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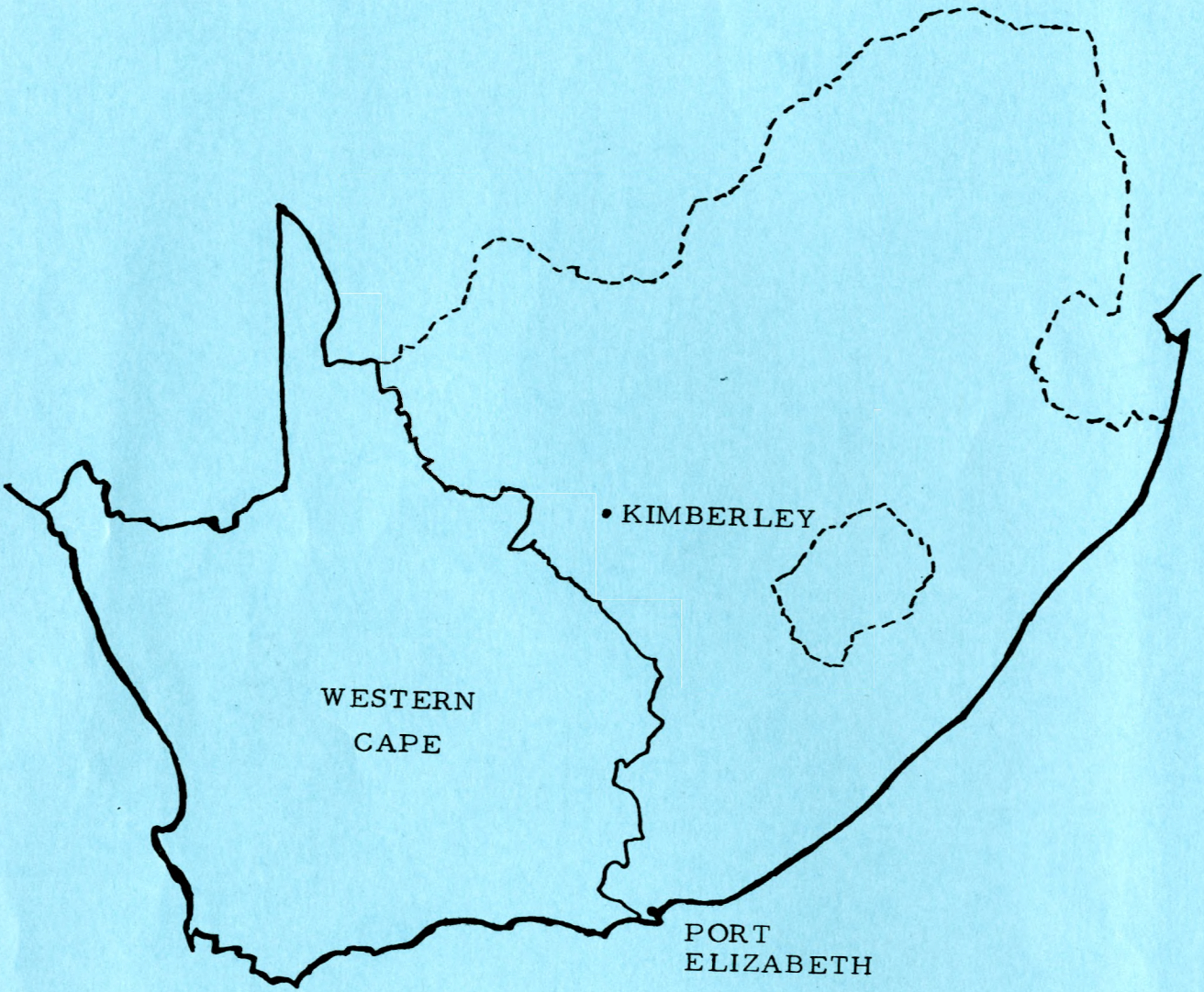
**BLACK URBAN EMPLOYMENT
AND
COLOURED LABOUR PREFERENCE**

**S.B. Bekker and J.H. Coetzee
Working Paper No. 1.**



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INTRODUCTION

State control over the labour market usually results in the creation of different categories of labour, each having partial and unequal access to that market. In the Third World, typically, justification for control arises from an over-supply of unskilled rural labour and a small demand for such labour in the wage economy. To reduce massive urban unemployment, the state attempts to control the process of rural-urban migration by, inter alia, manipulating the labour market.¹ In South Africa, the civilised labour policy of the Pact government and the highly sophisticated system of black influx control introduced after the Second World War are two examples of such state control. In these cases, racial² categories of labour, having differential access to the labour market, were created. The policy of Coloured Labour Preference is another South African example which is of particular interest since it is applied solely to one region of the Republic.

Since 1962, when it was administratively coordinated for the first time, this policy has been applied in the Western Cape, a region comprising the 68 magisterial districts situated south-west of Port Elizabeth, Kimberley and the Orange River.³ In this region, black work-seekers' access to the labour market is severely curtailed. A series of regulations, particular to the Western Cape, are applied with the object of restricting the number of blacks resident in the region; denying blacks permanent rights of sojourn in the region; restricting the scope of employment for blacks in the region; and favouring coloured above black work-seekers throughout the region. In short, the policy aims to replace black by coloured labour and thereby aims to reduce to a minimum the number of blacks in the region.

Since the early twenties, successive South African governments, sensitive to white employers' changing labour requirements in the wider Southern African political economy, have attempted to regulate the labour market to meet these requirements. The registration and differential allocation of labour together with the development of a single-man contract labour system have produced legally-defined categories of workers and work-seekers, each with different access

to the labour market, and to advancement within that market.

Concomitantly, a massive administrative apparatus has developed to administer this system.

As both work-seekers and workers, whites, coloureds and Asians constitute, in the eyes of the law, such categories. Black work-seekers and workers are further subdivided into three categories: urban residents, rural residents in non-homeland South Africa, and homeland residents.

Superimposed on this system of labour and influx control is a geo-political ideology - refined by the present South African government - which formulates a strategy of multi-nationalism and economic decentralisation in South Africa. Ten geographically separate black homelands, each scheduled to become politically independent, are being developed. Economic incentives within each are advanced as the mechanism to promote economic decentralisation in the sub-continent as a whole - provided that the manpower needs of the modern industrial sector of the economy are first met.

The Western Cape - in area, representing four-tenths of the Republic of South Africa⁴ - incorporates no part of these homelands, and is the only substantial region of the Republic in which blacks constitute a minority of the population. The policy of Coloured Labour Preference, then, while reflecting the national policy of labour and influx control, particularises the national ideology through its determination to engineer the gradual exclusion of all black residents from this large and integral region of non-homeland South Africa. The strategy of multi-nationalism will be promoted, on the one hand, by the creation of a non-black workforce - believed to be possible given the large numbers of rural and urban coloureds in the region - and, on the other, by the 'repatriation' of blacks - believed to be possible since their numbers are relatively small. Within the same multi-national idiom, it is claimed that this policy will meet coloured work-seekers' interests by eliminating black competition in the labour market. It would seem then that the policy of Coloured Labour Preference and the motivations underlying it both epitomise and abbreviate the present white government's national geo-political ideology.

Cape Town, the only urban-industrial centre in the Western Cape, has received increasing numbers of coloured and black rural immigrants, at least since the eighteen-thirties.⁵ If compared to South Africa's other urban-industrial complexes, Cape Town's economic structure is peculiar on two levels. In the first place, it receives from the massive South African mining sector none of the direct or indirect benefits which accrue to the P. W. V. and Durban-Pietermaritzburg complexes. In the second place, its workforce is predominantly coloured and stands therefore in a different relationship to the labour market. The predominantly black workforces of its more northern competitors are more regulated and restricted in their access to employment.

Cape Town's industrial sector is dominated by the production of non-durable consumer goods - textiles and clothing, in particular - and finds itself at a disadvantage to its competitors since the majority of consumers reside closer to these competitors in the northern provinces of the country.⁶

Before the Second World War, blacks were employed, most commonly, as manual workers in agriculture, the public service, and as dockworkers. As local authorities were introduced in the city, a community of black Capetonians developed and became an important element in the city's resident population and workforce. With increasing administrative control over the black labour market after the War, and the implementation of Coloured Labour Preference in Cape Town, this community experienced increasing uncertainty about its members' rights of sojourn in the region. Simultaneously, following government inducements, employers began employing black migrant workers on an increasing scale to fill unskilled positions in their enterprises. In the urban economy, this tendency was particularly apparent in the construction and manufacturing sectors, as well as in the government services. By 1970 then, resident blacks found themselves with an indeterminate status as Capetonians; often viewed as, and sometimes in competition with, rural migrants; and forming a part of an urban workforce in which coloured workers were favoured for advancement both in terms of access to such opportunities, and in terms of wide-spread employer preferences.

In the early seventies, the Cape Peninsula Administration Board - together with 21 other such bodies⁷ - was created. This institution took over and coordinated, in black residential areas, all local authority and

labour regulatory functions. These functions had previously been the responsibility of white local authorities and magistracies. To black residents of Cape Town, this Administration Board is at one and the same time the local authority administering to their community needs and, in accordance with the Coloured Labour Preference policy, the labour regulatory authority controlling, monitoring and sometimes denying them access to the labour market - in short, a body playing the dual roles of public servant and labour policeman. In line with policy, moreover, no new family housing was built by the Administration Board in the seventies. This led to overcrowding and an overspill into squatter camps which rapidly expanded as both Cape-tonians and new migrants sought some form of shelter close to the urban labour market.

Since 1976, the national economy has been passing through a period of recession and Cape Town, with its relative structural weakness, has suffered more severely and for a longer period than other urban-industrial centres. This recession was heralded and exacerbated by the 1976 township disturbances during which Cape Town, along with Johannesburg, experienced widespread disruption and violence.

It seems likely, therefore, as the seventies come to a close, that Cape Town's black residents find themselves, at the very least in terms of employment and economic welfare, in difficult straits.

The aim of this paper is to assess the effects of the policy of Coloured Labour Preference on the permanent black residents of Cape Town. More specifically, the aim is to identify these effects by analysing black residents' involvement in the formal (wage) economy of this city, and by establishing their opinions regarding employment in this economy.

In order to achieve this aim, a summary of the administrative regulations and the machinery developed to apply the policy will be presented. Subsequently, three aspects of black employment⁸ in Cape Town will be discussed.

The first, the production aspect, refers to the contribution this employment makes to the economy. A profile of black employment will be presented as well as an overview of employer practices and attitudes to black labour. Data which will be used for this overview were collected in an employer survey conducted in November 1978⁹

This production aspect of black employment focuses on demand rather than supply, on the black component of the existing rather than the potential labour force.

The second, the recognition aspect of employment, refers to workers' and work-seekers' aspirations; and attitudes to unemployment, the labour market, and competitors in that market. Most of the data used in this section was obtained from a household survey conducted in Gugulethu and Langa in October 1978.¹⁰

The third, the income aspect, refers to the rewards which accrue to the employed. Since a large part of these rewards is used not only to provide shelter, food and clothing for the income-earner, but also for his family, accommodation and household incomes will be central to this discussion. Data for this section will also be drawn from the household survey.

Given the importance that racial-legal categories play in South Africans' lives today, it is necessary to point out that Cape Town's black population can be divided into three legal categories: permanent residents, male migrant workers, and illegal residents.¹¹ Though it is often difficult to differentiate between these categories in both the workforce and the townships, the focus of this paper is on permanent residents. Where legal categories are not known, or seem to play little role in the discussion, this will be pointed out.

Note on Population.¹²

The total population of metropolitan Cape Town (comprising 4 magisterial districts) was, according to preliminary 1980 census results, 1 220 549. Black persons comprised 13,9% of this total. For the Western Cape region, the total population in 1980 was 2 814 850. Black persons comprised 12,8% of this total.

Black Persons as Percentage of Total Population:

	<u>Cape Town</u>	<u>Western Cape</u>
1960	10,5	12,7
1970	10,4	12,4
1980	13,9	12,8

1) THE INSTITUTIONAL AND ADMINISTRATIVE MEASURES OF THE POLICY OF COLOURED LABOUR PREFERENCE

In 1955, Dr W. W. M. Eiselen, then Secretary of Native Affairs, stated that it was his Department's policy that the Western Cape should be a region in which white and coloured labour was to be given preference.¹ The notion that this region should be one in which some form of racial preference operated, was not a new one. As early as 1923, Cape Town city councillors had raised the idea of "alien" labourers "taking work from coloureds"² - this, notwithstanding the fact that blacks had been living and working in Cape Town from the 1830 s.³ The significance of Eiselen's speech was that he specified, in terms of magisterial district boundaries, the Western Cape region.⁴

The first measures to implement the policy, introduced in 1962, were the establishment of a Standing Cabinet Committee and a Permanent Interdepartmental Committee. These committees, representing seven state departments, were requested to investigate and implement the policy in as practical a way as possible.⁵ During their first two years of existence, the Western Cape was redefined to incorporate 68 magisterial districts - a region substantially larger than that proposed by Eiselen - and five areas in the region were declared Coloured decentralisation growth points, a measure designed to induce employers to employ coloured labour.⁶ In addition, a subcommittee of the Interdepartmental Committee, the Louw Commission which was requested to investigate housing conditions in the declared black areas of the Western Cape, proposed drastic measures: with the exception of extraordinary cases approved at ministerial level, no new family housing schemes in black areas should be undertaken by local authorities. New black housing should be built for single persons (contract workers) in such a way that these hostels could subsequently be converted to accommodate coloured families.⁷

The next measure, introduced in 1966, was aimed directly at the labour market: an amendment to the Black Labour Regulations⁸ empowered labour officers in the Western Cape to withhold black labour from employers unless the employer obtained from the Department of Labour a certificate stating that non-black labour was unavailable for the job. The labour officer was further empowered to withhold

contract labour from the employer if blacks resident in his area of jurisdiction were available. In short, officials of the Department of Labour and of labour bureaux became labour market brokers, seeking to meet employers' demands first from the ranks of coloured, then resident black, and last, black migrant work-seekers. Black migrants could, moreover, not be considered for eleven separate categories of labour, including jobs in the transport, domestic and service sectors.⁹

In the late sixties, two further steps were taken, one aimed at restricting black employment in the industrial sector; the second at controlling black mobility in the rural areas of the Western Cape. In accordance with section 3 of the Environmental Planning Act, 1967, the black labour components of industrialists in the ten magisterial districts comprising Cape Town and the Boland were frozen, and could only be increased upon application to a special committee. In addition, decentralisation incentives were linked exclusively to coloured labour and certain areas, such as Atlantis and Epping 2, 3, and 4 became exclusive white and coloured industrial labour areas.¹⁰

Second, the entire rural Western Cape region, on the basis of Divisional Council areas of jurisdiction, was declared prescribed: each such area then became, for the purposes of the Urban Areas Act, 1945 and the Black Labour Act, 1964, an urban area.¹¹

The aim of this measure was to control black mobility between each such 'urban' area more effectively by empowering officials to employ the more efficient and comprehensive labour regulatory machinery available in prescribed areas. Paradoxically, this measure conferred, as a consequence, Section 10, 1(a), (b), and (c) qualifications on thousands of rural black residents in the region.

In the early seventies, (Bantu Affairs) Administration Boards were introduced, three of which - Peninsula, South Western Cape, and Karoo - became responsible for the implementation of the Coloured Preference policy. In 1976, as a result of a recommendation of the Commission of Inquiry into Matters relating to the Coloured Population Group (The Theron Commission),¹² the South African government reaffirmed this policy. Proof of this reaffirmation is found in the exclusion, in the Western Cape, of 99-year

leasehold rights in 1978, and of the Minister of Co-operation and Development's moratorium on the enforcement of the R500,00 fine for illegal employment in 1979.

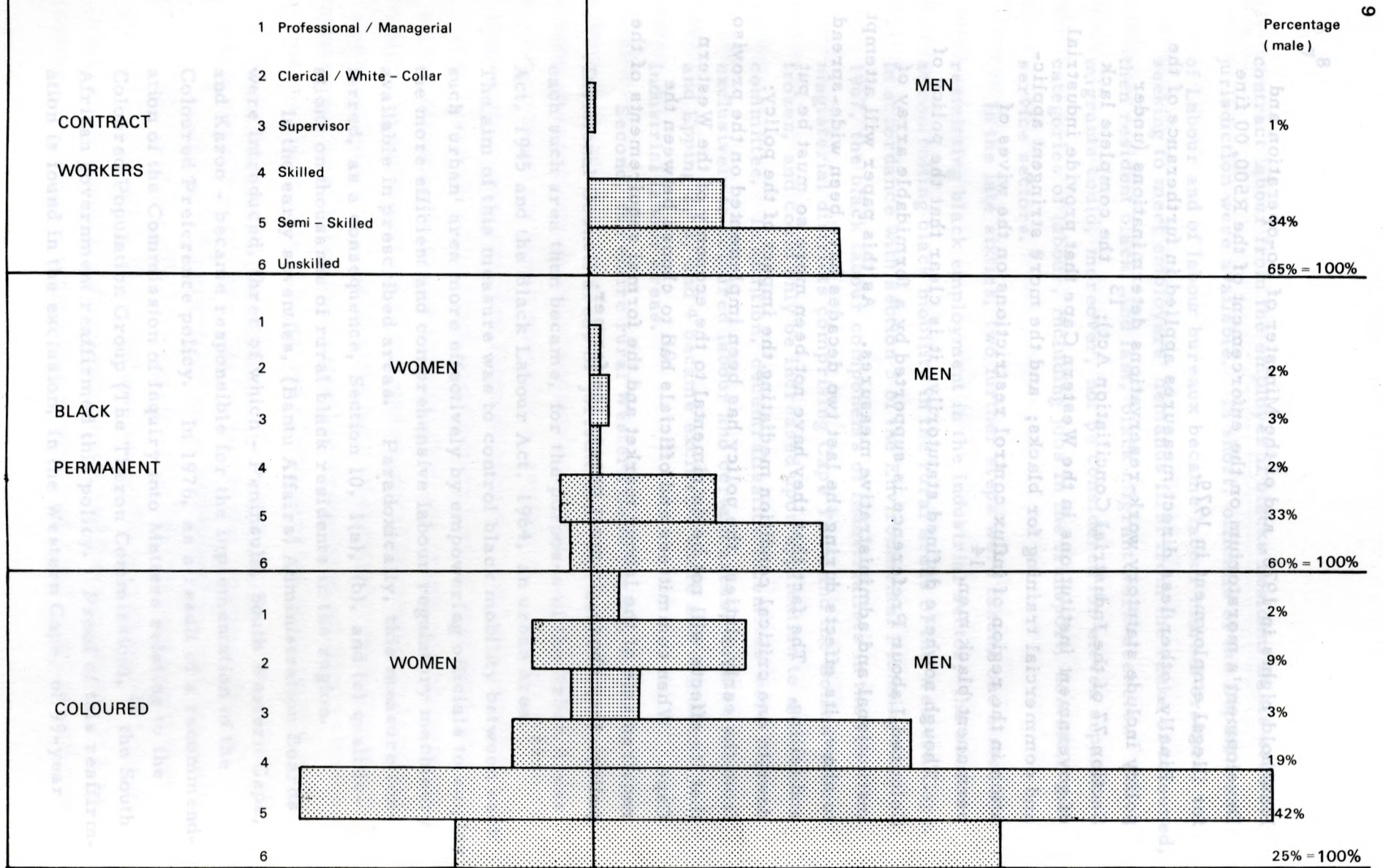
Finally, other less direct measures applied in furtherance of the policy include statutory work-reservations determinations (under Section 77 of the Industrial Conciliation Act);¹³ the complete lack of government institutions in the Western Cape that provide industrial and commercial training for blacks; and the more stringent application in the region of influx control restrictions on the wives of permanent black men.¹⁴

Though nowhere defined statutorily, it is clear that the policy of Coloured Labour Preference is supported by a formidable array of institutional and administrative measures. As this paper will attempt to show, its effects during the last two decades have been wide-spread and telling. The fact that they have not been more so must be put down to one critical condition mediating the impact of the policy: from the early sixties, the policy has been implemented on the proviso that its effects will not be detrimental to the economy of the Western Cape. When committees and officials had to choose between the requirements of the labour market and the formal requirements of the policy, they chose, in most cases, the former.

Other aspects, even fewer in number, are permanent black employees in white-collar positions. To analyse black employment further, data obtained from the Peninsula Administration Board will be used. All Administration Boards are required to complete a standard Labour Return annually, in which statistics relating to registered black workers in their area of jurisdiction are collated. Such data refer solely to workers registered by the regional bureaux of the Board, and exclude all 'illegal' (i.e. non-registered) black workers in their area. Not only, therefore, should such data be collated with circumspection, but probably also over-represent black workers employed by large and established employers in both the public and the private sectors. Such employers are more sensitive to government regulations, to possible inspections by Board officials, and to the threat of fines and further action if they are found to deviate from Board rules of employment, particularly in the light of official warnings during the last few years that employer offenders will suffer immediate and harsh retribution.²

Union of the South Africa 1838
Cape Town
1981

Figure 1 Cape Town: Composition of the Wage Labour Force, 1978



2) BLACK URBAN EMPLOYMENT IN CAPE TOWN: THE PRODUCTION ASPECT

a) An Employment Profile

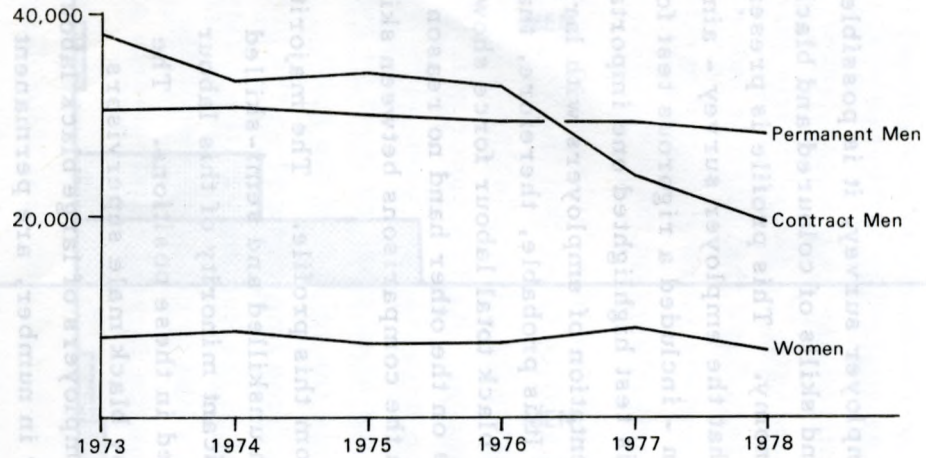
By using data obtained from the employer survey, it is possible to obtain a profile of the relative sizes and skills of coloured and black employees in the Cape Town wage economy. This profile is presented in Figure 1. It is important to note that the employer survey - aimed at all employers in Greater Cape Town - included a rigorous test for representativeness. The result of this test highlighted one important bias in the response: an over-representation of employers with large, and in particular, black workforces. It is probable, therefore, that the size of the coloured relative to the black total labour force shown in Figure 1 is underestimated. There is on the other hand no reason to believe that there are discrepancies in the comparisons between skill levels in the profile.

Three points of interest emerge from this profile. The majority of the total labour force is employed in unskilled and semi-skilled positions. Black employees, a significant minority of this labour force, are with few exceptions employed in these positions. The exceptions are represented, largely, by black male supervisors employed in positions of authority by employers of large black labour forces. Other exceptions, even fewer in number, are permanent black male employees employed in white-collar positions.

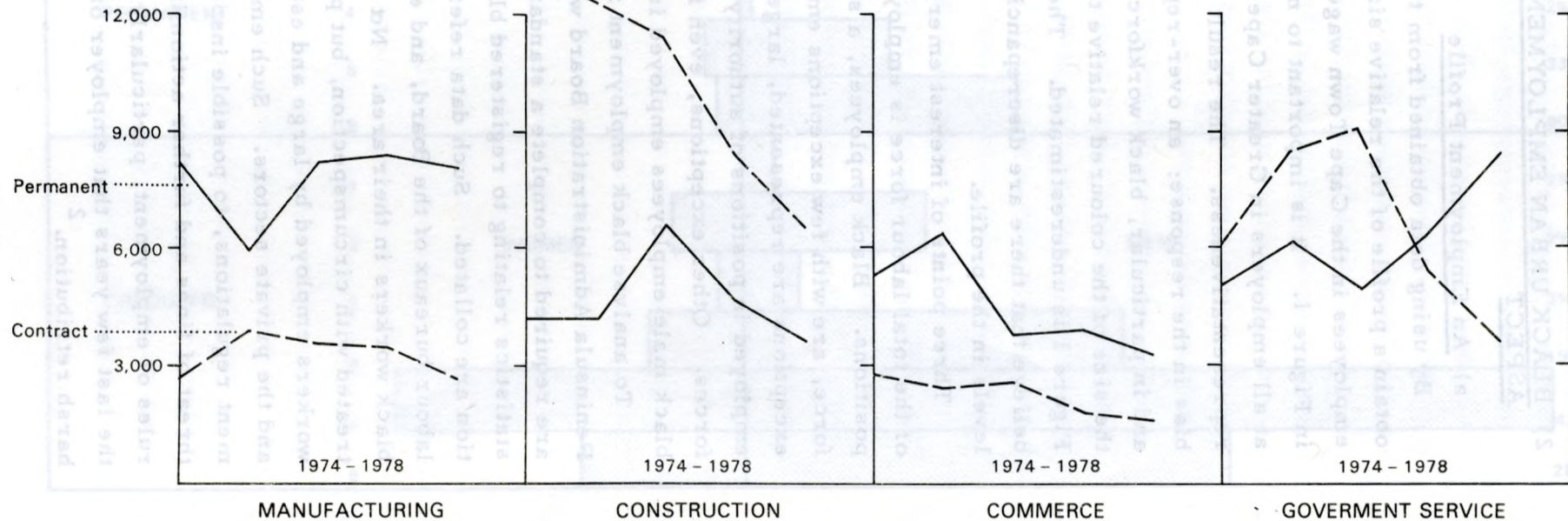
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Figure 2 Cape Town: Consolidated Labour Returns 30 June of each Year

THE REGISTERED BLACK LABOUR FORCE



EMPLOYMENT BY SELECTED SECTORS - BLACK MEN



By using this data source, it is possible to obtain an indication of employment trends over the last five years. Two factors have been of significant influence on these trends during this period. In the first place, the South African economy has, since 1975, entered a period of recession. Secondly, since the same year, the application of the policy of Coloured Labour Preference has, at least in terms of public declarations, been applied with increased single-mindedness.

The total registered black labour force has dropped from 70 039 in 1974 to 54 140 in 1978. This decrease however is only due to a substantial cut-back in the number of registered migrant workers allowed entry into the Peninsula. As is clearly shown in Figure 2, the size of the permanent black registered labour force has remained constant whilst the migrant force has halved in size.³ Trends in the four employment sectors selected in Figure 2 substantiate this argument. The large labour decrease in the construction sector reflects the sensitivity of this sector to growth changes in the general economy. In the three other sectors, a decrease in the size of the migrant labour force is evident. The government sector is of particular interest: the substantial decrease in migrant labour reflects official policy from 1975. The increase in the permanent black labour force component is probably due to the replacement of migrants by permanent residents.

A breakdown of the June 1978 Return for Cape Town produces the following table:

Table 1

Percentage of registered black workers by employment sector

	<u>all workers</u>	<u>Migrant workers on contract</u>
agriculture	5%	12%
mining	1%	1%
manufacturing	20%	14%
construction	17%	36%
commerce	10%	10%
government service	24%	19%
domestic service	9%	1%
other	<u>14%</u>	<u>7%</u>
total	n=54 140	n=19 119

Enterprises which require low-skilled workers to participate in labour-intensive production are the most likely to employ black work-seekers. This is substantiated by the predominance of black workers in the manufacturing and construction sectors. It is further substantiated by the high proportion of male contract workers in the construction and agricultural sectors. The domestic service sector, on the other hand, is predominantly female in its black employee composition. The high percentage in the government sector is probably due to two factors. In the first place, local authorities, the Railways, and the parastatals require unskilled labour, and recruit blacks for most of these positions. In addition, the Administration Board itself is required to employ blacks in its local authority and labour regulatory sections, in addition to allowing black workers to be employed in medical and educational institutions which serve the black community of Cape Town.

b) Employer Preferences regarding Black and Coloured Labour

Evidence submitted to two recent Commissions of Inquiry⁴ suggests that employers prefer black labour in certain job-categories, and coloured labour in others. These preferences are related, according to this evidence, to productivity, wages, and responsibility. Data from the employer survey will be used to assess these preferences.

Employers were asked if they preferred black to coloured, or coloured to black labour in their organisations and, in each case, for which positions. Half of the employers prefer black to coloured labour, overwhelmingly at unskilled and semi-skilled levels. If this preference is further analysed in terms of the composition of the workforces of the organisations, it becomes clear that this preference for black low-skilled labour is related to employer recruitment of, and experience of, contract workers:

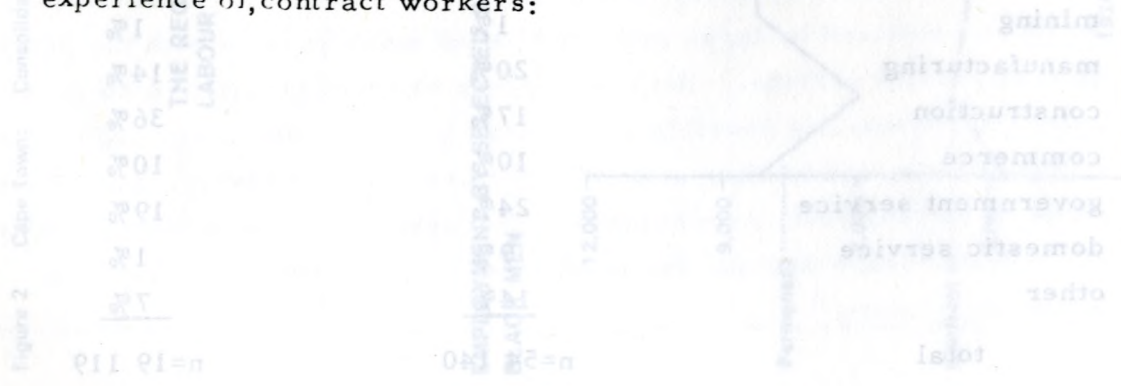


Table 2

Are there positions in your organisation for which your company prefers black labour to coloured labour?

	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	
total sample	46%	54%	n=519
employers with black workers	64%	36%	n=307
employers with contract workers	84%	16%	n=132

On the other hand, with regard to preference for coloured labour, the positions tended to be skilled and clerical, and these preferences did not vary with the (racial) composition of the workforces. Once again, half of the employers preferred coloured to black labour in these positions. If responses to both questions are analysed, almost three-quarters of employers in Cape Town apply some form of preferential racial labour recruitment in their organisations:

Table 3

Preference for black above coloured

	<u>yes</u>	<u>no</u>	
Preference for coloured above black	<u>yes</u> 31%	15%	n=480
	<u>no</u> 25%	29%	

It seems likely that employers will recruit black work-seekers preferentially if they are large, labour-intensive enterprises, and particularly if they have previously employed contract workers for unskilled jobs. This view is substantiated by analysing preferential recruitment policies within economic sectors. The two sectors where black preference is most prevalent, the construction and

manufacturing sectors, are the most likely to contain labour-intensive enterprises, and - as was seen in Figure 2 - employ substantial numbers of contract workers. For employers who have black employees in their labour forces, the responses were as follows:

Table 4

	<u>yes</u>	<u>yes</u>
Preference for black above coloured	: manufacturing 70%	construction 79%

Employer preferences for coloured workers, on the other hand, cannot be explained in similar terms. Issues such as language, statutory job-reservation, membership in trade-unions, and numerous other government regulations discussed earlier which underpin the policy of Coloured Labour Preference, make it difficult for employers to employ black work-seekers in skilled and white-collar positions. It is common knowledge that employers who do not have fixed ideas on the relative worth of black and coloured employees at higher levels of employment will tend to choose coloured work-seekers since the procedure required to be followed in the case of a black work-seeker is cumbersome and time-consuming, with no guarantee that the application will be successful.

It would seem fair to conclude then that employers' preference for black labour at low-skilled levels is self-imposed and significantly related to contract worker recruitment experience. Employer preference for coloured labour, on the other hand, can be at most partially self-imposed, and is directly linked to regulations underpinning the government policy of Coloured Labour Preference in the Western Cape.

One aspect of employers' preferential recruitment policy which is often raised has to do with differential wages. Blacks, it is sometimes argued, are forced by the severity of labour regulations to accept lower wages and work longer hours than coloureds. For this reason, the argument continues, employers prefer blacks to coloureds at low-skilled levels. Some data from the employer survey will once again be used to assess this argument.



Half of the employers employ blacks and coloureds for the same job. Only one out of six of these employers admitted to paying differential wages. Employers were also asked to give the average weekly wages for different job-categories. In general, it is difficult to use such evidence to make significant comparisons. At best, comparisons within low-skilled job-categories have some validity, since job-specifications tend to be general, and turnover high. One out of seven employers in the survey had in fact replaced black by coloured, or coloured by black labour during the year prior to the survey. This replacement took place, almost exclusively, at unskilled and semi-skilled levels. It seems feasible then to carry out average weekly wage comparisons at these levels (Table 5).

These comparisons highlight two inequalities. At unskilled and lower semi-skilled levels, contract workers earn significantly less than black permanent and coloured workers; whereas at higher semi-skilled levels, this inequality shifts to one dividing black permanent from coloured workers.

It is probable therefore that employers' preference for black labour at low-skilled levels is influenced by this wage differential. For organisations which require unskilled manual labour, contract workers are often preferred, and paid on average less than other workers. Employers' preference for coloured labour, on the other hand - a preference at skilled and higher levels - is not influenced by wage differentials. Though no data is available, this preference is probably influenced by issues such as government regulations, industrial relations, and language. One other factor of possible importance to employer preference - the employment of black work-seekers in positions for which they are over-qualified - will be discussed in the next section.

Table 5

Average Weekly Wages for Men

	<u>contract workers</u>	<u>black permanent</u>	<u>coloured</u>
1. Unskilled	R28 pw	R34 pw	R33 pw
2. Semi-Skilled			
i) Ability to read and write - up to Std. 6	R31 pw	R36 pw	R38 pw
ii) Drivers license		R42 pw	R48 pw
iii) Technical training or experience		R45 pw	R60 pw
iv) Std. 6 or higher		R42 pw	R49 pw

Table 6

Black Employees

	<u>Employed in 1978</u>	<u>Required over next 5 years</u>
Std. 6	7 200	400
Std. 8	2 400	800
Std. 10	520	580
Higher	575	440

Table 7

	<u>1978</u>	<u>Required over the next 5 years</u>		
	<u>Std. 6 & 8</u>	<u>Std. 10 & higher</u>	<u>Std. 6 & 8</u>	<u>Std. 10 & higher</u>
<u>Government Sector</u>	21%	30%	16%	7%

this reason, the argument continues, - of total demand, blacks

coloureds at low-skilled levels. Some data from the employer

survey will once again be used to assess this argument.

c) The Role of Educated and Skilled Black Manpower in the Cape Town Economy

Demand for skilled and white-collar black manpower in Cape Town is severely curtailed by the policy of Coloured Labour Preference as well as by countrywide restrictions on the upward mobility of black employees. A rough estimate of the number of educated black employees as well as the additional demand over the next five years has been derived from the employer survey. These estimates are for all employers in the Greater Cape Town area.

Demand over the next five years - totalling 2 200 - is small when compared to the probable supply from a registered black permanent population of about 100 000 in the Peninsula. In addition, the relatively higher demand in the future for highly qualified work-seekers, visible in Table 6, reflects the demand for highly skilled and educated manpower in Cape Town's sophisticated economy.

If the data in Table 6 are analysed in terms of employment sectors, the government sector stands out as an important exception (Table 7).

The public sector employed 30% of highly educated black employees in 1978. These employees, typically, are teachers, Administration Board clerical staff, and a few white-collar employees in other public institutions. Significantly, the potential for job-creation over the next five years is limited, and the possibility that educated job-seekers will find employment in the public service is decreasing. The sector in which the opportunity for educated job-seekers over the next five years seems most promising, is the manufacturing sector, representing 34% of the demand for highly educated black employees.

Employers were also asked to comment on the extent to which black employees were employed in positions for which they were over-qualified, as well as on their experience regarding over-qualified black work-seekers. Briefly, one out of ten employers had, on his staff, black employees who had qualifications higher than those required for their work. On average, these employers had ten such employees. One out of four employers received regular job applications from black work-seekers who were too highly qualified for the jobs available. The government sector reported the highest incidence of such applications. When employers were asked why they could not accommodate these highly qualified work-seekers in their organisations, one third

referred explicitly to the policy of Coloured Labour Preference in their answers.

In sum, then, there exists a significant surplus of highly educated black work-seekers in Cape Town. Given the repeated pleas (and warnings) by both government and the private sector in South Africa for additional manpower of this type so as to maintain economic growth in the modern sector, this situation in Cape Town - anomalous to say the least - must be put down to the differential impact of the policy of Coloured Labour Preference. Black work-seekers with high qualifications vie with one another for the few (and static number of) employment opportunities in the non-productive government sector. Otherwise, by and large, they are forced to accept jobs for which they are over-qualified. Coloured Labour Preference has in terms of its practical consequences, withheld from the economy the true resources of the most highly skilled and qualified black work-seekers who wish to obtain employment equivalent to their qualifications. As has been shown earlier, the policy has had little effect at unskilled and semi-skilled levels, and many employers prefer and employ blacks at these levels.

d) Employer assessment of the Policy of Coloured Labour Preference

Employers were asked two questions relating to the policy. In the first place, they were asked whether they would employ additional black work-seekers if the policy were abolished. In the second place, they were asked whether their enterprise, and whether the economy of the Western Cape, would suffer if there was a decrease in the number of black workers in the Western Cape.

Sixty percent of employers are prepared to employ more black employees if the policy is abolished. A full thirty percent (half of the above group) are prepared to employ additional black workers at skilled and higher levels in their enterprises. Construction and manufacturing were the two sectors most likely to increase their skilled black manpower component if the policy were abolished.

Viewing the policy in terms of its consequences, 36% of employers were of the opinion that a decrease in black manpower in the Western Cape would have a direct detrimental effect on their enterprises.

Expectably, this opinion was strongest in the agricultural and construction sectors - both heavily dependent upon black manpower. A full 81% of employers felt that the economy of Greater Cape Town would suffer from such a decrease. The government sector, more sensitive to government policy and regulations, was least representative of this opinion (62%) whereas the private sector, more sensitive to market factors, was overwhelmingly against the diminution of black manpower in the Western Cape.⁵

3) THE RECOGNITION ASPECT OF EMPLOYMENT

To analyse employment solely in terms of production and productivity, income and wages overlooks the influence which a worker's self-esteem and esteem in the eyes of others has on his choice and execution of a particular job. A person's view of the labour market, in fact, will be influenced by his family life, his class position and his consequent preferred choice of employment. In this section, attention will be paid to such factors.

Black Capetonians' perception of the labour market will be discussed first. The importance placed upon access, and preference regarding the type of employment available will be the main issues. Subsequently, opinions which underlie these perceptions will be analysed. To do this, black Capetonians' attitudes to unemployment, and to competitors in the labour market will be probed.

Data for this section were obtained from a household survey conducted in Gugulethu and Langa in late 1978.¹ A representative sample of households was first drawn, and within that sample, a representative group of residents over the age of 30, and a second representative group between the ages of 20 and 30.

There can be no doubt that access to employment opportunities is an issue enjoying the highest priority. Three measures of this priority will be given. In the first place, respondents were presented with a list of 24 items, each representing an area of possible dissatisfaction. These ranged from transport (buses and taxis) to township services and commercial outlets in the townships. Respondents were asked to indicate, in each case, whether they perceived the item to be an area causing them major problems, minor problems, or no problem at all. The one issue which was classified almost unanimously as a major problem area (95% for both age groups) was that of 'jobs'. This reply was the most consistent.

Secondly, respondents were asked whether people had been finding it difficult to obtain employment. More than nine out of ten respondents

Viewing the policy in terms of its consequences, employers were of the opinion that a decrease in black manpower in the Western Cape would have a direct detrimental effect on their enterprises.

answered in the affirmative, with younger residents being more pessimistic than older residents (Table 1).

As a third relevant question, respondents were asked to rank-order the following seven items: roads, crime, schools, jobs, housing, sport, and electricity in homes. In deciding on the rank-order each respondent was asked to consider which of these items he felt the Peninsula Administration Board should undertake as a matter of priority. 'Jobs' was chosen by both age groups more than any of the others as the first priority (Table 2).

Three conclusions can be drawn from these findings. The issue of access to the labour market is of the highest salience in the townships. Young workers and work-seekers feel more strongly than do their older counterparts about this issue. Finally residents of the black townships consider the Peninsula Administration Board - a body playing the dual roles of local authority and authority regulating black labour - to be of more immediate consequence to them in its latter role.

The survey data suggest strongly that black Capetonians prefer employment in the formal wage economy to self-employment. Businesses and other enterprises are difficult to launch in the townships, are subject to many restrictions,² and the informal sector which is widespread,³ offers opportunities which are impermanent and hazardous for both financial as well as legally restrictive reasons.

Only five percent of respondents who were actively employed, classified themselves as self-employed. The vast majority of this group fell into the older age category, and half - in so far as could be ascertained - were registered businessmen. When asked to explain the scope of unemployment in their townships, moreover, respondents referred to problems in the wage economy (List 1). No respondent raised issues concerning self-employment.

This preference can be discussed in another way. Each respondent was asked whether he was a work-seeker, and how many members of his household were, in his opinion, work-seekers. Using this information, it is possible to compare the incidence of work-seekers based upon individual responses, to the incidence based upon individuals'

Table 1

"Are people finding it hard to get work lately?"

	<u>20 - 30</u>	<u>over 30</u>
yes	94% (n=89)	91% (n=154)

Table 2

"Which of the following do you feel the Administration Board should tackle first, second, third, etc?"

	<u>20-30</u>		<u>Over 30</u>	
	First priority	Second priority	First priority	Second priority
"jobs"	47%	18% (n=89)	34%	20% (n=154)

List 1

- "Why do you think so many people in the townships cannot get work?"
- "There is work but employers have no time to go to Langa to apply for permits because most jobs are for Coloureds....."
- "They say work is scarce and white people don't want to pay."
- "Job reservation is even stated in the newspapers when looking for a job - Coloureds only."
- "The firms are being liquidated and other firms are using contract labourers instead of local people. The job reservation too which gives first preference to Coloureds adds a burden. There are too many whites in our Administration Board who are doing jobs we can do."

Table 3

WORKSEEKERS AS PERCENTAGE OF POTENTIAL LABOUR FORCE

Based on respondent's answer about <u>MEMBERS OF HIS HOUSEHOLD</u>		Based on respondent's answer about <u>HIMSELF</u>	
<u>Work-seekers</u>	<u>Employed</u>	<u>Work-seekers</u>	<u>Employed</u>
31%	69%	26%	74%
n = 810		n = 70	
<u>20 - 30 age group</u>			
		<u>Work-seekers</u>	<u>Employed</u>
		14%	86%
		n = 141	

was asked whether he was a work-seeker, and how many members of his household were, in his opinion, work-seekers. Using this information, it is possible to compare the incidence of work-seekers based upon individual responses, to the incidence based upon individuals'...

perception of work-seekers in their particular household. The latter incidence is substantially higher than the former (Table 3).

This result suggests that a number of individuals who would classify themselves either as not seeking work, or as employed, are viewed by other members of their household as work-seekers. In the first case, it is probable that someone who shares the fruits of a household income without contributing to it, will be seen by his kin as someone who should, at least, seek employment. In the second case, someone who is self-employed, particularly in the informal sector, and who contributes varying amounts to this income in an unpredictable way, may be viewed in the same light. He would probably classify himself however, as employed. In both cases, 'a work-seeker' is probably interpreted in the context of the wage economy.

Within the wage economy, aspirations are linked to achieved educational qualifications. The 20 - 30 age group of respondents has substantially higher qualifications than their older counterparts (Table 4), and find it difficult to obtain employment outside of the small and non-productive government sector. This point which was raised by employers in Cape Town and discussed in the previous section, is underlined by an analysis of the employment sectors within which respondents classified themselves. Qualifications higher than Standard Six offer little support in gaining access to white collar and skilled employment in the private sector. This is particularly true for younger work-seekers (Table 5).

This inability of educated work-seekers to obtain the type of skilled employment they aspire to, is probably widely known among both young work-seekers and their parents. This perception explains in part the emphasis the youth place upon employment opportunities as the major issue of their lives in the townships. To further substantiate this frustration on the part of the youth, three more responses to the question probing opinions on unemployment (List 1) are given:

"Work is very scarce for us. There is no difference whether you are professional or not. My three children are not working: Son - 23 with matric; son- 20 with Std 8; daughter - 19 with Primary Teachers Certificate."

"Suitable jobs are given to coloureds. Many educated people have already left as they see nothing but a bleak future for a black man in the Western Cape."

"First preference in the allocation of jobs is given to the coloured community. This results in widespread unemployment particularly among our educated people who end up being useless drunkards."

Three sets of responses will be used to assess residents' opinions of the labour market itself. Each respondent was asked his opinion regarding the widespread unemployment situation in the townships. The respondent was also asked whether he felt contract workers from the Ciskei and Transkei, and people living in squatter camps in Cape Town should be allowed to work in Cape Town. Both these latter questions were followed by an open-ended question probing the reasons for these opinions.

Two separate themes underlie the responses to these questions. The first deals with the recession in the economy in greater Cape Town. Inflation, the retrenchment of employees, enterprises closing down, and automation are examples which recur frequently and belong to the economic component of the opinions expressed. The second theme deals with the policy and practice of influx control and its application in the Western Cape. The policy of Coloured Labour Preference, resettlement, and the unfairness of the contract labour system are examples, and belong to what will be called the political component of the opinions expressed.

Analysis of the data highlights the fact that the policy of Coloured Labour Preference is widely known and deeply resented by black Capetonians. It is viewed in the main as a policy implemented by white (rather than coloured) institutions, and a policy to which white employers conform. The data also highlight the fact that the youth share among themselves a much stronger political component in their attitudes to the labour market. The youth are more inclined than their elders to explain the phenomenon of

Table 4

EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

	<u>20 - 30 age group</u>		<u>over 30 age group</u>	
to Std 4	8%		23%	
Std 5, 6	20%		40%	
Std 7, 8	44%		32%	
Std 9 and higher	28%	n=89	5%	n=154
	<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>	

Table 5

EMPLOYMENT BY EDUCATIONAL QUALIFICATIONS

a) in the <u>PUBLIC</u> and <u>PRIVATE</u> sectors	<u>20 - 30</u>		<u>over 30</u>	
	to Std 6	Std 7 and higher	to Std 6	Std 7 and higher
white collar and skilled	0%	29%	0%	13%
semi-skilled and unskilled	35%	37%	57%	30%
	n=52		n=122	
b) <u>SOLELY</u> in the <u>PRIVATE</u> sector				
white collar and skilled	0%	16%	0%	7%
semi-skilled and unskilled	40%	44%	59%	34%
	n=43		n=102	

unemployment in terms of the policy of Coloured Preference (Table 6).

Residents of Gugulethu and Langa, moreover, show clear solidarity with families living in squatter communities close to them. Responses reflect an identification with the similar problems these families face in the camps, and similar financial difficulties. These same residents are more divided on the issue of contract workers. Younger respondents particularly view, in many cases, these workers as competitors in the labour market and as a threat to the stability of family life (especially in Langa which accommodates many single-men migrants). Once again political responses inform younger residents' opinions more often than they do older residents' (Table 7 and List 2).

Employment is a factor in self-esteem and in esteem by others. In Cape Town's black townships, where employment opportunities and poverty⁴ are pervasive issues, it is probable that the status of breadwinner is of the highest importance to one's family and household. As has been seen, respondents' opinions of the labour market and competitors in that market are often couched in family and kinship terms.

It has been argued that most residents aspire to a position in the formal wage economy. Rent must be paid on a regular basis; self-employment is uncertain in its rewards and usually open to official scrutiny and prosecution; and influx control regulations are best avoided by registration as a worker at the labour bureau of the Administration Board. All these factors dictate this preference for a wage job with regular remuneration. For the work-seeker and his family, this is the preferred status. For the youth in these townships, with high educational qualifications and their related employment expectations, the policy of Coloured Labour Preference is identified as a major source of frustration. As a result, the presence of contract workers is viewed as a threat to these aspirant workers and thereby creates a cleavage within the townships which will probably deepen if highly educated work-seekers do not find well-remunerated employment opportunities easier to come by.

Table 6

Explanations for unemployment

	20 - 30	over 30	Typical statement:
1. <u>Political Explanations</u>	65%	51%	"The government is frustrating us so that we can go back to the home-lands"
a) Coloured Labour Preference mentioned explicitly	(50%)	(43%)	"Blacks in the townships have no jobs while the coloureds are enjoying the biggest bite as far as jobs are concerned"
2. <u>Economic Explanations</u>	35%	49%	"It's because of inflation and everything has gone because factories use machines now"
	100%	100%	
	n=87	n=153	

Table 7

Be allowed to work in Cape Town?

		20 - 30	over 30
SQUATTERS	yes	82%	95%
	no	18%	5%
		100%	100%
		n=83	n=150
MIGRANTS	yes	54%	71%
	no	46%	29%
		100%	100%
		n=84	n=150

List 2

Opinions on squatters and migrants working in Cape Town

- a) Squatters: "Not a single man from Australia or Canada would ever stay in a house like one of those. Why should they stay there and be shot right in the middle of the night? Those camps can be easily washed away by heavy rains and people staying there cannot be physically fit. How can their children get thorough tuition in such a badly built school?"
- "Most of the people living in squatter camps have the right to work in Cape Town, but they do not have accommodation. These people are told by the BAAB to stay in other people's houses as lodgers and in most cases are not satisfied by the way they are handled by the occupiers".
- b) Migrants: "As they are not allowed to bring their families they help to break homes especially now that the people are struggling to get money - it happens often that the wives are paid by contract labourers to come and live with them in bachelor quarters - they buy nice food over weekends, chickens, rice, etc. and liquor, so women with no money find it tempting to stay with them."
- "They should be allowed to come and work freely not under contract."
- "They take jobs away from township people. They cause employers to pay less money. They destroy the local girls with money and liquor". (Langa respondent).

4) THE INCOME ASPECT OF EMPLOYMENT

This aspect of employment refers to the reward a worker obtains for his work. Black Capetonians who earn a wage are responsible on a day to day basis for two basic requirements: to provide for their family and kin, and to guarantee that accommodation is available for themselves and their kin.

These two requirements, common to all people, are of particular importance to black residents of Cape Town. Housing, as was indicated earlier, has become a commodity of extreme scarcity,¹ particularly since no new family housing has been built (officially) since the late sixties. To qualify for township housing, moreover, necessitates a clean record with the Administration Board: difficult when the web of restrictions on all members of the family, and particularly on those who do not qualify for residence, is taken into account. Secondly, with job scarcity and high unemployment, household income remains low, and poverty and hunger are issues of immediate concern in many households.

Underlying these two requirements is the fact that the vast majority of black Capetonians are committed to family and wider kin relations on a scale much broader than other Capetonians. This point was raised in the previous section, and will be substantiated here once again.

There are approximately 10 000 family houses in the black townships of Cape Town.² Typically, a family house has four rooms, and is one of a number in a row-house series. The lack of family housing has led to overcrowding and widespread lodging in the townships, and the development of squatter camps in the environs of the townships.³ Lodging is a term used to refer to families who are accommodated in one section of a house (typically, one room) after obtaining permission from both the Administration Board and the lessee of the house.

Lodgers are then required to pay a monthly lodger's fee to the Board, and, often, an additional fee to the lessee.

Through a comparison of lodger families to families registered as occupiers, it is possible to highlight a number of the important issues of immediate concern to black Capetonians: one house in six includes a registered lodger family.⁴ According to survey results, over three-quarters

Table 1

Occupancy Rates:Number of People per Room:

	<u>Occupier family</u>	<u>Lodger family</u>
2 or less	54%	32%
2 to 3	28%	33%
3 or more	18%	35%
	100% n = 224	100% n = 44

Table 2

Individual Monthly Income by sex, age, and educational qualifications:

	<u>Men</u>			
	<u>20 - 30</u>		<u>over 30</u>	
	<u>to Std. 6</u>	<u>Std. 7 and higher</u>	<u>to Std. 6</u>	<u>Std. 7 and higher</u>
under R125 p. m.	14%	24%	42%	14%
R125 p. m. and over	21%	41% n = 29	21%	23% n = 73
	<u>Women</u>			
	<u>20 - 30</u>		<u>over 30</u>	
	<u>to Std. 6</u>	<u>Std. 7 and higher</u>	<u>to Std. 6</u>	<u>Std. 7 and higher</u>
under R125 p. m.	33%	54%	53%	32%
R125 p. m. and over	0%	13% n = 24	3%	12% n = 66

Table 3

Unemployment rates by age and sex

	<u>20 - 30</u>	<u>over 30</u>
men	22%	8%
women	31%	21%
		total n = 151

of lodger families are kin relations of the occupier family. On average, lodger families pay their hosts R9,50 per month (as well as the lodger's fee to the Administration Board). In almost all family houses, all rooms are used at night as bedrooms. Using two persons per room as a rough measure of overcrowding, almost half the occupier households, and more than two thirds of the lodger households, are overcrowded (Table 1).

By using household income data, moreover, the relative plight of lodger families is emphasized: between twenty-five and thirty percent of occupier families live below the bread-line (measured in terms of the HSL), whereas more than fifty percent of lodger families fall below this line.⁵

For those lucky enough to be employed in a wage-earning job, less than eighteen percent earn more than R150- per month. Data suggest that these earnings are related to educational qualifications and that men earn substantially more than women with the same qualifications (Table 2). This last observation suggests further that women are underemployed and are even more prepared than men to accept employment for which they are overqualified.

A typical household includes, for each employed adult, between two and three adults who are not employed. Unemployment is high and rises among women and youth (Table 3). As was shown in the last section there is social pressure on many adults to find employment of some sort. With a low household income, overcrowding, and a perception of increasing hunger in the townships, this social pressure is understandable.

Lodging is a term used to refer to families who are accommodated in one section of a house (usually one room) after obtaining permission from both the Administration Board and the registered occupier. Lodgers are then required to pay a monthly lodger's fee to the Board, and, often, an additional fee to the leasee.

Through a comparison of lodger families to families registered as occupiers, it is possible to highlight a number of the important issues of immediate concern to black Capetonians: one house in six includes a registered lodger family.⁴ According to survey results, over three-quarters

5) CONCLUSION

The advantage of analysing employment in terms of its production, recognition, and income aspects, is to be able to view the labour market from three different, though inter-related, perspectives.

It is evident that Cape Town's economy is a wage-based economy. Having minimal access to opportunities for self-employment in industry and commerce, the vast majority of coloured and black Capetonians work for a wage.

From the point of view of production, white employers prefer blacks, both permanent and migrant, for low-skilled jobs in labour-intensive enterprises. The labour market functions reasonably efficiently in meeting this demand.

For high-skilled wage jobs, though many employers prefer coloured manpower, there is a clear demand for the greater utilisation of skilled black manpower. The labour market, confined as it is by Coloured Labour Preference regulations, meets this demand partially and inefficiently.

Though this paper is not concerned with industrial relations, it is common knowledge that advancement for coloureds¹ has been substantial during the last ten years, for blacks minimal. Employers were explicit in their preference for black advancement, and black permanence in Cape Town. Their reasons are probably inter alia, a desire both for skilled manpower, and for a larger consumer market.

In Cape Town's economy, access to the wage labour market is an issue of overriding importance to black workers and work-seekers alike. Wage employment is seen as a source of both income and security: a hedge against poverty and against expulsion. With minimal opportunities for self-employment, blacks perceive the policy of Coloured Labour Preference as being conceived and implemented by whites, and as the most serious barrier to their access to jobs.

The black youth, in particular, explain their partial and differential access to the labour market in explicitly political terms. With higher educational qualifications than their elders, and concomitant employment aspirations, they are keenly aware of the limited employment opportunities at skilled levels, and of the practice of employing over-qualified blacks for low-skilled positions. (White employers' responses

substantiate this practice). The black youth in Cape Town see the labour market as being labour-repressive,² functioning in line with the Republican government's geo-political ideology and policy of Coloured Labour Preference.

Required to compete within this labour-repressive market, the youth view contract workers as competitors who undercut wages, and as single men who disrupt life in the townships. Black Capetonians' lives in their townships, in fact, are generally communal and kinship-based. Black families living in nearby squatter camps are viewed as part of the wider community; migrants from the Transkei and Ciskei, often, as outsiders.

Income from a wage job, in this kinship-based community, is a resource used to provide a household with subsistence and accommodation. With widespread unemployment and underemployment, wages form the largest and most stable component of a household's income. Pensions, income from informal commercial activities, and - for those with a house in the townships - lodgers' rent are other components.

Homeless families, if they remain in the townships, lodge with their kin. These families live in conditions of more overcrowding and poverty than families with homes. For all families, however, the household income as well as space in the home are husbanded with care.

Viewed from the perspective of Greater Cape Town, the policy of Coloured Labour Preference, during the last ten years, has had the following effects:

1. It has skewed the black labour market. Demand for blacks at high-skilled levels has been restricted; at low-skilled levels amply met. Supply, on the other hand, in both areas can adequately meet demand. The labour market does not allocate the available black manpower optimally.
2. The policy is seen by black Capetonians as a barrier to job opportunities, and job advancement. The labour market, in their view, is regulated by political directives to their direct detriment.
3. During the last fifteen years, the policy has exacerbated both the shortage of housing stock, thereby contributing to further overcrowding and squatting, as well as to the scope of unemployment.

In conclusion, evidence discussed in this paper has pointed to cleavages between white and black, and coloured and black, in Cape Town. Within the black community, cleavages are evident between registered Capetonians, non-registered Capetonians, and migrants. Occupiers of township houses, lodgers, and squatters; wage-earners and work-seekers; the youth and their elders are further distinctions. Each such cleavage is given some importance in the minds of black Capetonians. The policy of Coloured Labour Preference, by grouping, in effect, all blacks into one labour category, has deepened the perceived cleavage between black and white. The black community of Cape Town is united in its opposition to the policy. The politicisation of the black youth of Cape Town, moreover, has been influenced by this policy: influenced to oppose whites who implement it, and to oppose the city's wage economy which does not offer the opportunities to which the youth aspire.

In Cape Town, it would seem that both white employers and black employees are opposed to the policy.

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Introduction

1. State control over who may move to cities has been introduced recently in Indonesia and Tanzania. See Harris and Todaro, (1968) and (1978) for Tanzania; McGee and Papanek for Indonesia.
2. The terms black, white, coloured and Asian will be used in this paper in their legal sense. Racial categories of labour thus are legally defined categories.
3. This area includes the magisterial district of Hay, north of the Orange River. See map. A buffer zone adjoining the Western Cape region in the East, and bounded by a line following the Fish and Kat rivers northwards to Aliwal North, is subject to a less strict policy of Coloured Labour Preference. See RP 32/1979 and Bekker and Cilliers (1980).
4. 39, 19% of the area of South Africa, including all homelands.
5. C. Saunders, 'The Creation of Ndabeni' (1979).
6. Interim Report on Economic Potential of Western Cape, B. E. R., Stellenbosch.
7. The number of Administration Boards was reduced from 22 to 14 on the first of April, 1979. The Peninsula Administration Board was amalgamated with the South-Western Cape Board.
8. See A. Sen (1975), E. Thorbecke (1973).
9. Bekker and Cilliers (1980).
10. A summary of the research design, and a copy of the questionnaire used in this survey may be obtained from the Institute of Social and Economic Research, Rhodes University, Grahamstown.
11. These categories refer to differing qualifications (or a lack thereof) in terms of Section 10 (1) of Act 25 of 1945; commonly known as the Urban Areas Act.
12. Official census results, 1960, 1970. Preliminary 1980 results, Statistical News Release: Population Census 6 May 1980, 16. 9. 80.

I: The Institutional and Administrative Measures of the Policy.

1. Eiselen (1955).
2. C. Saunders, 'From Ndabeni to Langa' (1979), pp. 170, 171.
3. C. Saunders, 'The Creation of Ndabeni' (1979).
4. The region was demarcated as lying south of the Orange River and west of the magisterial districts of Hopetown and Knysna, Eiselen (1955).
5. RP 32/1979, paragraph 3. 679.
6. op. cit., paragraph 3. 72.

7. 'Bantoebehuising in Wes-Kaaplandse Stedelike Gebiede' (1965).
8. Black Labour Regulations, 1965, VIII, 21.
9. RP 32/1979, paragraph 3.680.
10. Nywerheidsdesentralisasie in Suid-Afrika, 1975.
11. For example, the Divisional Council areas of Graaff-Reinet and Jansenville, G.G. 2280, 21.2.69 (Government Gazette).
12. RP 38/1976.
13. SAIRR Yearbook, 1976, pp. 286, 287.
14. Black Labour Regulations, 1965, loc. cit.

II: The Production Aspect

1. BA 537.
2. Press reports during 1978 emphasize this shift in official mood. See, for example, Cape Times, 27.4.78; Cape Argus, 29.4.78; Rapport, 30.4.78; Financial Mail, 5.5.78.
3. Many of these contract workers remain in Cape Town without formal registration. This trend is evident if residents in squatter communities are taken into account. See Maree and Cornell (1977); South African Outlook, 1280, 108, Feb. 1978.
4. The Theron Report, RP 38/1976 and the Riekert Report, RP 32/1979.
5. Results discussed in this section are presented in greater detail in Bekker and Cilliers (1980).

III: The Recognition Aspect

1. See footnote 10, Introduction.
2. See Bekker (1978), Bloch and Weichel (1977), S. A. I. R. R. Yearbook 1976, 1977, 1978.
3. See Weichel, Smith and Putterill (1978).
4. All respondents were asked the following question:

"Do you think that there are more or less people who go hungry today when compared to a few years ago?"

Over 80% of respondents felt that there were more, with no significant difference between the younger and older groups.

IV: The Income Aspect

1. All respondents were asked to rank-order seven items of concern in their townships. Both young and old respondents chose housing as their second most important choice, after employment opportunities. See section 3, Table 2.

- 2. See Granelli and Levitan (1977).
- 3. See Ellis et al (1977).
- 4. Information obtained from the Peninsula Administration Board in July, 1978.
- 5. Potgieter (1978).

V: Conclusion

- 1. See Theron Report, RP 38/1976.
- 2. The term is used by Barrington-Moore (1966).

Press reports during 1978 emphasize this shift in official mood. See for example, Cape Times, 27.4.78; Cape Argus, 29.4.78; Rapport, 30.4.78; Financial Mail, 29.5.78.

Many of these contract workers remain in Cape Town without formal registration. This trend is evident in residential and migrant communities as taken into account in 2nd and 3rd Cornhill (1977); South African Outlook, 1280, 108, Feb. 1978.

The Theron Report, RP 38/1976 and the Riskier Report, RP 32/1979. These two studies with their complementary saw broad results discussed in this section are presented in greater detail in Bekker and Cilliers (1980).

III: The Recognition Aspect

See Bekker (1978), Black and White (1977), and the Annual Yearbook, 1978 (1978) for a more detailed account of the work.

See Weichel, Smith and Parfitt (1978).

All respondents were asked the following question: "Do you think that there are more or less people who go hungry today when compared to a few years ago?"

Over 80% of respondents felt that there were more, with no significant difference between the younger and older groups.

C. Saunders, 'From Langal to inabantu', pp. 170, 171.

C. Saunders, 'The Income Aspects', VI

All respondents were asked to rank-order respondents in their own households. Both young and old respondents chose housing as their second most important factor, after employment opportunities. See section 3, Appendix, RP 32/1979, paragraph 3.72.

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