The flat behind is reserved for Mrs Valeka's male children. The house is in Mdikana location, Lusikisiki.

Presently, in labour studies, much focus is placed on understanding migrant work and the migrant worker through his lens. It is best to obtain raw data from those directly involved. With much focus having been placed on mineworkers as victims of structure and to a lesser degree,

as agents of their destinies, with the exception of Mosoetsa (2011), labour scholars have often negated the role of families as secondary agents in migrant labour. In this regard, I refer to the family's socially constructed and inherent nature of dependency on the male figure and his traditional role as the primary provider of subsistence. I am of the view that this inherent position is closely related to one's masculinity influences. One's life decisions and the decision to take up migrant labour is no exception, especially in the context of Mpondoland where migrant labour to the mines has been the norm for decades (Beinart 1979; Moodie &Ndatshe 1994). In this chapter, the role of mineworkers' families, in particular, their wives in the social reproduction of the migrant labour system is explored. I am of the view that migrant households in the LSAs have different socioeconomic dynamics, which I believe may be indirectly linked to continuity and the continued reliance on migrant labour. In the annotated stories at the beginning of the chapter, I reflected on the Balisa and Valela households as means to unearth factors emanating from observations and the interviews conducted in the two households. I observed the two wives of mineworkers and their families with a particular focus on their daily engagements to determine if their reproductive work as mothers and community actors had any influence on the Mpondo men's continued reliance on mining migrant labour. Following an assessment of these two households and interview data, I think that continued reliance on mining migrant labour is closely linked to families and the role of women in the households. To an extent, women's agency in these households, their deliberate economic inactivity in formal employment and their role as homemakers and home managers play a significant role. In other words, reconfigured Mpondo femininities exact themselves on Mpondo masculinities and thus, challenge them to act on their traditional role of providers. This is the notion of "Invisible Hands" Benya (2015) refers to in describing the roles of women in Mariakna Furthermore, in this chapter, the shift from subsistence farming by people in these LSAs to a high reliance on purchased goods and how this could be a factor in continued reliance on mining migrant labour is explored. All the migrant households in Mpondoland that participated in this study stated that their households were primarily reliant on what mineworkers as heads of households send home. After examining the role of wives, the household economy of migrant workers and their livelihoods beyond remittances is investigated. Finally, in the perceptions of mineworker's wives and their view of migrant towns as permanent spaces of residence are explored. Their views of the migrant towns as spaces of work and their perceptions of those areas as areas of the other and how that could influence oscillating migrant labour are analysed.

The role of women as homemakers in migrant households and how this has a possible bearing on the continued reliance on mining migrant labour beyond authoritarian regimes is discussed in the next section.

5.2. Home managers and continued migrant labour

In the context of patriarchal societies, families are often headed by fathers who in most cases also play the role of a provider. Women in these instances are usually stay-at-home mothers who see to reproductive work that involves care work such as raising the children (Tayo 2007). This notion, which mirrors a gendered division of labour, still exits even though it is opposed by many feminists. In contrast, those that have supported its continuation have done so with caution in that no one is coerced or subjugated in the negotiation of these roles. Tayo stated unpaid domestic work has historically been assumed as women's natural role and their way of contributing to society. This view is also manifest in Ngcobo's (1990) novel where she depicts the role of Jezile, a wife of a migrant labourer, as that of a person whose life constitutes unpaid domestic work in the household to please her in-laws in the absence of her husband. Reflecting on the conversations I held with the women participants (wives to mineworkers) in this study, it emerged that they aligned themselves with much of what has been noted although they distanced themselves from the notion of pleasing in-laws. As opposed to popular feminist discourse about women being subordinated when they participate in what some choose to perceive as less-off in the divided gender roles, women in this study appeared to appreciate a gendered division of labour. They did not see themselves as playing a subordinate role. Instead, they argued that their role complemented the role played by their husbands. They embraced their femininity and what it brings to the household and not as a phenomenon subordinate to masculinities. They perceived that their role in the household and that of their husband away from home mirrored one another. In other words, they enjoyed a reciprocal relationship relating to matters of their home. Their relationship could be viewed as a collaborative existence in the family where one party executed their role for the benefit of the household. This gendered analysis based on masculinities and femininities itself mirrors the household as a space where the logic *ina-ethe* applies. As I have suggested previously, one's taking up of migrant labour could, to an extent, be influenced by another's on-going contribution to the household and therefore, reciprocity. Mohanti (1984) argued that Western feminism tends to view women in the south as a homogenous group and thus, ignores their diversity in culture and experience. She argued that women in the global south, particularly those in Africa and Asia are often seen by other scholars to be bound by family tradition, sexually constrained, forced to do domestic

work and unaware of their subjugation. Alternatively, the women in this study demonstrated the opposite. Von Holdt (2012) also raised important assertions about the empowerment of women in a South African context in both public and private spheres. He suggested that they are in the know about their respective autonomies within and outside the household setting. Consistent with Von Holdt's argument, most Mpondo women in this study repeatedly claimed their agency. In so doing, they suggested consciousness of their current life positions and thus, claimed ownership of the status quo.

Femininities and women agency in labour sending areas

In an attempt to offer an in-depth explanation of the femininities and agency of Mpondo [10]women, I explored the socio-economic realities of the LSAs in context to understand what they were able to offer in terms of employment. Furthermore, I investigated what these LSAs were not able to offer in terms of employment and what this did to men and inversely, what women were able to negotiate under those circumstances.

According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey report released in July 2017, unemployment in South Africa (27.7%) continues to be among the leading problems for the country's government (Stats SA 2017). In the OR Tambo District Municipality, unemployment was at 77%. In Flagstaff and Lusikisiki, constituents of the broader Ingquza Hill Local Municipality, unemployment was at 66% for the two towns (Ingquza Hill Local Municipality 2017). However, many South Africans continue to seek jobs actively in the labour market in the hope that they will eventually be employed and thus, form part of an economically active population. Contrary to popular practice, eight of the 10 interviewed mineworker's wives did not work and had never worked. Furthermore, the majority of them had no ambitions to be employed formally in the near future. According to Stats SA (2011:54) these types of people are classified as "not economically active." From our conversations, it emerged that the wives were conscious of the much-publicised problem of unemployment in South Africa. Therefore, their knowledge of this phenomenon discouraged them from actively looking for employment. It further emerged that some of these migrant workers' wives had received very little formal education; most of them had completed their secondary education. Thus, with the labour market being increasingly favourable to those with formal education at least to grade 12, these

[10] From time to time women in this chapter are referred to 'wives' or 'wives of mineworkers'. This is done so as to acknowledge how these women view themselves within the household space and in relation to how they view themselves in relation to the absence of their partners in the household.

women openly stated that seeking employment would be a fruitless exercise and therefore, they would rather use their energies doing work much closer to their hearts (reproductive work). In June 2017, Stats SA reported that the unemployment rate remained high among those with an education level of less than matric at 33.1%, which is 5.4 percentage points higher than the national average whilst the unemployment rate among graduates remained at 7.3%. It appeared as though the wives' energies had been channelled towards reproductive roles within their families. For example, when I asked one of the respondents why she did not work, she responded, *"I am looking after our home and kids, nothing really stops me from working. It is that simple*" (Mrs Njilo, 49).

Mrs Njilo had seven children of her own. Three were no longer at school. Of those three, two had children of their own that she took care of because her own children did not earn a decent wage in their respective areas of work. This suggested that the money sent home by Mrs Njilo's husband was used to care for the eight at home. Mrs Njilo believed stability in the household and ensuring her children and grandchildren were fed and had adequate resources for school were very important. On the question of not working, Mrs Balisa was quick to prioritise matters of her own household:

> *Where am I going to find work? Where does one even find work if uneducated these days? If I decide to take up work domestic work you do know that would mean me abandoning my children right? That would mean I am strengthening another woman's house whilst weakening my own. Who am I going to leave my children with if I work in another woman's kitchen?* (Mrs Balisa, 42)

The above quote may be related to the suggestion that the mineworkers' wives were conscious of the job market in relation to those with limited levels of education. However, in the rural areas of Mpondoland, there were many opportunities in the domestic services sector as a result of the increasing number of civil servants. These women chose not to work for a lowly wage. Therefore, they demonstrated a sense of pride, dignity and honour associated with taking up this family responsibility even if it meant missing an economic opportunity. In relation to pride, they drew satisfaction from their ability to be available to their children and be in a position to create a decent homely environment for them. These mothers were content with exercising their femininities within the domestic sphere. Consequently, this exercise of one's femininity did not compete with other femininities.

These women's view in some ways challenges the popular discourse about women being subjugated and relegated to household roles. However, one may ask to what extent their

decisions were free of circumstances. I am of the view that their stance was both circumstantial and deliberate. In other words, if they were provided with the opportunity to be economically active citizens, some may have taken up the opportunity while others would have declined it. Further research is needed to assess this.

The Mpondo women's welcoming of roles often associated with femininity and/or femininities and their acceptance of the role of home managers invites one to consider that on their part, by virtue of the traditional role of social reproduction, they acted on their social responsibility to the household. Subsequently, one also needs to consider how these women's noble actions pressurise men as fathers and husbands to play their traditional role as primary providers to their household; in other words, in a context where women excel in their traditional roles, masculinities are challenged. Thus, in the absence of what is supposedly sufficient to provide for a family at home, I think that men are pressurised to seek alternatives away from home. Therefore, migrant labour to the mines in an economically unviable environment becomes the primary alternative as something within their *habitus.* This does not mean that men who go to the mines are not agents of their own destinies. Rather, women may be projected as secondary agents and important contributors in the continued reliance on migrant labour.

However, because of circumstances and their unwillingness not to seek regular formal work, one may ask how these women and their children survive on a minimal wage from a mineworker. Some of the key subsistence features in a rural economy are discussed in the next section.

5.3. Households beyond remittances: *Imibutho* in the sustenance of migrant households

For centuries since the discovery of diamonds and gold, migrant households in the LSAs have been surviving on a single income, mainly from the father who in most cases is the sole breadwinner and head of the household. What set households in the 19th century apart when diamonds and gold were discovered is that their communities were largely engaged in subsistence farming and therefore, enjoyed much surplus that they would trade either for money or a different type of harvest. Currently, homes in the former reserves are not involved in subsistence farming to the degree the communities in the 19th century were partly because of the increase in population and limited land to farm; this is the long-term effect of the Native Land Act of 1913, unworkable land, the increase alternative sources of food and increased buying power.

In Tables 1 and 2, the income and expenditure of the Balisa and Valela families are presented. An examination of these tables affords the reader an enhanced understanding of various events that are discussed in this chapter.

Remittance monthly income and expenditure for the Valela family	
Income items	Amount
Mr Valela's Salary	R12 500
Amount remitted	R 1 200
Total income	
Fixed Expenditure items	
Food	R 400
Building	R 600
School transport for grand children	R 200

Table 1: Monthly income and expenditure of Valela family

Remittance monthly income and expenditure for the Balisa family	
Income items	Amount
Mr Balisa's Salary	R12 500
Amount remitted	R 4 500
Total income	
Fixed Expenditure items	
Foodstuffs	R 1 900
Electricity	R 300
DSTV	R 365
Bedroom suite	R 439
Surplus money for eventualities	R 1 496

Table 2: Monthly income and expenditure for the Balisa family

A study of Tables 2 and 3 helps one to understand the social and economic dynamics in migrant households in the LSAs. As it can be noted in the two tables, there is a striking difference in the amount of money remitted to each family by the respective mineworkers. This is even

though Balisa and Valela earned the exact same amount of money as Rock Drill Operators at Jabula and Siphumelele platinum mines, respectively. At the time of the fieldwork, I asked Mrs Valela if Mr Valela had always been sending that same amount of money. In her response she indicated that the amount of money used to be much higher and that it had been depreciating over the years. At the time, she could not confidently express what had caused this decline. However, she had her suspicions. She stated that she suspected that there could be another woman in Rustenburg, a phenomenon that she stated has marked the life of migrant workers for years. Asked if she was going to challenge the money situation and that of the other woman, she argued that with her children working, the little remittance and social grant money, they were self-sufficient. Moreover, she was too old to be fighting a man over *idikazi.*[11]

On the 26 November 2017, a week after I had completed fieldwork in Rustenburg and almost five months after I had left the Valela household I received a call from Mrs Valela who was in Rustenburg Sondela at the time. She informed me that her husband had succumbed to tuberculosis at the Platinum Health Medical Centre in Rustenburg. Thus, she invited me to come help her with strategies on how she would repatriate the body of her husband and ultimately help her strategies retrieve her husband's identity document, which she had come to understand was in the hands of her husband's mistress. I gladly obliged to this request.

We were able to locate Mr Valela's mistress with the help of people in Sondela. Later, Mrs Valela was able to retrieve the identity document with the help of mine officials that intervened in telling the mistress that only the legal wife had a claim to anything the mine would release to the family. It was discovered that Mr Valela and his mistress had a toddler.

Benya (2015) spoke of the 'invisible hands' of women in Marikana that provide social reproductive work to mineworkers. These women are support structures in the emotional and the physical sense. Benya (2015: 547) stated that these women "maintain and reproduce their (partner's) capacity to labour on a daily basis, within easy access of the mines. They are lovers and sexual partners to these men that spend many months from their own families. Ferguson (2015) also referred to these women in the context of Lesotho men. He stated that Basotho men had women they supported in around the mining compounds. As such, their remittances were

[11] Idikazi is an IsiMpondo (Isixhosa dialect) word used to describe an unmarried woman typically involved in a relationship with a married man (see also Moodie and Ndatshe 1994). It must be noted that men today also tend to use this word in relation to women that they usually don't hold in high regard. It is meant to insult (see Nkomo 2018). In regular discourse, it is understood to have originated from the work *idikwamzi* which loosely translates to, 'she who got tired of marriage'. Women that come out of failed marriages were traditionally often viewed as possible 'home wreckers' and the typical groups that were likely to date married man.

affected as they had money, which they called *ea lelapa* (money for the household) and *ea boithabiso* (money for enjoyment) that they spent on alcohol, tobacco and women.

I refer to the above with reference to Benya (2015) and Ferguson (1985) to demonstrate that that the phenomenon of *amadikazi* (see Moodie and Ndatshe 1994) is almost as old as mining itself in South Africa. Second, it is to demonstrate how *ina-ethe* plays out between migrant mine workers and the women who migrate or are found in the labour sending areas. Social reproductive work in its wholesome nature as it happens near the mine is also met with 'necessary' economic support. Although, as it can be seen in the case of the family in the LSA, the results can be diabolical.

What is also unpleasant and unsaid, is how mistresses to mineworkers are often left behind in the mining towns and often with children to take care of, whilst the men return to the LSAs where their wives, immideate and extended families live at an end of a contract or even at death. This usually spells an end to give and take relations of many years. It is not clear at this point however, why men abondon their long-term mistresses in the city for their wives back home. However, cultural and moral implications of bringing *idikazi* home may very well centre the discussion.

The tables above have mirrored the worst and best practices in relation to remittances and subsequently led to a deeper discussion on migrant 'families' in the LSAs and labour receiving areas. How migrant households survive within and outside of the monthly income sent by the migrant worker monthly is subsequently discussed.

Imibutho

Xulu (2012:140) interviewed migrants who lived in a hostel in a Durban township, Kwa-Mashu. In her study, she identified a myriad of livelihood strategies for hostel dwellers: Formal employment; casual employment; support from family, relatives and friends; informal and/or self-employment; social grants; the sexual economy; criminality; livestock ownership; land – agriculture; and informal money-saving schemes such as *stokvels* and *umholiswano*. Although these survival strategies are unique to individuals mostly in cities, many mirror the survival strategies of families of migrants in rural areas beyond monetary remittances.

Umbutho (singular) or *imibutho* (plural) refers to the people's commitment towards a particular common goal. This may refer to a group of people who are interested in issues of collective bargaining such as a trade union, a political organisation and a group of people interested in

assisting one another during difficult times of bereavement and/or times of financial need (see Nkomo 2018). This definition is not absolute as the concept may refer to other forms of conventions or unions. I have deliberately omitted the use of the concept *stokvel* defined by Webster and Von Holdt (2005) because it does not capture some of the engagements that happen in what I refer to as *imibutho.* Webster and Von Holdt (2005:39) defined *stokvel* as "a community saving scheme common in the black community, it provides small-scale rotating pay-outs to its member." Xulu (2012) challenged this definition arguing that von Holdt and Webster actually referred to what she called *umholiswano,* which involves people contributing money and paying each other at a time agreed upon. James (2015) also referred to the notion of *stokvel* as a saving club. She stated that these are "…. aimed at pooling funds together, whether to pay for the considerable expenses of a funeral, to help taxi owners save the deposit on a new vehicle …" (James 2015:118). The concept *umbutho* or *imibutho* encompasses all these communal collaborative efforts towards a sustainable livelihood for people living in the same or neighbouring communities. Buhlungu's (2010: 31-32) definition is the closest to what I have referred to as *imibutho* when he spoke about mutual-help clubs or associations. Referring to some of the democratic practices in the union movement, he stated that mutual-help clubs "take various forms depending on the function they are supposed to serve. The *masingcwabane,* or burial society, is a voluntary association established by people who pool money collected monthly to be used in the event of death. *Stokvels* and its many variants, such as *moholisano* (Umholiswano in SeSotho) and the society, are formed as saving clubs where members take turns to receive all the funds collected every month."

As noted previously, many of the women participants were unemployed. Based on the ethnographic engagement and interviews with the women, data revealed that on average each of the respondents had at least seven dependents. These dependents were supported financially by the migrant worker. Their dependents did not only include offspring of the migrant workers, but in most cases, their mothers too. Therefore, one may ask how the family survives when the financial remittances have been depleted, especially with so many dependents. As depicted in the following quote, they were more likely to look for alternative forms of subsistence than ask the migrant for more money:

> *It is imibutho that serve as a form of short term saving or investment, we do monthly contributions as women of different communities. Each woman knows that at the end of each month it is time to contribute and that when her turn comes she will receive R3 000 and on the one you know you are guaranteed R5 000. I*

part take in two of imibutho. There is nine-month cycle before one gets their turn. There are ten of us in each. (Mrs Dembula, 60)

Mrs Dembula was a member of two *imibutho* where she contributed R300 and R500, respectively. For each of the two *imibutho,* nine other people received money before it was her turn. During her interview, she stated although many did not perceive this money to be much, she viewed it as a way of saving money, which had positive implications for her family in the long run. It also emerged during these interviews that these conventions were used for emergency purposes and in such cases, members sometimes received advances. For example, when one of the members had a child who needed money for registration at a university, *umbutho* was happy to advance money.

As noted previously, these conventions are multi-layered. Most *imibutho* are monetary based but culminate in whatever was agreed upon, either groceries or a lump sum just to mention a few. They usually involve monthly monetary contributions over a 12-month period. If they start contributing in January, each contributor is guaranteed groceries or money during the December holiday season. Thus, much debt that one may have could be paid and possible debt during this period may be avoided when there are groceries.

As noted above, exceptions are made for members who are in need of urgent financial relief. They can either borrow from their personal contribution or from the rest of the contributions. The release of the funds is usually dependent on the trustworthiness of the person in question Mrs Valela illustrated these assertions: *"My Umbutho is this one of groceries, we contribute money from month to month and then in December we collectively buy food. We contribute R150 towards ordinary food stuffs and R50 towards live chickens"* (Mrs Valela, 55).

As illustrated in Table 2, Mrs Valela had no extra money to pay for *imibutho* from her limited budget. She had to rely on the sales of her traditional beer in order to meet her monthly commitments. Beer profits would go a long way in supplementing arising household needs and her obligation towards *imibutho* was no different. Mrs Balisa, on the other hand, used surplus cash to meet the needs of *imibutho.* Like Mrs Valele, she too engaged in a small business of selling stuff. As noted in the case study at the beginning of this chapter, she previously bought and resold clothes at pension pay-out points before relinquishing that for homemaking with 'surplus' remittances once household obligations had been met. Ferguson (1985) found that among the Basotho women whose husbands worked in the gold mines of the Free State and Gauteng, it was also quite common to brew traditional beer, sow and sell clothes for Basotho

women to be self-sufficient. He argued that whatever gains would be made from such an economic activity would be to the benefit of only the woman. She would see fit on how to use the money for her own or benefit of the household. In light of the above, it must be noted therefore, that *imibutho* and remittances create space for economic production in the household, even if to a minimal extent. To determine if there were any similarities or differences on the operation of *imibutho* I posed a similar question to a participant who replied:

> *…. For now, I am only involved on this one of food, we contribute money for December since it is a holiday season. How long it takes before the grocery runs out depends on how many people come back home during that time since there are some people that do not stay here at home. Here at home I am held in very high regard by elders and children, in both my immediate household and amongst the relatives as well and so it gets full. You find that my nephews and nieces from both families leave their respective homes and come here for December until schools are open in January. When that has been the case this grocery runs until the end of January whereas if not many people come it goes as far as end of February…* (Nosakhele, 39).

The role of wives in a migrant household is clearly explained in the extracts above. The role of the women in these households went beyond providing unpaid reproductive labour, namely, the household but also involved a great deal of emotional labour. Both these forms of reproductive labour included the provision of basic needs essential for survival such as food, care giving, water and sanitation (Fakier & Cock 2009). The involvement in *imibutho* was voluntary and most of the female participants in this study were members as this initiative was perceived to lessen the pressure on the migrant when he returned from the mine in December. All these deliberate actions of the migrant worker's wife constitute part of a self-defined role within the broader migrant household. Consequently, I am of the view that these are important acts of femininity, which to some extent have a direct and/or indirect influence on Mpondo men's reliance on migrant labour.

In the same vein, it can also be argued that the investment on *imibutho* by Mpondo women is a display of *ina-ethe* relations between migrants and women in the migrant household in Mpondoland. Instead of consuming to depletion remittances from the husband on other household needs, Mpondo women invest or save money in community social economies that come to fruition in the long- and short-term. These initiatives display financial savviness of the women in how they handle remittances, which thus complements labour that is sold in Rustenburg.

Amongst other things in this study, social welfare emerged strongly as a substitute survival strategy in migrant households. Of the 10 mineworker's wives who were interviewed, nine stated that social grants had become an integral part of their household economy.

5.4. Social grants

Social grants play a significant a role in the country's economy and in particular, the rural economy. Mosoetsa (2011) stated that in the past decade there has been an increase on the reliance on social welfare received in the form of social grants. At inception, social grants formed part of the larger Reconstruction Development Plan (RDP), which was aimed at providing South African citizens with pathways out of poverty. To date, this initiative continues to provide this opportunity as seen in the continuous increase on cash transfers given to those in the deserving categories on a monthly basis. These categories include pensioners over the age of 60, those living with disabilities, children living under foster care and children under the age of 18 whose parents are unemployed (National Treasury Budget Speech 2017). Migrant households are no exception in relation to most of these categories. In South Africa, an adult who is 60 years age and older receives a social grant of R1 600 per month and adults over the age of 75 receive R1 620. People living with disabilities receive R1 600, minors living under foster care receive R920 and minors in economically deserving families receive R380 per month (National Treasury Budget Speech 2017). It has been argued that social grants are not adequate to meet the needs of poor households (see Mosoetsa 2011). While this may be true for most households, the families in this study used social grants to supplement an already existing income. If not abused this social initiative may achieve its intended outcome. In most migrant households in this study, it became evident that migrant remittances from the father figure were highly supplemented by social grants that a person living with a disability, a foster child or a minor below the age of 18 years in the household received. These monies assisted in 'patching' certain household needs. Fakier and Cock (2009: 357) asserted that working class African women responsible for social reproductive duties in the household often have to organise and allocate the spending of these monies. In corroboration with the above notion, one of the participants shared, *"Where children are concerned, their uniform has been bought, school fees have been paid, they are well clothed and well fed, whatever remains can help anyone"* (Nokwakha, 28). Nokwakha felt very strong that families are responsible for how social welfare money is spent and asserted unequivocally that even though families enjoy that right it should never be to the detriment of the children and the other rightful beneficiaries.

When the women in the study were asked if they received social grants, nine of the 10 responded in the affirmative. Most explained that this was the only other source of income for their family. One of the participants who prided herself as a major role player in the household in her role as mother and a person who did all the reproductive work acknowledged, *"There is no other form of income into the family besides that which we get in the social grant of the three children at R380 each"* (Nosakhele, 39).

Before I interviewed Nosakhele at her house, I had to wait for her to come out of the garden, which had maize meal. She had also planted cabbage and potatoes, which were the fundamentals involved in feeding a family. She added that with the income of the father and the social grant money, her family was in a state of satisfaction. Elaborating on similar views about the role of social grants on households, another participant shared:

> *Social grant money goes a long way in helping us as a family, there is no other way in which we supplement income from my husband on a monthly basis outside that of the two grandchildren and of course my own as of this year. By the time the money from my husband comes this grant would have calmed the waters.* (Ma Dembula, 60)

Nosakhele received R1 140 for her three children and Ma Dembula received R2 360 in social grants. These sums of money arguably play a significant role in improving a family's quality of life in rural areas, especially as these monies supplement remittances. I noted that the grants were at least 60% of the migrant's salary when mid-month top-ups and money given directly to children are considered.

Social grants play a pivotal role in migrant households in that they are used beyond their expected or intended scope in the different households. One may ask if this allows one to understand continued migrant labour. Possibly not. However, the role of social grants helps the reader to understand the socio-economic situation of a migrant household. This view is assisted in that there are categories of people that are able to receive these grants and are of given economic backgrounds as per determination by the South African government. Moreover, the general view and perception of the social grants as reflected during interviews gives one a sense about the socio-economic state of the former reserves and how that influenced migrant labour in search of 'greener pastures'.

5.5. Farming for subsistence

In an area that is largely rural such as IHLM where Flagstaff and Lusikisiki are located, it is to be expected that such a place would thrive in agriculture activities and thereby benefit the local

economy through job opportunities. That is not the case at IHLM. Only a select few people benefit through jobs at the Magwa and Majola Tea Estates in Lusikisiki, forestry around Mpondoland and other government projects. The Green Gross Domestic Product (GGDP) accounts for only 7.4 % in the municipality (IHLM 2017). A further expectation would be that given that these communities are rural, families would practise subsistence farming. This too is seldom the case.

Most people in Mpondoland and the broader Eastern Cape have ceased to work their fields (De La Hey and Beinart 2017). Subsistence agriculture was once a significant feature of the Mpondoland economy for many years, even after the enforcement of Acts that dispossessed Natives of their land during the pre-apartheid and apartheid eras (see Beinart 1982). The loss of land and subsequently the loss of the primary means of subsistence, which led to increased dependency on the wage economy, still did not deter AmaMpondo *(ibid)*. Owing to the intensifying capitalist system in Africa nevertheless, by no later than 1920, subsistence farming had started dwindling and so there was little or no surplus for those in the reserves (Bundy 1979; Wolpe 1972). Wolpe suggested that the subsidence of the subsistence economy in the former reserves owed its demise to the unsuitability of land and the lack of it. It is important to note that decline in subsistence agriculture does not mean the practice was wiped out altogether. Many in Mpondoland continued to farm as others engaged in wage labour at the mines. Women were mostly left at home overseeing the fields as men took part in wage labour that supported subsistence agriculture (Beinart 1982; Wolpe 1972). This is still common practice, albeit, to a lesser extent.

De La Hey and Beinart's (2017) work in Lusikisiki showed that locals in Mbotyi village have access to at least one hectare of land that could be worked for subsistence. In other words, land is not the primary cause for the declining subsistence economy. Their research showed that even if one was not the primary proprietor, they still inherited land that belonged to their families even after many years of not working it. Access to land moreover, whether for residence or farming purposes, is also relatively easy. Mentioning to the local headman (*usibonda)* or sub-headman (*unogazi)* that you need land to farm could, after a ceremonious occasion, get you allocated the desired potion (see De La Hey and Beinart 2017). This is standard practice in Mpondoland. The same can be echoed for Ndakeni and Mdikana where this research was undertaken.

As did Bundy (1979) on the general Mpondo economy, De La Hey and Beinart (2017) also found that there was a significant decline in agricultural activities. There was a decline in both livestock farming and crop farming. In as far as livestock farming is concerned, villagers in Mbotyi cited several concerns leading to the decline. Amongst these was the absence of labour to herd cattle. Those that keep cattle argued that cattle herders were expensive to pay and or that they did not have young boys that would be willing to persist keeping of cattle *(ibid).* In other villages such as my own in Ndakeni, Flagstaff, those that have ceased to keep cattle have also cited absence of *amadlelo* (grazing fields) due to an expanding rural population and need for land to build residential areas.

De La Hey and Beinart (2017) stated that the people of Mbotyi cite tyranny from wild life amongst other as causes of abandoning crop farming. Mbotyi is located along the undeveloped wild coast, which are not far from nature reserves such as Mkhambathi in Flagstaff. They blame the presence of monkeys and bush pigs that cause mayhem in their gardens and fields. People in Mbotyi also lament the few people that keep livestock. They argued that this makes it difficult to find people that are willing to plough one's field. Those that do, do so at a price that many locals are not willing to pay *(ibid).* This area of Mbotyi is also without tractors and thus no argument to that regard came to the fore.

To corroborate the assertions of De La Hey and Beinart (2017), subsistence has declined. Growing up in my own home in the 90s there were cattle that we could milk for tea, drinking as well as mature to enjoy *amasi* (a mixture of sour milk and pap). This was a significant contribution to our daily lives. A beast would be slaughtered ceremonially or sold for money to anyone in need. This would also have a lasting monetary contribution to the family. All of this is a thing of the past as there are no available affordable way to herd cattle as well as disappearing pasture due to residential occupation. This is the same for most of our neighbours as well as other communities in Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. Similarly, for crop farming, growing up in my rural home in the mid-90s and early 2000s, we constantly worked the fields in the different seasons. We would plough, plant, remove weed or harvest depending on what time of the year it was. This was the norm as everyone in the village worked their fields. The older generation however always said that subsistence farming was not the same as it used to be. They always said that people had become lazy, relied more on purchased food and as a result, farmed much less. We experienced such assertions as bizarre as everything looked the same in our eyes. However, over the years I have personally witnessed a significant decline in the working of fields that primarily provided maize for staple food for people and animals. People

have sought alternatives and have given some of their fields to others to use, citing lack of money to plough (see also De La Hey and Beinart 2017). The mention of lack of money to plough is not something to disregard. Murray (1976) found that it was larger families and wealthier homesteads that tended to have greater potential for farming. These assertions do play themselves out today in Mpondoland. In this case I will use the examples of Ndakeni based on what I have observed and interacted with during fieldwork and while growing up. Most men and women that own and lease productive maize fields in Ndakeni, and those that run productive agricultural projects are retired education inspectors and retired educators. As in my own home where there is a retired educator, these men and women are in possession of about 12 hectares of land that they would have either accessed through the headmen, bought or leased from poorer families or people that express disinterest in agriculture.

Having grown up in Flagstaff, a former labour reserve, working maize fields that included beans and pumpkin was a norm. During harvest time, from May until early November, most families enjoyed a surplus after which it would be time to plough and plant again. A great deal of maize was left in storage and on the occasion, grinded for maize meal and samp. Most families were sustained through the year and had little need to buy further foodstuffs during the ploughing and planting season. This shifted drastically when many people resorted to ploughing only their immediate gardens and surrendering their maize fields to others to maintain. This is now viewed by many as the traditional activity. This activity has been substituted by a high reliance on buying rather than working the fields. Many in community discourse have attributed this withdrawal from maize field plantations to laziness that has come with improved buying power as a result of access to social grants (see also De La Hey and Beinart 2017). Over and above that, labour to work fields in the rural homesteads is first dependent on the immediate family before other people are invited to work through what could be [12]*ilima* or for a small financial incentive. The former usually requires strong leaders of a household that would be able to command all those in the household to go and work the fields. Those in the homestead can either be immediate children or other extended family members. When leaders of households are not able to execute this command to children that may be disinterested, it is not feasible to work the fields. Therefore, discipline enforced through either patriarchal or matriarchal authority is needed. One of the participants in the work of De La Hey

[12] *Ilima* refers to a group of people doing unpaid work where the incentive comes in the form of food and beer drinking after the work has been completed. In Mpondoland *ilima* is usually called when weeding the fields or during harvest. *Ilima* may also be called for mud brick making where people would be involved in the different aspects of brick making which includes but not limited to; water fetching, mixing and preparing soil.

and Beinart (2017) expressed that children were no longer interested in herding cattle and working the fields citing school. This is the case in Ndakeni as well; however, based on personal experience, where there is discipline enforced from the top, people are able to execute these responsibilities. Therefore, family values and culture have an important space in the discussion around subsistence agriculture.

Both the Balisa and Valela families had maize fields, which they could farm for subsistence. However, neither family farmed. When asked why they abandoned these fields, both families explained that it had become increasingly expensive to work the fields. They argued the different stages of working the field, the expense and the subsequent results were not worth the energy. They further suggested that the absence of cattle herders discouraged participation in maize plantations because if the fields were not guarded, they would be used for grazing. The suggestions that there is no land to work remains in question as data from this study suggests that there is land for subsistence farming, but there are numerous other challenges that discourage the activity (see De La Hey and Beinart 2017).

Mrs Balisa and Mrs Valela had small gardens in which they planted maize, potatoes, spinach, cabbage and at times, carrots. The harvest from the gardens served a double purpose. The first was for consumption within the household and any surplus was sold to neighbours or any other willing persons in the village. Mrs Balisa had a contract with a local school where she supplied two bags of potatoes a week. However, when the harvest was finished, the realities for the wives of mineworkers remained as sometimes they did not have enough money for the entire month. Consequently, these women resorted to other alternatives.

5.6. Credit the foreigner: The positive role of the Pakistanis, Ethiopian and Somali shop owners

Many Ethiopian, Pakistan and Somali nationals were met with harsh xenophobic violence in 2008 and 2016, which resulted in the loss of lives. In 2008 alone, at least 62 people died and of those, 21 were South Africans (Ntema 2016). In 2016, although the situation was met with much condemnation, the situation was not as dire as that of 2008. These xenophobic attacks have been attributed to multiple factors including competition for economic opportunities between local and foreign nationals and unfair competition related to informal home-based entrepreneurship (*spaza* shops) (Charman & Piper 2012; Ntema 2016). In 2016, the debate on these violent attacks birthed the concept of Afriphobia, which suggested fear of fellow Africans as many began to suggest that the attacks were mainly directed to other Africans and not

necessarily foreigners across the board. Although met with these harsh realities, foreign nationals, particularly of the above-mentioned nations, continue to play a significant role as shop owners in most of our South African villages and townships. In most villages and townships across the country, many South Africans have closed their shops and surrendered these to Pakistanis, Somalis and Ethiopians. Many locals have complained about the non-profitability of shop owning owing to increased competition with migrants (*ibid)*. Even those that take their shops back fail to sustain them for many reasons. One of the myriad of reasons is the lack of willingness to provide food on credit to a community largely dependent on social welfare and extending business hours as most of the immigrants do. Foreign national shop owners in contrast are willing to provide credit and as noted, are also willing to keep their shops open for at least four hours longer than South Africans (*ibid)*.

During my ethnographic study with the Balisa family, on occasion I was sent to a Somali shop a few houses away to buy food on credit. Sometimes, Mrs Balisa went herself when she felt she may find favour. Within the communities of Ndakeni and Mdikana, my research sites and in most rural villages, the relationship with migrant shop owners as providers of food on credit is rife. Due to the wide range of stock they own, these foodstuffs range from small perishable foods to major staple food, which is enough to sustain households for just over a month (Ntema 2016). This credit was either paid when the mineworker, Mr Balisa got paid and/or when social grants were paid. Social grant pay-outs are an integral part of foreign shop owners' businesses as during this period they are able to make tangible profits.

Mining migrant labour in South Africa is still marked by difficulties, not only at the areas of work but also in the former reserves, which evidently continue to provide labour power. Some have suggested an end to its continuance by absorbing those that come from the former reserves into migrant towns. Can this be a reality? The perception of migrant workers' wives of migrant towns as permanent spaces of residence is subsequently examined.

5.7. *IGoli* is a place of work

The question of continued mining migrant labour in South Africa continues to leave many with unanswered questions. Debating why the system persists, some labour scholars have suggested a myriad of measures that could be taken by stakeholders in a deliberate attempt to curb this cycle. There have been open discussions that the government and mining companies could consider rapid housing development in the form of family units and building new primary and secondary schools for the mineworkers' children in and around the mines. This is an attempt

to lure mineworkers and their families to be permanent residents in mining towns may curb the cycle of migrant labour and its challenges altogether. Some of these housing and school projects are already underway, with some having been completed more than a decade ago. Those that have suggested and supported this idea and conducted projects have done without considering family as agents of continued migrant labour. From the series of interviews conducted with the wives of mineworkers, it became evident that families have a pivotal role to play in perpetuating the migrant labour system. To them, *IGOLI,* which in this context is any area north of the country such as Johannesburg, Welkom, Rustenburg and Northam, is a temporary space. It is a place of work and a masculine space where it is expected that a male figure, typically a brother, uncle, father and/or husband should live for a specific period of work and nothing beyond that. *IGOLI,* although referring to an area within South African borders, is considered to be a place of the other *(Iintlanga*, a word, with tribal connotations in this context that refers to people that are not of the Nguni languages*)* and therefore, cannot be fathomed as a home or permanent area of residence. Asked about what she and her family would consider if given a family unit around the mine to be permanent residents of Rustenburg, Mrs Balisa unequivocally stated:

> *You mean for us to be of that area permanently? Yhooo never! The thing is that every job has a retirement date, and so the life there requires someone to be employed on an on-going basis. What must happen when employment has ended, how will we survive in a foreign land?* (Mrs Balisa, 41)

From the above quote, it was evident that Mrs Balisa saw Rustenburg, her husband's area of work, as a space only within which her family's livelihood was earned. She referred to this area as foreign land in the context that most people that lived in it were not original inhabitants and were only there to ply their labour. Furthermore, in the African context, any area that does not have graves of the forefathers can never be considered as home. One of the participants in the study alluded to the question of relatives when she asked how one could survive in times of hardships such as bereavement or when the family had no money or had no food without blood relatives. Another participant echoed similar views on the issue of taking up permanent homes in Rustenburg:

> *Yhoo!! I would never survive my man, never!! Never not me! The mere thought of staying in an urban area just depresses my entire being; can you imagine an area where I wouldn't be able to have a garden and maize fields? Unless of course kids would insist they want us in moving perhaps I would consider. Yhooo I am too Xhosa for all of that.* (Mrs Valela, 55)

The above quote raises another important factor, which suggests that the question of migrant labour goes beyond the migrant and therefore, any decision on the future of migrant labour needs to include their families and their expectations of the area of destination. Mrs Valela's introduction of the farming component suggests that outside of the livelihood that she received through her husband's remittances she also had her own subsistence activity, which gave meaning to her own life and therefore, dignity and respectability. Removing her from what she enjoyed would alienate her from her world.

It is a known fact that in the area of Mpondoland migrant labour was normalised as soon as traders set up shop in coastal towns such as Bizana, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki. This normalisation was further exacerbated by the formalisation of recruitment stations in the form of WNLA, SWANLA and later TEBA bank. Growing up as a young man in Mpondoland, I found it bizarre when an adult male was complaining about unemployment not having considered *ukuthabatha u TEBA or* taking up *Ijoyini (*taking up a mine contract through TEBA). The normalisation of migrant labour that involves wives at home having their husbands go and work for them speaks to shared household responsibility. While the men mine for money, the women perceive themselves as managers of the affairs of the broader household. Asked if she worked or if she would consider working, Nosakhele replied:

> *No no no! I have never thought of that. No no, I have never. It would never work; I am the manager here at home. I handle domestic affairs. If we were to both work nothing would ever happen in this house.* (Nosakhele, 39)

Nosakhele noted, although indirectly, that the mineworker there would always be a place he looked back to and hence, the need for oscillation between the workplace and home. Although in a traditional sense they remain heads of households, the home space is actively run by wives for married mineworkers.

The challenge of housing that has followed the mining industry since the discovery of minerals in South Africa does not help the situation. With the platinum boom in Rustenburg, statistics suggest since the early 1990s, many have headed in the direction of the platinum belt. This has not assisted the housing situation but worsened it. Consequently, with the failure of the mines to absorb the ever-increasing population, there has been a substantial increase in the number of informal settlements around the mine shafts. In yesteryears when wives of mineworkers would visit their husbands, they would reside in a room in a *skomplas* where they would live for a couple of months together. Currently, the time given to a husband and wife at a *skomplas* is limited. According to the women, the husbands opt to rent shacks outside the mine in order to

optimise the stay of the wife. Although this gesture is appreciated by the wives, living in a shack for all these women is out of the question and therefore discourages visits. Equally, the increasing number of mineworkers staying in squatter camps does not encourage even the thought of making Rustenburg a second home for these women and children.

5.8. Conclusion

In an attempt to arrest some of the key features that could be attributed to the continued reliance on mining migrant labour, various aspects of the migrant household were examined in this chapter. An annotated case study of two participating families in this study was provided to allow the reader to understand the different dynamics of migrant households and accordingly, reveal the day-to-day practicalities in the migrant household and why mining migrant labour was considered. An examination of the general subsistence economy of the former LSAs raised the viability of the economy in sustaining its population. The survival strategies of migrant wives, namely, *imibutho*, social grants and subsistence farming were explored. Light was shed on the perceptions of migrant wives as agents about the possibility of residing in Rustenburg in a quest to unearth responses to the main question. The activities in the migrant households and LSAs at large were provided. Consequently, the centrality of women in the Mpondo migrant household was highlighted. To a great extent, the chapter spoke directly to how Mpondo women femininities in these areas have transformed. This was revealed by the amount of responsibility and initiative the women engaged in, which is beyond the normalised meanings of femininity often associated with care work and softness.

In essence, in this chapter, women, children, the home, and the unchanged nature of the LSA were revealed as important features of the continued reliance on mining migrant labour. The continued reliance on migrant labour in South Africa is multi-layered. In order to understand this continuity, we ought to consider the various aspects of the migrant household explored in this chapter.

Chapter 6: Mining migrant labour in transition: From cheap labour to *ina-ethe* migration

6.1. Introduction

> *A lot has changed since I got here, I remember when I got here I was 15 years old and had to lie about my age in order to get a work permit and so I did. When I got here I first worked as a general worker, then as a loader and as a winch driver. In those years I earned R55 for my work on a monthly basis. A lot of*

> *change was sped up for by the arrival of unions in the mining industry, which changed a lot of things. For example, we never used to have schools like the one you see in front of you (points to the school) that would educate you to a point where you would claim literacy. And all of that came with the African National Congress (ANC) government to be honest. They employed teachers that were well equipped and perfect for us. The hostel changed altogether, our bathrooms and toilets improved from previous situations. We used to bath with cold water throughout the year but the system improved and water was prepared using Ubhayela (industrial water boiler) and it never used to be enough. From there the system was also improved where water was now transferred to a big change house where it was now warmed up through electricity. That too was not enough. Let me just say to you even our beds were double bunks made of bricks with one at the top and the other at the bottom with 20 of us in each hall. That changed and they brought beds made of steel and from there they started partitioning the halls into rooms where we lived in two and then it was single rooms where we have common rooms. Even the situation in the main kitchen changed because we started eating what we like, you choose whether you want fried meat, boiled meat, chicken or beef, you name it.* (Disco, 58)

Disco was born in Flagstaff in the Eastern Cape. As a 15-year-old he was invited to work in the mines by his uncle following the passing of both his parents. In the interview, he stated that, young as he was, it was important to come and work for himself and his young brother. As the above extract suggests, Disco lived and worked through most of the changes in cheap migrant labour as an oscillating migrant labourer. As he claimed, he had a wealth of generations of knowledge about the South African mining industry. This extract from my interview with Disco invites the reader to acknowledge how mineworkers appreciate little things such as the choice of food, change in type of bed and the introduction of hot water among other things. How cheap migrant labour consistent with colonial and apartheid regimes has changed into a decent post-apartheid migrant labour system that is *ina-ethe migration* can be noted in the extract. *Ina-ethe migration* is a reciprocal migrant labour system in which migrant labourers are rewarded in the form of social, working, living and wage conditions for their labour.

For purposes of engagement, important features central to cheap migrant labour in the colonial and apartheid periods are identified in this chapter. These features of cheap migrant labour exist and/or existed in both physical and/or in structural forms. Some of these features are still in place albeit under new names and in a new regime and include: Housing and living conditions, working conditions, wages and salaries, and institutions and legislation. Based on the literature survey, ethnographic research in the Eastern Cape and North West provinces and in-depth interviews, the transitions of the structures and institutions in the context of apartheid and post-apartheid South Africa are discussed.

6.2 Housing and living conditions

In the literature survey, features that best assist in explaining the cheap labour regime were identified. A historical account of the living conditions of the migrant workers particularly in South African gold mines, an area that became the centre of the South African economy for several years was provided. I postulated with the support of literature that accommodation for mineworkers has always been a shortcoming for mining companies, not only in South Africa but in other neighbouring mining African countries as well (see Allen 1992 Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu 2015; Crush & James 1991; Moodie 1994; Wilson 1972). Mining companies have consistently failed to meet the rising demands for accommodation. We can assume, almost with certainty that, from the onset it was not in the interest of mining companies in a cheap migrant labour regime to build sufficient and 'dignified' compounds. Even when compounds were built, they were not primarily for local labour (Allen 1992). When they could be used for local labour, they were multi-purposed as physical structures for accommodation and structures for control, mobilisation of a large workforce, monitoring for mining companies and the apartheid administration that was interested in the restriction of the movements of black workers (Chinguno 2015; Crush and James 1991; Moodie and Ndatshe 1994; Sitas 1996).

With the democratic dispensation there has been a shift from the traditional compound system described in the literature survey and the paragraph above to one that can be described as modern and transformed. Xulu-Gama (2017) noted the same for Kwa-Mashu hostels, although she also lamented that some social problems that characterised hostels in the past were still with us. Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015:535) stated that these types of compounds are in place "as single rooms in apartments with shared kitchens and bathrooms". Photographs 4 and 5 illustrate this.

Photograph 3: A hostel block at a Bleskop mine (now Sibanye) in Rustenburg, 06 August 2017.

A hostel[13] block in a platinum mine in Rustenburg, which Sibanye recently acquired, is depicted in Photograph 3. It is a single sex hostel where only men reside. This mining hostel is located exactly next to the infamous Nkaneng informal settlements. There are also 11 other blocks of hostels housing other men in a safely fenced and guarded environment near this block. During my visit to this establishment in the course of my fieldwork, I was told by the participants that had worked there for over three decades that these were the same structures from the apartheid regime. However, these structures had been modernised to meet modern day regulations that are consistent with a transforming mining industry. Although writing from a gold mining perspective, Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) revealed such blocks were previously large halls that each housed more than 30 people, a phenomenon that was supported by my participants. The halls were characterised by concrete beds, cold bathing water and regimented barracks *(ibid).* When one of the participants was asked about the situation at this mine when he arrived in 1992, he shared:

> *… Here? This that you see never used to be here, all of this used to be a hall. One used to sleep on top of the other on double bunk beds made of steel. Everything here, even where I worked in Carletonville changed after the release of Nelson Mandela. In fact, after he was released he came to*

[13] These are single rooms in apartments as described in Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015). In this chapter they are referred to as hostels to represent how participants in this study referred to them as.

> *this hostel and landed in this one in particular. One of the things he said was 'you guys still live like this, this must change, with this arrangement it should mean that one pees on top of the other', after that visit we witnessed rapid change and I remember that was in 1996* … (Khwalo, 59)

Coupled with my observations during the fieldwork and what Mr Khwalo further extrapolated, the living conditions at this hostel and another which I had observed in Boitekong, one which houses Jabula Platinum mine (Sibanye) workers, were the absolute opposite of the traditional mining hostels under the apartheid regime (see Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). At the time of the study, workers lived in commune-like setups where a facility comprised three single rooms, one per mineworker, a communal bathroom and toilet as well as a shared common room for dining and socialising as described in Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015).

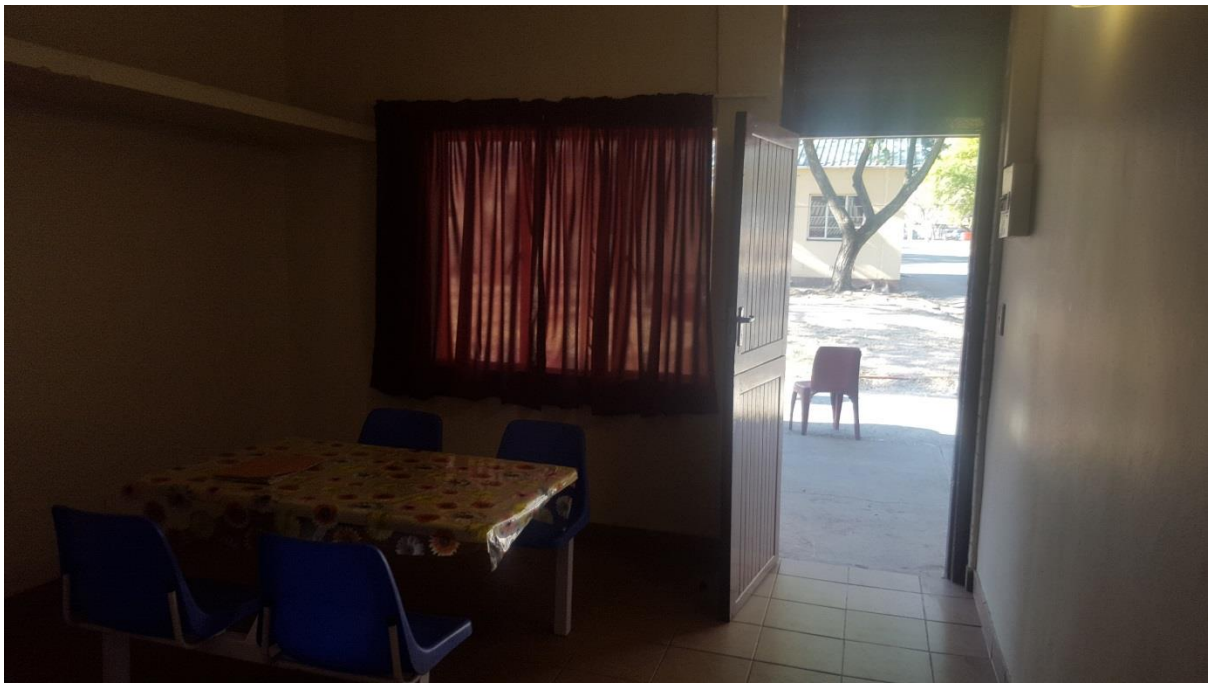


Photo 4: Living room in a mine hostel in Rustenburg, 06 August 2017

Photograph 5 & 6: A bathroom and toilet at a mine hostel in Rustenburg, 06 August 2017

Photographs 4 and 5 suggest a significant shift from the undignified living conditions expressed in early literature on mining compounds in and around South Africa (see Allen 1992a, 1992, Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu 2015; Crush & James 1991; Moodie 1994; Van Onselen 1980; Wilson 1972). Hygiene and sanitation problems, which characterised early mining hostels and therefore, a cheap labour regime appeared to have been addressed in the two mining hostels that I observed.

I visited the different mining hostels on numerous occasions in a quest to understand more about hostel dynamics as well as to enhance my relations with people that I had identified as key informants as they had generations' worth of knowledge about the mining industry. On many occasions, while I enjoyed lunch with mineworkers, we discussed various areas of interest about the mines. When asked what they perceived to be the major improvements in mining hostels over the years, these men usually spoke about catering services. These men lauded the move towards quality and nutritious food that was currently served in mining kitchens. Some attributed their continued stay in the hostel to this quality of food to which others who resided in mine premises did not have access. As a visitor, I was not allowed to enter the mining kitchen (dining hall) and was only limited to the living quarters. On all occasions, with pride, my participants brought food from the kitchen for me to enjoy and experience. Consequently, I can attest to the commendable strides of the mine in that regard. Disco was happy to share the different types of foods in the kitchen during the course of his interview:

> *…. even things started changing in our kitchen, we started eating things that we enjoy, things that we loved. Let me just say services the kitchen improved immensely, nothing is on a slow-down anymore… Let me just say to you everything changed because now at the kitchen you have the luxury of choosing what to eat. You choose even the type of meat you want to eat, you either choose roast chicken or beef and/or boiled chicken or beef, boerewors, tripe and so forth, matter of fact this type of food lures those who left the hostels because they are starving out there….* (Disco, 60)

When the improvement in sanitation, living conditions and environment as well as nutrition is considered, as fondly noted by Disco, it is evident that the mining industry has made a significant move away from cheap labour conditions. Accordingly, one may assume that mineworkers are currently faced with a transitioning workplace where they experience the new, especially in relation to living conditions as a whole. In other words, they get 'reasonable' value for their labour. Despite the changes mentioned above, there remain other challenges where living conditions are concerned in the mining industry. Most of the challenges in the industry relate to those that live outside of mine hostels; a group that has now constituted the majority in the platinum belt. To highlight some of these continuities in *ina-ethe* migration, life outside mine hostels is discussed next.

6.2.1. Leaving the mining compound

Mine compounds have always been strategically located close to mine shafts. This allowed mine owners to mobilise enough labour force to meet their needs (Moodie and Ndatshe; Crush and James 1991). Although the geographic location of mine compounds has not changed, the attitudes of most younger mineworkers towards mine compounds has. Most of them preferred to live outside the mine. This, perhaps to the benefit of mine owners who now preferred to see workers settle elsewhere in communities close to the mine (Crush and James1991). Moreover, also to the pleasure of government and labour who increased pressure on mining houses to depopulate the compounds and meet the standards as set out on the mining charter (Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu 2015). During my interaction with some mineworkers, however, a few still expressed the desire to stay in the mine hostels. Some had even applied for space but were told that compounds were either full or that mines would no longer be accommodating or taking new workers into its premises. Most of those that yearned for the mining hostels believed it would discipline their financial spending and allow for them to save for their wishes for home. Others cited the benefit of eating nutritious food that has already been prepared. They also assumed a 'moral' stand saying they want to avoid 'ways' of men leaving *emikhukhwini* (informal settlements). They viewed living in informal settlements to be associated with

wayward behaviour. To them, those that enjoyed living in informal settlements enjoyed being *amanxila* (drunks) and wanted to womanise and interact with *amadikazi*[14] ("Amadikazi" is a derogatory IsiXhosa word (mainly used by Mpondo men) used to refer to women that have returned from failed marriages or single women dating a married man or any other men that is already involved in another relationship). These mineworkers did not appear to be aware of the legislative obligation for mining companies to depopulate.

It is unclear how many mineworkers reside outside mine hostels; this may prove difficult to quantify. What is known based on census data of 2011 and according to Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015), however, is that, in 2012, informal settlements in Rustenburg accounted for 42% of the dwellings in the Rustenburg area. According to the Rustenburg Integrated Rural Development Plan Review (IDPR) (2016), in the Rustenburg Municipality households that are classified as very formal dwellings account for 39.6%, formal dwellings for 29.07% and informal dwellings for 30.35% of all households. The statistics for informal settlements (42% and 29.07%) are still high, especially when compared to the national percentage of 15%. It is uncertain whether the high percentage of informal settlements is a result of mineworkers living outside mine hostels. However, the platinum boom that saw Rustenburg becoming a significant labour market pool for those with an interest in the mining sector can be counted to having played a major role.

Informal settlements are among the most undesirable features of the democratic dispensation. So much so, the South African government through the Department of Human Settlements had planned to eradicate all these structures at least by 2014 (Huchzermeyer & Karam 2006). Although this is the case, informal settlements continue to be a dominant feature of the post-apartheid and democratic era. Certainly, they are dominant feature in mining and are central to living conditions in Rustenburg for mineworkers. Below I discuss informal settlements and other living arrangements by Mpondo men in view of highlighting challenges and continuities from the past.

Imikhukhu[15] *and other alternative living arrangements*

Ndida and Ndhlovu (2020) state that imikhukhu (informal settlements) in South Africa are as old as urbanisation itself. *Imikhukhu* is a word written in its plural form to refer to makeshift

[14] Nkomo (2018) described *amadikazi (idikazi* in singular form) as single mothers.
[15] *Imikhukhu* is am IsiXhosa word stated in its plural form to refer to informal settlements made of mostly corrugated iron and planks. As a single structure it is referred to as *Umkhukhu*.

physical residential structures made of corrugated iron, planks, wood, plastic, mud and other materials (see Nkomo 2018). These structures characterise most peri-urban spaces across most South African cities and big towns often viewed to have economic opportunities (see Ndida and Ndhlovu). Often, they are occupied by migrants and even locals living below poverty line. This was no different in Sondela and Nkaneng. Considering that most mineworkers lived outside mine property, they also occupied these settlements alongside those looking for employment in the platinum city. Some are locals and others men and women women from the Eastern Cape who provide social reproductive support to migrant workers (Benya 2015). Describing the scenery in Nkaneng Nkomo (2018:87) stated that;

> *On the dusty spaces of the informal settlements, children chase around animal, dogs, cats, goats pigs and domestic fouls and play other games. Bigger livestock such as cattle and horses are driven onto open veld on the outskirts of the settlements.*

The above quote is an illustration of the life outside mine hostels. It shows how mineworkers are able to reproduce their rural lives within a less regulated space than the mine hostels. Outside of the mine they can engage in some of the activities that shaped their very upbringing as seen with the domestication of cattle and other animals, which has been a way of life for many years. Even those living in mine hostels with recreational facilities such as TV rooms and soccer fields enjoy most of their social life in the surrounding informal settlements where most of their friends and home boys are based. In and around the informal settlements is where livestock is kept (see chapter 8), where social drinking in bars and taverns happens, where pool is shot and where soccer is also played. Life in the informal settlements is normal but also a lot busier than a regular village. Nkomo (2018) stated that from a distance, informal settlements look almost as if they are chaotic, and yet, they are guided by *imithetho*[16] (rules and regulations). In the early hours of the morning some mineworkers emerge from the pit and slowly walk to their *imikhukhu.* In the same breath, others slowly walk towards the shaft as others climb into buses transporting them to mine shaft further away. In the evening, the cycle continues. School going children can be seen emerging from *imikhukhu* walking to school, most of them in the company of their mothers. During the day, vendors trade food and other items on the very busy streets and their *spaza* shops. Taxis going to Mozambique, Eastern Cape

[16] Moodie and Ndatshe (1994:20) discussed "*imithetho*" as a modus vivendi which was applied by black authorities in mining compounds of the South African gold mines. *Imithetho* is an Isixhosa word that means 'rules'. Stated in its singular form it is '*umthetho*' which means 'rule' in English.

towns, Lesotho and Rustenburg town drive in and out of the single-entry settlement. All is normal, the settlement sleeps almost at midnight. The weekend provides an opportunity for social drinking, going out dancing, playing and watching soccer together for Mpondo men.

Living in Sondela informal settlement

The Sondela informal settlement is located in the Boitekong tribal settlement. Like other informal settlements, it is characterised by a "proliferation of squalor reflected by poor quality of the shacks and lack of basic services such as water, electricity and sanitation" (Chinguno 2015: 104). This settlement is now semi-formalised following the introduction of government provided RDP houses. It comprises three historically dominant groups in the mining industry: The AmaXhosa (across their tribal groups), BaSotho and Shangaans from Mozambique. My observations in this community were that the Basotho and AmaXhosa have continued to engage in mine work intensively while the Shangaans have increasingly become traders. Mozambican nationals typically own *spaza* shops, engage in street vending, and run welding and motor mechanics workshops in the streets for the growing population of mine workers buying second hand vehicles.

Photograph 7: An informal settlement in Boitekong (Sondela) Rustenburg, 18 November 2017

Sondela is strategically located between two mines, Impala Platinum mine and Jabula mine (Sibanye). In as far as informal settlements are concerned, the situation is no different in Nkaneng. The settlements are also strategically located between two mines, Sibanye's Siphumelele mine and Lonmin Platinum mine. The mineshafts are within walking distance from both informal settlements. Those that are not within walking distance are forced to take public transport if no mine bus has been provided for that given area. According to Chinguno (2013a), there are 38 informal settlements in the Rustenburg district municipality and 31% of the population in the district lives in these settlements. Thus, it is evident when one considers this large number that migrant labour to Rustenburg by people from outside of the town and province still exists. One may ask who should be involved with housing in and around the mines if migrant labour is no longer enforced. The government has made some strides in responding to this question, which is subsequently discussed.

As part of the continued commitment by the government to build human settlements as part of the RDP for the disadvantaged, the local government of Rustenburg has been involved in such by providing housing for the residents of Rustenburg that meet the necessary requirements and are deemed deserving. This commitment has attempted to meet the rapidly growing population of Rustenburg and tame the growing number of informal settlements. While the municipal initiative is noble, I found that some migrant workers that previously lived in shacks 'unduly' benefited from this social initiative and as such have been recipients of these RDP houses. Some of these migrant workers are now permanent homeowners of structures that they stay in, rent out, sell and/or give to their children who take up jobs in the mining industry when they retire. The RDP houses that are owned by these migrants have encouraged rare but lengthy visits from both their children and wives. Bhala, 54, stayed in an RDP house in Sondela with two of his children and nephew. His two children were of a school going age and his nephew who had finished matric was waiting for a job opportunity in the mines. When I asked Bhala how he had come to own the house he lived in, he shared:

> *There is this thing that white people call rent subsidy and that is for people that get housing. I for one used to stay in the mining hostel and it came to a point where I really got tired of eating bad unhealthy food and so I decided to leave the hostel and stay in a shack outside of the mine. That time we stayed down that direction (points at direction) before there were houses here and here in this place called Meriting. And then around 1996 after Mandela was released*

> *when they said there were registration for housing I went to register and the officials asked where I worked and I told them. They then said I do not qualify and I therefore came back later and registered as a vendor who made R50.00 on a daily basis. When the roll was called for recipients my name was there and I have stayed here since…* (Bhala, 54)

Some of the RDP houses that currently belong to the migrants previously belonged to Rustenburg locals who were forcibly moved by migrant workers who also wagered a claim to the houses. The information gathered through informal conversations with both the locals and migrants in Boitekong (Sondela) revealed that migrant workers did not remove homeowners forcefully. Rather, they entered the houses forcefully and occupied one of the bedrooms without saying a word. Subsequently, the original occupant left the establishment in fear. These actions appear to have been a form of protest by migrants in that they felt excluded by the local municipality. Therefore, their actions may have sought to solicit a response from the municipality in the form of housing.

At a theoretical level, the migrants' actions invoke Bourdieu's (1977) notion of symbolic violence. Except, this event of symbolic violence directed at mostly SeTswana speaking locals although not physically violent, was visible and could be felt by its victims. It was felt and experienced in the form of displacements, fear and various inconveniences that meant returning to earlier places of residence such as homes in either informal or formal settlements. This form of violence, although not physical in nature, was further reminiscent of the antagonistic relationship between black and white mineworkers in the 1930s and 1940s. However, this violence was between two ethnic groups. Breckenridge (1988) noted that violence during the latter periods was ubiquitous in South African gold mines and Von Holdt (2012) argued that in this context, this violence was physical. He added that this violence was aimed at establishing racial hierarchies at work in the context of a colonial and apartheid social order. Therefore, this workplace violence was aimed at reproducing what was happening at societal level (*ibid*). The exacting of masculinities on the other hand was at the centre of this violence. The perpetrators being white mineworkers who were protected by the state exacted their racial masculinities on black mineworkers who if they retaliated, exacted their own masculinities as black men (see Breckenridge 1988; Moodie 1994). Therefore, the violence of the 20th century in the South African gold mines evidently manifested racial masculinities. The question may be asked if these events and in particular, the concept of racial masculinities assist an explanation of the violence in Sondela demonstrated by isiXhosa speaking migrants from the Eastern Cape towards SeTswana speaking locals in Rustenburg. If the logic of the concept racial

masculinities with the intention of extending it to explain phenomena that are not racial but more to do with ethnicity is considered, the answer is possibly yes.

Consequently, the concept of ethno masculinities is introduced in an attempt to explain the domination of one ethnic group by another; in particular, the domination of BaTswana home owners (mainly men) by AmaXhosa (men migrants from EC) in Sondela Rustenburg. Ethno, which is borrowed from the word ethnic, suggests similar ancestry, culture, language, history and such. The concept tribal is not included because in a South African context, tribal usually suggests antagonism between two groups especially in the context of the country's history with apartheid that used the term as a means to divide. By masculinities I refer to the social construct often associated with attributes and behaviours of boys and men as used in the texts of Moodie (1994) and Breckenridge (1988). I am of the view that Xhosa men along with Shangaan men were viewed as champions of *umgodi* (the mine) in the past. Consequently, they have a history of having jobs that have been associated with men of great strength. Moreover, Xhosa men have, as seen in the case of Marikana, been at the forefront of intimidation in collective bargaining processes. I believe this has given them currency in the platinum belt as an ethnic group of courage and strength. Therefore, this currency of dominance allowed them to instil fear through their much-publicised masculinities and thus, achieve those occupations seen in the case of Sondela.

As part of alternative living arrangements, other workers rent RDP houses from local homeowners that live elsewhere around Rustenburg or the province. Others rent from migrant workers that may have received the house in either a conventional (legal) or unconventional (illegal) way. The rent for these RDP houses ranges from R500.00 to R700.00. However, the property owner determines the renting rates and tenants are based on the type of relationship they have, and the condition of the house being rented. These RDP houses have toilets that flush, but are located outside the establishments. Although each yard has a tap outside, there is no bathroom. Consequently, the mineworkers who live in such accommodation have to bath using buckets and plastic washing basins. There are other forms of shelters in the form of shacks and brick walled flats to meet the on-going need for housing on the stands where there are RDP houses. Therefore, the RDP house owners are able to earn an income from rentals because of accommodation demands. It is noteworthy that mineworkers who own RDP houses may also be their colleagues' proprietors.

Photograph 8: An RDP house stand in Sondela (Boitekong) in Rustenburg, 02 August 2017

Photograph 8 is of an RDP house rented by two brothers. They both worked as winch drivers, one for Jabula platinum mine and the other for Impala platinum mine. They also stayed with a young man from their village in Lusikisiki who had passed his matric and hoped he did not have to work in the mines (he now works as an electric assistant for a subcontractor based in a gold mine in Westonaria). One of the smaller shacks was vacant and the other was rented by a man from Cofimbvama who worked at Jabula mine as a Rock Drill Operator team leader. He lived with his daughter who had finished matric and wanted to go to university (now studies Public Management at Walter Sisulu University). This site belonged to a retired mineworker that had since returned to the Eastern Cape to be reunited with his family after many years of service. The retired mineworker came from the same village as the two brothers and trusted them to pay rent and collect rent from the man from Cofimvaba who rented the shack.

Wabane was a 37-year-old male from Flagstaff who had previously worked as a PTV (Pipe Trench and Ventilation worker) when he got a job in one of the Sibanye mines in Rustenburg in 2009. He currently worked as a winch driver, which he had been doing for approximately seven years. Like Bhala, he owned a RDP house. I asked him about this because I understood that mineworkers did not qualify for them. He thus responded:

> *When I arrived here in Boitekong in 2009 anyone with an ID could register or enlist for housing, the lady in whose house I rented had information about who is eligible and so I enquired. I was not eligible to get the house as a*

> *mineworker but then I had my ways and so I ended up getting it.* (Wabane, 37)

Since Wabane had received the house, he had built at least six other rooms, which some of his colleagues rented. He justified building these backrooms by asserting that a man with ambitions cannot live on a single income. The unconventional means by which Bhala and Wabane obtained RDP houses and how they capitalised on that by subletting rooms brings a new dynamic to the question of housing and migrant labour in South Africa. These cases were not isolated as during my stay in Sondela and Million Dollar as well as frequent visits to Nkaneng, I was exposed to other migrant workers who were also RDP house owners who sublet backrooms. Nevertheless, this situation further emphasises the continued need for accommodation for mineworkers in the mining town of Rustenburg.

There is a need for accommodation in and around the mining shafts of Rustenburg. The mining hotels, most of which were developed into modern hostels after 1994, are not able to meet the labour boom that has seen Rustenburg become a priority destination for most migrants. However, mineworkers do not live outside the mining hostels because hostels cannot meet the demands for places. In some instances, workers, especially the younger generation of mineworkers, prefer to live away from the mining premises so as to enjoy certain autonomies. Their arguments centre on the notion that there is a lack of freedom in living in mining hostels as one cannot even be visited by family members openly for lengthy periods of time. One of the younger generation of mineworkers explained:

> *…eNkomponi*[17] *you are not allowed to stay with your family and so you cannot be even be visited. When family decides to visit you are then forced to rent a place outside the mine to accommodate them and so I just decided to stay outside at from the onset. My brothers come here from time to time to look for opportunities in these short-term contracts. I cannot be making excuses, I must accommodate them. I mean how long have you been here now? 2 months? You have seen that we don't live alone as it is would that be allowed eNkomponi?*(Nyathi, 32)

Nyathi who was 32 years of age and unmarried had replaced his father at the mine in 2010 and had worked in the same mine since being employed. He did not stay in a mining hostel and was currently living with his brother who worked in a neighbouring mine in a rented RDP house. A 19-year-old from their village who matriculated in 2016 and was deciding what to do with his life lived with them. When they were at work, this young man spent time washing the dishes,

[17] The word eNkomponi is an IsiXhosa and is extracted from the English word 'Compound'

prepared meals for them and cleaned their RDP house. A fellow mineworker, Alex who was 32 years of age stated that he preferred not to stay in the mine hostels because he stayed with family, unlike most mineworkers. He added that from his early days as a student, he did not like the setup at the mines, which he observed during holidays when he visited his father. He related that clocking-in and clocking-out made him feel trapped. Consequently, when he started working in the mines, he had made his decision.

Historically, South African mines have had quarters for married people to stay when mineworkers' wives visited. This has not changed; I observed women in and around these single sex hostels stationed at places popularly known as *Skomplaas.* However, currently, workers are now allocated a limited time than they were in the past. Consequently, they are forced to rent shacks and/or alternative forms of accommodation when their spouses visit to enable them to enjoy their time together. Men, especially younger men, that enjoy living with their partners for extended periods of time in a year have also subsequently decided to move out of the mine hostels.

Social life is an important aspect of migrant workers' lives in Sondela. Like all mineworkers, most of their time is spent underground doing labour intensive work under difficult working conditions. What is left of their day outside of the mine premises they spend mostly sleeping, eating and preparing for the next shift. Weekends and off days usually mean migrants can carry out their errands. These include replenishing of groceries, paying of accounts and/or sending money home among other things using the nearby Boitekong Mall. Those with weekends off gathered on Friday even in small groups at a shack, tavern, or RDP house of choice for social drinking and eating of meat. This carries on to Saturday where migrants also binge on soccer games. During these gatherings these men exercise *imithetho yesi* Xhosa (Xhosa rules) to govern their seating (see Moodie and Ndatshe 1994; Nkomo 2018). *Imithetho* governed seating arrangements, drinking order of a shared beer or bottle of brandy or whisky and way of dressing and speaking. A hierarchical order of the older to the young was observed. This was a direct reflection of what happens in a migrant household back home. On Fridays and Saturdays these men also found time to entertain their girlfriends and sexual partners.

Sundays are different for most men in Sondela, especially with the knowledge that Monday is a working day. Social life is a bit slower, mineworkers are no longer binge drink in fear of failing the breathalyser test. Considering that I used snowball sampling, this technique drove me to a group of men that loved soccer. Not only watching as earlier mentioned but also playing

and administering it. Sunday for men in Sondela meant spending time in the soccer fields watching teams play tournaments and competing for local championships. Photographs 9 and 10 below demonstrates a regular Sunday for mineworkers in Sondela.

Photograph 9: Soccer field near Jabula mine shaft and hostel near Sondela. 19 November 2017.

Photograph 10: Men (mostly mineworkers) in a soccer field near Jabula mine shaft and hostel near Sondela. 19 November 2017.

Competing teams in these soccer games are formed and joined based on from where one comes. There are teams from Bizana, Flagstaff, Libode, Lusikisiki, Port St Johns and Ngqeleni among other towns. Forming part of these teams goes far beyond just playing soccer in the football field. These teams form an important part of a 'homeboy social network' that is vested in one looking out for the other and support. Support relates to travelling together when going home and sharing petrol costs, helping each other solve domestic disputes between migrants and their partners, asserting punitive measures to anyone one identified to be defying *imithetho* and informing each other of new opportunities. These 'brotherhood or 'homeboy social networks' mirror those identified by Gordon (1977), Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) and Nkomo (2018 and 2015).

Living out in backrooms

Where formal housing has been in existence in places such as Boitekong, Thlabane, Phokeng, Mereting, Luka and other villages around Rustenburg, backrooms have been erected (see Moodie and Von Holdt, 2015). These backrooms are either made of normal bricks, corrugated iron with cement and/or what is popularly known as stop nonsense housing (precast). The owners and their children live in the main house where this structure is built. Affectionately known as *Rra staande* (Male property owner) or *Mma Staande* (female property owner) the relationship between the tenant and the landlord is elementary (see Nkomo 2015 and 2018). It involves the tenant paying rent, which usually includes water and electricity. The property owner, in turn, also ensures the mineworker's safety and security by fencing the yard and providing burglar bars for the doors and windows. In this type of arrangement as in the traditional relationship between maids and their mistresses, there is usually an outside communal toilet and plastic bathing basins. The latter are used for bathing with water, which has either been boiled from an electric kettle or stove. Rent in these spaces typically costs anything from R450.00 to R750.00 depending on the building material of the settlement.

Photograph 11: Two backrooms made of precast in Million Dollar, Rustenburg. 10 November 2017.

This is a typical example of a backroom house referred to in the previous paragraph. However, the owner of this house did not live there. At the time of this study, the owner was a full-time PhD fellow at the University of Pretoria and had allowed me to use it as a base during my fieldwork. Two male electric engineers that worked for a sub-contracting company MMM at Impala platinum rented the house. When I was renting the house, they lived in this backroom. I convinced them to swop accommodation two weeks before I left so that I could experience the conditions of this precast establishment. They each paid R750.00 to live in the main house. They identified new tenants that worked in the local mines who each paid R500.00 for the two rooms.

In my daily engagements with the mineworkers that chose to stay in backrooms of formal settlements as opposed to *imikhukhu* it was clear that they shunned the informal settlements. This despite of the fact that most of their social time was spent in Sondela. They argued that Sondela was too overcrowded, dirty and did not have sufficient sanitation. Some even suggested that even though they came from homes with mud housing in Flagstaff and Lusikisiki, that was still more dignified that living in a shack. Asserting his point, Shoes (35) stated:

> *You see where I come from its very deep rural, eMakhwalweni just before you get to eMantlaneni when you come from Lusikisiki. It's very far so much so that we are*

close to Ntabankulu whilst we are in Lusikisiki. In the entire homestead there are about 6 rooms far apart. We have three rondavels, three square flats and then it's the house that I am building. And now you are telling me I must come to eGoli and live in a shack? Never. You see even when my father still worked here, we lived in mud housing, but it was clean, polished with cow dung, there was dignity. There is no dignity in the life brothers are subjecting themselves in Sondela and eNkanini. Yes, its cheaper to rent a shack than it is to rent a backroom, it is in fact half the price but not for me Mhlekazi (sir). I came here to make myself better and not to repeat poverty.

The sentiments expressed by Shoes were expressed by many that lived under the same backroom arrangement. Others, however, cited safety as an important measure and influence for them not living in Sondela. They argued that it was not easy to rob an outside building as the main house where Mma or Rra staande live always had people. They suggested that living in Sondela made them easy targets as they spent most of their time underground, leaving valuables such as television and radio sets unattended. It is important to note that although the group that lived in the group was sizeable, they did not outnumber those that lived in informal settlements. Sondela also had an increasing number of concrete flats, which they made available to mineworkers as seen in photograph 7.

Photograph 12: Rooms to rent in Sondela informal settlement, Rustenburg. 07 September 2017.

Having lived with the young men and immersed myself in their routines outside work, it became clear that their lifestyles could be curbed if they lived in hostels. These young mineworkers, who were mainly between the ages of 24 and 38 years, enjoyed leisure activities that included consuming large quantities of alcohol, the constant rotation of sexual partners, loud music and clubbing. One may question why these mineworkers preferred living in backrooms, shacks and RDP houses instead of housing built by the mines.

The commitment by mining houses to depopulate the hostels and the partitioning of old hostels into single room quarters is evident and has been met with approval by both mineworkers and other interested parties. However, this rapid move has also had adverse effects as it has led to the sprouting of informal settlements, popularly referred to as *imikhukhu* in the areas of Nkaneng, Boitekong (Sondela), and Majakaneng. These informal settlements reflect the growing population in and around mines as a result of factors such as job seekers, mining companies' failure to meet the rising demand for accommodation for the labour force, improper use or abuse of the living out allowance incentive (LOA) and mineworkers' refusal to take up bond housing built by the mines (Lonmin Fact Sheet, 2016).

Living Out Allowance

The emergence of *imikhukhu* and backrooms in Rustenburg's locations, tribal communities and its farm land was by no means an accident. The negotiated prevalence of a living-out allowance by the NUM served as a catalyst (see Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu, 2010; Chinguno, 2015; Moodie and Von Holdt, 2015 and Stewart 2013). The living-out allowance came about as part of the concerted effort of phasing out hostel accommodation (Chinguno, 2015). Chinguno stated that according to the Chamber of Mines, living-out allowance accounted for about 20% of unskilled workers' basic salaries. Primarily, the allowance was negotiated as a subsidy for those living outside mining. While it may serve that, it has also had an adverse effect in that it has contributed immensely to the uprooting of informal settlements (Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu, 2010; Chinguno, 2015). Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2010) while conducting research in Rustenburg mentioned that they encountered several mineworkers who mentioned that they used their living-out allowance to erect their own *imikhukhu.* The living-out allowance not only encouraged the erecting of shacks but also encouraged new migrants to seek accommodation in similar spaces, especially those with

financial pressures (see Chinguno, 2015). Asked about not living in a mine hostel and instead in a shack in Sondela, Same (33) shared:

> *You know at first, I was forced to live here when I first arrived from Kleksdorp in 2011 because there was no space there enkomponi. Now I am used to this place, really there was no place there, it was still full there when we got employed. I can tell you even now there is an opening I was told about and its now difficult take it because affects my general income. Staying here has its own benefits, there is money, it's called living-out allowance. So, when you opt to go and stay inside you lose all of that. You get less of that, because enkomponi you don't buy food or electricity, it's like you are a child you do nothing. I don't have time for that. Granted they eat healthier foods and all but hey there are things we have that they don't have because of this allowance. So frankly I don't have time for compound life. When you look at it, I get living-out allowance of R1800 on top of my basic salary, I rent for R250 in this shack. The R550 is for groceries and the R1000 does other important things. I have stayed in this shack even when there have been better ones because I maximise on the living-out allowance.*

Same who is quoted above clearly demonstrates how living-out allowance money contributes to his own livelihood in Rustenburg and possibly the migrant household in Mpondoland. Several other mineworkers stated that they used the money to push other projects back home and/or used the funds for entertainment. Notwithstanding the above, the obvious adverse effect is that of the allowance precipitating mineworker living conditions, which is synonymous with a cheap migrant labour regime. The notion of a living-out allowance therefore reveals sustained frailties and therefore, continuities in what has been termed *ina-ethe* migrant labour system.

Living in mine houses

The building of housing in the mines is not new in South Africa. According to James (1992b), Anglo American and JCI began upgrading hostels and gradually offered home ownership and housing subsidies in the 1970s in the gold belt. Upon realising that the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) was capitalising on using hostels as places of mobilisation to strengthen industrial action, other companies were forthcoming *(ibid)*. In the same light, the NUM had also been placing pressure on mining houses to improve hostels and introduce home ownership and various forms of subsidy (James, 1992b). Some of the strides that have been made in the gold belt in an attempt to move away from the pre- and post-apartheid mine residential plan are presented in Table 3. The statistics are from three large gold mining companies.

Table 3: Housing indicator in the gold sector

Sibanye Gold	Harmony Gold	Gold Fields
Number of single quarters: 12 281 Number of employees living in single quarters: 13376 Percentage of permanent employees living in single quarters: 39.65% Number of family accommodation units: 6740 Number of employees residing in family accommodation: 6576 Percentage of permanent employees living in family accommodation: 19.50% Number of employees receiving LOAs: 14392 Percentage of employees receiving LOAs: 42.6%	Number of single quarters: 5052 Number of employees living in single quarters: 5052 Percentage of permanent employees living in single quarters: 58% Number of family accommodation units: 1825 Number of employees residing in family accommodation: 1825 Percentage of permanent employees living in family accommodation: 6.2% Number of employees receiving LOAs: 16565 Percentage of employees receiving LOAs: 64.8%	Number of single quarters: 919 Number of employees living in single quarters: 995 Percentage of permanent employees living in single quarters: 28% Number of family accommodation units: 761 Number of employees residing in family accommodation: 761 Percentage of permanent employees living in family accommodation: 22% Number of employees receiving LOAs: 1322 Percentage of employees receiving LOAs: 38%

Table 3: Source: Fact sheet, gold sector housing and accommodation 2014

I decided to incorporate the gold belt statistics in this section because the gold mines are some of the oldest mines in South Africa. Moreover, they are the former spaces within which cheap migrant labour was exacted first at a structural level. Therefore, the gold industry is an important point of departure to study the events in the platinum industry.

Rustenburg comprises a number of platinum mines that respond similarly to the question of housing in the mining industry as set out in the mining charter. Two platinum mines that I refer to as the flagship mines in the area of Rustenburg, Impala Platinum Mine and Lonmin are thus examined.

Table 4: Housing program indicator, Impala Platinum Rustenburg 2011 - 2015

	2015	**2014**	**2013**	**2012**	**2011**
Houses built	2 840	2 415	2 122	1 749	1 640
Houses sold	2 856	2 209	1 882	1 621	1 057
Hostel rooms converted into decent single accommodation	5 375	5 375	5 375	5 375	4 858
Hostels converted into family units	264	264	264	264	198

Table 5: Fact sheet Impala Platinum mine 2015

Photo 13: Impala Platinum Mine's Platinum village, Rustenburg, 18 November 2017

Table 5: Lonmin's human settlement programme progress 1999 - 2014

	2014	**20003**	**2000**	**1999**
Houses built		1 019	650	1 149
Houses built for rental and ownership				
Hostel rooms converted into decent single accommodation	1 908			
Hostels converted into family units	776			

Table 5: Fact sheet Lonmin Platinum mine 2014

The above statistics reveal some of the concessions made by mining companies in response to the mining charter of 2002. Some companies such as Impala have made significant progress. Chinguno (2015) stated that Impala Platinum mine built their houses as part of their broader social labour plan (SLP). In doing so, they facilitated housing loans and got into rent to buy arrangements with the workers *(ibid).* Lonmin mine, on the other hand, has come under careful scrutiny especially after the events of Marikana in 2012. Recently, they have been heavily criticized for failing to meet their concessions promised after the Marikana massacre. Consequently, the former president of South Africa has even threatened to withdraw their licence (Christianson 2016). As shown in Table 6, since 2012, Lonmin has been able convert a traditional mining hostel into 1 908 single rooms and converted some hostels into 776 single units.

Despite the progress made in building new units by mining companies, several mineworkers that participated in this research were disinterested in occupying them. As such, none of them lived in any units although some were even closer to their places of work. They expressed disinterest in any subsidised bond arrangement that would lead to ownership by the time they retire. They argued that occupying those mine houses and paying for them suggests an interest in staying in Rustenburg beyond their working years. They were widely opposed to this phenomenon. Mabhoza (52) thus expressed why it was not in his and other mineworkers' interest to stay in mine houses:

> *Immediately when I got to Jabula after we were retrenched from Swartlip mine we were offered housing. I am not talking RDP houses, no, not the ones we are looking at (points to the direction). I am talking about the ones there at the beginning of Meriting. I was offered a house where the mine was going to deduct R3000 from my salary for some years probably I until I retire. Of course, the prices of the houses varied according to the sizes. But I can tell you they are impressive. They have showers, a lounge an inside toilet but no, I refused. I told them I was fine here in this RDP. I worked hard for this house, I was not supposed to get it as a mineworker. I lied and told officials that I worked as a street vendor and made R50 per day and they gave me. Now to leave it? It is my children that will benefit from this house if they also choose to come to North West. Otherwise I cannot go around making commitments that need money like housing. I am no different to a person on a waiting list, expect I am in a waiting list to retire and go home. We are not from here and we have no intentions of staying here beyond our working years. You tell me, would it make sense to commit to a house? The thing about these houses is that they are not yours until you finish paying for them. Should you run out of money before paying them off the bank will take it back. So that is to say, I am fine here, I am not renting. So, when I leave eventually I will just tell my son to take over. Even now we live together, he has been here for some month working towards his drivers' licence.*

Consistent with the above assertions by Mabhoza, Chinguno (2015) found that it was mostly local women, typically highly skilled and permanent, that could afford and actually bought mine houses. He found that men were typically migrants from various areas of the Eastern Cape, Mozambique and Lesotho. These men have historically been tied by one common intent, that of returning home upon the completion of their contract in the mine. For these men, the labour receiving area will never be home but a place of work. Home is where the graves of their forefathers lay.

While consistent with a move away from a cheap labour regime to *ina-ethe* practices, the depopulation of mine hostels seems to reproduce cheap migrant labour regime conditions, albeit, in a democratic space. The erection of shacks all around the platinum belt underscores the inability of mine houses and government to deal with the question of the migrant labour system that is evidently recurring. Mabhoza above highlighted the temporary stay of migrants in the labour receiving areas which has been a discourse in labour studies for years (see Forrest 2015; Moodie and Ndatshe 1994).

Thus far, in this chapter, I have explored the different facets of the current living situation of mineworkers in the Rustenburg municipality. I have established that there has been a significant shift from the apartheid housing and living plans. Therefore, there has been a move away from cheap migrant labour living conditions expressed in the cheap labour thesis and other historical and sociology texts. Furthermore, there is also evident will from mining houses to improve conditions for their mineworkers. Moreover, there is also evidence of other struggling mines attempting to keep up with other mines that are able to meet their transformation targets as set out by various documentation such as the Mining Charter and the Labour Relations Act. The squalor in informal settlements erected on land belonging to the mining companies does, however, invite critical thought into whether such conditions, although outside mine premises, do not create juxtaposition against cheap migrant labour living conditions. With mining companies and local government debating the responsibility of housing for the people in these areas, it is difficult to make conclusions. It is noteworthy that not only mineworkers live in these areas but people from different walks of life that have come to seek opportunities in an area that has become a beacon for hope of employment. Consequently, I refer to the shacks and RDP houses in the Rustenburg area as labour waiting areas because the erection of these spaces has been predominantly based on the fact that it is other people from elsewhere in the country that have moved there to wait for opportunities in any of the surrounding mines. During my visit to Nkaneng and my stay in Million Dollar and

Sondela, it was apparent that most people that kept the shacks and RDP houses opened during the day were people waiting to sell their labour at any of the local mines. This can be corroborated by the assertions on the 2015 Lonmin Fact Sheet in which it is stated that some of their primary challenges in meeting their housing targets are the ever-increasing informal settlements by people seeking employment in the mine. Therefore, post-apartheid mining migrant labour has brought forth another layer of how migrant labour is viewed, that is, the migrant labour process currently has three facets: LSAs (former labour reserves), LSAs (actual places where the work is done) and labour waiting areas (new establishments around the mines as a result of job seeking).

In this section, some of the (re) configurations that the transitional workplace regime in the quest for a much-improved workplace have been manifested. In the form of housing, the significant shift from cheap migrant labour regimes into more dignified living spaces that allow for recuperation, rest and health has been shown. All of this underscores the concept of *ina-ethe.* In the same vein, the challenges of shacks and the failure to meet the rising need for housing raises the question of a transitioning workplace that is dealing with post-apartheid challenges.

In the following section, the state of working conditions in the mines as described by the workers is discussed. Working conditions include employer and employee relations, and health and safety among other issues that have historically been at the centre of cheap migrant labour.

6.3. Working conditions and dignity

Security, safety and dignity are a human right. While the latter may sound like a cliché to many, for many former South African mineworkers and those in the twilight of the careers, this statement carries valuable meaning. For many of these people, at some point, dignity, safety and security were foreign concepts to which they could not relate. Labour scholars such as Wilson (1972), Allen (1992), Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) have emphasised the deplorable nature of work and working conditions of the mineworker in the past. To show the deplorable nature of work and working conditions during the period of the Union of South Africa and the apartheid era, Wilson (1972: 21) stated that between 1933 and 1966, no less than 19 000 mineworkers died, 93% of whom were black. Moodie and Ndatshe further stated that mining labour was racially divided: Whites were well-remunerated supervisors and blacks received almost no pay (see Allen 1992). These conditions did not improve until the late 1980s and mid-1990s as noted by some of the participants.

With a democratic dispensation in place and to address conditions that were subsequent to the nature of cheap labour, the government of South Africa and mines have had to introspect and ensure that the country moves away from what was the norm. Accordingly, legal frameworks on employment as well as legal frameworks that are specific to the mining industry have been put in place to ensure redress. The overarching legal framework has been the Labour Relations Act (LRA) of 1996. According to Finnemore and Van Resnburg (2009:2015), the purpose of the LRA is to "advance economic development, social justice, labour peace and the democratisation of the workplace." The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) of 1996 whose purpose is to "give effect to and regulate the right to fair labour practices by enforcing basic conditions of employment and regulate such conditions" (Finnemore & Van Rensburg 2009:216) is also found within the labour legislative framework. The Mining Health and Safety Act of 1996 is also specific to the mining industry. The purpose of this Act is to "provide for the protection of the health and safety of employees and other persons at the mines" (MHSA 1996). Although there are sections in the Act that are specific, cheap migrant labour regimes are not mentioned directly. These sections of the Act include sections 1-26 of the Act, which seek to ensure that safety standards are adhered to by the both employer and employee as well as other third parties that have access to the mining industry on a contractual basis and/or otherwise (see MHSA 1996 for specifications). During my interviews with mineworkers, I consistently posed the question of their working conditions, specifically to those that had worked in both the apartheid and democratic dispensations. Mkhonde, a 52-year-old mineworker who had worked in the mining industry since 1981 gave a detailed account of the two regimes:

> *First of all, the treatment today is nothing like that of the past, now you can even sit down without a person asking you a single question. Yet in the past, a white man, even if he was not your immediate supervisor he would ask you were you where you are going to if he sees you walking towards the cage station. He would look at the time and ask, "At this time?" Without even asking you who you report or are working with, for as long as you were underground to them it didn't matter. During those days we used to have black, red, white and yellow tags around our wrists with our employee numbers, if this white man didn't understand what was going on he would approach you and take down your employee number from that tag and report you on surface for whatever reason he sees fit. We had employee cards that we would leave on surface and after being reported whilst underground you would get back not to find your card as it would have been used as a way to summon you to the clerks. The clerks would then tell you what your charge is and then you then remember that it is that white guy that stopped me earlier. What I am trying to say is that the times are different, nowadays everything is entirely up to you. If you are an RDO today*

> *the miner merely shows you where the 'money' is and you drill once you are done then you can leave and when you are tired you can stop, when you think it is dangerous you can choose to stop and inspect or refuse to work all together.* (Mkhonde, 52)

Mkhonde's quotation accounted for the two regimes in two ways. It mirrored the apartheid workplace, which was classified along racial lines with the black men as subordinates and the white men as the managers. It also reflected a shift from the previous regime by showing worker agency that came with the legislative frameworks of the current democratic dispensation; in this case, the MHSA of 1996. The common theme that workers had agency within their respective working stations emerged during the interviews. When the younger generation of mineworkers that had not experienced the previous regime were asked about working conditions, they stated that treatment was fair and stressed their right to invoke section 23 of the MHSA, which grants the employee the right to leave a dangerous working place (MHSA 1996).

The quotation also highlights the mining industry as a racial workplace, which in many ways ensured sustenance of cheap migrant labour. When white mining magnates realised that black workers were increasingly becoming a priority because they were cheap labour, the white mining magnates needed to secure their space as the labour aristocrats. According to Wilson (1972), in order to do this, the *Volksraad* (People's council), which was interested in preserving white interest in the mining industry, enacted the first colour bar as early as 1893. Consequently, the mining space remained racially classified for decades with white men at the top and black men right at the bottom of the working order. The situation of white supremacy in the mining industry, especially in the senior management positions is evolving, albeit, at a very slow pace. However, the situation is moving quicker at the level of middle management where racial categories have been scrapped. The Employment Equity Act (EEA) of 1998 and the Mining Charter both serve as a guiding document for mines to meet their transformation targets. According to Barker (2009:192), the EEA "imposes a duty on employers to implement affirmative action measures to give preference in hiring and promotion to the so-called disadvantaged groups." The purpose of the Act further seeks to achieve equity in the workplace by promoting equal opportunities for all and achieving fair treatment.

Achieving fair work practices, good working conditions and dignity for the mining industry appears to be one of the more successful areas in the post-apartheid mining workplace. In this regard, it emerged from the interviews that the mineworkers were almost completely satisfied.

Furthermore, they projected a sense of agency, knowledge of responsibility and a satisfactory comprehension of their options should these forms of redress not be upheld by their supervisors and employers. My findings have suggested an almost absolute shift from cheap migrant labour regimes in relation to these variables.

6.4. Institutions and law

"The mineral magnates developed and refined two instruments to ensure adequate labour supplies: The law and recruiting organisations" (Wilson 1972:2). There is no doubt that the statement is true as historical evidence has supported these claims (see Allen 1992; Beinart 1979; Moodie &Ndatshe 1994; Wilson 1972). Beinart (1979) further stated that by the 1870s recruiters had already begun infiltrating the Transkei region in the form of touts for the diamond industry. In later years, these touts competed with traders who located themselves strategically in the LSAs. They also doubled up as recruiting agents for the South African mining industry. By 1893, merely seven years after the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, the COM had formed a Native Labour Department to ensure a prolific labour supply from within the country and Mozambique. The Chamber also formed the WNLA to intensify the labour acquisition process specifically from outside South Africa. By 1910, the Chamber also intensified recruitment from within by forming what was known as the Native Recruitment Corporation (NRC) (Wilson 1972). In the 1970s, all these institutions were collapsed with the formation of a more specialised recruitment agency, TEBA whose focus was on recruitment, placement, and administering of remittances.

TEBA and Ubank

The mere existence of these agencies during the colonial and apartheid periods contributed to cheap migrant labour systematically and structurally. This was evident in the commission the traders and touts received from the migrant salaries, encouragement of debt through trade, placement at the mines, charges on remittances that equalled almost no pay and the mere existence of a physical structure that promoted the assumption of an exploitative form of employment. This system of recruitment has supposedly fallen away in the democratic dispensation. However, I wish to suggest otherwise because TEBA still exists, albeit, with a diversified operation (see Forrest 2015). It has moved away from serving as an exploitative mechanism of previous regimes. Unlike the past, the institution is found in fewer towns than before owing to the lower demand for mining labour than previously as well as new ways of finding employment. Traditionally, TEBA focused solely on mobile money, recruitment and

placements (Forrest 2015). Currently, TEBA offers employment services, financial services through its partnership with Ubank (formerly TEBA bank), health care services, assistance with benefit claims and such. With the partnership with Ubank, TEBA has become less visible in other towns and in some replaced by Ubank. Ubank, as a partner, operates like other normal commercial banks and therefore, offers debit cards, savings options, different forms of credit, funeral plans and other unique products such as cell phone contracts (see Forrest 2015). Ubank like TEBA still offers traditional employee services including modern ways of recruitment and placement. In Flagstaff and Lusikisiki, which I observed over a six-month period, Ubank at times advertised for open vacancies for mostly the gold and platinum sectors. Typically, these posts were for specialised skills such as RDO and winch drivers, jobs typically performed by young experienced men from these towns.

Although these are commendable strides for a people that were historically turned away by traditional banks because of the blue-collar nature of their work, some of their innovations in relation to this customer base may be questioned. For example, offering credit to people that historically and currently have earned a minimum wage may be viewed in two ways. Although it offers a minority that would not necessarily qualify in a regular commercial bank credit, historically mineworkers have often incurred large sums of debt because of so-called loan sharks and have consequently, found themselves constantly having to pay off their debts. The provision of housing loans, cell phone contracts and general credit by the Ubank may be arguably a risky exercise for a group of people that have been on the bad receiving end of having received credit, having been reported to be victims of loan sharks in the past. However, *ina-ethe migration* suggests workers are currently better remunerated and therefore, are likely to service credit 'better' than before. Moreover, it can also be argued that class mobility is linked to credit worthiness and access to credit. Therefore, it can also be argued that the restructuring of both TEBA and TEBA bank is well within what one can include in an *ina-ethe migrant* labour system.

Chamber of Mines

The COM (now MCSA) was also a central role player in cheap migrant labour following its informal formation in 1897 and official opening in 1889 (Wilson 1972). Beside the repressive laws that controlled movements of black African workers through pass laws, the COM also established the Native Labour Department (NLD) in 1893 whose purpose was to exacerbate recruitment of cheap labour and ensure the reduction of black worker wages. Subsequent to

those attempts, the COM in response to the need for labour and in an attempt to curb competition for labour by different mining houses formed its own recruiting agency, the Rand Native Labour Association. Accordingly, the COM boasted a 500% increase in the labour force stating that it had managed to solicit new recruits without an increase in native wages but had instead managed to reduce native wages considerably than it had in 1899 (Wilson 1972). Even with the establishment of the first trade union to represent African mineworkers, the African Mineworkers' Union (AMWU) years later in 1942, under the leadership of J.B. Marks, the COM still resisted in relation to the wages issue (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). Many historic and labour studies texts in the early 1990s and some of participants in this study revealed that it was not until the formation and recognition of the NUM in 1982 that the wage and living conditions improved in the mining industry. Taking into account that the COM enabled the mobilisation of labour unions, one may suggest that this was a turning point in the stance of the organisation against cheap migrant labour as people in the organisation were divided on the stance. With the COM being the custodian and representative of most mining houses since its inception, it is not convincing to argue that this institution had and has changed its stance on cheap migrant labour. However, this suggestion may be tempting when one considers that compared to other sectors, the mining industry is the better paying sector. Furthermore, MCSA continues to negotiate for better wages and other mining related issues, something consistent with a transformation agenda. One has to consider carefully how much the COM has transformed especially in light of the slow growth in other commodities besides platinum. However, the fact that the industry is a leader in wages economy does not suggest the desired pace in progression where wages of mineworkers are concerned. The earnings in the mining industry from 2012 and other sectors of the economy by the country's sectorial determination of 2018 are depicted in Figure 8.

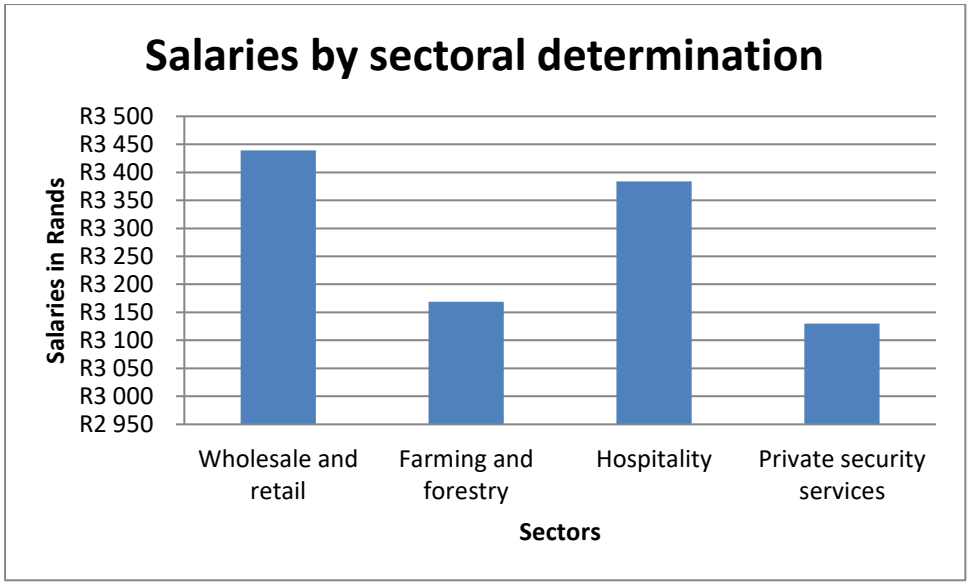


Figure 11: Salary by sectoral determination 2018

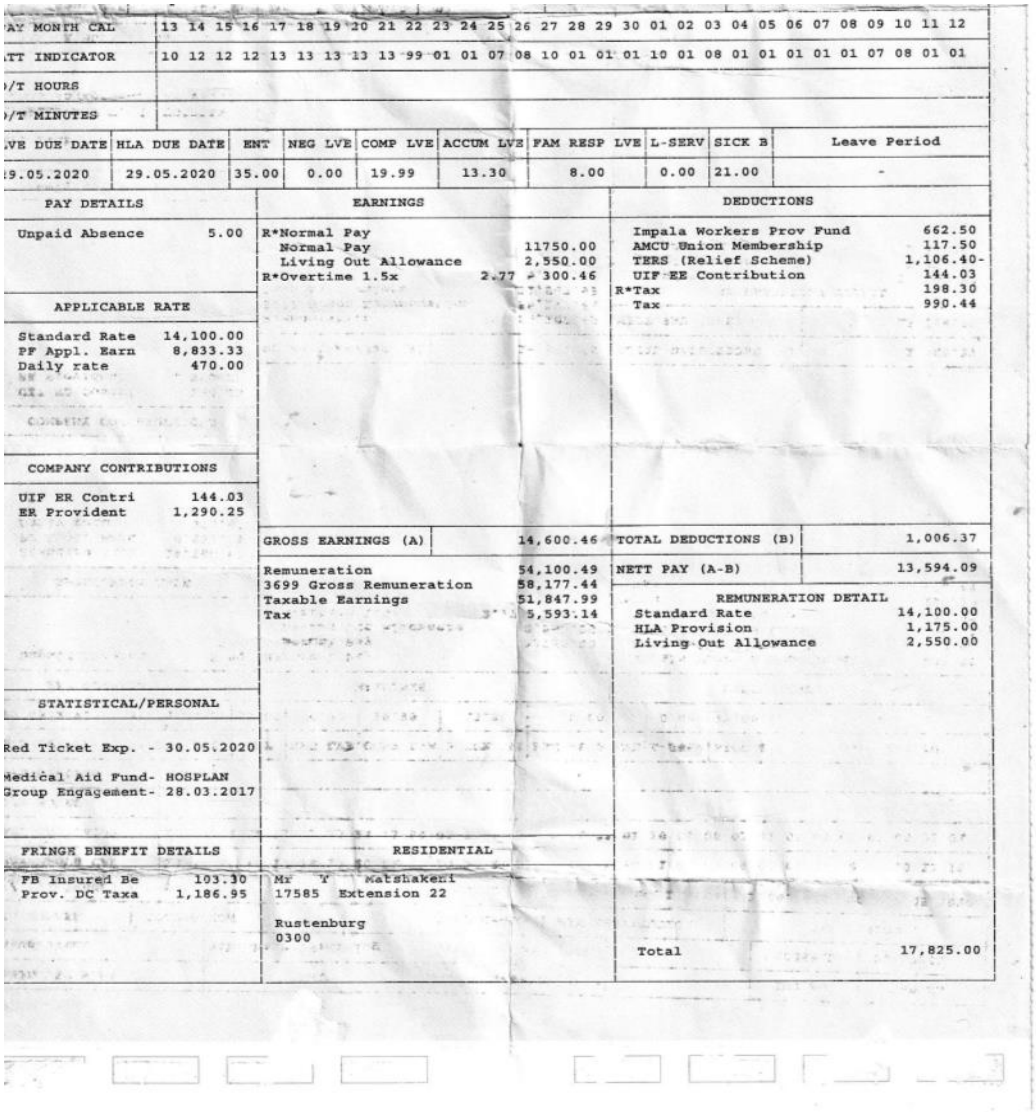
Legislation

In relation to legislative frameworks, there has been a significant move away from colonial and apartheid laws that ensured the perpetuation of the brutal system of migrant labour. The Masters and Servants Act of 1856 was repealed in 1973. The Land Act of 1913, which limited blacks to 13% of the land and thus restrained their free movement outside designated areas, was repealed in 1991. The Natives Act of 1923, which controlled the movements of blacks in white cities, was repealed in 1991.The Mine Works Amendment Act of 1926 (Colour Bar Act), which banned Blacks and Indians from doing certain jobs in mining, was abolished (see Wilson 1972). Chapter 2 of the South African Bill of Rights, sections 1 to 26 nullified all of the Acts, which have been noted in this section. The new dispensation has since the 1996 Constitution made some advances towards redress and ensuring that South Africa moves away from injustices that guaranteed cheap migrant labour. In particular, the shift away from coercive laws around work is dealt with under the Labour Relations Act of 1995. Some of these legislative frameworks were discussed at length in the literature survey. In the following section, the question of cheap migrant labour in relation to wages and salaries is discussed.

6.5. Moving towards a decent wage: permanent and subcontracted worker

The work of Forrest (2015) as shown in chapter 3 illustrates the fragmentation that there is in the labour force where wages are concerned. Of the interviews conducted with mineworkers, only three interviewees stated that they worked for sub-contractors. Although this interviewed group did not in any way represent the platinum belt, their data give a preview of some of the

realities this study sought to comprehend. The small number of people under sub-contractors in this study does not suggest that there is not an increasing number of employees working for sub-contractors. It is as a result of a research design that primarily targeted permanent employees within the mining industry. This research study was dominated by people in two job categories: Winch drivers and RDOs. At the time of the interviews, these participants mentioned that the platinum strike that shook the platinum belt in 2012 had brought significant changes to their bank accounts. During the five-month strike, the winch drivers and RDOs were earning R6 000 and R7 000, respectively. Subsequently, their salaries have increased by R1 000 each year since the strike. By the time I interviewed them, they earned R11 500 and R12 000, respectively with an expected increase in the next year as per the platinum wage agreement. However, those who work for sub-contractors earned much less. A rock driller who worked for the company MMM under the Impala Platinum Mine told me that he earned R6 800, almost 90% less than his counterparts in the same mine earned. The winch driver who worked for a sub-contractor stated that he earned R5 200 and at times, his salary was much less. His counterparts who were not sub-contracted earned 100% more.



AY MONTH CAL	13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 01 02 03 04 05 06 07 08 09 10 11 12
TT INDICATOR	10 12 12 12 13 13 13 13 13 99 01 01 07 08 10 01 01 01 10 01 08 01 01 01 01 01 07 08 01 01
/T HOURS	
/T MINUTES	

VE DUE DATE	HLA DUE DATE	ENT	NEG LVE	COMP LVE	ACCUM LVE	FAM RESP LVE	L-SERV	SICK B	Leave Period
9.05.2020	29.05.2020	35.00	0.00	19.99	13.30	8.00	0.00	21.00	-

PAY DETAILS

Unpaid Absence 5.00

APPLICABLE RATE

Standard Rate 14,100.00
PF Appl. Earn 8,833.33
Daily rate 470.00

COMPANY CONTRIBUTIONS

UIF ER Contri 144.03
ER Provident 1,290.25

STATISTICAL/PERSONAL

Red Ticket Exp. - 30.05.2020
Medical Aid Fund- HOSPLAN
Group Engagement- 28.03.2017

FRINGE BENEFIT DETAILS

FB Insured Be 103.30
Prov. DC Taxa 1,186.95

EARNINGS

R*Normal Pay		
Normal Pay		11750.00
Living Out Allowance		2,550.00
R*Overtime 1.5x	2.77	300.46
GROSS EARNINGS (A)		14,600.46
Remuneration		54,100.49
3699 Gross Remuneration		58,177.44
Taxable Earnings		51,847.99
Tax		5,593.14

RESIDENTIAL

Mr Y Matshakeni
17585 Extension 22

Rustenburg
0300

DEDUCTIONS

Impala Workers Prov Fund	662.50
AMCU Union Membership	117.50
TERS (Relief Scheme)	1,106.40-
UIF EE Contribution	144.03
R*Tax	198.30
Tax	990.44
TOTAL DEDUCTIONS (B)	1,006.37
NETT PAY (A-B)	13,594.09

REMUNERATION DETAIL

Standard Rate	14,100.00
HLA Provision	1,175.00
Living Out Allowance	2,550.00
Total	17,825.00

Figure 12: Rock Drill Operator payslip 2020

The picture above is an Impala Platinum Mine payslip that shows an all-inclusive package for RDO. Without a doubt, it demonstrates a shift in wages as previously discussed in chapter 3 and in the previous paragraph. Its location in this section of the chapter seeks to mark the suggested shift but also to highlight the discontinuity where subcontracted workers are concerned. The absence of a juxtaposing payslip in the same job category due to refusal of participants to share such information leaves an important gap. However, literature and the above findings should be able to take us a step forward in making this argument of a fragmented labour force. Findings in this study, therefore, show a shift from a cheap labour regime to an *ina-ethe migran*t labour regime. The presence of sub-contractors in mining companies, however, poses a threat to these strides.

6.6. Conclusion

In this chapter, an account of the different dynamics of what I have termed markers and indicators are given. A study of the first marker and indicator, housing and living conditions revealed a commendable shift away from the traditional cheap labour living conditions and a move towards improved living conditions that are consistent with basic requirements indicated in the Mining Charter. The workplace described in *ina-ethe migration* is marked by improvements from the past such as dignified living. Mashayamombe (2018) best described such a spaces as sanitised spaces. I am of the view that the absence of a framework that binds either mine or government in staying committed to the improvement of this aspect of mining will halt a complete shift away from cheap migrant labour practices that are indirectly manifested through the erection of shacks that are consistent with early cheap migrant labour in Kimberly. Moreover, the constant shifting of responsibility between company and government poses a threat for the improvements that have already been made. Therefore, in relation to housing, although the mining industry has made a significant shift towards eradicating the characteristics of a cheap migrant labour system, it has not eradicated the latter completely. The continuities that have been noted are central to the concept of *ina-ethe migration* because the concept is rooted in the understanding that in this form of migration, there are certain legacies of the past that may manifest.

I have further suggested that institutions that supported migrant labour remain prevalent, albeit, with new names in a new regime. Do these still maintain a cheap migrant labour system? Institutions such as the MCSA, former TEBA, and legislation do not appear to maintain a cheap migrant labour system. Nevertheless, it is worrying that the LRA allows sub-contractors to pay their workers half of what their counterparts working for the mining houses earn. TEBA's presence as Ubank in former LSAs encourages migrant labour as it continues to be identified to be the primary alternative for those without jobs. This institution has become normal for many in the region. Its mere existence in the area solicits a reaction from those that were socialised to its operations. On the contrary, legislation has attempted to eradicate all forms of cheap migrant labour as seen in the establishment of MHSA and other institutions that support the emancipation of all the historically disadvantaged (HDSAs).

Finally, wages and salaries in the mining industry have remained relatively low particularly for those in the gold, platinum and coal mines. On the contrary, those that occupy supervisory and management positions earn more than twice as much as those who work underground. This situation is synonymous with those in the colonial and apartheid regimes. However, during

those regimes, this determination was made across racial lines, which is no longer the case. The findings in the study, based on mineworker salaries, suggest that most mining commodities do not pay as much as the platinum mines. Furthermore, compared to the current economy, in relation to salaries, it appears as though cheap migrant labour persists. However, the recent events in the platinum belt, which saw an agreement of an increase of R 1 000 a month each year, has resulted in a significant shift for mineworkers and improved their lives. However, the position of those in the platinum belt needs to consider carefully as their position has become a fluid one. Finally, I want to emphasise that the neoliberal economy that has introduced sub-contractors who pay mineworkers much less than mining companies poses a great challenge to the improvements that have already been made by mining houses and representatives of collective bargaining.

In the following section, the findings of this study in direct relation to the perception of mineworkers are explored. The question of migrant, cheap migrant labour and its continuance is answered by exploring various aspects that the mineworkers noted.

Chapter 7: Discontinuity in continuity or a class in transit: Towards a new working class and new identities?

7.1. Introduction

In order to understand continued reliance on migrant labour, it is imperative to examine various aspects that have contributed to the existence of the mining industry and the migrant labour system to date. In Chapter 5, continued reliance on migrant labour was explored through the lenses of mineworkers' families. Particular focus was paid to mineworkers' wives as active agents in the households as well as the economic activity in the former labour reserves. In the previous chapter, institutions that have enabled migrant labour both in the apartheid and the post- apartheid era were examined. These two intersecting forms of analysis further confirmed that the phenomenon of migrant labour is a multifaceted one. Consequently, in this chapter, the findings of a multi-layered analysis, which in contrast considered close up conversations and interactions with mineworkers themselves, was conducted. Furthermore, a historical synopsis of the two labour sending areas in question, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki is provided. By employing logic from the classical texts of First (1982), Wolpe (1972), Beinart (1979) and Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) a historical and demographic overview to make sense of the continued reliance on migrant labour by AmaMpondo is presented.

7.2. Mpondoland: Flagstaff and Lusikisiki

There is very little documented on the history of Flagstaff and Lusikisiki, in particular, their establishment towards the end of the 1800s. From the little that has been written, it has been ascertained that Zachariah Bowles and Mr Owen founded Flagstaff in 1877. There was a trading store merely a few kilometres from what is now known as Flagstaff. The genesis of this name was borrowed from a tradition of erecting a white flag on Sundays to signify that the store was closed for business. As a trading station, Flagstaff also served as a post for the Cape Mounted Rifles for Cape Mounted Riflemen, part of the South African military units at the time. Lusikisiki was established 17 years later and was developed from what was a military base 44 kilometres south of Flagstaff (SAHO 2017). From this limited amount of written history, it may be assumed that before these recorded dates, the land in the areas that are now Flagstaff and Lusikisiki was untainted and that the way of life in the area comprised pastoral societies.

Flagstaff and Lusikisiki are located in the east of Mpondoland. Other small towns such as Bizana, Libode, Ngqeleni, Ntabankulu and Port St Johns constitute the rest of Mpondoland.

The little that has been written about the towns in question starts at the point at which the colonial government and the government of the Union of South Africa began to have an interest in acquiring labour supply following labour shortages in Kimberly and later on the Witwatersrand. Beinart (1979) stated that in relation to labour supply, the rest of AmaMpondo were reluctant to take up *ijoyini* (a contract) with the mines until much later. At present, the Mpondo people arguably constitute the largest number of migrants in the gold and platinum sectors.

Almost a century and a half since the founding of these towns, the area of Mpondoland as a whole and its towns and villages remain overwhelmingly under- and/or undeveloped. Many of the rural villages and their towns have elementary infrastructure to provide services for basic needs such as electricity and mostly rain water as well as banks and grocery and furniture stores. There is minimal to no economic activity for those with formal education and for those without. Most young people that are of working age stay at home inactive, work in retail stores, drive taxis, vend on the streets or have migrated to either Durban or *iGoli* for better opportunities. Those fortunate enough to escape this vicious cycle have sought education opportunities in local colleges and universities in neighbouring cities.

Today Flagstaff and Lusikisiki constitute part of the broader OR Tambo District Municipality and Ingquza Hill Local Municipality (IHLM). The 2016 SARS data, which was based on a community survey, recorded a population of 279 795 people in IHLM; 55% of whom were women and thus, representative of the country's demographics (IHLM 2016). Furthermore, the census data revealed an average unemployment rate of 66% in IHLM. Because of the underdeveloped nature of this region, the labour market is narrowly focused on the community services sector, household and the agricultural sector, which pay relatively low wages. On the other hand, the transport, retail and financial services sectors can only employ a few people. Thus, there is a high level of unemployment and a high number of people living below the poverty line. Consequently, there is high reliance on government social services grants and pension funds (IHLM 2016).

Flagstaff and Lusikisiki have much potential in terms of agriculture and therefore, opportunities of employment. Both areas comprise usable and workable hectares of land for agriculture. Furthermore, both towns are at least 40 kilometres and some of their villages less than 10 kilometres from the ocean. Yet, there are not many opportunities for employment in agriculture and fisheries by either the government or the private sector. To corroborate these claims, the

Agricultural Research Council partnering with the University of Fort Hare conducted an agricultural potential survey and identified areas of IHLM that have great potential in the agricultural sector that includes forestry, livestock production and tea plantations in the more than 9 000 available hectares of land (IHLM 2018). Most of the activities are conducted for subsistence purposes and not on a commercial scale to benefit the large of majority of people in the region in terms of employment.

Currently, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki are one street dusty towns with bypassing streets owing to their overcrowded CBDs as a result of taxis, buses, commercial trucks, privately owned vehicles and street vending. Their development is in the form of new retail and hardware stores that employ only a limited number of people. Various scholars who have conducted studies on this region as well as the latest census data as reflected in the literature survey have attributed the loss of people in the working age group to the unchanging nature of the former labour reserves. By employing data gathered from in-depth interviews, in the following section, the demographics of the participants in this study are explored to assess if the current socio-economic nature of these former labour reserves justifies continued reliance on migrant labour.

7.3. Who migrates?

As noted, the aim in this study was to acquire a representative group of participants across generations of mineworkers so as to ascertain whether the mineworkers have experienced shifts in the mining industry in the different regimes. Furthermore, the primary aim was to determine if at all there is indeed continued reliance on migrant work by people of Mpondoland and why.

In order to ascertain this, I posed the question, "Who migrates?" I have subsequently attempted to answer the question by employing demographic categories such as age, gender, education levels and hometown as well as examining the history of mine work in households based on the in-depth interviews conducted for this study. For the purposes of this study, male mineworkers were identified for the reasons outlined in the methodology chapter. Nevertheless, I would like to mention that this study acknowledges the growing number of women entering mining (Benya 2009). However, the findings in this study suggest that men by far continue to constitute the overwhelming majority in the mines. This may be due to a number of reasons. First, the labour intensive and physical nature of the job may make it unattractive to most women. Second, women may be prejudiced as their ability to perform underground work may be questioned and thus, there may be a bias towards hiring more men than women. Finally, the gendered division of labour amongst groups that have historically occupied mine work persists,

thus, affecting the availability of women in the mine work labour market. Therefore, women may prefer to act on their habitus and rather explore the expandability of the feminine self as the Mpondo women in this study have demonstrated. In other words, historical evidence has shown that men by far continue to rely on migrant work in the Mpondoland region.

The participants ranged between 32 and 60 years of age. Most in their mid and late thirties had begun mine work between the years 2008 and 2011. This suggests that they had started their work in Rustenburg during their twenties. This concurs with the population pyramids emanating from the 2011 census data of IHLM as depicted in Figure 1, which is found in the literature review. In contrast, those who were 50 years of age and older had worked in the mining industry from the mid-1970s. Their prolonged service in the mining industry suggests that they had experienced the different transitions in the mining industry in the previous three decades. In other words, they experienced the apartheid workplace, the recognition of the unions and in particular, the NUM in the 1980s and the workplace under a democratic dispensation. Although their views on the mine and migrant labour differed significantly, they intersect in given areas of how they currently experienced the mining environment.

All the participants came from Flagstaff and Lusikisiki towns and oscillated from their homes. It is noteworthy that the participants all came from the same villages or same tribal authority in their respective towns. This may have been the due to employing snowballing sampling. However, these dynamics also present one with sociological explanations that may need to be considered to ascertain why this was the case. Sociological explanations from scholars such Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) of the early gold mines in South Africa suggested that the mining environment comprises a labour force marked by a network of social relations founded on the fact that people came from the same areas back home. These networks as part of these social relations manifest in a sense that "before leaving for home, a man would notify home friends on his mine and neighbouring mine. He often carried letters, clothes and even money, as well as word of mouth. Upon his arrival he would go from house to house delivering goods and messages" (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994:14). The advantage of these networks presently is that job opportunities in the mines are communicated through word of mouth, social media platforms such as WhatsApp and Facebook and by those that visit, write and call home frequently. There is no longer a high reliance on enlisting one's name at a labour recruiting centre such as TEBA. The commonality of home villages amongst all the participants and the closeness in age proximity amongst the participants in their thirties reaffirms the suggestion of continued reliance on networks, to not only remit or send messages as in the past but also to communicate

vacancies. In this study, amongst the younger generation of mineworkers, a large group had come from the village of Kwa-Nyathi in Lusikisiki. When asked how he had come to work in Rustenburg. One of the participants who worked for Sibanye platinum mine stated:

> *I had seen men coming back from Rustenburg coming back with reasonable amounts of money. There was this one guy in particular that seemed to be having a lot of money coming back home, I then decided to follow him here (Rustenburg). In fact, he was the one that accommodated me when I was waiting to get a job. I had my own dreams and wishes and in particular that of building umzi and so I followed this man, although he has since taken his package for early pension as of last month.* (Sukude 30)

Even amongst the older generation of mineworkers, this phenomenon of networks and employment existed. The following extract suggests it has been prevalent for a long time:

> *Back home, my paternal grandfather had worked in the mines when I was a little boy and left after he got injured from rock fall. My father only took Ijoyini of one year and never came back to Egoli. It was this history of mine work in my family that inspired my reasons to come here because even my neighbours, people in the village, relatives, my uncles and eventually my cousins motivated me to come here and so I decided to come through in 1984.* (Maqholo 51)

Maqholo emphasized the historical importance of networks in the mining industry. Thus, the historical nature of these networks assists an explanation of the phenomenon of having people of the same villages and towns selling their labour to the same mine. In some ways, it may be linked to the question of habitus.

Labour studies scholars have captured the long-standing tradition that men who worked in the mines were replaced by their sons and if they had no son, they were replaced by the next of kin (Forrest 2015). In some ways, this benefited both the mine and the household in that for the mine, it ensured a prolific labour supply and for the household it guaranteed continued economic support from the relative that acted as a successor. The older participants stated that amongst them, there had been either a relative such as an uncle or father that had worked in the mines. These men stated they had come to replace their relatives after their *ijoyini* had ended in order to continue the family tradition of working in the mine and contributing to the subsistence of the household. With many things having changed in how recruiting is currently conducted in the mining industry, this practice of succession seems to have declined: Only one of the interviewed mineworkers stated that he had come to replace his father. The participants suggested that it was only a select few mines that continued with this practice as other mines and labour unions deemed the practice as an unfair form of recruitment considering the number

in the labour market seeking jobs. Even though this form of recruitment seems to have dwindled fundamentally in recent years, the findings of the present study revealed the mineworker remains a person whose family member, neighbour, distant relative or fellow community member had previously worked in the mines. All of the mineworkers interviewed stated that in the past they had had a family member that had previously worked in the mines even for a short period as this was the expectation. One may ask how this is related to habitus and how it explains continued reliance on migrant work. A myriad of demographic and non-demographic features, which in some ways assist the reader to understand the background of the mineworker in a quest to understand his continued reliance on migrant labour, have been discussed. The education levels of the mineworkers are discussed in the next section.

7.3.1. Education levels and mine work

Historically, as noted by scholars such as Wilson (1972), Allen (1992a), Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) and Forrest (2015), the cheap labour force due to the colonial and apartheid systems inherently comprised an illiterate or semi-unskilled labour force. Consequently, many of the participants in this study that had joined the mining industry during apartheid never received formal education or training. They stated that any form of education received to date was due to the NUM in the early 1990s. In contrast, the new generation of mineworkers were literate, that is, they could read and write although without prior training on mining related work. In this study, the participant with the lowest education level had completed grade 10 and the one with the highest level of education had completed a college diploma in electrical engineering. The vast majority of the participants had completed grade 12 and had for various reasons decided against studying further. When 32-year-old Alex, for example, who was the first of nine children realised that his father was struggling to support all of them, he decided to go and stay with his father in Rustenburg after he had completed matric. He hoped his father would help him obtain a C 14 driver's licence so that he could take up a job as a truck driver and not work underground as his father did. Although Alex obtained the relevant driving licence, a family friend enlisted his name at a mine for employment without his knowledge. He was subsequently offered a job he could not refuse. At the time of being interviewed, he was a mining team supervisor and performed an overseeing role to some of his colleagues because he was literate. He had also been shortlisted among a group of people to become a learner miner should he pass his interviews. Most of the younger generation of mineworkers in this study were literate. The majority had completed matric and had assumed mine work for different reasons. These reasons included the notion that it was the tradition in their family to take up

work post-matric, mine work was the primary alternative in the absence of money in the family for tertiary education, and mine work was an opportunity to fulfil a moral obligation, which included taking care of others in the family. The better-educated generation of mineworkers like Alex were presented with better life chances in their mining career in that they were given further education opportunities provided through various programmes in the mining industry. A few of the younger participants had left school at a younger age because they perceived school was not for them. Subsequently, they resorted to a trade that they had observed while growing up. Having grown up in a LSA, I have witnessed individuals quitting school for opportunities in the mining industry. Previously, this observation was outside of the methods of social enquiry. Nevertheless, coupled with earlier observations as a child growing up in a LSA and currently, as a researcher, I can attribute this trend to a couple of factors. First, people may quit school early because of the pressure to replace a family member as a provider especially in households where one person is the sole breadwinner. Second, the prior knowledge that the family could not afford school education and the mining industry was a space they grew up hearing tales about became a priority.

In this section, the education levels of the participants in the study were explored in an attempt to answer the main research question. The findings coupled with my past and recent observations suggest that there is a relationship between levels of education and the likelihood of taking up migrant labour. In the following section, the life trajectory of mineworkers is explored so as to respond directly and indirectly to the question of why mineworkers leave their home town for Rustenburg.

7.4. Why do they migrate?

People of different life trajectories take certain decisions about their lives envisaging different and yet particular outcomes. The same can be said about people that leave their homes or countries to work many kilometres away from their places of birth. This is often not an easy decision to make, but is usually driven by the will to improve personally, socially and economically. Sometimes the decision to assume migrant work can be done to fulfil familial rather than personal ambitions. In a study that I conducted for my master's degree, I was interested in finding out why South African doctors continue to migrate to other countries. Although the participants' responses were multi-layered, they had a central point of commonality. Accordingly, my findings revealed that South African medical students go through university knowing that they will be amongst the most highly remunerated professionals when they have completed their degrees. Even though this assumption remains,

coupled with expensive student loans and the pressure to live up to a life envisaged and particular societal pressures that place the medical profession in high social class standards, they are forced to migrate to a place and country that will help fulfil these personal and societal expectations (Nomvete 2013). Even though at a local scale, the reasons Mpondo men migrate are multi-layered.

Accordingly, respondents were asked questions relating to why they had come to work in the mines. No significant differences between mineworkers regarding their reasons to migrate even amongst the two generations of mineworkers were found. The older generation of mineworkers explained their families' history of mine work. With their life chances largely dictated by the level of education or lack of it, they expressed being pushed to mines by a desperate need to provide for their families following the demise in subsistence agriculture and farming of cattle, which could be used for trading for food. Moreover, it was also the need to also to start their own nuclear families, which in many ways was and still is seen as a mark of manhood and maturity; characteristics that are held in high value by men in Mpondoland. This concurs with Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) who found that migrant labour for Mpondo men lay in their wish to provide for their families and build *umzi.* One participant explained:

> *…My Igoli, unlike many people started in Durban where I worked in a furniture shop and then later as a security guard but to be honest with you that was a waste of my time. At that time, I had not even married and yet my work was not sufficient for taking care of my home. When I moved out of Durban to the side of Witbank and years later Rustenburg then I started seeing the difference. Since that I have been married for 23 years and all my children are in school with the eldest already in college.* (Kathula 50)

The older generation of mineworkers in this study came from relatively poor backgrounds in a society that was increasingly becoming reliant on money as means of survival. Consequently, the retirement of a parent or relative in some ways placed pressure on the young men to take up migrant labour almost automatically. Although coming from much improved household economic conditions where at least one professional can be found, household economic conditions were similar for the new generation of mineworkers. A significant number in the younger generation of participants were children of former mineworkers who had enlisted in the early 1970s. Although much has improved in their homes since their fathers joined migrant work, not much had been done to improve their life chances owing to slow wage increases and consistency in interest rates. Consequently, there were fundamental differences and similarities in what the two generations of workers had been able to do in their homes.

In this section, an overview of why migrant workers in their different life trajectories migrate was provided. In the following section, details of each of the factors already identified in the overview are discussed.

7.4.1 Sense of self and maturity

Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) attempted to understand what migrant work meant to mineworkers at the mine and also what migrant work meant to them in relation to the self. In other words, one may ask how the migrant worker perceives himself when taking up a contract in the gold mines. They found that men in the mines associated taking up of *ijoyini* as an assumption of responsibility and in some ways living up to one's manhood and thus, fulfilling the traditional expectation of financially supporting the family and relatives. The narrative remained the same for the mineworkers that participated in this study. One of the mineworkers based at Impala Platinum joined the mining industry as an immediate reaction to the fact that even before he could get his matric he had already conceived two children with his childhood girlfriend. Consequently, he decided against completing his high school education and took up a job that allowed him to be in a position to support his children. Asked what had influenced him to come to Rustenburg, he explained:

> *…. it is this thing of getting children when you are still young that saw me coming this side, I had to take up the responsibility of feeding my own children. My father found a spot for me with a sub-contractor that was at the time based in Rasimone mine where he worked. The R2 500 made the difference, at least I was not taxed you know….* (Fire 32).

Many of his colleagues supported Fire. However, in relation to personal sacrifice for the development of others, Fire was similar to Alex who explained:

> *…what made me leave the Eastern Cape you see …. let me first say, when we grew up at home there was a lot of us and when you would ask for something like school shoes it would take time for you to get it. You would have to be patient with father, even school was difficult you know because we were many. So for a young man like me I needed to decide that I stand up for the rest of the family because I could see that this man (his father) could no longer carry his load and at the same time you look at yourself and realise you are getting old, you have personal goals and ambitions you also want to achieve …* (Alex 32)

Both Fire and Alex's explanations indicated that assuming work legitimised one's sense of being responsible to the self and others. Furthermore, it reaffirmed one's sense of manhood in that the ability to provide for the self and others conveyed a sense of masculine self-formation. In other words, the mineworkers' ability to assume responsibilities for themselves and others was important in shaping their masculinity.

The findings also revealed that beyond the mineworker as an individual there were other important components central to taking up migrant labour, specifically, the household as a physical structure (*umzi)* as well as the dynamics within; in other words, the household economics and means of subsistence. Data manifesting from this study further suggests that persons of particular socio-economic backgrounds take up work in the mines. Labour studies scholars have identified early mineworkers as peasants that lived off agrarian means and as a people that often refused to work for wage labour, which would ultimately degrade them to an even lower class position of an urban proletariat. Presently, there is arguably a different class of mineworkers with better education levels and ultimately, better life chances. This improvement in class positions is seen through the possession of new material goods. These include improved houses, possessions in households such as television sets and refrigerators, and generally fully furnished housing. This is inconsistent with early mineworkers' households as noted by Moodie and Ndatshe (1994). This movement in class position mirrors *ina-ethe migration* in that the improvement from cheap migrant labour has had a direct impact on migrant's class positions. In the following section, by employing age or generation, the economic position of households is examined in an attempt to ascertain whether one's economic position at home has had any bearing on the continued reliance on migrant labour.

7.4.2. The household economy: *Umzi,* dependents and related issues

> *… I have seven children of my own and the eighth is from outside of my marriage, I have a grandchild and of course my mother to support. My brother's children, four of them are dependent on me since his passing and that of their mother. So that makes 13 dependents that I can think of from the top of my head. So of the four children, two of them are of working age, except none of them are working. The girl quit school in grade 11 and went to look for a job in Durban and did not get it. The boy used to work as a security guard at Holy Cross Hospital in Flagstaff and he got fired for some reason. I have since tried to get him a job at the municipality and even gave him R3000 to bribe but still there is nothing. In fact you would know. … There are no jobs back home and this is why we are all here in this place so far from home. Where we come from we do not have Umgodi, we have nothing special. We are no longer even working the maize fields. Back in the day our storage tanks were full and one would easily retire knowing that the family wouldn't starve. Today you cannot do that anymore, people do not want maize. No one plants it, no one buys it, no one wants it anymore. If you plant maize you will end up eating it with your pigs, we have become reliant on shops and so if one goes on early retirement there no longer will be smoke in the yard. You see at my house as we speak they are telling me there is no bag of rice and I was home just last week and found out that I now need R2 600 for groceries just for one household. There are lot of people in my house, there are children from my brother and I also forgot those of my sister and my grandchildren from the older ones. All these people are looking to me to do stuff. The ones in school need school shoes and uniform and the little ones still need lunch boxes even though there are feeding schemes in schools these days. It is*

> *unbelievable that I have to buy 50 kilograms of Rice, 20 litres of cooking oil, the big bag of potatoes and so on. You would swear its part of funeral preparations!* (Khwalo 60)

Khwalo (60) gave insight into the regular economies of a migrant worker's household in Mpondoland. As noted in the literature survey, labour scholars have mostly agreed that mineworkers often support more than one household; in other words, they support their own nuclear family, an extended family and a 'family' in the LRA. I refer to the former. Typically, the responsibility of the mineworker goes beyond what his salary can achieve for the household. Even before the assumption of migrant labour economic realities were the same, those that were expected to provide as per traditional gender roles had to do so. Even for those those that never take up migrant labour, the structure of a traditional Mpondoland household is similar and therefore, the socio- economic realities are the same. The household economic realities outlined in the previous quote depict the realities experienced when migrants leave their households. A study of the origins of migrant labour in Mpondoland has shown that before migrant labour, the Mpondo people were self-sufficient owing to their cattle and agricultural exploits. Consequently, migrant labour became an option for their livelihood later (Allen 1992; Beinart 1979). This suggests that by their standards in what was largely a non-monetary society, the Mpondo people were relatively content with their means. However, owing to cattle diseases that led to the death of cattle, infertile lands that led to famine, land dispossession that was the result of the Land Act as well as the broader apartheid plan of 1948 that further relegated those in the former Bantustans to the periphery and left the former reserves underdeveloped fundamentally challenged their status over the years. The change in means of subsistence did not render the people of Mpondoland poor because historically, even before wage labour, they were concerned with the ability to provide and satisfy their basic needs. However, this transition strained their forms of livelihood and increased pressures to rely on wage labour. Wage labour, although not primarily preferred, continued to provide an element of self-sufficiency and an ability to provide for families. A mineworker would be able to send home enough money to provide food, buy seeds for cultivation, and build a home or even to buy cattle at the end of each contract and thus, provide as he would in the past. These fruits of migrant labour defined manhood and a complete household (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994).

The findings in this study concur with those of Moodie and Ndatshe (1994), expect what mineworkers are able to provide today as a direct consequence of remittances is more modern and therefore, reflective of the evolving mineworker and mining industry. In the next section,

the familial conditions of the early migrants as recorded in historical labour studies texts are highlighted in relation to those of the participants in this study.

7.5. A picture of the migrant household: The past and the present

Wilson (1972) and Allen (1992) noted that the early migrant's encounter with wage labour was approximately 30 to 40 years before the discovery of diamonds in Kimberly. However, their exposure and familiarity with wage labour only grew following the discovery of the diamond mines where some men took up contracts. Previously, theirs was a peasant economy. This economy under which early migrants lived until famine and cattle diseases that forced men to migrate for wage labour was marked by constant migration in search of fertile lands, pastures and for game (Allen 1992; Beinart 1979; Derricourt 1976; Legassick & Wolpe 1976; Wilson 1959; Wilson 1972). Early migrants in Mpondoland lived in sparsely located communities. Each community comprised approximately 20 huts made of poles and thatch dried grass (Wilson 1959). With exposure to wage labour, one may assume that this new development of the money economy in what was a pastoral economy fundamentally changed how society operated and thus, curbed the nomadic nature of people at the time. Furthermore, the set-up by white traders who also doubled up as agents for migrant labour and introduced new forms of subsistence through the trade of money for food indirectly encouraged much more settled societies. Furthermore, one may contend that when heads of households left their homes during the early mining migrant labour years it was important for them to come back to a family that had not moved location. Two centuries later, after the encounter with wage labour and further exposure to a modernised group of people, it may be argued that mineworkers in the region at the time of migrant labour could have borrowed new concepts of building materials such as the use of mud in place of concrete, which they could not afford. This would mean they would have moved away from the type of temporary shelters described by Wilson (1959). This image is depicted in Photograph 13.

Photograph 14: Mpondo household in Ntafufu, Lusikisiki

This is photograph is of a household in the Ntafufu location in Lusikisiki on the R61 to Port St Johns in Eastern Mpondoland. This photograph could epitomise a regular household in a low income household anywhere in the Eastern Cape. The architectural design of these huts indicates this form of design in some ways mirrors the earlier description of huts seen in Wilson (1959) and Beinart (1979). However, it may be assumed these designs were influenced by modern European architecture.

Photograph 15: Ntafufu village, Lusikisiki

My assumption of this is further supported by the fact that these establishments of mud houses and thatch are still in existence and unfortunately, symbolise a family that are still peasants currently. In a personal conversation with Dunbar Moodie in 2014, while discussing his

research that culminated in his book *Going for Gold,* he mentioned that he had visited villages in Lusiksiki in the 1970s where he found that many mineworkers that had become an important part of his study came from homes made of mud houses and huts. Moreover, he stated that these mineworkers stayed in villages where neighbours were distant from one another. These areas, one of which is Mantlaneni in Lusikisiki, had no electricity and no other form of development. For many participants in the present study, the trajectory remains the same almost five decades later. The village in Photograph 14 is in Ntafufu, Lusikisiki and is a good example of villages in the Eastern Cape. The households are closer together than that described previously, but are still relatively far apart from one another compared to urban households. Most mineworkers currently, especially the younger cohort in this and other studies I have conducted on mineworkers, are gradually moving away from remote rural areas and closer to road networks. Those on the Mpondoland coastline have moved closer to the R61 and thus, closer to their respective towns. The architecture of their houses has improved drastically. Even the houses of those who still stay in remote rural areas have improved drastically from forms of architecture that symbolise backwardness as huts are often labelled. Accordingly, the presence of huts at present in some households in the Eastern Cape amongst those whose economic conditions have improved over the years are used for customary purposes. During rituals, some people utilise them for ceremonious communication with their ancestors and/or traditional kitchen. This shift to modern housing was described by one of the mineworker's wives who participated in this study as a big signifier of progress and being upwardly mobile. She explained smiling, *"Things have changed since the last time you were here in 2013 after Marikana, as you can see I have everything that a teacher has. I mean… look at this stuff, can you even tall a difference between a teacher and me? We are mistresses too these days"* (Nokwakha, 32). It was apparent that she was delighted and content. In the following section, household improvements since these men left their homes for 'greener pasture' are explored to determine if the presence or absence of these elements precipitated migrant labour for the participants in this study.

Photograph 16: Mineworker's house, Ngobozane, Lusikisiki

A mineworker's house is shown in Photograph 15. Both he and wife participated in this study. Their home was in Ngobozane location, Lusikisiki, merely seven kilometres from the R61, the national road to Flagstaff, Port St Johns and Umtata. Before moving to the new extension of Ngwelezane, this couple had resided in Matlaneni, the husband's place of birth. Mantlaneni is a remote location in Lusikisiki, from where a significant number of participants in Moodie and Ndatshe's (1992) study came. Nokwakha (32) was a stay-at-home mother who prided herself with looking after her children and the household in the absence of her husband. Her husband worked in Northam, in the Rustenburg region. At the time of the interviews, Sipho Zikalala was 40. Four years previously, I had interviewed him for a study conducted by the research unit of Trade & Industrial Policy Strategies (TIPS) for one of the Marikana commissions set out by the presidency. Sipho started working at Angloplats in 2011 as a RDO. At the time of the interview in 2014, Sipho earned R6 800, but at the time of the present study earned R 12 000 after the negotiations at the time of the Marikana strike of 2012. Sipho echoed the same sentiments as that of his wife, Nokwakha. When I had interviewed Sipho previously, they had just arrived in this extended location of Ngobozane and had only built the small flat on the left side of the picture. However, at the time of the interviews for this study, they owned a modern house similar to those of middle class earners such as teachers and nurses, to which Nokwakha likened themselves.

Photograph 17: Houses of mineworkers in Ngobozane, Lusikisiki

In Photograph 16, the house on the far left was that of Zikalala family, which was discussed in the previous paragraph. However, the house in the centre and left also belonged to a mineworker who worked at a platinum mine in Northam. Although the wife of this mineworker gave me consent to photograph her house, she refused to participate in the study. These homes and others around them mostly belong to mineworkers. Contrary to popular thought, those that stand out in this community are said to belong to either professionals or mineworkers that work in in either Rustenburg or Northam. These houses are not only relatively beautiful on the outside but also on the inside. They are fully furnished with all the necessary furniture that depicts a complete modern home. These homes in this neighbourhood belong to people that started working in the mines between 2008 and 2011, the group that I have referred to as the younger generation of mineworkers. It is noteworthy that amongst the many reasons the people of Mpondoland migrate is the need to build *umzi* as noted by Moodie and Ndatshe (1994). Furthermore, the shift from the traditional image of the mineworker's household marked by large kraals and huts suggests that in some ways there could be a shift away from the peasant mineworker and perhaps the emergence of a new upper working class of mineworkers. This new working class of mineworkers may be conceptualised as a *class in transit*. This concept acknowledges the mobility and fluidity of the class in which this group of mineworkers find themselves. This is a class of potential largely characterised by the presence of improved material goods and entries to new spaces such as sending their children to better schools.

However, this class in transit is marked by volatility in that it is threatened by the economic past of the family and a lack of education, which may determine the ability to sustain or improve one's class. This hypothesis of an improved class position and/or class mobility amongst mineworkers may be contested because there are many factors involved in class determination. However, the findings of this study have revealed that the increase in salary scales since 2012 has evidently made many mineworkers upwardly mobile. Some mineworkers are able to enrol their children in private schools otherwise previously afforded by the so-called professionals. During my interviews with Alex (32) and Maqholo (36), they stated that their children had enrolled in a private school due to a collaborative effort between them and their partners. Although it is not within the scope of this study to discuss the new generation of mineworkers' shift in class, it is recommended that this be explored in future studies. However, labelling this group as a class in transit is valid if fluidity, volatility, improved material conditions, entry into new education spaces and upward mobility are considered.

The inside of migrant households differ as most regular households do. Some of the children of the older generation of mineworkers who started working in the mines in the 1970s had post-schooling education. Furthermore, some of their children had taken up professional jobs in different sectors of the economy. Others in this generation of mineworkers continued to support their children who quit school and were economically inactive. Some of their daughters were married, had their own families and/or worked in the retail industry. Their sons either had taken up migrant work, drove taxis or were also in retail work. Their wives all stayed at home to see to the functioning of the household and how remittances were spent.

The majority of the wives of the younger generation of mineworkers, like those of the older generation of workers, remained homemakers, with a select few in formal work. This younger generation of mineworkers were still in primary or high school or in tertiary education. Typically, these mineworkers had just moved away from their homes and started building their own homes for their nuclear families so as to be closer to the network of roads. Their homes were characterised by modern technology and architecture. They supported at least one of their parents financially and at times a sibling who may have been trying to obtain a driver's licence, pay college school fees or something related. Some mineworkers currently had cars and/or wanted to buy one in the foreseeable future.

The direct impact of *ina-ethe migration* has been revealed in this section. The improved quality of life illustrated by modern architecture in mineworkers' own newly built homes speaks to a

decently rewarding post-apartheid migrant labour system. The condition of the household inside and outside symbolically speaks to the role of women who have seen to the building of the structures and the maintenance thereof. Being an owner of a well-built home may be regarded as nobility for Mpondo women and thus, it is an important measure of their femininities. For men in Rustenburg too, the knowledge that at home *umzi* as a physical structure has been built and that other aspects of *ukwakha umzi* are taken care of is important in the construction of their masculinity. The important class transition to mineworkers that can no longer be viewed within the context of peasantry has also been revealed in this section. The new formation of this class in transit comprises people that are negotiating a space between what may be called working class and upper working-class status that is characterised by interests of the middle class

7.6. The mineworker from Mpondoland in Rustenburg

As noted throughout, why people from Mpondoland continue to rely on mining migrant labour has been examined in this chapter. Consequently, the life trajectories of the mineworker have been explored by considering the socio-economic conditions of his hometown and that of his home and his family. Furthermore, in an earlier chapter, the socio-economics of his nuclear family were explored in an attempt to address this broader research question. Subsequently, the mineworker in Rustenburg is considered in an endeavour to understand, directly and indirectly, his continued reliance on the migrant labour system.

7.7. Why Rustenburg?

As noted previously, for the people of Mpondoland and for others in the former Eastern Cape, LSAs such as Tsolo, Mqanduli, eNgcobo, Idutywa and others, *iGoli* does not just refer to the city of Johannesburg. People in these areas regard any place in which mineral resources can be found as *iGoli.* This captures their conceptualisation that *iGoli* is synonymous with mineral extraction. Consequently, for many people of Mpondoland, Rustenburg became the *iGoli* of choice. With the platinum boom in the 1980s, a great deal of labour was diverted from the gold mines in Johannesburg's East and West Rand. The platinum belt mines became the popular employers of choice. Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015) stated that although the South African mining industry has seen a decline in the past three decades, the platinum mining industry in Rustenburg on the contrary has enjoyed an increase. Consequently, Rustenburg's population of 400 000 in 2001 rose to 550 000 in 2011 (see Rajak 2012). However, what remains unclear is why the platinum sector has become the popular choice even though other commodities such as coal, gold and diamonds are still prevalent.

I am of the view that Rustenburg has become the preferred option for various reasons. First, as noted by Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015), the gold mines are on the decline. The gold mines are old and have become increasingly expensive and dangerous to mine. When I asked the participants in this study why they had chosen the platinum belt and not mines in the East and West Rand mine, they were very knowledgeable about these issues. They stated that their uncles and fathers had warned them about the dangers of working in gold mines; in particular, they had been told and warned about rock falls and the fall of *itafile* (fall of ground) in gold mines. Moreover, they were warned about the high temperatures in gold mines as opposed to the other commodities. This notion was stressed by Gagangatha (35), his uncles, his father and other male figures in his family that had all worked in the mines previously. He was from Flagstaff and worked as an RDO at Impala Platinum Mine. He thus explained why he had chosen *iGoli,* namely, Rustenburg as opposed to others such as Carletonville:

> *My uncle from told me even before I came to the mine that, my son, never work in the gold mines because the situation there is volatile, at any point Itafile at the top can fall and combine with the one at the bottom and we know what will happen. Amongst other things I was told the heat there is unimaginable. I had to heed the advice because everyone else at home attested to this.* (Gangatha 35).

Statistics from 2017 and 2018 in relation to fatalities and rock falls in the gold industry are worth consideration (see Africa News Team 2018; Debut 2018; Kahn 2017).

The coal and mining industries, although amongst the core mineral resources in South Africa, have not been greatly considered by the people from Mpondoland. Diamond mines are found in certain areas of the Free State Province, in Cullinan in Gauteng Province and mainly in the Northern Cape Province. I am of the opinion that the people of Mpondoland were not attracted to the Northern Cape Province because from inception, they were not yet orientated to migrant labour at the time of the discovery of diamonds. In other words, the Mpondos did not have much historic lineage or attachment to the Northern Cape. Furthermore, even after diamonds were discovered there were no rapid transport systems to Kimberly such as train and bus transport systems as it were for those who went to the Witwatersrand. Those from Mpondoland caught buses from their respective stations on the R61 to the train station in Kokstad. From there, they went to their respective stations in Welkom and Johannesburg. The same justifications apply for their lack of preference for the coal belt. However, although an increasing number of people considered joining the mines in the Mpumalanga Province, the participants explained they did not have enough knowledge about these areas and job opportunities as they had not known any people that had worked in those areas previously. In

my opinion, the coal belt requires more skilled people with an artisan trade skill. Although my study shows improved levels of education amongst mineworkers, none of them possessed a prior artisan skill, which is often a prerequisite in the coal industry.

A couple of factors have made the platinum belt an automatic attraction for both old and younger mineworkers in the face of a dwindling gold industry. With the challenge of deep level mining, which is proving to be dangerous, some mines have had to opt for increased mechanisation. Consequently, many young and old workers looked further north to Rustenburg in a quest to stay in the mining industry. With the collapse and mechanisation on the increase in other commodities, the platinum belt has become arguably the favoured employee and therefore, those seeking employment in the mines prioritise it. Importantly, when posed with the question of why Rustenburg, many mineworkers stated that unlike the gold sector with which they were familiar, the platinum mines paid better and accordingly, they joined the industry. Some mineworkers stated that they had a choice of taking up jobs in other cities such as Durban and Cape Town, but upon observing migrants before them and what they were able to do for their families they considered Rustenburg. They stated that as young men contemplating migrant labour, by observing they realised that those that worked in Rustenburg had *intsebenzo* (visible outcomes because of their work) unlike their counterparts in other cities and commodities. To prove these assertions, many participants in this study had previously worked in other cities and industries before joining the platinum belt. For example, Zongo (38) worked for MMM sub-contractors at Impala mine as a locomotive driver; previously he had worked in Durban for a construction company. However, he stated it was difficult to see where his *intsebenzo* was going because of the short nature of contracts for uneducated people there. He argued that Rustenburg was better because even being paid by a sub-contractor was better than that offered in most places around South Africa. I am also of the view that the infamous Marikana industrial action and the much publicised envisaged salaries and the gains made thereof, have since 2012 made Rustenburg much more attractive that it already was. In other words, the promise of R12 500 and the promise it offers has motivated migrant labour to Rustenburg.

7.8. Occupations for the Mpondo in platinum mines

Certain occupations and job categories across different industries are known to be more attractive than others. This could be because of a number of things and in particular, the meanings that people attach to them. People attach social honour, prestige, class and upward mobility because of good remuneration to certain jobs. This was the case in my study of

medical doctor migration where doctors decided to pursue a career in the medical profession because of those factors (Nomvete 2013). This situation is no different even for working class of mineworkers, no matter how less prestigious these jobs appear to be. For example, in the copper belt of North America's Lake Superior, RDOs perceived themselves to be working class elite and would protest at any time when they felt that their status was threatened or challenged (Lankton 1991). In South Africa, following the discovery of gold in 1886 rock drillers much later in the century dubbed themselves king of the mines. They labelled themselves as such because of the speciality and centrality of the nature of their work to mine production (Stewart 2012, 2013, 2016) (See also Moodie &Ndatshe 1994). Throughout the world, RDOs have been influential because the job is associated with prestigious skills with social honour. Initially, the work conducted by RDOs was regarded as a specialised skill done by expatriates mostly. By the 1970s, this work in South Africa was only done by the Basotho and Transkeians (Mpondoland is part of the former Transkei) (Stewart 2013). This work is still largely reserved for these two ethnic groups. During my observation in Nkaneng and Sondela, I learned that the men from these ethnic groups are much stronger and more willing to work, "unlike their Tswana speaking counterparts." The RDOs in this study rated their job and themselves highly. Furthermore, they earned more than their counterparts.

The reason I have given this synopsis on the history of RDO work is to show that Mpondoland mineworkers have historically been at the core of mine work and more importantly, to show that they are continue to constitute a significant number of RDOs in the mines. Approximately 30% of the respondents were RDOs; given the specialised nature of the job, this percentage is significant. However, it is noteworthy that most of the RDOs in the study belonged to the older generation of mineworkers. On the contrary, the winch drivers or winch operators constituted the largest percentage and most were in the younger generation of mineworkers. I asked the younger generation why they had not taken up RDO work, which was allegedly high paying and more notorious amongst 'our' people. The common response was that "there is no honour in killing yourself." These younger mineworkers boasted that they did not have to work as RDOs because they were educated and understood the health implications of being shaken by a machine the whole day. When asked about the shift towards winch operators, it appeared as though they regarded it as a skill they were proud of and less taxing on the body. How does this help explain the continued reliance on migrant work? Indirectly, the history of mine work, which is deeply rooted amongst men from Mpondoland, resonates amongst the different generations through stories told by those that have worked in the mines before. Therefore, I am

of the view that these types of jobs that are seen as noble and form part of a long history of manhood and masculinity for men in Mpondoland are an important attraction. Therefore, the people who performed and have been performing these types of jobs entice others with tales and *intsebenzo.* They grew up hearing about these jobs in mining towns and the absence thereof in their home towns left them with no choice but to rely on migrant labour.

7.9. Conclusion

In this chapter, *ina-ethe migration* was captured in an endeavour to discover why Mpondo men continue to rely on migrant labour. The continuities and discontinuities were presented. From the outset, it has been demonstrated, consistent with assertions of the cheap labour thesis, that former LSAs remain underdeveloped and not economically viable for the majority in these areas. Furthermore, like the early migrants in Mpondoland, mineworkers continue to leave their homes for the mines so as to play an active economic role as provider within the household. They view this as an important aspect in the formation of their own masculinities and therefore, manhood. In addition, light was shed on old and new formations in mine identities in that men from Mpondoland continue to work as RDOs. However, many younger mineworkers have shown an interest in being winch operators. Furthermore, the negotiation of new class positions based on improved mineworker education levels, improved salaries and improved material conditions reflective of a better rewarding migrant labour system was explored. In the following chapter, the notion of a rewarding migrant labour system is explored by examining various mineworker material assets that have ensured migrant labour remains attractive.

Chapter 8: *Amafama nezibaya:* Mpondo men, migrant labour and cattle farming in Rustenburg

8.1. Introduction

> *…Here we are at Impala shaft number 8, what occurred is that a letter was written sometime in the middle of this month (August), although I cannot recall the date specifically. This letter was written and addressed for the attention of all amafama (farmers) in the Izibaya (Kraals) all around Rustenburg. The contents of the letter were an invitation for all members of Izibaya to be here on this date (26 August 2018). The letter did not openly state what the gathering would be about, instead it advised us that amafama in Rustenburg would have a feast on this given date and so we came. So we have gathered that we are here to officially and ceremoniously open Isibaya. As you can see (points to the men) all these are amafama. This isibaya is not an extension from another as it is often the case when cattle have multiplied. This isibaya was started from scratch and named Matshoba, as part of the ceremony they have slaughtered two cows and they have also brewed some traditional beer and as you can see with the green bottles there is also some western beer as part of the occasion.* (Mgiqwa, 50)

Mgiqwa was a 50-year-old man from Dudumeni Village in Flagstaff. He worked at Siphumelele's shaft number 2 of Sibanye platinum as a bus driver. Previously, he had worked as an RDO but was diagnosed with tuberculosis (TB). Upon his recovery, he was redeployed to surface work because they feared his TB might recur. His day job involved taking workers from the mine residences to the shaft and back and driving workers to any other destination when requested by the mine authorities. Like many referred to in the quotation above, he was a farmer. He had a number of cows in the Bleskop kraal as well as cows at home.

Photograph 18: Matshoba kraal, Rustenburg. Men being addressed and served with meat and beer at the opening of the Matshoba kraal outside Impala Platinum mine's shaft number 8, Rustenburg

In the broader context of trying to understand why men from Mpondoland continue to rely on mining migrant labour, the previous chapter attempted to answer this question by highlighting a number of continuities and discontinuities. In so doing, it also shed light on the manifestation of the new identities of migrant workers as well as the negotiation of new class positions that are a direct consequence of continued migrant labour. However, in this chapter, the new phenomenon of *amafama* and *izibaya* (farmers and the kraals), that is, cattle farming activities that currently underscore the social life of a growing number of mineworkers in the platinum belt is explored (see also Nkomo 2018). The word *amafama* is a plural term borrowed from the English word, farmers. In this context, it is used to describe a group of mineworkers that practise cattle keeping around the Rustenburg mines. The term is borrowed from how these men refer to themselves as a distinct people of noble acts. *Izibaya*, on the other hand, is a Nguni term used to refer to multiple kraals. In this context, it is used to refer to a space that keeps cattle and a meeting space where men find time to discuss a myriad of things outside mining and cattle farming.

Cattle farming in South Africa has often been associated with white farmers who often farm for commercial purposes. However, cattle farming has also often been associated with rural families that often farm for subsistence. Cattle farming by mineworkers at the mines, on the contrary, is unheard of. Historically, mineworkers have been known to buy cattle, which would form part of an already existing herd or start a new kraal altogether on returning from a mine contract (see Beinart 1979; Ferguson 1985; Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). Mineworkers bought cattle from local white traders that were strategically located along Mpondoland's main road, the R61. With the decline and the ultimate demise of white traders in the area, many mineworkers in recent years have had to rely on the farming town Kokstad to buy cattle as the closest town to their homesteads. The history of the purchase of cattle by Mpondo migrants is not the focus of this chapter. Instead, the phenomenon of *izibaya*, which loosely translated means kraals, an activity of cattle farming that men from Mpondoland and others were currently engaging in the platinum belt is explored. In an attempt to make sense of this initiative and to answer the research question, Mpondo men's rationale behind taking up farming as part of their migrant lives and what that means is discussed in this chapter. Furthermore, the history of mines and *AmaMpondo* in relation to herds are explored. Subsequently, the various

dynamics involved in the farming of these beasts, that is, how mineworkers came to be farmers, why they farm and ultimately the politics of herding and grazing are explored. In the next section, a brief history of herds in Mpondoland is provided.

8.2. The history of cattle of in Mpondoland

There are a number of African proverbs that speak of the worth and value of a cow. In the South African context, a proverb that is popular is: *Ubuhle bendoda ziinkomo zayo.* This proverb, which accommodates all Nguni languages, is also expressed by all other cultural groups in South Africa. The proverb may be translated as: The beauty of man lies in the size of his kraal. Although the genesis of this proverb cannot be located, it is safe to assume that it is centuries old based on the fact that cattle and the language itself are not new either. The centrality of this proverb to male masculinities speaks to Moodie and Ndatshe's (1994) study of migrants when they stated that ownership of oxen was central to how men constructed their manhood. Ownership of cattle by men from Mpondoland is an old age phenomenon. Before South Africa was industrialised and before South Africans encountered the money economy, cattle were central to food production and the sustenance of what was only a rural economy (See Beinart 1979; Wilson 1959). As noted by Wolpe (1972), when he described the importance of rural production in sustaining cheap migrant labour, cattle farming and oxen farming were important components of the pre-capitalist economy. The centrality of cattle farming in Mpondoland's rural economy was further highlighted by their refusal to join wage work that was fast tracked by South Africa's discovery of diamonds in Kimberly. Beinart (1979) stated for a lengthy period Mpondo men refused to join wage labour owing to their riches in cattle, which they could otherwise trade for any items they needed. As noted previously, it was not until the cattle diseases had killed their herds that Mpondo men were willing to take up wage work (Beinart 1979). Their taking up of wage work was also unique to similar endeavours elsewhere in the country. When they took up migrant work, they did so with a cattle system. This meant that when they got into a contract system with white traders who also worked as recruiting agents, instead of agreeing to a wage they agreed to a number of beasts in advance *(ibid)*. Beinart further stated that the cattle system seemed to be the only way in which migrant labour lured Mpondo migrants. Beinart and Moodie and Ndatshe (1994) asserted that these cattle advances were central to keeping afloat rural production when these men were away. To highlight the importance of cattle amongst Mpondo men further, even much later in the migrant labour system, migrants continued to work to purchase cattle. Moodie and Ndatshe explained that men from Mpondoland in the mines sent most of their remuneration

to their homes in order to invest in cattle that assisted in agricultural production. Accordingly, most of Mpondoland men were known to be the meanest, as they would only leave enough money in their pockets to afford friends just one round of beer at the end of a month. Agricultural production or subsistence farming in Mpondoland has nevertheless significantly declined. Even the culture of using oxen to work the fields is almost a thing of the past. Very few still use oxen and those often cannot afford preferred tractors that are quicker and less labour intensive. Even in the eyes of some fellow villagers, oxen are perceived as primitive and owners of these oxen are seen to be inconsiderate to the young ones that lead the oxen and hold the plough.

Notwithstanding the above, findings in this study suggested that the value of cattle amongst Mpondo men persist. They continued to see oxen as an important reason for taking up migrant labour. However, they did not obtain oxen in the same way as they did in the past. Moreover, the value of oxen has been further illuminated. This study may be viewed as an extension of Moodie and Ndatshe's (1994) work that revealed that the ownership of cattle is important in the construction of some people's masculinities. One may ask what this informs one about the present group of mineworkers and the meanings they attached to cattle ownership. Consequently, in the next section, the opening of the first *isibaya* in Rustenburg is briefly discussed.

8.3. The inception of *Izibaya* in Rustenburg

The farming of cattle by mineworkers in the LRA and/or around the workplace is a new phenomenon. As noted previously by referring to Beinart 1979), Moodie, and Ndatshe (1992), mineworkers farmed cattle at their homesteads at a subsistence level. Consequently, it was of interest to discover during this study that mineworkers were engaged in such an agricultural activity. Disco (58) who started working at Bleskop mine at the age of 15 explained how *izibaya* originated:

> *…the genesis of izibaya comes from the fact that, back in the day as men we would go back home when on leave and buy cows from the white traders near our homes. The demand for cows was so high that one would get there and the trader would not have any more cows to sell and then you would be disappointed. In those circumstances we would be forced to walk and buy these cows 45 kilometres away in Kokstad from white farmers and walk back, this was before all these cars you see all over. Also, we realised that the nature of our work contracts have changed, we no longer have the six-month period which would allow us to look after our cattle before taking up another 6 months contract. We then realised that we too can do something with our lives outside of work, we then devised a plan as men from the Eastern Cape to combine money, ask for a plot of land, farm cattle and get a*

> *herdsman to look after our cattle whilst we are at work. To our pleasant surprise this initiative became a success such that one of our colleagues has sent home over a hundred cows alone. This opened all of our eyes and all realised there was something to this initiative.* (Disco 58)

This quote from a conversation with Disco highlights a number of important things that may not necessarily directly answer the research question. First, the traders in the Mpondoland region played an important role in the household economies of the places in which they had set up base. Second, the demise of traders who had once been the centres of economic activity in the Mpondoland region is suggested. Third, as a result of traders moving away from rural Mpondoland, mines workers have subsequently reconfigured themselves as not only mines workers that consume but also as producers. Finally, cattle are not only something with which Mpondo men construct their masculinities but also a social space and environment within which they constructively engage.

Photograph 19: Bleskop kraal. A routine check by a group of mineworker friends at the Bleskop Mine Kraal, Nkaneng, Rustenburg

Furthermore, as noted by Disco in subsequent conversations, mineworkers emphasized that they spent more time at the mines than they did at home. They argued it would be disadvantageous to leave the cattle under the care of their wives. They stated that their wives had a great deal of other reproductive work to do and taking care of many cattle would be overwhelming. They added that because their sons had to go to school, they would not be able

to take care of the cattle, oversee their production and monitor their health adequately. One mineworker stated, "*When you are not home certain things fall apart."* In corroboration with this statement, these migrants realised the need to be proactive and take care of one of their most valuable possessions. Therefore, they divorced the homestead from the cows and the kraal near their workplace became the breeding ground.

Considering the growing habit of keeping livestock among mineworkers in Rustenburg, one of the lingering question was whether this had to do with worries around livestock theft that engulfs many parts of the Eastern Cape. The participants stated that stock theft was something that they thought of but only at the back of their minds as Mpondoland is not much affected. They argued that their main concern was making sure they breed healthy fit cattle to ensure on going reproduction. Njandini *(54) stated:*

> *You see for us it's not even about that (the question of cattle theft), we are more focused on doing the aspect of things we should be doing anyway in a situation where were at home. We are merely taking care of our cattle because we know for sure that no one will do the same as we do at home. Who will buy the feeding stone? Who will know what type of Hay Bale grass to buy? What about injections and breeding? It's a lot that we have learned ourselves that we cannot expect our wives or children to carry out. We would be asking much of them. We are no longer breeding those small Nguni cows as you know them. We are at the level of amabhulu (white farmers), even some of our calfs we buy from them. So the question of theft is not a serious one for us. In fact amaMpondo don't worry about such because we are far from Lesotho. That is where the cattle thieves are. Maybe our brother from Stekspruit, Mount Fletcher and Matatiele can worry not us. You see when you are in those towns these guys can easily cross the river with the cows and be inside Lesotho and bam! Its gone! I am sure Disco told you, here we don't even want Basotho herdsmen ngamasela (they are thieves). They will even conspire with white farmers and resell your cows to them and the leave the country, so ja…..*

Amafama expressed that when the cattle were fit and the right age, they were then sent home. They also explained that the first kraal was formed by a group of *Amabomvana* at Siza mine (now Thembelani part of Sibanye Platinum). It subsequently became very popular. This was evident by the number of animals grazing around the shafts as well as the formal and informal mineworkers' residences. This is illustrated in Photograph 16.

Photograph 20: Cows grazing under the watchful eye of a herdsman near railway lines linking the Impala Platinum mineshafts, Rustenburg.

As noted, the image depicted in Photograph 16 is not unique to the area where this was photographed. It is a phenomenon that has spread. Accordingly, in some areas around the mines, one encounters many goats, usually as stray animals linked to the mineworkers (see Nkomo 2018). However, the mineworkers have prioritised cattle. This discussion of the opening of *izibaya* in Rustenburg and the involvement of men speaks to two concepts, which were introduced in the theory chapter. Rustenburg is not only a space of work in the mining sense. It also provides a field where Mpondo men are able to express part of their habitus in a different setting wherein the rules of the game are also different.

Having driven around many shafts in the platinum belt and encountering many well fed and looked after herds, I was curious to understand further why the mineworkers were fascinated with cows. This is thus discussed.

8.4. What's in a cow? Meanings and constructs

In the brief history of Mpondo men and cattle, the meanings that Mpondo men have attached to the ownership of cattle has been discussed (see Beinart 1979; Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). In this section, the meaning attached to cattle ownership by Mpondo migrants currently is explored. Consequently, I posed a question in IsiXhosa, *Yintoni le isenkomeni* (What's in a

cow)? A myriad of responses, which were strikingly similar came to the fore. Two are discussed.

> *…Yhooo! (Takes a big sigh) A cow is very important. You see when you have a cow you are able to put people through school. If you are a man with children, just before they start their schooling year or university, you sell a cow for their registrations and uniform. A cow can heal a sickly person because when someone is sick you can sell a cow and someone receives medical attention because of that money. Even growing up we used cows to go and fetch water to make mud bricks that build us a home. Sandla, a cow is very important; we cannot divorce ourselves from those beasts. When you work a cow serves as your bank. You can call it a traditional bank, it's difficult to lose money that is in a form of a cow, but cash, you can always lose it with banks or someone could very well steal it from you …* (Mgiqwa, 50)

Asked about the significance of a cow for Mpondo men currently, Faku (60) gave a similar but spiritual response:

> *…God created cows side by side human beings for a reason and there is also reason to why men were given power over the cow and not the other way around. A cow, dog, goat and even sheep, God did not falter. In any event in the community, even in death, the first person to look for is a person with a cow for burial purposes. That is to say, any household with cattle becomes the centre of dignity. For the people that want to perform certain ceremonies or ritual you who have cattle become their beacon of hope. They believe they can always buy from you and cut transportation costs or the cost of buying from a farm. … Cows reflect value for money and anyone one who is having financial problems can always come to you and borrow. In that way you can sell them a cow or give them a cow to sell and then they are indebted to you. When your car breaks down you can sell a cow, when your child needs to go to school you can sell a cow. As you can see as a Mpondo boy, back home we have a lot of educated people, ask them how they did it. They will tell you their parents sold a cow or two. This is how we attain success through cows, for a black person his bank is in the back yard (kraal). We can only go forward with cows, they are not going anywhere, and instead their value multiplies.* (Faku 60)

Economic meanings

All the *amafama* agreed that a cow is an asset. The participants perceived cattle ownership as something of value that would or that could help them financially when needed. Without exception, all those interviewed alluded to having contributed to the education of their children by having sold one or more cattle in their herd. Faku even linked the literacy of people in Mpondoland to the sacrifice of cattle by their parents. In an informal conversation that I held with Mgiqwa, he alluded to the fact that his son could not afford registration that year at the University of Fort Hare because of difficulties with the financial aid scheme. He suggested that

his wife forced him to sell his oldest cow so his son could return to the university and pay two months of rent outside the university premises. Most of these men perceived buying a cow in Rustenburg was not like buying one from the former white traders or from a farmer in Kokstad. Previously, they had bought older cows without much knowledge. However, they currently had the option of buying calves or much younger cows for less money than they had previously. After a few months, when the calves had grown, they could sell them for double the price for which they had bought them. One can deduce that with economic opportunities, cow ownership has improved. Although mineworkers previously used cows for economic purposes, the current generation has prioritised this economic benefit.

Cows as banks and investments

The meanings and value attached to cattle by Mpondo migrant men are strikingly similar. During the interviews with each of the participants, their responses were similar. In all the conversations with the mineworkers, it emerged that the buying of cattle was an important area to venture into because it was a form of saving. In other words, buying cows was viewed as a form of investment that either appreciated or stayed the same, but never depreciated. Some of the participants referred to the cows as banks. Asked why they had cows at their area of work instead of having them only at home, Gangatha (50) stated that there was a fundamental difference between farming at home and farming where one worked. He explained that at home because of bad spirits, witchcraft and jealousy, cows bred much slower. He further explained that at work, no one had time for witchcraft and therefore, cows multiplied quicker and thus, presented an opportunity to save and invest. He asserted:

> *… a cow were you work can serve as a bank, you can call it ibhanka yesintu (a traditional bank) if you wish. You see with money, you can earn money today and lose it tomorrow in ways you cannot even understand or even due to wasteful expenditure. If you buy a cow however, you know your money is safe, you know your money is banked …* (Gangatha 50).

Gangatha was echoed by one of his colleagues and fellow farmer who supported his assertions:

> *… So the plan behind these izibaya here in Rustenburg is so that we save money because when you save money in the bank and not buy a cow that money is easier to spend. You can even be able to claim fixed money at the bank with just an ID. You can waste money without having done anything significant and the money will be gone. What I can tell you about cows here, is that they can double and quadruple in a space of two years. This, my boy is a continuous form of saving, faster than interest at the bank …* (Mgiqwa)

In an informal conversation with one of the farmers, he used a metaphor to refer to the difficulty of keeping cash. Speaking in IsiXhosa he stated, *"Xa ugodukile unemali ikhonkothwa zizinja."* This metaphor may be directly translated as "When you go home having money in your pocket dogs bark at you." In other words, it is easy to lose money even before you enter home due to a multiplicity of factors. This farmer alluded to the fact that back home people were poor and always wanted to borrow money and those who worked become primary targets to offer help. He further asserted that as a responsible member of society, one could not allow another family to suffer when you knew you could assist. Thus, he believed it was better to buy a cow and leave just enough money for the family's needs.

Photograph 21: Calves in the smaller *isibaya* for calves in the newly opened Matshoba *isibaya* outside Impala's shaft number 8, Rustenburg

Previously, mineworkers invested in cows in order to maintain rural production especially in the context where cheap wages in a capitalist economy could not support families. In such instances, cows pulled ploughs to open trenches during the planting season and sleighs to fetch water and wood. This phenomenon is still prevalent in many areas of Mpondoland. Cows were also used as assets, which they exchanged for monetary value when a need arose. Furthermore, cows have also played a crucial role in customary practices such as the paying of *lobola* (bridal price) and other cultural practices. Thus, the use of cattle as investments is not entirely new. However, previously, cattle were often viewed primarily in the light of customary practices

and rural production, and not as a major economic asset. The above quotations from migrant mineworkers turned farmers suggests an evolved type of mineworker. This type of mineworker, unlike previous mineworkers, seems to be economically knowledgeable in that he understands basic economics. This mineworker has increased the expandability of a cow; for example, he understands that the value of one cow, which costs at least R7 000 in cash is likely to appreciate more in value in a year if well fed than R7 000 in cash will in a bank. There is also a great understanding that a cow will multiply biologically without necessarily purchasing another and that too means more money in investments. Notwithstanding cattle diseases and drought that may affect cattle production and ultimately threaten their lives, these *amafama* were adamant that in this economy one was likely to lose money from buying expensive goods for the self or even family than losing cattle to cattle diseases. They argued that cattle ownership was a better risk to take than having much money in the bank.

This group of mineworkers' understanding of economics was impressive. On the 26 August 2018 when I attended the opening of the *Matshoba* kraal, one of the speakers who gave the closing remarks spoke about the importance of other mineworkers joining this farming venture:

> *Mafama! Mafama! Thank you all for attending this auspicious of the opening the house Matshoba kraal, it has been long coming. We have eaten, we have drunk, and this kraal has been officially opened. I want to thank all of you for being here without reservation and sincere gratitude. Even to those that have graced us here who are not farmers, on behalf of house Matshoba I say thank you. To all the young people, I hope you have seen and that you are learning to join us in these ventures. All of you now know that our platinum commodity is under threat and that our employer is going to shed at least 13 000 jobs in the next two years or so. You have heard! We do not know who is going to be affected, and perhaps your future lies here in, this may be all you have left. (Unknown speaker)*

The above quote has been used to stress the mineworkers' economic awareness of their conditions and foresight into the future. This further illustrates that their involvement in banking and/or investing through cows was no accident but a deliberate act of using an asset with which they were historically familiar having come from families that used cow ownership for various reasons.

Cultural and symbolic meanings

Mpondo men's views of cows in the economic sense does not negate how they were used and seen in the traditional sense. Rather, the economic meanings attached reveal that these Mpondo men have explored the expandability of cattle for contemporary purposes, suitable for their

own contemporary needs. At a very basic level, the mere ownership of one beast and even more so, cattle still suggests the construction of one's manhood. To a great extent, Mpondo men perceived the ownership of cattle and the very prevalence of *isibaya* in a household as the completion of a homestead, which provides the very much valued sense of dignity and respectability for a home.

In Moodie and Ndatshe's (1994) work in Lusikisiki, some contested the importance of cattle ownership in the construction of one's manhood and instead, argued that manhood lies in the noble actions that one performs. Although this may be true based on the contrary opinions in Moodie and Ndatshe, due to the opinions of the participants in this study and my experience as an African black man, I also argue the alternative. In the various engagements with mineworkers during my stay in Sondela and Nkaneng while talking with mineworkers about what they had been able to achieve as workers, they mentioned three important things: As workers they had been able to marry, build themselves a home and were in the process of acquiring cows for themselves or their fathers' kraals. Even though some may argue that there is no correlation between cattle ownership and manhood, there is a significant group of people that consider cattle ownership as a symbolic meaning of their manhood. Mkelele (32) who worked at Sibanye's Jabula Platinum Mine explained what he had been able to achieve since he started work at the age of 26:

> *I have at least been able to build my parents a house, and I have my own flat on the side, I pay my sister's fees and I now am in the process of getting myself a wife. But to be honest with you I have not done anything, a man must have his cows, a man must have kraal I don't have any and in that way I am not complete*.

This sentiment was widely shared as it kept coming up in the conversations I had with the younger mineworkers who felt there was a gap in what they had achieved in their years of work; most had worked for approximately seven years. They explained they did not own cattle. In Mpondoland, as noted previously, the buying of cattle was a norm amongst men who worked away from home. Therefore, as something that was regarded as a noble act for many at home growing up and something done by their fathers whom they respected, it became something very central to how they constructed their masculinities and manhood.

The presence of *isibaya* and ownership of cattle is something that Mpondo men perceived to be an important aspect of giving a household respectability and dignity. It is, however, difficult to postulate why the view of cattle ownership and *isibaya* is seen to give dignity to a household. However, based on the expandability of cattle in traditional and customary purposes, one may

assume that on its own suffices; it gives dignity to the family. In an attempt to understand the dignity attached to the presence of cattle and a kraal, the participants were asked about the value of cows in the household. Mgiqwa responded very passionately to this, albeit, indirectly. He stated that personally he did not even seek refuge or shelter in a household without a kraal because such a home did not have dignity. He added that a kraal spoke volumes about the head of household's ability to plan and take care of his family. He argued that much can be seen through the kraal because not every person who was male could execute the manly task of *ukufuya* (keeping livestock). Mgqiwa used an example of being in a *stokvel* with men that are with or without *izibaya.* He argued that a man without a kraal was never trusted with the *stokvel* account because there was no tangible evidence that he could look after money. He asserted that such a man could not be trusted with money because he did not have a kraal that could serve as collateral where he could use the *stokvel* funds. He continued that members could always send the sheriff of the court to men with *izibaya* if they misused *stokvel* funds,

Cows undoubtedly continue to play a significant role for customary and traditional purposes for Mpondo men. Some of the participants spoke quite affectionately of some of the customs they had been able to execute because of the availability of cattle in the yard. All the married participants alluded to the fact that it was because of the presence of herds either in theirs or their father's kraals that enabled them to get married. They explained that they had been able to pay *lobola,* which is often a bridal price paid in the form of cows in African communities. In many African communities, this customary practice is at the centre of most if not all marriages. Ownership of a herd of cattle, therefore, further assists one to complete the puzzle of manhood, which amongst other things is legitimised by one's ability to pay a significant amount of the bridal price. Thus, ownership of cattle is important for how Mpondo men construct their masculinities and manhood. Rustenburg, as a field, therefore has created a space outside the normal field at home within which they could practise their positions as men, part of which is ownership of and taking care of cattle.

In the execution of their manhood, these men alluded to a number of other things that they managed to do customarily because they had cows. Disco (59) mentioned a number of things that he felt I should know about, not only as a researcher but also as a Mpondo man:

> *Let me tell you this Sandla, without hiding anything from you, as a man you have obligation. What I like is that you are asking important questions that you will also learn from. In 2016, my maternal aunt passed away and she had no sons to see to her burial. Her only daughter is married into another family and therefore, was not*

expected to do anything for her mom as now her loyalties are rightfully with that of her husband's family. As a family in Mpondoland we never desert those without children even at death. Instead we bring our minds together and come out with a way forward. For the preparations of the funeral there were only four sheep from her burial society and I thought that would not be sufficient to feed the people or even to give dignity for her funeral. So I took a cow from my herd as ways of honouring and accompanying her. Again on the 11 July 2018 we were unveiling her stone, we had to have 11 sheep just for cleansing the 11 attending families, one for each household. Coupled with that, I took out another cow from my herd to cater for the entire ceremony. Do you see that we able to do things without messing with the family finances? I can tell you now even villagers are still talking about how well both the funeral and unveiling were executed Sandla sisidoda ke eso (that is an act of manhood).

Disco's noble acts where he intervened to help extended family members who were unable to do as much as he did, concurred with one of the participants in Moodie and Ndatshe's (1994) study. The participant noted that manhood was about extending a hand and helping those that were unable to help themselves. He added that manhood is ploughing for that man who has no oxen. This reaffirms that position on how manhood is constructed. However, this should not denounce the fact that other men construct their own manhood by the mere ownership of cattle.

This quote sheds light on the centrality of cattle ownership in the everyday events of villagers. It further highlights the sense that having a cow for whatever event results in a sense of pride and dignity, something that has been alluded to in earlier quotations. On any occasion in rural communities, there is always a need for a cow for consumption, a prize or any other auspicious ceremony or celebration. There is a symbolic meaning attached to the value or magnitude of the occasion of owning a cow. Mpondo migrants even used cows for less auspicious occasions. Faku mentioned that when three of his sons returned from initiation school, he slaughtered a beast for each of them for the customary practice as well as the feast. He also added:

Just last year my mother was turning 89 years old and for the first time I decided to do something beautiful for her, I threw her a birthday celebration. In doing that I asked my wife to invite all her other age mates from the village for a feast. On the day before her birthday I arrived at home and slaughtered a beast and one sheep to celebrate her life. Just last month yet again I did the same for my mother-in-law. I had told my wife to tell her family that I wanted to do a celebration for her mother. She didn't believe until I insisted. To be honest my brother-in-law was not sure how this was going to be done. They went on brewing the beer and making all other arrangements but they were worried about where the meat would come from. I took a cow and a sheep from my kraal just the day before the birthday and went to present them to my in-laws and they were both used for the feast. This is to say to you Sandla, there are many ways in which a cow will work for you.

Thus, mineworkers gained much from the acquisition of cows during their stay in Rustenburg. The contribution of cattle ownership in their personal lives expressed in these quotations reveals how it benefitted these workers on a personal, social and societal level.

The bovine question that characterises this chapter has been posed before. Ferguson (1985) did justice in the context of Lesotho attempting to understand the meaning of cattle among the Basotho. This was at the backdrop of wide frustrations that the Basotho people's cattle practices were not directed towards much-needed economic emancipation for the Basotho. Ferguson (1985) recorded that Basotho livestock owners considered livestock as a cultural asset and a symbol of pride more and less of a commercial commodity. Much like the case of Mpondo men in this study, the Basotho keep cattle for the reasons of paying *lobola*, prestige (which I view in the same light of construction of masculinities), and investment. Explanations were sought to elucidate and therefore understand this 'mindboggling' practice, which made economic gains secondary to what may be termed a mere 'symbolic' or social practice. Ferguson (1985:647-648) invoked two existing theories that could be used interpret cattle keeping practices as observed in Lesotho: The dual economy and the utilitarian theory. The dual economy theory suggested that:

> *Basotho keep livestock the way they do because stock are valued in Sotho culture for religious, social, and symbolic as well as economic reasons. Livestock are thus 'over valued' (over their 'true' economic value, that is), and this is why the Basotho keep so many animals and are so reluctant to part with them.*

Drawing from Sansom (1974), Ferguson (1985) showed that there was a more 'sophisticated' version to the dual theory based on modes of trade. This version held that to understand cattle keeping by Southern Africans, the 'Bantu', one needed to understand the three phases in modes of trade: The introduction of the cash subsistence activity, increased market economy importance alongside subsistence production although maintaining separate spheres and the final phase of interpenetration which meant that cultural production and income could no longer exist as entities. Ferguson (1985) explained that this view meant that the reluctance or resistance to commercialisation of cattle was evidence that the last phase of interpenetration in essence, marked holding onto a traditional practice that was gradually phasing out owing to a growing modern market economy. A utilitarian point of view opposes the notion of dualism and thus suggests that Basotho people are in fact engaged in rational livestock keeping practices that are in line with their own local economic realities (*ibid).* The utilitarian theory further states:

> *Basotho invest in animals which do not appear to give a good return on the capital, this is due to the absence of other opportunities for investment of surplus, so that livestock may be a 'rural bank' for investors who have no other outlets for productive investment* (Ferguson 1985:648).

Surely, if we look at the most basic understanding of the dual theory we can deduce what is applicable to *amafama* in Rustenburg. Cultural and symbolic meanings are certainly strong components of cattle keeping by mineworkers. The question of prestige and status that emanate from cattle ownership, I would argue, is well intertwined with the question of construction and maintaining of the masculine self. Earlier in this chapter, I alluded to a metaphor that the pedigree of a man is largely determined by the size of his kraal. Similarly, Ferguson (1985) found that the *barui* (Basotho men with that own a lot of cattle) were highly respected in their communities particularly for their form of social wealth rather than economic wealth. His informants stated that a *morui* (Mosotho men with a lot of cows) earned more societal respect than a man with a lot of money *(ibid).* Ferguson, however, did highlight that this sentiment was not homogenous, as others, mostly women, lamented the 'obsession' with livestock over other important things.

The sophisticated version of the dualist theory has no bearing on Mpondo man studied here. As it can be seen with the quotes above, for mineworkers, every beast has a price. This is even though they still do not keep livestock for commercial reasons. When a need arises they are able to sell, for a negotiated price for the beast, typically along market prices often accompanied by social sympathy given the reasons for purchase (see Ferguson 1985).

To understand *amafama* we can also draw from the utilitarian theory. As the theory suggests, Basotho tended to use cattle as their banks. In the words of one of my participants quoted above, they use cattle as a 'traditional bank'. Moreover, given the limited knowledge of diversifying investment as a result of limited exposure to opportunities outside the mines, it can be argued that *amafama* work with limited resources. Does this help us explain Mpondo men practices in relation to *izibaya*? Certainly not. However, the two theories, when examined together to offer representative reason and thus present a far more complex situation that cannot be reduced to individual thought and one that can only be explained in traditional or cultural terms. Mpondo men have evolved, as I would assume with some of the Basotho men in the 1980s when Ferguson undertook his work. They continue to hold on to the symbolic meanings of *isibaya* and cattle ownership. Cattle are used for various ceremonial reasons, traditional and

otherwise. Men use cattle as banks, they see cattle as money they can see with visible eyes. In so doing, they are able to calculate the economic value using market prices. Indeed, they sell a beast when they must for the benefit of the family. In the same vein, some have come to understand that they can trade cow skin for leather, and so a few farmers that have accumulated many cattle have joined such markets. Others who have started in the same class have also started to trade cattle for cash. Considering the above, I am therefore inclined to also state as Ferguson (1985) did that cattle keeping by Mpondo men in Rustenburg is fraught with a diverse, negotiated and re-negotiated ideological standpoint.

8.5. Buying of cows and *Ukuthoba*

As noted, cattle ownership by mineworkers is something that has been associated with the homestead. In other words, they bought and kept cattle at their homesteads. Furthermore, this has changed with cattle been farmed at home and near the workplace. However, one may ask where the Mpondo migrant men buy their cattle and what they do with them when they have matured.

The *amafama* in Rustenburg spoke very boastfully about their very healthy relationship with local farmers around Rustenburg as well as the Bafokeng and Bakwena who play a significant role in cattle farming around Rustenburg. They stated that these farmers were happy to deliver cattle to their kraals and that these consumers were increasing. The farmers added that buying a cow in Rustenburg was much better than doing so back home because in Rustenburg they had the option of making reasonable payments over time. They argued that these kinds of payment arrangements were not possible with the local traders in Mpondoland. One participant explained:

> *The good thing about the farmers this side unlike back home is that you don't have to pay R10 000 cash for a cow. In fact, you can actually pay R5 000 cash deposit for two cows and pay the other difference over an extended three months period and come out with two cows. Whilst you are paying for the two cows, you are still able to send money home for food and any other need. At the same time, you are saving in the cows and keeping some cash in the bank, makes sense right?* (Sukude 49)

Sukude worked as an RDO at Sibanye's Siphumelele Platinum Mine. He had more than seven cows in the Bleskop kraal and sent home 12 in the previous five years. He intended to send a further three home before the end of that year, which he claimed he had not bought but instead, were offspring of cows he had already sent home. These men were very calculating when deciding which cows to buy and which to send home. For instance, they bought a particular breed of cow, which they knew was rare in Mpondoland in order to influence the type of breed,

namely, Nguni cows that dominate Mpondoland. Moreover, they tended to send home cows that had already bred back home and leave those that were much younger to breed with the preferred breed in a preferred environment in Rustenburg. They called the process of sending cattle home *ukuthoba.*

Ukuthoba

The word *ukuthoba* could mean a number of things in IsiXhosa; it could mean facing down, decreasing of volume from any sound or instrument and sending something southwards. The *amafama* in Rustenburg referred to the latter at a time of convenience and when they were certain that their cattle were fit and could withstand the more than 900 kilometres drive to the various towns in Mpondoland and in some instances, even further when trucks went to *Kwa* Bomvana to towns beyond those in Mpondoland.

After considering the number of *izibaya* around Rustenburg and the growing number of cattle around versus the availability of space I asked them what happened when the kraals were full. They all said, "Siyathoba (we send them home)." This process of sending cattle marks a very important component of the *ina-ethe migrant* labour system. First, it is a clear symbol of a migrant labour system that has rewards, a clear contrast to the colonial and apartheid past marked by cheap labour. Second, it mirrors the metaphoric meaning of an exchange, *ina-ethe* at play. This process presents a tangible and visible reward for one's labour. Finally, instead of manifesting competing fields as Von Holdt (2018) suggested, this process reveals two opposite fields of Rustenburg and Mpondoland at a convergence. What was an important component for modes of production in Mpondoland, farmed and bought in Mpondoland, was currently something farmed from a field that was, in fact, a capitalist area in its modes of production.

In the discourse about sending cattle home, the mineworkers stated that sending them home did not necessarily mean that the kraals were overcrowded. Rather, there had to be enough people willing to send their cattle home at a particular time. Disco further explained:

> *In sending cows home we usually look at the proximity of towns and villages where amafama come from. For example, for people from Bizana, Flagstaff, Lusikisiki and Port St Johns it's easy because all those people are on the R61. On the one hand those from Mt Alyff, Ntabankulu, Qumbu, Tsolo or even Umtata can send their cattle together because they are allocated along the N2. We don't have trucks and so we hire one truck as amafama for R38 000 and one's cow is delivered on their door step. A person contributes 400 a cow for each trip. This means if you have two its R800 and so on and so forth. We usually look into a cow's fitness, issues of drought here or at home before we decide which cow goes.*

Photograph 22: Sunset over Nkaneng, Rustenburg as herdsmen lead cattle back into the Bleskop kraal, Nkaneng, Rustenburg

Migrants, even early migrants captured in labour history and early labour studies, have always exhibited a united front. They have always embraced the notion of homeboy, which suggests working together, looking out for one another and advising one another on various issues about home and the mines (see Moodie & Ndatshe 1994; Ramphele 1993). The project of *izibaya* was no different as men from different towns and life trajectories agreed on communal kraals and a joint effort. Thus, a question concerning the politics of herdsmen and grazing in what could be contested pastures may be asked. This is discussed in the following section.

8.6. The politics of herding and grazing

Ownership of cattle in any area that is not privately owned always poses challenges, as grazing fields become an area of contestation. This is not the case on privately owned land because private farmers have full control of the pastures in which their herds graze. These politics that have often been consistent with communities have also been an issue for the Mpondo *amafama* in Rustenburg. Mpondo men in Rustenburg are workers and not permanent residents. They also considered themselves as such and often referred to themselves as visitors, which insinuate that they will one-day leave. More so, they were also referred to as such by other farming locals that were in contestation for the pastures that were largely occupied with Mpondo men's cattle. According to the respondents in this study, the issue of pastures had even been debated in courts. Locals and traditional authorities argued that migrants as non-locals were not supposed

to allow their cattle to graze in the Bafokeng fields. Furthermore, if they bought cattle, they should send them home. The Mpondo men threatened to withdraw their support of buying the cattle from the Bafokeng and argued the unfairness of being allowed to buy and then denied the opportunity to take care of their own cattle. Ultimately, the case was withdrawn from the courts and privately resolved; the *amafama* could continue with what they had been doing. The agreement was followed by a suggestion from the Bafokeng to collaborate on the farming to which these Eastern Cape farmers refused citing that the arrangement would mean they fell under the control of Bafokeng. This would render them powerless in relation to what happened to their cattle and ultimately, they would lose their autonomy. They argued that a joint venture would detract from their own values as to why they had started buying cattle in Rustenburg initially.

This study also revealed how these men deal with herdsmen. Owing to the fact that these men were mineworkers by day and farmers at night, they were asked about herdsmen when they were at work. The mineworkers shared that at the inception of *izibaya,* they had relied on Basotho men who had left Lesotho to look for jobs in South Africa as herdsmen. The phenomenon of Basotho men coming to South Africa for the job of herdsmen is an old phenomenon. Basotho have always crossed the Lesotho border into areas such as Mpondoland, Matatiel and Mount Fletcher to work as herdsmen. Thus, it was not unexpected that these men were trusted with the care of these cattle.

However, the relationship between the Eastern Cape farmers and Basotho herdsmen broke down. According to the participants, this was due to the fact that Basotho men became notorious for 'losing' herds and/or allegedly stealing herds of cattle. Some herdsmen were accused of selling herds back to some farmers and then disappearing. Thus, the Eastern Cape men had to look for alternatives. Consequently, the *amafama* began relying on any men from the Eastern Cape who were around the informal settlement and/or staying with a relative. They had come to look for a job in the mines and had yet to find one. These men became central to the *amafama.* Although not their first preference, it gave these men an opportunity to send some money home to their families. One participant gave a fascinating response when asked about herdsmen, which captures the essence of this section:

> *If there is a person around looking for a job in the mine taking into account that people bribe officials for jobs these days we invite people to become our temporary herdsmen in order to raise the required amount of money and also be able to send something home as they wait. We come together as men of one kraal and raise*

> *money to pay herdsmen. A herdsman could easily earn R5000 depending on the size of the kraal they work for. Depending on the size of the kraal, a kraal may have two herdsmen like ours where we pay them R4 000 each from our contributions. There is another man in fact who was looking for a job so that he executes something in his household I am just not sure I remember what it was, so one of the man from his village whom we work with here asked that we give him a chance as we were short of one more herdsmen. So he came here and worked for four months only and managed to see through his problem. The day he left he was so thankful; in fact, whilst he was still here he was still thankful. When he had started the job he did so mid-month and we paid him R3 000, that time his wife even called and thanked us saying we should make sure that her husband sees through the job and that R3 000 was a lot. For us we knew that was nothing as the following month it would be even more.* (Gangatha)

Sociologically, many questions and challenges of how Mpondo men and their continued reliance on migrant labour are thought of have been raised in this chapter. This possibly assists one, to a certain extent, in answering the primary research question. The question about classic sociological theories around migrant workers being men of two worlds and/or townsmen or tribesmen is also raised in this chapter. In the following section, two theories that assist one in thinking about this new phenomenon are explored.

8.6. Men of two worlds and/or townsmen or tribesmen?

Based on their well-oiled interaction with the city (workplace) and their rural homesteads as well as their ability to switch and reproduce certain behaviours as and when needed, mineworkers have often been referred to as men of two worlds (see Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). Mayer (1961) studied Xhosa migrants in East London, an Eastern Cape city. He studied how men from around the Eastern Cape Province adapted to the process of urbanisation. Hart and Sitas (2004) also studied urban rural connections and how this has shifted post-apartheid. Mayer noted that some of the rural men who became urban migrants struggled to acclimatise to the city such that they replicated and/or reproduced their rural lives in the city. This was evident in how people conducted certain rituals that were consistent with rural ways, observed certain hierarchies and retained certain moral standards that were also consistent with rural ways. The notion of men of two worlds and townsmen or tribesmen can help us think about the notion of migrant workers' lives. However, does it help one to understand the inception of *izibaya*? I am of the view that it does assist one to think of mineworkers as opposed to people from both sides and not just one. These assist us to understand why it is that migrant men do not act in solitude. One may ask why *amafama* do not farm and sell in Rustenburg, why they send cattle home and why they invest so much in herds. Understanding these frameworks affords an understanding of why Mpondo have these dual farming activities both at home and

near the workplace. This classical text also takes us forward in understanding reciprocity, which is tangled up in the meaning of *ina-ethe migration.* It helps us understand that mineworkers can exist in two different fields as agents where the rules of the game are altogether different. Yet, in these two fields, they can exercise their positions in allowing a system of migrant labour. In essence, migrant mineworkers have shown a co-existence of two historically competing modes of production. This co-existence amplifies a new regime and new laws that allow migrants, unlike in the past, to act free of constraining laws.

8.7. Conclusion

By examining the data that emerged from the in-depth interviews and informal conversations, why Mpondo men from Flagstaff and Lusikisiki continue to rely on migrant labour was explored in this chapter. Certain continuities and discontinuities that underscore continued reliance on migrant labour were discussed. In chapter 5, family trajectories were examined. Thus, households as spaces within which migrant labour is reproduced were investigated. Various institutions in the history of migrant labour in South Africa were investigated in chapter 6. In chapter 7, the direct questions of continued reliance on the migrant labour system from mineworkers themselves were investigated.

However, the fascinating notion of *izibaya,* which currently characterises a growing number of mineworker's lived experiences in Rustenburg, was explored. The reasons behind the formation of *izibaya* were explored. Furthermore, how *izibaya* contributes to the very genesis of Mpondo men having taken up migrant labour from the outset was examined. How migrant workers have redefined themselves as mineworkers by day and *amafama* by night was considered.

Many mineworkers from Mpondoland and elsewhere in the Eastern Cape clearly stated taking up migrant labour was about looking out for one's family. Consequently, how farming in Rustenburg assisted in this regard was explored in this chapter. The key issue presented in this chapter was that for the Mpondo men interviewed in this study, cattle were both long- and short-term investments. Cattle ownership can either give them interim or long-term benefits depending on what they prefer. Moreover, cattle continue to be important to Mpondo men for various reasons beyond economic meanings. For Mpondo men, cattle ownership continues to play a significant role in relation to how men construct their masculinities as well as their manhood. Cattle continue to play a central role in how these men are able to execute their roles

as traditional men, husbands, uncles, sons and even siblings when a cultural situation demands. Therefore, cattle remain important in the construction of masculinities for Mpondo men.

One may ask if this chapter has assisted one in thinking about the research question. If yes, it is because the chapter has provided one with an understanding of why some migrant workers took up migrant work. Furthermore, for many farmers these cattle have become a form of a direct and trusted investment, which they boast allows them full control of what they can achieve with their migrant worker status. Therefore, for the mineworkers, this end goal in the form of a trusted and tangible investment symbolises an end product of their labour power. The presence of a kraal with well-fed cows in a home is an important symbol of dignity and a complete household. Therefore, how one is viewed at community level contributes to the construction of their masculinity. This is consistent with the new form of migration, *ina-ethe migration* and rather inconsistent with the previous regimes of apartheid and colonialism where cheap migrant labour was the norm. In the previous regimes, migrant workers would have only been able to buy one cow per year or per contract depending on the length of their contract. Three months of work today allows them to acquire a cow or calves. In the following chapter, the study is summarised so as to make sense of the primary research question that sought to understand why Mpondo men continue to rely on mining migrant work.

Chapter 9: *Ina-ethe migration* as a reason for continued migrant labour: A synthesis of methods, meanings and implications.

9.1. Introduction

Compared to the past, there has been a significant improvement in wages. Migrant workers remit significant portions of their earnings and give instructions and advice on how monies ought to be spent in accordance with existing or planned family projects. This norm also reflects the actions of previous generations (see Moodie & Ndatshe 1994 on migrant cultures). At home, women engage in social reproductive labour, produce crops and keep livestock; phenomena that some have dubbed beneficial for capitalism. They keep the fires burning, dress the children and take care of the elderly. They allocate remitted monies to their different needs and participate in local social economies such as *imibutho* that proved to be invisible hands of women behind the 2014 platinum belt strike that changed the face of South African labour. They take immediate decisions on a myriad of things that affect the household. They engage in livelihood self-help societies in their communities as an economic strategy that legitimises their role in the migrant household in Mpondoland. They are managers of households. All of this reflects *ina-ethe*, a give and take relationship that suggests if their husbands take up migrant labour, they will stay to see to things. At an institutional level, many of the institutions that maintained a coercive migrant labour system have been abolished. Institutions that supported cheap labour have since the mid-1970s followed an improved path that allows negotiations and renegotiations for improved wages. South African labour laws are argued to be among the best in the world. They are the least exploitative and workers now have a voice and can freely organise themselves for any collective bargaining processes. Such a space reflects a give and take migrant worker working space, which Mashayamombe (2018) referred to as a sanitized space.

In this chapter, a holistic picture of the thesis is presented. In essence, how *ina-ethe migration* has been exemplified throughout the thesis. The contributions of this study to the literature, sociological theory, social policy and research methodology as well as implications for industry are highlighted.

9.2. Summary of findings and argument

Having introduced the concept of *ina-ethe migration*, the reasons for Mpondo men's continued reliance on mining migrant labour in the towns Flagstaff and Lusikisiki were examined. The genesis of the study can be found in the curious question of why men from these two areas continue to leave their homes and take up migrant labour in the mines even though the

authoritarian regimes of colonialism and apartheid that maintained the system no longer exist. In an attempt to understand this question, ethnographic evidence as well as in-depth interviews were conducted in Flagstaff, Lusikisiki and Rustenburg.

In essence, an attempt to understand Mpondo men's continued reliance on mining migrant labour should not only be approached from a structuralist point of view that threatens to overstate the influence of previous regimes. Rather, improved consideration for worker agency, culture and implicit household structure as seen by the dynamic nature of relations between husbands and their wives are revealed in this study. In order to have a nuanced and balanced understanding of this continuity, various aspects of migrant workers' life trajectories should be considered. These trajectories include community and family life as well as the economic state of the towns from which they come. Family refers to the day-to-day negotiations of livelihoods in mineworkers' families. Social and economic family dynamics are central motives for taking up migrant labour. The role of women in the migrant household in Mpondoland has evolved and therefore, transformed femininities. Migrant men and their wives are in collaboration in relation to contributions to the household. The contributions of women seen in the form of social reproductive labour that encompasses economic components challenges hegemonic masculinities and patriarchal power. This is more so in Mpondo communities where masculinities are linked to the ability to keep *umzi* afloat. Womens' economic activities have shifted them from the subordinate role in the household to the status of partner although with negotiated and contested power. Therefore, women are not just replacements for husbands after they take up migrant labour as Murray (1981) noted. The social reproductive role of women in the migrant household maintains migrant labour. Therefore, in light of the fact that the structural features that maintained the migrant labour from previous regimes were abolished, reconfigured masculinities and transforming femininities are at the centre of this continuity. This is evident when women contribute through *imibutho* that earns them economic leverage in the household. Furthermore, it is evident with their improved voices in decision-making that were previously reserved only for heads of households (men). Among other things, this is also evident with collaborating voices between husbands and wives regarding household matters before and during the course of migrant work.

In the thesis, it was revealed that family history plays an important role in one's taking up of migrant labour. Consequently, whether certain family members of mineworkers had worked in the mines previously to present the argument that some men take up migrant work because their previous generations had was examined. They were sure migrant labour would assist them

to make a valuable contribution to the household. This form of work is one that they have insights about and therefore, is within their habitus. Thus, migrant labour is a form of livelihood strategy they know will help them provide an important component in the construction of their own masculinities. Community life as an important space where livelihoods are obtained was also noted. My aim was to project that rural communities are not only communities where people live and as often assumed, spaces where small-scale agriculture or subsistence farming can be practised. Former LSAs are not spaces that cater for hegemonic masculinities as far as the question of providing is concerned in that they do not provide space for work in the capitalist sector for men as such. Therefore, the rural community's ways of life are mastered by women who have learned over time how to make use of local social and community-based economies. This has seen women reconstructing their femininities. Thus, they have asserted themselves as important role players in the household as providers too and therefore, challenged the traditional and hegemonic positioning of men. Accordingly, the reconfiguration of femininities and/or the expression of emphasised femininity in the household space directly or indirectly precipitate reliance on mining migrant labour. With the renewed positions of women in the household, men are often pressed to act on their traditional masculine position of provider.

The highlighted role of women through the concept of *imibutho* in this study denotes a shift from Wolpe's (1972) notion that the former LSAs were only sites of reproduction that served to supplement the capitalist economy. By engaging with the concept of *imibutho,* it was revealed that the LSAs are sites of production as well. This is seen by the interplay between migrant salaries and social grants and how they benefit the migrant household.

Furthermore, Flagstaff and Lusikisiki are spaces of economic activity. The towns in Mpondoland remain largely undeveloped, especially as possible mature sites of economic activity for men seeking to provide. Many of the available economic opportunities are in the retail sector, taxi industry and largely in the informal economy. Therefore, in line with Wolpe (1972), the underdevelopment of these former LSAs necessitates the continued reliance on migrant labour because of the lack of economic opportunities for men.

Owing to the gendered and mostly feminist direction of this study, unlike some schools of feminism that tend to view the role of homemakers as a subordination of women, women in Mpondoland (wives of mineworkers) showed appreciation of their roles in the migrant household in Mpondoland. The empirical evidence presented in chapter 5 revealed that they

embrace social reproductive work, which extends to other societal based economic activities. They argued their roles in the household as *ina-ethe* at play given that they are able to expand from remittances sent to them by migrants as well as invest social grant monies in social economies for the broader benefit of the household. Women in Mpondoland proudly pronounced pride in being able to "keep the fires burning" and bring up their own children. They viewed themselves as active managers of households. Some of them blatantly refused to form part of the formal economy but argued their roles at home were sufficient in the give and take relationship with their husbands.

These women have reconfigured and/or transformed their femininities and see their own roles as part of a broader contribution to the household. The findings revealed that the role of the women in Mpondoland goes beyond the regular assumption of what is generally meant by social reproductive work. Theirs extends to societal based economic activities. The concept of *imibutho* as an economic activity, which is an extension from Xulu's (2012) concept of *umholiswano,* was introduced. *Imibutho,* which may be described as a socio-economic collaborative effort by members of a community, mainly women for a sustainable livelihood, includes rotation of monies, saving of monies, loans and burial societies. These are noble economic activities by women and serve as important contributions to the household. In relation to the question of the continued reliance on migrant work, socio-economic activities may create pressure for an economically inactive man. In a household where a man does not work with a woman that engages in these activities using mostly social grant monies, a man may be pressurised to act on his masculinity as a head of household and seek migrant labour. In the context of Mpondoland that remains largely underdeveloped with minimal economic opportunities, it becomes practical for the Mpondo man to act on his habitus. In other words, the Mpondo man looks at his field where much is expected of him and acts on his habitus by taking up migrant labour based on the trajectory of other men who came before him. Mpondo men have and currently constitute a significant number of mineworkers in the platinum belt (see Forrest 2015). In the context where the man has already taken up migrant work in the mines, financial remittances play a significant role in contributing to *imibutho.*

Looking at both contexts, *ina-ethe migration* is prevalent in the life of the unemployed father figure in the household by virtue of being on the receiving end of his wife's efforts economically and thus, he sees the need to reciprocate. Therefore, the act of leaving home and taking up wage labour is an act of give and take. Light is shed on *ina-ethe migration* in the context where the man is already a migrant worker and therefore, sends financial remittances

home. In that context, the synergy of one party selling his labour for the benefit of household and the other seeing to the running of the household by including other socio-economic activities such as *imibutho* is evident in the give and take relationship, which is suggestive of a beneficial system of migrant labour.

In accordance with the cheap labour thesis, the findings revealed there has been a significant decline in agriculture in the Mpondoland region, which was partly a colonial and apartheid legacy. Furthermore, there is also a high reliance on social grant monies that are insufficient for sustaining households. Consequently, in a society that relies on purchased goods for subsistence, migrant labour remains a plausible action.

In a concerted bid to understand continued migrant labour by men from Mpondoland, it was imperative to examine the institutions and structures that had helped the migrant labour system thrive in the previous regimes. The most important institutions were the legislature and the MCSA (then Chamber of Mines) as custodians of the mines in a state that embraced capital. However, the colonial and apartheid laws that maintained the system have since been abolished. There are not any coercive laws in the current democratic dispensation that force men to leave their homes and work in the mines. Therefore, Mpondo men have agency and are fully responsible as agents for their own destinations within the fold of mining migrant labour. The MCSA remains the custodian of the mining companies and thus, continues to represent the interests of the employer. However, in relation to wages, from the early 1970s, the council had already started negotiating for substantial wage increments. The year 1974 was the major turning point in this respect even though this move was met with reservations by other mining conglomerates (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). In other words, as far as this institution is concerned, the wage regime trajectory had moved in the direction of better practices. Although the MCSA's interest remains capital, they are open to collective bargaining processes that have eventually led to improved working conditions and salaries. However, the process of centralised collective bargaining does not include the platinum sector as it has maintained its stance on decentralisation.

Furthermore, institutions such as TEBA that worked in collaboration with the state and the MCSA are still in existence albeit, under new names and diversified operations. Although TEBA still exists, it does on a smaller scale than previously. In some instances, TEBA has been replaced by its partner Ubank. Ubank, like TEBA, still plays a central role in the remitting of the finances of mineworkers. Moreover, it has other services such as providing policies and

loans. Although not on the same scale as previously, Ubank plays an important role in the recruitment of mineworkers.

Does the existence of an evolved MCSA, TEBA and Ubank help explain the continued reliance on migrant labour by Mpondo men? Perhaps not directly, however, when the history and the role of Chamber from its inception are examined, it affords an understanding of how migrant labour for Mpondo's men has become a habitus for men from that region. The existence of the Ubank structures in the towns of Flagstaff and Lusikisiki still appeals to the Mpondo's men who still perceive it as a recruitment institution rather than a commercial bank even though it operates under a new name. People in that region still refer to it as TEBA and mostly continue to view it as its former self. Because of the reality of high rates of unemployment in INHLM, Ubank has become a natural option for men in the area to consider enlisting for recruitment. Therefore, to a degree, the existence of the institution helps one understand this continuity. How does *ina-ethe migration* as a conceptual tool assist an understanding the shifts in the above institutions? Introducing collective bargaining across all worker related issues and setting up special structures within the MCSA is suggestive of a council that has transitioned from the past. It suggests a council that is willing to protect and remunerate its workforce. Ubank, on the other hand, which has modernised its operations to meet the interests of its constituency that historically was excluded by other banks because of bad debt and low wages, demonstrates *ina-ethe* practices.

Creating and maintaining a cheap wage labour regime was at the centre these institutions as well as the different mining companies they represented. Through cheap labour power and the migrant labour system, this was achieved for many decades. By employing the cheap labour thesis, how this was achieved was discussed in chapter 2. Furthermore, how cheap labour was sourced from the rest of the continent, in particular Southern Africa was explored in the literature survey. Although this was the case for many decades, the findings in this study have suggested a shift from a cheap wage labour regime to a decent wage regime. Over the years there has been a steady improvement in the salaries of mineworkers across sectors. Moreover, a six-month month strike that culminated in the Marikana massacre led to a salary increase of more than 100% for workers in the platinum belt. The concessions made in the platinum belt around wages have in some ways had an impact on how other commodities in the industry negotiate and pay their workers. Thus, across the mining sector, there has been a move towards an industry that remunerates workers for their labour power decently. Findings have revealed that the mining industry pays better than other sectors. How do these postulations assist in

answering the research question? Based on informal conversations and in-depth interviews with mineworkers in the platinum belt, there was an obvious preference of joining the mining industry as opposed to other sectors of the economy. These workers stated that *intsebenzo iyabonakala kumntu osemgodini* (the returns of working in the mine are easy to see as opposed to those of others in other sectors). Thus, one may assume that the material conditions of those involved in migrant labour seen by those yet to migrate are enough motivation for them to consider migrant labour. The findings revealed that amongst the mineworkers who took up migrant work specifically to Rustenburg did so because of the change of fortunes they saw others experience. Thus, there has been a move to *ina-ethe migration* as seen with the reciprocal relationship between the industry and the workers. Although there are on-going negotiations on how this decent wage regime can be improved, workers feel rewarded for their labour.

The one challenge of salaries in the mining industries is better explained by employing *ina-ethe migration.* This type of migration is characterised by configurations and reconfigurations, and continuities and discontinuities. The challenge of workers paid by sub-contractors may be used to explain this. Sub-contractors who pay one-third of what mineworkers employed by mining companies earn in the platinum belt is a significant threat to the improvements in salaries in the mining industry. This inequality in pay creates a segmented labour force. Although these salaries are still better than those of people in other sectors, the presence of sub-contractors mirrors certain continuities from the past. This is not only because of the salaries, but also due to the fact that working for a sub-contractor places workers in a vulnerable position because they are not represented in other areas of their work. These may include collective bargaining processes and issues around representation in cases of injury on duty. *Ina-ethe migration* explains, therefore, although significant improvements in the mining industry have been made, these are still met with resistance that echoes the past.

Among the very important structures and institutions of ensuring a prolific migrant labour system was the establishment of compounds (see Moodie &Ndatshe 1994). In accordance with Bezuidenhout and Buhlungu (2015), the findings revealed that these compound structures are still part of the mining industry. However, the mining industry has moved significantly from the early establishments that mirrored concentration camps as described in Moodie and Ndatshe (1994). Rather, the mining industry has moved to residences that are consistent with the basic requirements as noted in the mining chapter (see Mashayamombe 2018). These establishments capture what *ina-ethe migration* suggests is the dignifying and protection of the

migrant. Moreover, nutritional food, which migrant workers in the compounds appreciate, suggests the reciprocity captured in the conceptualisation of *ina-ethe migration.* Because of the hard labour process that underscores the mining process, migrants are then taken care of in the compounds with good nutrition to replenish their energies. However, the greatest threats to discontinuities lie in the ever-sprouting informal settlements around mining areas. Furthermore, it is in the concerted effort to depopulate compounds. There are not enough decent alternative living arrangements for migrants and therefore, squalor conditions of informal settlements remind one of the past.

Rustenburg as a LRA is characterised by phenomena from the past LSAs. However, these continuities in the LSAs have more to do with the underdeveloped nature of the area. One of the most significant arguments in the cheap labour power thesis (Wolpe 1972) is that which suggested that to ensure a prolific labour supply, LSAs needed to remain unchanged. Flagstaff and Lusikisiki offer very little economic opportunities for the population in the area. The economic opportunities in these towns are not financially enticing or rewarding. At the most basic level, the cheap labour power thesis affords an understanding of the continued reliance on the migrant labour system by Mpondo men. Some of the workers have known no other form of work that would enable them to build *umzi* and take care of their families. In line with Moodie and Ndatshe (1992), the ability to do something noble for the family is an important sense of one's construction of identity and masculinity. The knowledge and assumption of this type of work suggests habitus; many of the participants in the study attributed their job to a relative who had either been at the mines previously or still worked there.

The homes of mineworkers have changed significantly in the LSAs, especially post -Marikana. The houses of mineworkers have changed drastically, and resemble those of middle class employees in the villages. The external structure and material goods such as modern furniture and other household appliances suggest a significant shift from the mineworker's household (Moodie & Ndatshe 1994). An increasing number of mineworkers in Rustenburg are buying vehicles and their homes, especially those of the younger mineworkers, are built strategically along the national R61 route. Thus, there is a class shift amongst mineworkers from Rustenburg. This class of mineworkers may be conceptualised as a class in transit based on the fact that by virtue of their backgrounds they come from working backgrounds and have worked themselves to some level out of the definitive concept of the working class. They own important assets and have access to certain spaces that are consistent with a middle-class lifestyle. However, their family trajectories where often they are also sole breadwinners place

them in a precarious position that cannot be fixed. Because of the fluidity of their status, I have referred to them as a class in transit. The mere fluidity of their class position and the fact that their classification may be a point of contention suggests a beneficial migrant labour migration. The emergence of *ina-ethe migration* as a result of a transforming mining industry in certain respects explains Mpondo men's reliance on migrant labour.

In the construction of new identities and negotiated class positions, mineworkers in the platinum belt have also emerged as *amafama* (farmers) having erected *izibaya* (kraals) all around their residential areas. Mpondo men are part of this and of course, farming cattle to them is no new phenomenon, although in the context of farming in an LRA. These men have redefined cattle farming to suit their current habitus. Mineworkers have moved away from farming cattle in the LSAs only. Cattle farming in Mpondoland was previously an important component of subsistence agriculture. In that respect, it was a key factor in achieving a cheap migrant labour regime (Beinart 1979; Wolpe 1972). However, this has shifted significantly. Mineworkers have shifted the fields and therefore, rules of engagement. Instead of operating from one end in the LSAs, they also do so in the LRA so as to gain control of their most valuable assets, which they see as an investment for emergent financial situations and a form of retirement package. At home, they run a parallel project, which serves minimally in subsistence agriculture as it currently is conducted at smaller scales. The phenomenon of farming cattle around the workplace can also be better explained through the concept of social reproduction. These practices are not only employed for the economic benefit of the cattle but also an important aspect of people keeping to their rural identities. Therefore, with lengthier periods spent at the mines than it was for early migrants, these migrants reproduce their backyard at the back of the mine hostels. With a twofold end to cattle farming, which is economic and social, the ultimate destination for cattle is the LSA. Therefore, the act of *ukuthoba,* sending cattle home is an important aspect in the construction of masculinities. Ownership of cattle and/or the presence of a kraal are an important form of symbolic capital in Mpondoland. In order for a man to be considered dignified and a man amongst others, the size of his kraal is an important component. *Ina-ethe migration,* therefore, assists an enhanced explanation of what in some ways can be seen as the ultimate goal in the migrating process. For having sold their labour, in return, migrants are able to send home their most prised possession in the form of beasts. These are important for the shaping of their masculinities at a symbolic level. Moreover, when a need arises, migrants are able to extract financial value from their cattle through sales. These sales allow them to be able to live up to the notion of a

household head and/or father figure, which is very close to their constructions of self as providers. Finally, the notion of being able to move possessions and/or assets freely between home and the workplace symbolically suggests a give and take situation that is *ina-ethe migration*.

9.3. Implications of the study

9.3.1 Labour studies

It was noted in the rationale of this study that a unique method, which would involve understanding mineworkers from two facets, would be employed. Mineworkers have generally been investigated from the trajectory of the workplace. The important component of the family, which is often at the centre of one taking up migrant work, is often negated. Therefore, this study contributes to labour studies by further shedding light on the household as an important space from within which one can better understand labour. With the exception of Moodie and Ndatshe (1994), no studies have explored Mpondo men as migrants to the mines, particularly those of Flagstaff and Lusikisiki as important LSAs. Therefore, this study makes an important contribution to literature in that it offers contemporary notions of the mine migrant worker in a post-apartheid era. It is of importance that the narratives in this study explain what informs contemporary Mpondo men to continue relying on migrant labour. In line with Benya (2015, 2016), this study also shows the centrality of women to mine work. However, this study stresses the importance of understanding the women in the LSAs to make sense of some of the complexities in the LRAs.

9.3.2. Contribution to methodology

The logic of the extended case method was employed to answer the research question that was primarily concerned with the continued reliance on migrant labour. Instead of adopting the normative, which is sourcing information only from participants, I opted for a unique approach. I studied migrant workers from both sides of their life trajectories, at home in their villages and through others. I employed multiple methods that included ethnography, which meant immersing myself in the day-to-day activities in the villages and families from where migrant workers come. I observed and conducted in-depth interviews with the closest people in the mineworkers' lives, namely, their wives. Therefore, I extended the approach by literally following the mineworkers into their residential spaces and areas of work in Rustenburg. There I also immersed myself into their realities and therefore, supplemented this ethnography with observations and in-depth interviews. This unique methodological approach allowed me to compare the data from the LSAs to that of the LRAs in order to study consistencies in the data.

This allowed for rich and balanced data on Mpondo men's continued reliance on migrant labour.

9.3.3 Conceptual and theoretical contributions

In an attempt to explain a complex phenomenon, I employed multiple theories that may otherwise read as unconnected. This study showed how different sociological theories could be employed to explore complex social phenomena that may solicit different interpretations. *Ina-ethe migration* theory was introduced. It may be linked to existing theories to explain continued reliance on migrant labour. *Ina-ethe migration* not only assisted an interpretation of Mpondo men's continued reliance on migrant labour, but also assisted an understanding of other complex phenomena, in particular those related to continuity and discontinuities. This is a further contribution to broader migration studies. Conceptually, this study also contributes to the concept of *imibutho* to describe certain socio-economic activities by women in Mpondoland that inadvertently contributes indirectly to migrant labour. Therefore, this concept places us within the dispositions of women in Mpondoland and may help one understand the roles of women in different contexts of livelihood and migration studies. The notion of *izibaya* assists an understanding of how migrant men construct new identities around the mines and importantly, how they keep their rural identities. Lastly, the thesis also introduces the notion of a class in transit to describe the new migrant worker who is a beneficiary to the new *ina-ethe* type of migrant labour system. This concept can also be employed to describe workers that are characterised by a fluid class position owing to their improving quality of life marked by a peasant history.

9.4. Implications for industry

As noted previously, labour studies scholars have suggested that migrant labour is declining significantly. Some in the industry, as I have come to learn in conferences and meetings, support this notion. Although the findings in this study cannot be generalised, they suggest the contrary. Based on observations, it appears that migrant mineworkers from the Eastern Cape constitute a significant majority in Rustenburg. Moreover, even in the informal settlements in areas like Nkaneng and Sondela, the majority of people in what I have called labour waiting areas come from the Eastern Cape Province and outnumber locals by far. Furthermore, discourse in the LSAs amongst young men continues to define the place of work as the mines. Therefore, this suggests the likelihood of more Mpondo men taking up jobs in the platinum belt and/or mines in general. Therefore, the industry should desist from making amends or suggestions of amends for life after migrant work as there are no significant signs in the

purported talks. The findings have revealed that the *ina-ethe migrant* labour system that underscores post Marikana especially in the platinum belt has ensured migrant labour is an option even for younger men in the LSAs.

Coupled with the above issue of people migrating into the mining towns, there has been a growing demand for accommodation from mining companies especially with the depopulation of compounds alluded to previously (see Bezuidenhout & Buhlungu 2015). If the industry wants to comply with government expectations as proposed in the mining charter, it ought to continue building houses that comply with regulations. However, what should the arrangements of housing be in light of the fact that most men in the platinum belt do not envisage their future in Rustenburg beyond retirement age? Perhaps the industry should consider lease agreements with mineworkers as mineworkers, especially as those from the Eastern Cape refuse to pay 20-year mortgages and thereafter retire to the Eastern Cape. They argue it is a senseless exercise. This concern concurs with Mashayamombe (2018) who also raised concerns about the building of houses owned by migrant mineworkers. He questioned whether it was logical to do so in light of depleting mineral resources. The mines have also raised concerns of this sought-after investment in light of the fact that migrants do not envisage their future beyond pension in mining towns.

As the mining industry has largely moved in the trajectory of best practices as supported by the findings in this study, one significant challenge remains: The continued presence of sub-contractors. As noted previously, those employed by them earn up to 100% less than those employed by mining companies. Thus, it is imperative for the industry to pay special attention to the creation of a segmented labour force. In light of what *ina-ethe migration* suggests, unequal pay between the two groups may be the greatest threat and most significant inconsistency.

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YUNIBESITHI YA PRETORIA

Informed consent form

Title of research project: **The emergence of *Ina-the migration*: Mpondo men and continued migrant labour post-apartheid**

I …… hereby voluntarily grant my permission for participation in the project as explained to me by Sandla Nomvete

The nature, objective, and possible safety implications have been explained to me and I understand them.

I understand my right to choose whether to participate in the project and that the information furnished will be handled confidentially and that I shall remain anonymous.

I am aware that the results of the investigation may be used for the purposes of publication.

I am also aware that an audio recorder may be used for capturing the interview and that I reserve the right to withdraw from the study as and when I feel and deem necessary

Upon signing of this consent form, I will be provided with a copy.

I understand that information obtained as a result of my participation in the study may be used to advance further research

I understand that this research will be stored in the University of Pretoria, Department of Sociology for a minimum for 15 years and that it may also be used for further research.

Signed: _____ Date: _____

Researcher: _____ Date: _____

Researcher Contact Details

Sandla Nomvete Email address: songezo.nomvete@yahoo.com **Cell: 071 551 6359**

Appendix 2

Interview schedule for Mineworkers

Demographics

1. Name of town and village _____
2. Age _____
3. Number of children and dependents _____
4. Marital status_____
5. Number of years Married _____

Work and Family History

1. To your Knowledge has any one in your family and extended family ever worked in the mining industry?
2. Could you please elaborate on what informed your decision to migrate to Rustenburg? (probe)
3. Why did you migrate to Rustenburg in particular?
4. Did you work anywhere before working in the mine you are working in? If yes, why did you leave the other job or work place?
5. Were you married before you migrated to the mines?

Migrant labour and the social

1. Where do you live here in Rustenburg?
2. What type of living arrangement is it? Is it a sharing hostel, single sex hostel, family unit or you rent outside of the mining facility? (Probe)
3. Are you content with your living arrangements where you live?

4. Given an opportunity to live with your where you work in a family unit, would you consider that opportunity? (Probe)
5. How would you describe the working conditions in this mine?
6. Is this line of work something that you would recommend for you own kids?

Appendix 3

Interview schedule for Mineworkers' wives

Demographics

Name of town and village _____

Age _____

Number of children and dependents _____

Number of years married _____

Family History

To your knowledge has any one in your husband's family or your own family worked in the mining industry?

Were you married to your husband before he migrated to Rustenburg?

To your knowledge why did he migrate and do you support this decision to migrate?

Where did you leave before settling in this area?

Were you married to your husband before he migrated to the mines?

Where did he work before this?

Household Economy

Do you work? Yes or No

If yes, where do you work and what type or work do you do?

If no, why don't you work?

How do you supplement the income that you receive through your husband? (Member of cooperatives, work as a domestic worker, street vendor or spaza shop?)

Do any of your children receive social grants and to what extent can you say it is beneficial to the household economy?

In what form does your husband remit? Is it monetary or in form of items?

When your husband sends you money in what form does he do it (Money market, banks through friends, Ubank etc.)?

Is what your husband remits on a monthly basis sufficient to sustain the family?

What happens when you have run out of resources mid-month?

Migrant labour and the social

How often do you visit your husband at his workplace?

What are the living arrangements where your husband lives?

Given an opportunity to live with your husband where he works in a family unit, would you consider that opportunity? Yes or no? Why?