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MIGRANT LABOUR IN HARARE HOSTELS, SALISBURY

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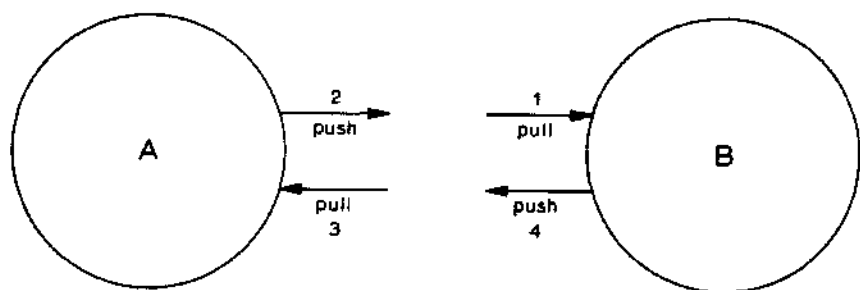
CIRCULATORY MIGRATION IS a phenomenon which has held a fascination for sociologists in many parts of the world, but perhaps nowhere has the pre-occupation persisted for as long as in Africa south of the Sahara (Elkan, 1961, p.299). For, while the general tendency elsewhere is for circulatory migration to be reduced to a one-way flow of migration from country to town, in Southern Africa the circular flow of migrants has to a large extent remained and there has therefore not been the abrupt social change which often accompanies the rapid urbanization resulting from influx from the countryside. By a conscious promotion of circulatory migration, the pace of urbanization is kept within limits and population concentration is prevented from overburdening a still developing economy.

This paper discusses some of the forces comprising circulatory migration, which may cause popular movements to and from an urban context, and relates these movements to social change. The data we shall draw upon refer to African migrant labourers from rural Rhodesia engaged in wage employment in Salisbury in 1973.

Before reviewing the data, a brief outline of the manner in which circulatory migration works may provide a useful framework for analysis. If circulatory migration is described in terms of a mechanistic model, often referred to as the 'push-pull' model, four forces are at work in producing the mobility involved in circulatory migration. The scheme shown in Figure 1 describes two contexts (A represents a rural area and B an urban centre) and the disposition of forces (numbered 1-4) which can be described as follows.

The first force constitutes a 'pull' expressed as an attractive force toward Context B, which inclines the potential migrant to move from the original Context A to Context B. The second force consists of a 'push' inducing the potential migrant to leave his present Context A because it cannot satisfy his requirements adequately. The first and second forces are complementary, in that their cumulated forces may be considered an effective incentive to move the migrant from Context A to B. However, in the case of circulatory migration the process does not terminate at Context B. At some time the constellation of forces is reversed. Context B now exerts pressure to migrate (Force 4) and Context A provides sufficient attraction (Force 3) to induce the migrant to return to his place of origin. This reversal of forces only takes place in cases of circulatory migration and is therefore its chief characteristic.

Figure 1



The tendency for migration to flow from the rural to the urban context has become so widespread, that the 'counterstream' flow from urban to rural areas has largely been neglected in migration studies. Under normal circumstances the Forces 3 and 4 would relax in time and the migration flow back to the rural area would slowly peter out. In contrast to observations made elsewhere, as Wilson (1972, p.158) points out, the circulation of migration in Southern Africa has been artificially perpetuated by boosting these forces.

Although the model in Figure 1 places primary emphasis on the contextual situation confronting the potential migrant, it is the migrant himself who determines whether, and at what point in time, force constellations are relevant to him and will influence his movements between contexts. The motivational analysis has often been championed by students of migration, but only the study of both actor and contextual situation provide an adequate basis for the explanation of migration (Garbett, 1975).

Migration is by definition a movement from a context, affording low access to high positions on various status dimensions for the individual, to another context affording higher access to such positions (Hoffmann-Nowotny, 1970). One universal type of context with multiple access to relative betterment of position on many status dimensions is the urban centre. The concentration of industry and commerce in most types of urban centres has provided a corresponding concentration of opportunities for status improvement.

If the occupation of a relatively high status position in one context provides a passport to the achievement of another highly desirable status designation in another context, social mobility accompanies geographical mobility. This is particularly evident when migrants shift between contexts with disparate value systems. Assuming that a migrant will seek to achieve high status designations throughout his life, the search for membership in either the rural or urban society may be age-dependent. Thus we may observe the young rural migrant exchanging education and work potential status for

a higher economic status in town, the assets of which can later be converted into a secure social position in the rural area after retirement from town.

If we trace the mobility of the typical migrant against the constellation of forces outlined above, the migrant feels the relevance of Forces 1 and 2 to move toward town at the beginning of his career and the relevance of Forces 3 and 4 to move back to the rural area at the end of his working career. The continuous flow of migrants provides a constant influx of labour to the urban area. The geographical movement of people from the rural and the urban context is accompanied by social mobility involved in exchanging rural and urban status designations.

It would be presumptuous to expect this vast mobility to leave no traces of change on society both in the urban and rural contexts and especially on the individuals imminently involved in the movement. The results of a survey conducted among a population of migrant labourers in Rhodesia (Moller, 1973) provide us with the opportunity to enquire into this question in more detail. The research focused on males living in single status in hostels which cater for migrants. It is felt that this particular urban group may provide a testing ground for answering the following questions related to social change:

- i) Do migrant labourers in hostel accommodation differ from residents living in African accommodation as far as socio-demographic background is concerned?
- ii) What types of mechanisms are active in maintaining the relevance of the push-pull forces which keep the migrant in town during his active life span?
- iii) Are there any indications of attitude or behavioural change taking place as a result of circulatory migration?

By studying hostel dwellers in Harare African Township, Salisbury, it was assumed that we were contacting the most marginal temporary residents in town. Single accommodation for a foreign labour force is always economically advantageous for the context that receives the migrants, because infrastructure and amenities need only be supplied for the active working population. The turnover in the Harare Hostels is reputedly very high and accommodation of this type is likely to be viewed as a short-term solution to urban accommodation. Apart from the manner in which they are accommodated, there was not a *a priori* expectation that hostel dwellers need represent a homogeneous group in other respects. Our findings do, however, point in this direction in many instances.

Harare, the oldest African Township in Salisbury, was established in 1907 and is administered by the African Administration Department of the Municipality. It is situated not far to the south of the city centre near the industrial area. Besides catering for 36 500 Africans living with their families

it provides the only large-scale 'bachelor' accommodation for single men and for married men whose families are residing in the African rural areas, the Tribal Trust Lands. Approximately 24 000 men are housed in five hostel complexes containing a number of different sized barrack-type buildings of several storeys. These buildings, 51 in number, have different accommodation capacities, ranging from 350 to 1 000 men in rooms each of which contains five beds.

A two per cent systematic sample of 478 was drawn from the entire hostel population, by including the formal occupant of every fiftieth bed. A questionnaire-type schedule was administered to the men included in the sample during the first part of 1973. Full response was received from 392, 82 per cent of the original sample.

A preliminary finding, connected directly to our sampling procedure, showed that the hostel accommodation provided is under-utilized. Cases of absenteeism accounted for 13 per cent of the original sample. This was due partially to the continual turnover which caused time lapses between the departure and arrival of men entitled to occupancy of a designated bed. Seasonal labour demands may also account for some vacancies. Some formal occupants were reported to have obtained lodging elsewhere in one of the Salisbury townships or to have returned to their homes in the rural area for an indefinite period. In some instances whole rooms were locked during the entire survey period or the target bed had been removed from the room altogether. This absenteeism was therefore interpreted as an indication of the high mobility rate of migrant labour.

Socio-Demographic background The ages of migrants accommodated in hostels vary between late teens and early forties. Table I gives the proportional distribution of hostel dwellers by age group. The lower age limit represents the starting age for a migrant (cf. Garbett, 1960, p.16; Bourdillon, 1977); the upper limit represents the age where return to the rural area is contemplated. The preponderance of men in their twenties suggests that hostels offer the first urban accommodation to migrants in town.

Table I
AGE DISTRIBUTION OF HOSTEL DWELLERS

<i>Age in Years</i>	<i>N</i>	<i>%</i>
15 - 19	34	8.7
20 - 29	202	51.8
30 - 39	103	26.4
40 - 49	32	8.2
50 +	19	4.9
	390	100.00
unknown	2	

Hostel dwellers are almost all newcomers to town, as indicated by the fact that 96 per cent are first generation urban. Most of the hostel dwellers find employment in unskilled or semi-skilled positions in industry or commerce. Their median income in 1973 was Rh\$32 and only 2 per cent earn more than Rh\$54 a month. The median income places hostel dwellers on a par with the average household head who is the wage earner in the least affluent Salisbury township (Rhodesia, 1970).

Although the educational standard is not by any means high, it compares favourably with that of males in Highfield African Township as recorded by Stopforth (1971, pp.25-6). Under 10 per cent have had no schooling and just over 11 per cent have had 8 years of schooling or more. The majority have completed or reached the last years in primary school. These findings suggest that lack of urban experience and contacts in town rather than lack of formal education account for the hostel dwellers' low occupational status in town. By urban standards these migrants occupy a marginal position in the urban employment sector. Nevertheless these rural Africans may be exchanging their relatively high educational status (measured by rural standards) for what by rural standards is a higher occupational status in town.

Fifty-seven per cent of the hostel dwellers are married and most of them have their families in the Tribal Trust Lands. Half the married respondents have been married over five years, and expressed as an average a married respondent has three children. Sixty-five per cent of the married respondents are married traditionally without official registration, which means they may encounter difficulty in applying for legal family accommodation in a township house if desired. Although the chief role of maintaining links between the migrants in town and their families in the rural areas is assumed by the migrants themselves, 67 per cent of the wives of married hostel dwellers visit their husbands in town occasionally.

The survey findings indicate that migrants come straight to the larger centre, Salisbury, from various rural areas situated in the eastern half of Rhodesia. They do not engage in 'step-migration' by stopping at smaller centres on their way to larger ones, as is often the case in rural-urban migration (McGee, 1971, p.56). Recruitment areas are those Tribal Trust Lands closest to Salisbury, districts along the main communication lines and districts situated in the eastern half of Rhodesia (that is, to the east of the loosely defined language-cultural boundary between the Shona and the Ndebele, as shown in Figure 2); only 8 per cent of the sample respondents come from outside Rhodesia, from Malawi and Moçambique.

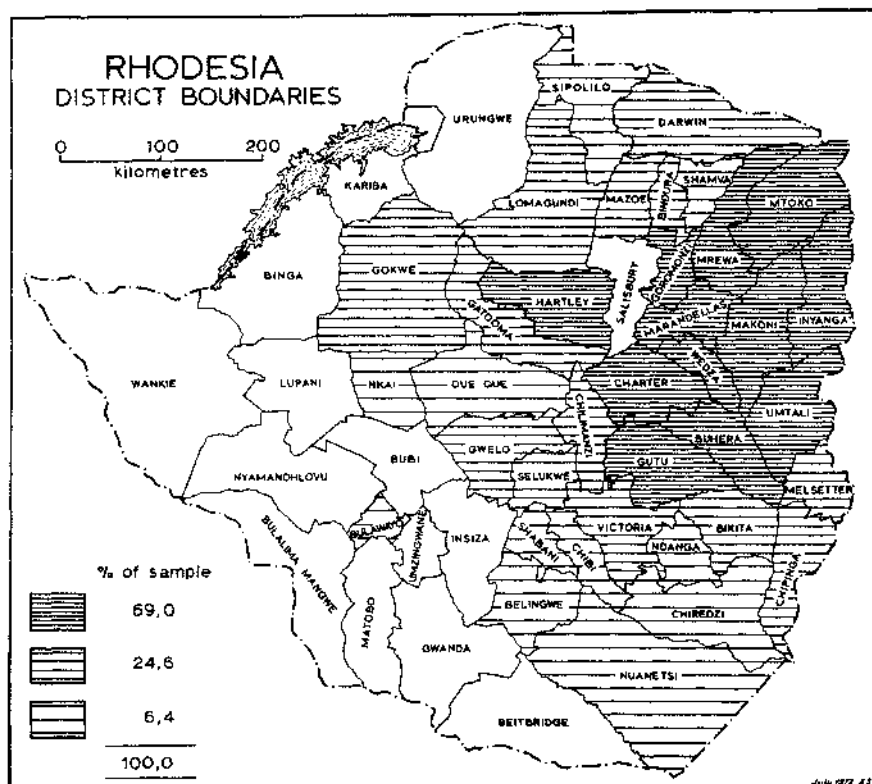
The urban experience of hostel dwellers varies greatly according to the age of respondents and 50 per cent have under seven years experience. By computing a stabilization index relating urban experience to the age of respondents (Mitchell, 1956, p.705), it is seen that hostel dwellers in all age groups have spent over half their adult life in town. Age groups above 45

years show a tendency to have spent proportionally less time in town. It is therefore concluded that the older migrants who have not returned to the rural areas at the age of 45, started their migration career relatively late in life and are compensating for their previous lack of urban experience by remaining in town when they are older. Some older respondents with high stabilization indices (that is, having spent the greater part of their adult lives in town) might, however, be regarded as potential permanent urban residents, circumstances of employment and accommodation permitting.

Hostel dwellers have as a whole spent half their time in hostels. Seventy-one per cent of the respondents have spent less than five years in hostels; just under 10 per cent have lived in hostels over 10 years, and a small minority have even been there up to 24 years. This maximum period roughly coincides with the original provision of hostel accommodation.

A high turnover of jobs held in town is recorded. It can be estimated that one in four jobs held by hostel dwellers in town are changed each year.

Figure 2



Change of employment does not seem to be a voluntary move on the part of hostel dwellers, judged by the frequent references to 'having lost one's job'. Change of employment does not therefore necessarily imply social mobility indicated by a rise in occupational status or wages. The employment pattern shows a marked influence on the migration pattern. Change or loss of employment is taken as an opportunity to return to the rural home, but this home visit may not be altogether voluntary since accommodation in town is often forfeited with unemployment.

Contrary to widespread belief that this type of home visit tends to interrupt the migration cycle of a single migrant and split it into numerous sub-cycles, the incidence and length of rest periods in the rural areas during a migrant career do not appear extremely high in our sample. We estimate that, of those who have changed jobs during their migrant career, 67 per cent had been home for a visit once in two and a half years or even less, after loss of employment. The incidence of termination of the migrant career cannot be estimated due to the design of the survey. However, during the whole of their working careers in town, under 20 per cent of the hostel dwellers have spent more than a year at a time away from town. These results point to the conclusion that urban wage employment is a more closed phase in the migrant career than formerly anticipated.

Communication and visiting patterns Communication patterns of hostel dwellers provide some new insight into possible mechanisms operating to maintain stabilization of migrants during their productive life span (effective influence of Forces 1 and 2 in the model in Fig. 1) and at the same time prepare for the effective reversal of forces moving away from town to the rural areas after the urban wage employment phase (Forces 3 and 4 in the model in Fig. 1).

One established form of communication between migrants and their families in the rural areas is through remittances sent back regularly. Eighty-eight per cent of the hostel dwellers send home remittances and 69 per cent do so monthly or more regularly. The monthly remittance is most popular and the majority of remittances sent home at any one time vary between Rh\$1 and Rh\$15, the median value being Rh\$8. From a rough calculation based on sample medians, it is estimated that possibly one quarter of the hostel dwellers salary is remitted per month. This estimate is substantiated by Bourdillon's report (1977) from the rural pole of the migration cycle.

Contact with the rural area is not maintained by receiving rural visitors other than wives. Only 44 per cent of hostel dwellers reported visitors from rural areas and for all hostel dwellers an average of two visitors per year was estimated. The fact that hostel dwellers can offer no accommodation to visitors and assume the chief visiting role themselves may account for this finding.

Travelling or home-visiting is presumed to be one of the chief mechanisms operating to achieve urban stabilization while providing rural connections,

which ensure future access to the rural social structure on retirement. Almost 90 per cent of the sample had visited the rural areas during the year previous to the survey. Two numerically equal groups can be distinguished among travellers: occasional visitors and regular visitors. The category 'occasional visitors' refers to travellers whose visits to the rural area do not fit any preconceived frequency pattern and occur when migrants are given several days free from their work, such as during leave or public holidays. 'Regular visitors', on the other hand, travel to the rural areas on regular days off, at weekly, fortnightly or monthly intervals.

The findings indicate that the chief reasons for all travelling are family visits, followed by leave, or holiday visits which, of course, can also be the occasion for family visits. Thus, travelling can primarily be considered as a means of communication between the head of the family residing in the urban area and the other family members in the rural areas. All regular visitors included public holidays and leave visits in their visiting patterns. Apart from visiting on public holidays and during their annual leave in the manner of occasional visitors, regular visitors utilize whatever time they have off from work for travelling. A longer, monthly, interval between visits was, however, more popular than the shorter, weekly, interval. The typical occasional visit lasted most frequently three or four days, less often two or three weeks. Only a small percentage exceeded a period of three weeks. Regular visits nearly always lasted one or two days.

Almost all travelling was undertaken by public transport, mainly by bus. The long-distance bus network caters almost exclusively for the African population and extends to nearly all parts of Rhodesia. A somewhat smaller proportion of travel was done by a combination of train and bus or train alone when visiting occasionally. There are significant variations between occasional and regular visiting in respect of distance and cost. Expressed in terms of the journey from Salisbury to the destination (i.e. not the round-trip), median cost per occasional visit is Rh\$1,20 against Rh\$0,70 for a regular visit. The median distance covered on an occasional trip is 126 miles against 85 miles on a regular trip. Few occasional visits exceed a distance of 300 miles, which would take a migrant to most places within the Rhodesian border. A single fare of more than Rh\$3,00 was seldom paid; and a distance of 20 miles costing c.Rh\$2,00 was rarely exceeded on regular trips.

An analysis of destinations showed that almost all visits are to Tribal Trust Lands and only a very small percentage toward African Purchase Land and other areas in Rhodesia. Less than one per cent of all visits in the year previous to the survey were to foreign countries. These destinations nearly always represented the respondents' own homes. Foreigners married to Rhodesian wives visit their wives' homes on rare occasional visits (2,7 per cent of visits in the previous year). Trip distance is therefore a direct consequence of the distance of the respondent's home district from Salisbury.

Table II

TRAVELLING STATISTICS FOR ONE YEAR

<i>Per Year</i>	<i>Occasional Visits</i>	<i>Regular Visits</i>	<i>All Visits</i>
Total Number of Visits	2,8	18,0	11,7
Total Visiting Time (Days)	26,3	34,4	41,5
Total Mileage	378,6	1436,6	1031
Total Cost Rh\$ (Salisbury to Destination)	3,70	13,70	10,40

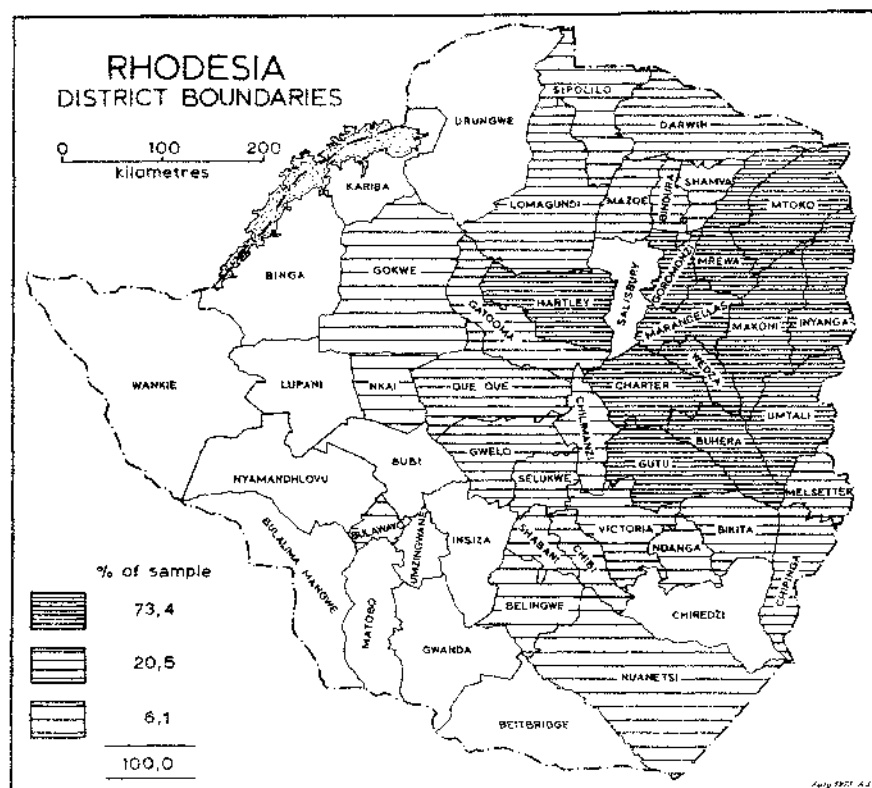
Table II gives an overview of the statistics of patterns of travelling for one year. Differences in the patterns of regular and occasional visiting emerge even in the yearly totals. From these yearly totals we infer that the average travelling hostel dweller makes c.12 trips to the same destination, which coincides with his district of origin in the rural area. He is out of town for just under 1,5 months, covers 2 060 miles in this period and spends Rh\$20,80 on travel fares. Approximately Rh\$1,70 or 5,3 per cent of the mean income, is spent by visiting hostel dwellers on long-distance travel per month. The long distance travel expenditure of hostel dwellers who assume the chief travel role in the family, is similar to the travel expenditure of a whole family of similar income in a Salisbury township (Rhodesia, 1970).

An important finding of the survey is that whereas all rural relatives, even those in the remotest districts, have occasional contacts of at least one yearly visit with their migratory kin, only the families living in districts situated within 125 miles from Salisbury receive regular visits from their men in town (cp. Figs 3 and 4). There is a tendency for the frequency with which a district is visited to decrease with distance; and this is emphasized by the finding that occasional visits to foreign countries occur at even less than once a year. The additional time and cost involved in travelling longer distances is offered by way of explaining varying visiting frequencies.

The findings above support the notion that at least one home visit a year ensures the continuation of the migrant career. Home-visiting does not seriously threaten termination of a migrant career before the migrant has reached the end of his normal working life span. Similarly, the incidence of prolongation of occasional trips beyond the preconceived visiting period is only 0,8 per cent. This indicates that the push-pull force constellation, bringing migrants back to town after rural visits, operates effectively.

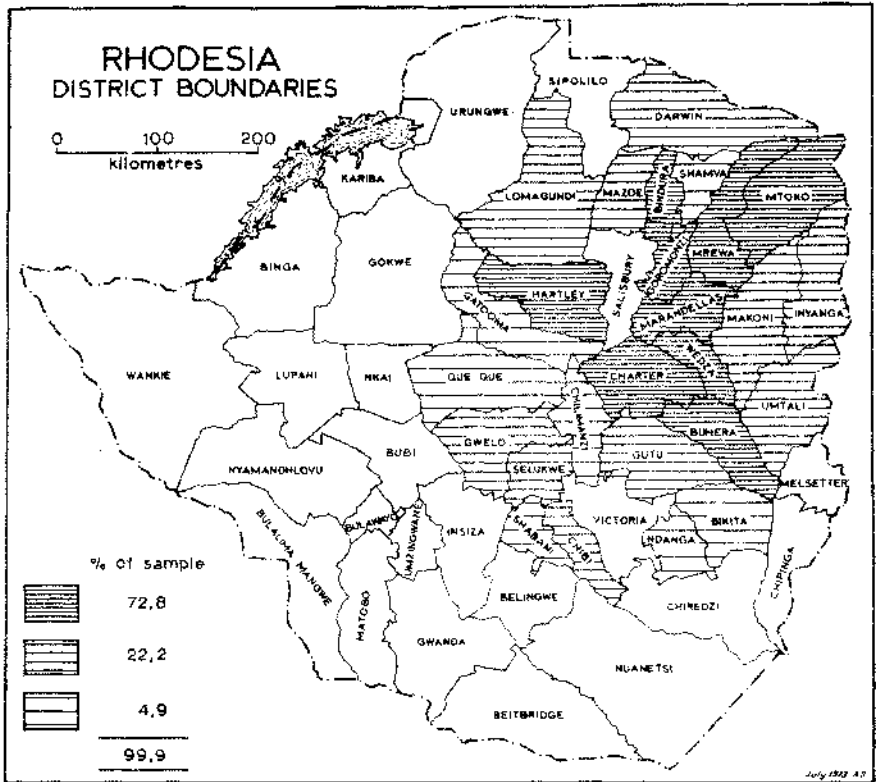
It is suggested that the home-visiting pattern described above is a characteristic mechanism sustaining the migration cycle during the productive life of the migrant (cp. Mitchell, 1973). It allows for the benefit derived from a higher economic status for the wage earner and indirectly for his family, without a complete loss of contact with the rural social structure. The regular visiting pattern may be considered the maximum fulfilment of this requirement, the occasional visiting pattern the minimum fulfilment.

Figure 3



Migrants as mediators of social change A question related to the consequences of regular visiting for the promotion of social change might be raised at this point. Theoretically, a regular visitor may be less subject to urban influence, because he spends most of his leisure time out of town. His regular contact with the rural area however puts him in the ideal position to convey urban values to the rural area. It is highly unlikely that the mediating role will adequately be played by regular visitors, as they must rely largely on their working time to absorb urban values. As the survey did not inquire

Figure 4



into leisure-time activities of respondents in town, whether this was spent among other rural migrants in 'home-boy' groups (Mayer, 1961) or in pursuing urban contacts and making use of urban facilities, this question will have to remain open to mere speculation at present. It has been suggested by Mayer (1962, p.584) that migrants engaged in frequent home-visiting are largely influenced by the rural social context and may retain the rural value system throughout their working life in town.

Although our findings indicate that the majority of hostel dwellers have been in town in a working capacity most of their adult lives, it is questionable whether the urban environment exerts an influence toward a change in perception or attitudes. Such a change is unlikely to happen when exposure to an urban way of life is avoided, as it appears to be in the regular travelling pattern. The migrant who is only exposed to urban influence in the work situation and not during leisure is precisely characterized as a person 'in town but not of it'.

The extent to which urban attitudes may have been adopted, was measured by comparing the response to sets of questions posed on other occasions to groups considered less marginal to the urban context. 'Townsmen', represented by a sample of heads of households in Highfield African Township, and 'urban élites', represented by Africans living in a prestigious area in Highfield, were taken as reference groups. This typology of urban groups is based largely on differences in accommodation, education, occupation and income status. Stopforth (1973a, pp.8-11) has shown real differences between the Highfield 'townsmen' and Chitepo Road 'élites'. It has been reported above that hostel dwellers have limited access to higher occupation and income status positions. It was therefore assumed that 'urban élites' would hold more urban values than 'townsmen'. 'Migrants', represented by the hostel dwellers of the survey, would be less urbanized than either 'townsmen' or 'urban élites'.

A Family Reliance Test adapted and amended by Stopforth (1972, pp.64-5) from a similar projective test first administered by Koyama (1966) in Japan, is employed in gauging social change in the different urban groups. Although it is assured that with the development of modernization, the social function of kinship relations will have greatly decreased, they may still prove significant and their functions may not be negligible in the substantial way of life. This is expected to be the case in ten situations of need, which cannot adequately be met by urban institutions. Respondents are asked on whom they would rely in ten such situations.

The response to the Test shows that migrants (hostel dwellers) are similar to townsmen (Highfield African Township) and urban élites (Chitepo Road) in respect of reliance on kinsmen or relatives. Overall, the hostel dwellers do not appear to rely on kinsmen to a significantly greater extent than the other two urban groups, for their mean reliance is just under 50 per cent.

Looking at the single need items, significant differences between the three urban groups are recorded for the five items: jobs, cash, sickness, specific consumption needs and calamity. These differences are gradual and in the expected direction of more kinship reliance for hostel dwellers. On two further items, rent and employment, the hostel dwellers do not differ significantly from townsmen, but differ significantly from the urban élite represented by Chitepo Road residents. Only on one item, cash, is the expected direction of more kinship reliance for hostel dwellers reversed. The items on which hostel dwellers tend to projectively rely more heavily on kinsmen than other urban groups are job hunting for relatives, sickness, money for specific needs, unexpected calamity and unemployment. Similar family reliance is observed for cases of children's education fees, safeguarding of property and payment of fines. On one item hostel dwellers would rely significantly less on kinsmen than the comparative urban groups, namely when they are short of money. In such cases hostel dwellers rely on friends, co-workers and employers.

Table III

PERCENTAGE KINSHIP RELIANCE OVER TEN NEED VARIABLES

Need Variable	Hostel Dwellers: Difference from			Highfield African Township†	Chitepo Road†
	Highfield African Township		Chitepo Road		
1. Education	49,1			44,8	40,5
2. Jobs	13,8	**	**	5,7	2,7
3. Cash	27,2	**	**	41,4	43,2
4. Property Safe- guarding	51,8			62,1	62,2
5. Rent	33,2		**	37,9	45,9
6. Fines	60,0			57,5	59,5
7. Unemployment	59,4		*	57,5	48,6
8. Sickness	84,1	**	**	57,5	48,6
9. Specific Consumption Needs	42,8	**	**	28,7	29,7
10. Calamity	75,7	*	*	64,4	62,2
MEAN	49,7 N=392			45,5 N=87	44,3 N=37

* Significant difference

**Very significant difference

† From Stopforth, 1973a, Tables I Ia

In accordance with his model of differential change, Stopforth (1973b, pp.42-3) maintains that situations previously experienced in a traditional environment will receive a more traditional response than those closely associated with an urban environment. More pronounced traditional responses of kinship reliance, due to lack of alternative choice at present, are therefore expected with the following items: property safeguarding (4), fines (6), sickness (8), calamity (10), and unemployment (7). Less kinship reliance is expected with items relating to urban life: education (1), jobs (2), cash (3), rent (5) and specific consumption needs (9).

In Table IV Stopforth's proposition is tested for the hostel-dwelling group compared to the other two urban groups. Each group sets its own standard of family reliance, although these standards differ only slightly and insignificantly.

The general pattern of family reliance is followed by all urban groups; the differences observed on the single items are only a matter of degree.

Table IV

KINSHIP RELIANCE BY TYPE OF SITUATION

<i>Expected Kinship Reliance</i>	<i>Situation Involving Need Item</i>	<i>Hostel Dweller</i>	<i>Highfield African Township</i>	<i>Chitepo Road</i>
high	4. Property Safe-guarding	h	hh	hh
	6. Fines	h	h	hh
	8. Sickness	hh	h	h
	10. Calamity	hh	hh	hh
	7. Unemployment	h	h	h
low	1. Education	l	l	l
	2. Jobs	ll	ll	ll
	3. Cash	ll	l	l
	5. Rent	ll	l	(h)*
	9. Specific Consumption Needs	l	ll	ll
Kinship Reliance Percentage:				
mean		50	46	44
very low	ll	under 30	under 31	under 29
very high	hh	over 70	over 61	over 59
low	l	30 < l < 50	31 < l < 46	29 < l < 44
high	h	50 < h < 70	46 < h < 61	44 < h < 59

* Insignificant deviance from pattern

Very revealing are the cases of extremely low family reliance with hostel dwellers: jobs, cash and rent. Reliance on 'others' is related to the specific situation of the migrant labourer. Family connections for the provision of a job for a relative may be non-existent in town. Being the sole wage earner in the family with few kinship ties in town, the hostel dweller is more likely to turn to friends or persons at his place of work than to his family in the rural areas. The situation involving rent may be somewhat differently defined in reality for the hostel dweller than for other urban groups and leads to a higher non-family reliance response to the pertinent projective question. The employer is liable for the hostel dweller's rent either by direct payment or through deduction of the rent from the hostel dweller's wages. Only through his status as employee is the hostel dweller entitled to the occupancy of a bed in the hostels. Accordingly, over 20 per cent of the respondents state 'employer' as the agent of reliance on this need item. The non-kinship agents on whom migrants rely in situations of need may indicate through which groups the migrants are initiated to a more modernistic approach to life in keeping with an urban environment, where life is regulated by a series of institutions other than the family.

In the situations where 'other' reliance is dominant (items 1, 2, 3, 5, 9 in Table IV), there is high reliance on friends and on one's employers. This finding is consonant with the notion that access to a specifically urban life style is channelled through the work situation. The reliance on the employer is not limited to job-oriented needs, but extends to other needs generated by an urban life style involving money transactions. Migrants turn to co-workers only for cash needs. Other agents relied upon in the case of education and jobs are the modern institutions concerned, such as the people in positions of power within the school or employment agencies. Self-reliance is also placed in this category.

Where family-reliance is dominant (items 4, 6, 8, 10, 7 in Table IV), the friend is the most popular agent outside the family. Where money is the foremost interest, the employer is stated more often. Reliance on neighbours for safeguarding of property is perhaps very item specific. The low reliance on kin in cases of unemployment is due to the pattern of returning to the rural area, which might be interpreted as 'self' or 'family' reliance depending upon means of livelihood at the rural home.

Thus, in summary, when hostel dwellers rely on others in different need situations, the family is by far the most important source of help, followed by friends and the employer. The dependence on the employer in times of need is regarded as a means of imposing a reciprocal dependency of the employer on his employee. By borrowing from his employer before periods of absence, the employee is guaranteed higher job security on his return.

This type of reliance compared to the other urban groups reveals a more person-oriented reliance pattern. Chitepo Road people tend more than the Highfield sample to insist on self-reliance as opposed to corporate reliance, and on reliance on urban institutions such as employment exchanges, banks, insurance and building societies (Stopforth, 1973a, Table 1; 1973, p.43).

The difference between Highfield townsmen and hostel dwellers may be minimal, as the Highfield respondents also tend to rely mainly on employers and friends.

Several questions were put to hostel dwellers, to probe whether any signs of aspirations of a more permanent urban status or acceptance of an urban life style could be detected. Given the condition that the hostel dweller could have his family with him, 73,5 per cent would prefer to live in the rural area and only 19,6 per cent would choose to reside in town. Given a residential choice in town, the hostel dweller would prefer to live in a house in a township. Only 10 per cent would prefer to stay in hostels. Their preferences for their sons' residence is again the rural area with 70,3 per cent. The rest of the choices are split equally between the choice of town residence and other combinations of rural-urban living. The rural home offers better socialization opportunities. The child can be put under family supervision and is not subjected to the bad influences of town at an impressionable age. The rural home is also visualized as the traditional African home. While the rural homestead is considered the ideal place of residence for a young son, the projection of a migrant career at later stages of a child's life is close at hand. The economic advantages of temporary town residence in a working capacity are frequently referred to in this context.

The fictive choice of old-age security also reflects a rural orientation. The choice of cattle is regarded as an indicator of a traditional rural orientation, the choice of a pension as an indicator of a more modern, urban orientation. A significant percentage of respondents (68,4 per cent) choose cattle.

More objective measures of rural-urban orientation included the assessment of the number of relatives already living in town. It is concluded that the number of relatives living in town does not constitute a substantial binding to urban 'presence' (Reader, 1963, p.269) or an urban way of life. Although the number varies greatly throughout the sample, the mean is relatively low with 3,8 relatives on the paternal side.

The orientation probing revealed the general dominance of a rural outlook. The above questions were regarded with some apprehension by respondents and considered politically provocative in some cases. This is shown in a higher rate of non-response than expected. It is surprising then that in contrast with the preference for a rural life style, only 60 per cent of hostel dwellers claimed to possess land rights in the rural areas at the time of the interview. Possibly some of the younger hostel dwellers will acquire these rights with a higher age status. If land rights are forfeited through prolonged urban stabilization, an adequate pull-force directed toward the rural area may not provide the incentive to return to the rural home at the end of a migrant career of normal length.

The results of an attitude scale administered along with the survey tested attitudes toward two attitude objects 'townsmen' and 'accommodation', using a Guttman-type scale which can be constructed in advance according to a method developed by Jordan (1971). The departure from the theoretically expected scale order was interpreted using Blalock's (1960, p.19) principle

that such deviation may represent attitude complexes, which are perceived as logical entities by the respondent group.

With the 'townsmen' attitude-scale, one of the most marked results was the high consensus of hostel dwellers on all items but one, referring to the preference for sharing the townsman's way of life. The rejection of the scale type representing the societal stereotype of the townsman and the simultaneous acceptance of the nirm and behaviour-orineted attitude scales was interpreted as expressing the desire to have greater access to a townsman's way of living without necessarily being considered a townsman. It is suggested that the reunion of the family and greater security are aspects of a life in a township, which may appeal to a hostel dweller more than the prestige of being a townsman.

In responding to the other items on the 'townsman' attitude scale, respondents agree that hostel dwellers' families cannot be expected to be as closely knit as those of townsmen. In most cases people denied the notion that hostel dwellers live in this type of accommodation because they prefer to keep their families in the rural areas. The greater security of townsmen is accepted by almost 70 per cent of respondents. Only 54,2 per cent of respondents would consider bringing their families to town. Half of the respondents feel that differential supervision is exercised on hostel dwellers and townsmen. Hostel dwellers appear to think that others do not accept them as townsmen and are therefore aware of their marginality on the urban scene.

In response to the 'accommodation' scale, the advantages of township accommodation go largely undisputed. The inferiority of hostel accommodation as against township accommodation is accepted by 77 per cent of respondents. The belief of hostel dwellers in their rights to township accommodation is stressed. The type of response to the accommodation scale suggests again that the hostel dweller is primarily interested in obtaining equal access to the basic urban security of accommodation. The aspiration of adequate accommodation does not appear to be tied to the notion of obtaining a prestigious urban status, but primarily to the more practical aspect of securing an urban foothold, which entitles a migrant to a higher economic status in town.

CONCLUSION

The rural orientation and the attitudes toward townsmen and urban accommodation are accepted as indications that the hostel dweller represents the typical migrant in town during his working life span. Survey findings show that foreign migrants differ from Rhodesian migrants in this respect. There is a tendency to greater permanency in town as indicated by their longer urban presence, lack of ties and communication with the rural area in Rhodesia or in their own country. This is reflected in the high incidence of no home-visiting, even of the widely-spaced occasional type among foreign migrants. There is also a tendency toward urban orientation as against rural orientation. It is felt that the potential for progression from the migrant to

the townsman type is given for many foreign hostel dwellers, but in fact never realized in the case of single men. It is suggested that some of these foreigners can be considered 'inhibited' immigrants and should have been classified as 'townsman' according to the typology employed in our research. In the case of the Rhodesian migrant the economic advantage offered by the migrant labour system is sufficient to sustain temporary stabilization in town for persons in the 20-45 age bracket. Mechanisms such as home-visiting and remittances help maintain the push-pull force constellation between the urban and rural areas, which makes migrant existence in town feasible. Home visiting is especially effective as a regulatory mechanism in the case of married men being accommodated as bachelors in town.

It may be suggested that at the termination of the migrant career the economic mobility afforded by the urban sojourn is exchanged for status criteria more relevant to the rural area, such as land rights. Meanwhile aspirations for a less marginal position in town, by acquiring access to better accommodation in town are latent. Mobility along the accommodation dimension is regarded as being reserved for the particularly successful or fortunate few. It is therefore unlikely that hostel dwellers will pursue this type of mobility to any great extent or consider more permanent urban residence. Town life is in all probability at present still regarded as a means to the end of securing a better economic status, and is one phase in the circulatory migration process.

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