

F A B C O R - -

A STUDY OF A MULTI-RACIAL LABOUR FORCE

T H E S I S

Submitted for the Degree of MASTER OF ARTS (ECONOMICS)

- by -

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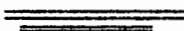
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A N N E X U R E S



## P R E F A C E

This thesis is based upon material gathered during investigations undertaken as Senior Research Worker in the Department of Economics, University of Cape Town, as part of a wider research project into non-European communities in the Western Cape. The project enjoys the support of the Department of Education, Arts and Science, (National Council for Social Research) and I am indebted to the National Council for their kind permission to allow me to make use of some of the information I have gathered.

We in the Department of Economics have been dealing specifically with the problem of turnover among African workers in the Cape Peninsula. Our enquiries to date have taken the form of a series of intensive investigations among workers in a number of large firms in Cape Town. The present work was written in the course of this research and concerns one factory where we spent nine months in 1955. In view of a request for anonymity by the company in question, I am unable, as I would wish to make personal acknowledgement of the friendly assistance I received from the management and staff. The name FABCOR is, therefore, fictitious, and is not meant to resemble the name of any concern in existence.

I am most grateful for the valuable advice I have received from many sources, and particularly from Professor H.M. Robertson and Dr. Sheila T. van der Horst.

I am also indebted to Mr. M. Molelekoa, the Research Assistant who interviewed the African workers.

Any conclusions drawn are my own and I accept full responsibility for them.

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N

### 1. THE SCOPE OF THE THESIS

This thesis is largely a descriptive study of a single factory, FABCOR. I have tried to avoid the temptation to draw generalisations from a single case history and where I have deviated from FABCOR to illuminate any particular point, it has been with the aid of material I have gathered in other enquiries.

The pattern of labour relations in South Africa bears the bold imprint of multi-racialism. Apart from the general economic problems of labour, in the Union the labour market is complicated, and to a large extent conditioned by such multi-racial characteristics as differing environmental backgrounds of the workers, educational and aptitudinal disparities, and colour sensitivity manifesting itself in legal and customary sanctions.

FABCOR which employs workers of all races provides ample material for research in this field. In examining its problems I have sought to throw some light on those influences which affect the ability and the willingness of South African labour to provide productive services. What is the attitude of the non-European to work and what are his qualifications? Is he conscious of his role in the productive process or does he regard himself merely as a tool in the economy, with little ambition or prospect for the future? How do his background and training equip him to play a useful role in industry? In the answers to these questions lies an important clue to the future course - and pace - of industrial development in South Africa.

## 2. A BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF THE COMPANY AND ITS WORKERS

FABCOR is a factory in Maitland, manufacturing a variety of goods used chiefly by the food processing industry. It has been in continuous operation, though under different ownership, for about forty years. Before moving to Maitland it was situated in Salt River. The present owners operate similar factories in other parts of the country, but FABCOR is the largest.

The strength of the labour force at FABCOR varies according to seasonal demands for its products. During the relatively slack period of our investigation there were some 1,000 workers of all races on the payroll, consisting of approximately 250 Europeans, 250 Africans and 500 Coloured workers of both sexes. The Europeans are mostly technicians and office staff, the Africans generally fall in the labouring category, and the Coloured workers range from labourers to high-grade semi-skilled operatives. The extensive use of African labour dates only from 1952.

The wage rates are subject to a Wage Board Determination.

The Company provides many amenities for its employees. There is a well-equipped and efficiently run modern canteen for all races where meals are provided on a subsidised basis: a European, for example, can obtain a substantial meat or fish dish, with vegetables, for tenpence, while the same dish is available to non-Europeans for sixpence. In addition, Africans may purchase traditionally prepared foods, such as samp and beans, this innovation having been made at the suggestion of the writer. A well stocked dry goods canteen is also maintained for the convenience of workers.

The non-European dining room is easily convertible into a concert hall or cinema, and regular staff concerts are held in addition to weekly lunch-hour cinema shows. At the end of the year the Company organises a number of Christmas entertainments for workers and their families.

There is a fully equipped modern surgery, staffed by two experienced nursing sisters. The factory doctor

visits...

visits the surgery four times a week and is on call for serious cases. All prospective employees are medically examined, and periodically all employees are X-Rayed for T.B.

European staff can join a Pension Fund and Medical Aid Society.

A five-day working week is in operation, the daily hours being 7.30 a.m. to 5.30 p.m., with an hour for lunch and two 10-minute rest periods, morning and afternoon. During busy periods a night shift is operated. Every worker is allowed a fortnight's leave per year, plus certain statutory holidays as laid down in the Wage Determination.

Matters concerning production are in the hands of a Factory Manager, under whom fall various heads of departments. There is also a Personnel Office which is concerned not only with recruitment and the maintenance of staff records, but also with the supervisor of the canteen, the surgery and the security system, and with the organising of concerts, cinema shows, etc.

### 3. METHOD OF ENQUIRY

My choice of FABCOR as a subject for our enquiries was influenced by several considerations. Its labour force was multi-racial in character; the factory was old-established and therefore unlikely to be affected by growing pains; it was conveniently situated in the industrial heart of Cape Town; and management appeared to be interested and willing to allow us full scope for our research. We were offered full co-operation with only one condition: that we did not mention the company by name or describe its product.

Initially it was our intention to concentrate on the African workers in order to discover the causes of labour turnover among them. To this end, the Research Assistant, Mr. Molelekoa, addressed a lunch-hour meeting of Africans to explain to them the purpose of our enquiries. I purposely absented myself in order that the meeting should be an all-African affair, and this proved to be a wise

precaution...

precaution as the workers, from the outset, were suspicious of our motives. There followed a few days of explanation, discussion and consideration, while we had talks with Trade Union and informal leaders, and finally we were offered unanimous co-operation. This co-operation continued throughout the nine months we were at the factory and our questions were answered with complete frankness.

It soon became apparent that for purposes of comparison, and to enable us to place the Africans in perspective, our enquiries would have to include workers of other races. I therefore undertook the interviewing of all Coloured workers, male and female, and later extended the investigations to cover some of the Europeans.

Both Mr. Molelekoa and I sought to identify ourselves as far as possible with the daily life at FABCOR in order to become accepted as part of the factory set-up. We succeeded in this beyond our expectations. People soon began to bring their problems to us and we were kept informed of current gossip and rumour through the factory grapevine. Our presence in the factory undoubtedly gave the workers something new to talk about and we gained the impression that it increased their sense of well-being. I overheard a group of Coloured workers referring to me as "the man who has come to find out all our troubles". A European supervisor commented that it was about time that the company showed some interest in the workers. They obviously felt that some-body was showing an interest in them, for the first time, and reacted accordingly. At the end of our nine months' stay I felt that there was little of the factory life which I did not know. In between interviews I listened to individual problems, complaints and gossip. By listening, observing, and sometimes asking questions, I was able to appraise those in authority and at the same time I got to know many of the workers more intimately than was possible in the course of a circumscribed interview. My wife and I were invited to attend the Workers' Concert at the Maitland Town Hall, while Mr. Molelekoa won considerable popularity and prestige by his piano and saxophone playing at lunch-hour concerts.

Management were equally helpful and the Senior Personnel Officer and Factory Manager were always willing to discuss problems with me. I was also given full access to company labour records.

The fact that the firm had been subjected to a Wage Board determination a few months before our arrival caused me some concern at the outset, as I feared that this might colour the replies of the workers. On the whole, I think that my fears were unfounded, although it is possible that some of the workers' attitudes may have been influenced by these past events. It is interesting to record that the attitudes of workers we interviewed in other concerns did not deviate much from the pattern established at FABCOR. I think one has to bear in mind that few people are ever completely satisfied with the payment they receive for their services, and also the further point that in relation to the present cost of living the wage levels of unskilled and semi-skilled workers cannot be regarded as adequate. I have attempted to make some assessment of this position, but in so doing I have not taken into account whether or not the industry in question could, in fact, afford major wage increases. My assessment cannot therefore be taken as criticism of the management of FABCOR, where profit margins are not great and where the company is subject to a variety of seasonal fluctuations which cannot be assessed in advance. I have examined the wage structure at FABCOR in an attempt to throw some light on the general problem of low wages: in fact, the wages paid by FABCOR are about the average for Cape Town.

The actual interviews with the workers were conducted on the basis of two prepared schedules: one factual and one attitudinal. The first sought to obtain census type material about the worker and his background, while the second was framed to ascertain worker attitudes to work in general and to FABCOR in particular. The actual schedules, copies of which are attached as Appendices, differed slightly as between the races; we sought more detailed information from the Africans about the extent of their absorption into the urban economy. I did not attempt to measure these attitudes on the basis of precise psychological tests, but framed the schedules in the belief that much useful information can be obtained from simple, cross-checked questions.

To ensure the greatest possible degree of frankness in replies to questions, the workers were assured of the absolutely confidential nature of individual disclosures.

Each worker was given a code number to identify his schedule, thus ensuring that no names appeared on completed schedules. The Africans were interviewed in the informal atmosphere of their dining room, while the other races were interviewed in the privacy of a small rest room adjoining the factory surgery.

The choice of language medium at the interview was left to individual workers: the majority of Africans selected an African language while most of the Coloured workers preferred to use Afrikaans. The length of interviews varied, usually being an hour for Africans and half an hour for Coloured workers. The time difference was partly due to the fact that Africans are naturally loquacious, and partly due to the difference in the length of the schedules.

In addition to the interviewing, I made a study of the labour records of the factory, extracting records of recruitment, turnover and absenteeism. I also endeavoured to appraise the work of the Personnel Office. I extracted detailed work records for each worker interviewed, together with his work grading, the department in which he worked and the wages he received during the week of interview.

No attempt was made to contact the European workers at personal interviews due to the wastage of time involved. A selection of 40 supervisors was asked to complete anonymous questionnaires, largely to test their feelings as to the relative merits of workers of different racial groups. The experiment was not a complete success, as only fourteen filled in their forms and returned them. These results, although they compare favourably with the usual experience with voluntary questionnaires, only serve to emphasise the superiority of personal interviews over the questionnaire approach. In subsequent factory investigations I contacted foremen directly and obtained complete co-operation.

A total number of 260 Africans, 177 Coloured males and 203 Coloured females were interviewed by us at FABCOR.

C H A P T E R   O N E

THE SET-UP AT FABCOR

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CHAPTER ONE

THE SET UP AT FABCOR

1. THE FACTORY LAY-OUT:

FABCOR is situated in Maitland within easy reach of Ndabeni station. It is a modern factory, with conveniently laid-out workshops, and working conditions are generally good although some departments suffer from the rigours of the weather, being very cold in winter and very hot in summer. The office block, surgery, workshops and canteen are separate from the factory building, which is a large double-storey structure covering most of the FABCOR area. The canteen block houses the restrooms on its lower floor and three canteen rooms on the upper floor. Each race has a separate dining-room, that of the Coloured workers being divided for different sexes by a partition which can be removed to convert the room into a concert hall. The canteen kitchen, which adjoins the dining-rooms, is accessible through hatches for serving food.

In addition to the provision of hot meals at lunch time, tea, cakes, sandwiches or buttered bread are available during rest periods. The canteen will also make special cakes, such as iced birthday cakes, to order. For those workers who prefer their own food heating facilities in the kitchen ovens are available.

The rest-rooms on the ground floor of the canteen block are equipped with individual lockers where workers can store their personal belongings during working hours.

The surgery is housed in a separate building and consists of a dispensary, a consulting room and a rest-room. It is well equipped and the company spares no expense in the provision of medicines, etc. No charge is made for routine checks, nor for the provision of medicine for minor complaints.

2. MANAGEMENT:

Responsibility for the direction of the factory's affairs rests with a Branch Director. Production is controlled by a Factory Manager who sets the pace in the factory and generally concerns himself with most matters

affecting...

affecting FABCOR. He is assisted by a team of departmental heads, under whom fall European and non-European charge hands. The Personnel Officer is concerned with recruitment, which he does in consultation with the Factory Manager. His position is somewhat affected by the fact that most departmental heads appear to prefer to consult with the Factory Manager directly in matters concerning labour, and in some cases actually do their own recruiting.

The departmental heads are mainly English-speaking and several have been recruited from overseas associated companies. They occupy offices adjoining the actual sphere of work, leaving direct supervision of the workers to the chargehands. Control is maintained by periodical inspections and their offices are glass-walled and situated above the work benches so that the entire field of operations is constantly on view.

There appears to be no definite system of selection or training of charge-hands, who are usually picked from the ranks. The workers are not consulted in this matter.

Entry into the factory is controlled and visitors are not encouraged. Security is in the hands of a retired Metropolitan Police officer.

### 3. LEGISLATION AFFECTING FABCOR:

#### (a) The Wage Act, No. 44 of 1937:

The Wage Act is a development of the first Act which was passed in 1925. Its purpose is to set up machinery for the fixing of minimum wages and the regulation of conditions of work in industries having unorganised labour. Excluded from its scope are agriculture, domestic service, government and provincial servants, employees in educational and charitable institutions, and employees who fall within the scope of the Industrial Conciliation Act.

In terms of the Wage Act, the Minister of Labour is empowered, either on his own initiative or at the request of a representative group, to appoint a Wage Board to investigate general conditions of work and rates of pay in a particular industry. On the basis of the Board's recommendations, and after the hearing of further

objections...

objections from interested parties, a Wage Determination may be made for the industry as a whole. The Determination lays down the minimum rates of pay for the different defined categories of work, and sets out the minimum conditions of employment for the industry.

In reaching its recommendations, the Wage Board aims to fix a wage which will enable workers to maintain a civilised standard of living, having due regard to costs, both of living and of production, and to the value of payments in kind.

(b) Factories, Machinery & Building Work Act,

No. 22 of 1944:

This Act deals with the registration of factories, the regulation of hours and conditions of work (other than wages), and the prevention and investigation of accidents. It is administered by inspectors of the Department of Labour. Rules are laid down with regard to available space, light, ventilation, sitting accommodation, safety measures, cloakroom and washing facilities and first-aid equipment. The Governor-General is empowered to make different regulations for different classes of persons, on the basis of race.

(c) Workmen's Compensation Act, No. 30 of 1941:

This Act, as amended, provides for the compensation of workers for disablement caused by accidents sustained in the course of employment, and for compensation of widows in the case of a worker's death following an accident while on duty. It applies to all workers, with some exceptions, as in the case of domestic servants in private households, farm workers not employed in connection with machinery, and persons earning over £1,000 a year.

Every workman who suffers a personal injury as a result of an accident arising out of or during the course of his work, or who contracts a scheduled industrial disease is entitled to benefits under the Act.

While he is temporarily unfit for work, a European, Asiatic or Coloured workman is entitled to periodic payments at the rate of 75% of his earnings up to £20 per month, plus 50% of his earnings in excess

of...

of £20 up to £40 per month, this being the maximum amount upon which compensation is payable. The maximum rate of payment is therefore £25, while the minimum is £6.10.0. or full earnings, whichever is the lesser amount. No compensation is payable for the first three days if the worker is off work for less than two weeks. Periodic payments to Africans whose earnings exceed £13.6.8. per month are the same as for other races, but for Africans whose earnings do not exceed this amount, the rate of compensation is  $66\frac{2}{3}\%$  of the monthly earnings, with a minimum of £6.10.0. per month or 75% of the worker's wages, whichever is the lesser sum. No compensation in respect of temporary disablement is payable to an African whose disablement is less than seven days, or 14 days where the employer supplies food and quarters.

In the case of permanent injury, payments are assessed in accordance with the nature of the disablement. For European, Asiatic and Coloured workers compensation for a disablement assessed at 25% or less takes the form of a lump sum equal to ten times the worker's monthly earnings up to £20, plus six times his monthly earnings in excess of £20 and up to £40, which is the maximum amount on which compensation is payable. If disablement is greater than 25%, compensation takes the form of a monthly pension, and the pension for total disablement is the same as for temporary incapacity. If an African worker is totally disabled, compensation takes the form of a lump sum equal to six times his monthly earnings up to £20, and 15 times his monthly earnings in excess of £20.

If a European, Coloured or Asiatic worker dies as the result of an accident for which compensation is payable...

or from a scheduled industrial disease, his widow is entitled to a lump sum of £50, or two months' earnings of the workman, whichever is the less, and to a pension equivalent to 40% of the pension which the worker would have received had he lived. In the case of Africans, compensation takes the form of a lump sum which cannot exceed the amount which would have been due to the worker if he had been totally disabled.

Injured workmen are entitled to free medical aid for a period of two years from the date of the accident, and have a free choice of doctor unless the employer has made approved arrangements for the medical treatment of injured workers.

(d) Unemployment Insurance Act No. 53 of 1946:

The Act, as amended, makes provision for payment from the Unemployment Insurance Fund of:

(i) benefits to unemployed contributors who are capable of work but unable to find it.

(ii) allowances to contributors who are unemployed for more than four weeks as a result of illness.

(iii) certain expenses for training of unemployed contributors.

All employees whose earnings do not exceed £750 per annum, other than employees explicitly excluded from the Act, are contributors.

(e) Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act,  
No. 48 of 1953:

The Act applies to all African workers, other than those employed on farms, as domestic servants, in the government or education service, or in the gold or coal mines. It excludes Africans from the scope of the Industrial Conciliation Act, forbids strikes and lock-outs and while not expressly forbidding African Trade Unions, it withholds official recognition.

Special machinery for the settlement of disputes is set up. Regional Native Labour Committees, under European chairmanship, with African members appointed by the Minister of Labour, are provided for. These Committees are to maintain contact with employers and workers in order to

receive...

receive representations and to settle disputes. In addition, provision is made for a Central Labour Board, of purely European membership, to hear disputes if the Regional Committee fails in its task of mediation. When an Industrial Council or Conciliation Board (in terms of the Industrial Conciliation Act) is considering an agreement affecting occupations in which Africans are employed, representatives of the Central Board and the European chairman of the local Regional Committee are entitled to attend and join in the deliberations, but not to vote.

(f) Natives (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act,  
No. 25 of 1945:

The effect of this Act, which controls the African's access to and subsequent movement in the urban labour market, will be discussed in some detail in Chapter 6.

4. WAGES AND GRADING OF WORKERS:

The Wage Determination for the industry defines the work done at FABCOR under three grades. A worker in charge of an automatic or semi-automatic machine receives Grade I wages, while workers on manually operated machines fall in Grade II. Grade III workers are regarded as labourers; these include manual labourers, cleaners, sweepers and hand packers - that is to say work requiring little or no skill.

The majority of the Grade I workers receive an inclusive wage of £4.4.11. per week, while Grade II workers receive either £3.1.6. or £3.9.10. depending upon their length of service. The majority of the Grade III workers, receive £2.16.5. per week. In exceptional cases, the company pays wages above these general rates: there are, for example, three Coloured tool-setters who are paid £8.0.0. a week. Third Grade workers under the age of 17 receive slightly less than the standard wage (£2.14.7.).

5. ORGANISATION AMONG WORKERS:

(a) Formal Organisation:

Formal organisation among the workers is centred around the Trade Union which, despite difficulties

of...

of leadership and disputes with the company, maintains a reasonable following among the workers. Table I reflects the extent of Trade Union membership among the workers interviewed. Owing to difficulties of verification, workers were not asked whether they paid their membership dues regularly. It is possible, therefore, that some of the workers who stated that they were Trade Union members were, in fact, non-members by default.

TABLE I - TRADE UNION MEMBERSHIP OF FABCOR WORKERS:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Races</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Members	139	53.46	61	34.46	107	52.71	307	47.97
Non-members	121	46.54	116	65.54	96	47.29	333	52.03
TOTAL ...	260	100	177	100	203	100	640	100

(b) Informal Organisation:

Whereas we found little evidence of any informal organisation among the Coloured workers, other than social and class groupings, the Africans have a clearly discernible hierarchy of leadership in the factory. Their leaders appear to qualify on the basis of age and length of service at FABCOR and act both as advisors and spokesmen for the African workers. We found it necessary to consult with these leaders before we were able to commence our investigations.

The Native Labour (Settlement of Disputes) Act, in expressly withholding official recognition of African Trade Unions, and in setting up special Boards for the settlement of disputes, may, in the long run, strengthen the position of these informal leaders. Referring to the indirect African representation on Industrial Councils, Professor H.M. Robertson wrote in a commentary on the original Bill: .."While this attempt to provide means of contact seems obviously preferable to none at all, I regret I cannot foresee any great success for it, particularly in the long run. With all due regard for the desire of the European members of the Board to look after the welfare of the Africans, and taking into consideration that they may be listened to

by...

by European members of Industrial Councils with greater respect, I cannot feel that they will be sufficiently close to the African workers to enjoy their full confidence. Nor can I imagine that Africans will be content with a prospect of never having a more direct say in bargaining over their conditions of work. Does not Hobbes' aphorism eminently apply here? : 'A plain husband-man is more Prudent in the affaires of his own house, than a Privy Consellor in the affaires of another man.' "

Employers, on the other hand, are usually reluctant to consult outside agencies, particularly governmental agencies, in matters concerning labour, and do so only under compulsion, as in the case of investigations by the Wage Board, or in the absence of any alternative. It is possible, therefore, that the informal African leaders may, in due course, become an important agency in collective bargaining between management and workers.

Much would, of course, depend on the degree of mutual trust existing between management and workers.

(c) Works Committee:

The Works Committee as constituted at the time of our enquiries appeared to have little standing among workers, largely because there had been no elections for some years and meetings were most infrequent. The company has since held fresh elections resulting in a new Committee which for the first time includes an African member.

The function of the Works Committee is to maintain internal liaison between workers and management and meetings are attended by the Factory Manager and the Senior Personnel Officer.

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CHAPTER TWO

THE MAKE-UP OF THE LABOUR FORCE

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CHAPTER TWO

THE MAKE-UP OF THE LABOUR FORCE

1. THE AGE OF THE WORKERS:

Table II gives the age of workers to the nearest year. The Company is, of course, not officially permitted to employ anyone below the age of 16.

TABLE II -

Age	Africans		Coloured Males		Coloured Females		All Races	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15 - 19	4	1.54	40	22.60	34	16.75	78	12.19
20 - 24	32	12.32	51	28.82	42	20.69	125	19.54
25 - 29	68	26.15	37	20.90	48	23.64	153	23.91
30 - 34	51	19.61	22	12.43	39	19.21	112	17.51
35 - 39	50	19.22	8	4.52	22	10.85	80	12.51
40 - 44	26	10.00	7	3.95	11	5.42	44	6.88
45 - 49	20	7.70	3	1.69	2	0.98	25	3.91
50 - 54	6	2.31	4	2.26	4	1.97	14	2.19
55 - 59	1	0.38	5	2.83	1	0.49	7	1.05
60 & over	2	0.77	-	-	-	-	2	0.31
TOTAL ...	260	100	177	100	203	100	640	100

The African section of the FABCOR labour force is older than the Coloured section: 40.38% of the Africans fall in the 35 and over age groups, whereas the corresponding percentage for Coloured males is 15.25% and for Coloured females 19.71%. The average ages of Africans, Coloured males and Coloured females are 33, 28 and 26 respectively.

The high incidence of Africans in the older age groups is accounted for by the fact that they are mainly migrant workers who have entered Cape Town at a relatively late stage in their working lives, after working on farms, in the mines or in Eastern Province towns. (See Table in Chapter 4.)

The fact that 51.42% of the Coloured males and 37.44% of the Coloured females are below the age of 25 is conditioned largely by wage rates and conditions of employment at FABCOR. It is generally felt that the wages paid by the company are not sufficient to attract older workers who look for employment in better paid industries.

The...

it was estimated that "in the Transkei as a whole, there are facilities for 48% of the children between the ages of seven and sixteen ..." while ... "in the four provinces in 1951, no less than 97.3% of the total number of school children were in the primary schools, while 72.4% were in Sub.A and B. and in Standards I and II".

(c) In view of the fact that educational facilities are fewer in the rural areas than in the urban areas, it might be expected that the highest proportion of Coloured workers with no schooling would have rural origins.

(In the Report of the Cape Coloured Education Commission, 1953-56, it was shown in Chapter VIII that whereas 9.4% of urban school-leavers in 1953 had completed Standard I, the corresponding percentage for rural school-leavers was 33.9%.)

In fact, however, the majority of the Coloured workers having no schooling were brought up in the urban area of Cape Town. Of the 24 Coloured males falling in this category, 8 were born and brought up in Cape Town and 4 in the rural districts; the eight Coloured females with no schooling are made up of 4 who were born and brought up in Cape Town and 4 who had come from country districts.

TABLE IV - COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL STANDARD REACHED BY AFRICANS OF UNDER 25 & THOSE 25 AND OVER:

	<u>Under 25</u>		<u>25 &amp; over</u>		<u>All Africans</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
No schooling	3	8.3	54	24.1	57	21.9
Sub. B.	1	2.8	12	5.4	13	5.0
Std. 1	1	2.8	22	9.8	23	8.9
Std. 2	4	11.1	32	14.3	37	14.2
Std. 3	6	16.7	23	10.3	29	11.2
Std. 4	6	16.7	24	10.7	30	11.5
Std. 5	7	19.4	25	11.2	32	12.3
Std. 6	6	16.7	22	9.8	27	10.4
Std. 7	1	2.8	6	2.7	7	2.7
Std. 8	1	2.8	3	1.4	4	1.5
Std. 9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 10	-	-	1	0.4	1	0.4
TOTAL ...	<u>36</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>224</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

The above Table reveals:-

(a) A marked difference between the proportion of Africans

with...

with no schooling in the two age groups: whereas 24.1% of the workers of 25 and over had not been to school, only 8.3% of the under 25's fell in this category.

(b) Whereas 15.2% of the 25 and over age group only reached Standard 1, the percentage of under 25's whose formal education ceased at this point is as little as 5.6%.

(c) The proportion of Africans reaching above primary school was 22.6% for the under 25's and 14.3% for the 25 and over group.

This general improvement in the standards reached by school-leavers is presumably due to the increased educational facilities available to Africans since 1939.

All five Africans who were born in the Cape Town area had completed their primary school education.

TABLE V - COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS REACHED BY COLOURED MALES OF UNDER 25 & 25 AND OVER:

	<u>Under 25</u>		<u>25 &amp; over</u>		<u>All Coloured males</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
No schooling	10	10.9	14	16.5	24	13.5
Sub. B.	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 2	3	3.3	1	1.2	4	2.3
Std. 3	9	9.8	10	11.8	19	10.7
Std. 4	11	11.9	16	18.8	27	15.3
Std. 5	15	16.3	15	17.6	30	16.9
Std. 6	38	41.3	20	23.5	58	32.8
Std. 7	6	6.5	6	7.1	12	6.8
Std. 8	-	-	3	3.5	3	1.7
Std. 9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 10	-	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL...	<u>92</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE VI ...

TABLE VI - COMPARISON OF EDUCATIONAL STANDARD REACHED BY  
COLOURED FEMALES OF UNDER 25 & 25 AND OVER:

	<u>Under 25</u>		<u>25 &amp; over</u>		<u>All Coloured females</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
No schooling	1	1.3	7	5.5	8	3.9
Sub. B.	-	-	1	0.8	1	0.5
Std. 1	1	1.3	2	1.6	3	1.5
Std. 2	1	1.3	5	3.9	6	3.0
Std. 3	1	1.3	18	14.2	19	9.4
Std. 4	22	28.9	28	2.1	50	24.6
Std. 5	17	22.4	13	10.2	30	14.8
Std. 6	18	23.7	35	27.6	53	25.6
Std. 7	12	15.9	12	9.4	24	12.3
Std. 8	3	3.9	5	3.9	8	3.9
Std. 9	-	-	-	-	-	-
Std. 10	-	-	<u>1</u>	<u>0.8</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.5</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>76</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>127</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>

It will be noticed that the differences in educational standards reached between the Coloured workers under 25 and 25 and over are not as marked as those found to exist among Africans. It is significant that over 10% of the Coloured males under 25 had received no schooling, in spite of the fact that they were actually born and brought up in Cape Town.

In the Report of the Cape Coloured Education Commission, 1953-1956, figures are given in Chapter VIII showing the percentage of school leavers in 1953 in relation to the various standards in which they had passed.

It is of interest to compare these figures with the standards reached by all the Coloured workers at FABCOR.

TABLE VII ...

TABLE VII - EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS REACHED BY FABCOR COLOURED WORKERS IN RELATION TO SCHOOL-LEAVERS IN THE CAPE IN 1953:

	<u>1953 urban school leavers</u>	<u>1953 rural school leavers</u>	<u>FABCOR Coloured workers:</u>	
			<u>under 25</u>	<u>25 and over</u>
Sub. B.	5.6	24.1	-	0.5
Std. 1	3.8	9.8	0.6	1.1
Std. 2	7.2	10.2	2.5	3.3
Std. 3	10.7	12.7	6.1	14.2
Std. 4	14.0	13.0	21.2	23.3
Std. 5	18.3	11.5	20.4	14.3
Std. 6	20.7	10.7	35.9	29.4
Std. 7	10.8	4.6	11.5	9.2
Std. 8	7.2	2.8	1.8	4.1
Std. 9	1.0	0.2	-	-
Std. 10	0.7	0.4	-	0.5
	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>

It appears from this Table that FABCOR Coloured workers are better educated than the Coloured children who left school in 1953. One would expect that in view of the low level of wage rates and the general feeling that FABCOR offers little prospects of advancement (see Chapter 5) it would attract the less well-educated workers. It seems possible, therefore, that the better educated workers seek work at FABCOR in the first ~~instance~~ instance because of the limited opportunities open to them generally: the majority of the workers stated that they joined FABCOR because it offered the first available vacancy (see Chapter 5).

The firm itself states that it prefers workers of at least Standard 3 education. It would appear that the pool of work-seekers consists of all types of workers, but that the better-educated are selected in preference to the rest. The question which remains unanswered is what happens to the less educated: according to the Cape Coloured Education Commission, they will fill the bulk of the labouring positions. The Commission does not define what it regards as a labouring task. Up to a point it would be correct to regard all manual work as labouring, but Wage Determinations and Industrial Council Agreements widen the range of definition. As has been stated, in

FABCOR, Grade III workers are generally regarded as labourers, although not all of them are engaged in manual labour as such. Furthermore, education does not appear to influence the grading of the workers there, but rather length of service (See Chapter 4).

The whole question returns therefore to the hit and miss methods of labour selection in industry. The Coloured Education Commission Report mentions that certain industries voiced the complaint that workers with junior secondary education were disinclined to undertake mechanical work, and preferred clerical work. In the absence of definition by the Commission of "mechanical work", one may be permitted to suggest that as the pure mechanical trades are closed to non-Europeans, the definition could be applied to semi-skilled workers, in which case it is of interest to mention that we encountered this complaint at FABCOR. The management decided a few years ago to recruit a team of African matriculants as semi-skilled workers. The experiment ended in hopeless failure, for to use the words of management: "they arrived complete with brief cases, expecting to do clerical work, and on being disillusioned proved to be a source of dissatisfaction in the company."

TABLE VIII - LITERACY OF COLOURED WORKERS:

	<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>Both Sexes</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Illiterate	26	14.69	15	7.39	41	10.79
Able to read & write English only	23	12.99	38	18.72	61	16.05
Able to read & write Afrikaans only	17	9.61	11	5.42	28	7.37
Able to read & write Eng. & Afrikaans	<u>111</u>	<u>62.71</u>	<u>139</u>	<u>68.47</u>	<u>250</u>	<u>65.79</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE IX ...

TABLE IX - LITERACY OF AFRICAN WORKERS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Illiterate in any language	54	20.77
Able to read and write:		
(a) Xhosa & English	135	51.93
(b) Xhosa, English & Afrikaans	7	2.69
(c) Xhosa & Afrikaans	2	0.77
(d) Xhosa only	59	22.70
(e) Zulu & English	1	0.38
(f) Sotho & English	1	0.38
(g) Sotho & Sengwato	<u>1</u>	<u>0.38</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

It appears from Tables VIII and IX:

(a) that when comparison is made between the proportion of African workers with no schooling (see Table LII) and those who are illiterate, it will be noticed that three who have had no schooling have learned to read and write on their own initiative. On the other hand, 26 of the Coloured males are illiterate whereas 24 did not attend school, while 15 females are illiterate against eight who have had no schooling. As far as the Coloured workers are concerned, this suggests that some of them have not benefited from attending school, whereas the Africans appear to show more interest in improving themselves.

(b) that while a substantial proportion of the Coloured workers (65.79%) claim to be able to read and write both the official languages, few Africans can read and write Afrikaans (3.46%). Likewise, few Africans claim to read and write in more than one of the Native languages.

TABLE X ...

3. HOME LANGUAGE OF WORKERS:

TABLE X - HOME LANGUAGE OF WORKERS:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Races</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
English	-	-	14	7.91	24	11.82	38	5.94
Afrikaans	-	-	156	88.14	160	78.82	316	49.37
Eng. & Afrik.	-	-	7	3.95	19	9.36	26	4.06
Xhosa	250	96.16	-	-	-	-	250	39.06
Sotho	6	2.31	-	-	-	-	6	0.94
Zulu	<u>4</u>	<u>1.53</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>0.63</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

It would appear from the above Table that the bulk of the African workers at FABCOR are Xhosa-speaking, while the majority of the Coloured workers speak Afrikaans in their homes.

The Coloured workers who named both official languages were found in practice to be more proficient in Afrikaans. Few of them chose English as the medium for their interview: those who did so were of a higher educational standard and appeared to regard themselves as being on a higher social plane than the other workers.

4. PLACE OF BIRTH:

Table XI shows the magisterial districts in which the Africans were born, and Table XII details the area of birth of the Coloured workers. It will be noticed that the majority of the Africans were born in the Eastern Cape or Transkeian territories, while few of the Coloured workers were born outside the Cape Province.

TABLE XI - MAGISTERIAL DISTRICT OF AFRICANS' BIRTHPLACE:

<u>Transkei Proper:</u>	Willowvale	26	
	Nqamakwe	15	
	Tsom●	10	
	Kentani	7	
	Butterworth	7	
	Idutywa	<u>4</u>	
	TOTAL ...	<u>69</u>	26.54% of all Africans.
<u>Tembuland:</u>	Umtata	22	
	Cala	10	
	Engcob●	8	
	Mqandula	7	
	Cofimvaba	4	
	Libode	<u>4</u>	
TOTAL ...	<u>57</u>	21.92% of all Africans.	
	Griqualand ...		

<u>Griqualand East:</u>	Tsolo	23	
	Qumbu	16	
	Mt. Frere	6	
	Matatiele	3	
	Mt. Fletcher	3	
	Maclear	2	
	Mt. Ayliff	1	
	Kokstad	<u>1</u>	
	TOTAL ...	<u>55</u>	21.16% of all Africans.

<u>Eastern Cape:</u>	Middledrift	15	
	Lady Frere	11	
	Keiskamahook	8	
	Alice	8	
	Kingwilliamstown	5	
	Queenstown	4	
	Whittlesea	3	
	Peddie	2	
	Adelaide	1	
	Herschel	1	
	Indwe	1	
	Stutterheim	<u>1</u>	
	TOTAL ...	<u>60</u>	23.08% of all Africans.

<u>Rest of Cape:</u>	Cape Town	5	
	Mooreesburg	1	
	Hanover	1	
	De Aar	1	
	Cradock	1	
	Port Elizabeth	<u>1</u>	
	TOTAL ...	<u>10</u>	3.85% of all Africans.

<u>Natal:</u>	Ladysmith	3	
	Estcourt	<u>2</u>	
	TOTAL ...	<u>5</u>	1.92% of all Africans.

<u>Basutoland:</u>	2	0.77%	"	"	"
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<u>Beduanaland:</u>	1	0.38%	"	"	"
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<u>S. Rhodesia:</u>	1	0.38%	"	"	"
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TABLE XII - AREA OF BIRTH OF COLOURED WORKERS:

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Both sexes</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Cape Town	133	75.14	149	73.40	282	74.22
Western Cape	37	20.90	18	8.87	55	14.47
Rest of Cape	4	2.27	34	16.75	38	10.00
Transvaal	2	1.13	1	0.49	3	0.79
Natal	-	-	1	0.49	1	0.26
O.F.S.	<u>1</u>	<u>0.56</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.26</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>100</u>

5. MARITAL STATUS:

Table XIII shows the marital status of all workers interviewed.

TABLE XIII - MARITAL STATUS OF WORKERS:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Races</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Single	87	33.56	98	55.37	113	55.66	298	46.56
Married	142	54.62	72	40.68	69	33.99	283	44.21
Divorced	2	0.77	2	1.13	5	2.47	9	1.41
Separated	-	-	-	-	7	3.45	7	1.09
Widowed	8	3.08	3	1.69	9	4.43	20	3.13
Reputedly married	18	6.82	2	1.13	-	-	20	3.13
Married and reputedly married	<u>3</u>	<u>1.15</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.47</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

While the majority of the Coloured workers are unmarried, most of the Africans are married, though only 33.8% have their wives with them in Cape Town. In addition, about 8% have reputed wives in Cape Town. The exact extent of this practice is difficult to assess for it is not easy to determine the marital or even quasi-marital status of the African. The migrant worker, resident and working in the urban area, but domiciled in the Reserves or rural areas, is often cut off for considerable periods from his true wife and family. Under existing regulations he is usually not permitted to bring his family into the urban area, even if he should wish to do so. Circumstances may force him, sooner or later, to assume a relationship

with...

with a woman in the town. In the first instance this usually entails an attempt to maintain two households - one in the town and another in the rural area. As long as the relationship remains one of pure convenience the problem of maintaining two homes does not become pressing. The second woman in the town has little or no status at this stage: I doubt if she could even be regarded as a reputed wife. If the worker returns to the rural area on long leave, it is most likely that she will desert him for another man who is willing to maintain her. One worker complained bitterly at his interview that while he was on home leave in order to get married, his second woman deserted him for a friend.

6. AFRICANS: TYPE OF MARRIAGE:

Table XIV shows the form of marriage ceremony of African workers (excluding divorcees) while Table XV details the Lobola payments made by these workers.

TABLE XIV - TYPE OF MARRIAGE:

	<u>No.</u>
Christian Rites	92
Customary Union	55
Christian Rites & Customary Union	<u>6</u>
TOTAL	<u>153</u>

TABLE XV - LOBOLA PAYMENTS:

(a) Cattle Lobola:

81 workers	paid Lobola of 5 - 10 cattle
54	" " " " 11- 15 "
6	" " " " 16- 20 "
1	" " " " more than 20 cattle.

(b) Cash Lobola:

6 workers	paid Lobola in cash amounting to £20 - £30
2	" " " " " " " " £31 - £40
2	" " " " " " " " £41 - £50
1	" " " " " " " " £90.

7. ILLEGITIMACY:

The problem of assessing illegitimacy among the Coloured people is fraught with difficulties, especially as in certain social strata the formalities of marriage may be dispensed with, although such unions are often of an enduring nature and marked by a sense of responsibility on the part of both parents. In many cases, marriage only takes place after the birth of a first or second child. Official statistics have, therefore, to be viewed in this light: according to the Report of the Medical Officer of Health for Cape Town for the year ended 30th June, 1955, the percentage of total Coloured births during the year under review which were illegitimate, i.e. born of legally unmarried parents, was 23.66% compared with 2.65% for Europeans.

In the case of FABCOR, I have narrowed the definition of illegitimacy to exclude relationships of the type referred to above which have any pretence to permanency. I therefore regard as illegitimate in this context, children conceived and born out of wedlock as a result of casual, extra-marital relations in which there is no desire for permanency, nor any enduring concern on the part of either parent for the fate of the child. At FABCOR I found that 23% of the unmarried girls had one or more illegitimate children of this nature. I also found evidence of the more enduring type of union, in that an appreciable number of the married women had married after the birth of a second child. Whether or not the husband was the father of both children was a question which, for obvious reasons, I did not raise.

Factors which influence the rate of illegitimacy are:

- (a) the fact that FABCOR workers, in common with the rest of the Coloured community, live largely in over-crowded slums. Houses often consist of shanties of one room, or at the most two rooms. In many cases several families occupy one room in the same dwelling. The result is that there is no separate sleeping accommodation for parents and children or adolescents of different sexes, so that incestuous and generally unconventional ...

unconventional relations are not uncommon.

(b) the lack of sex education, combined with the prevalence of drinking and dagga smoking.

(c) the lack of a proper home life, which means that many Coloured children are thrown on the streets at an early age where they come into contact with the demoralising influence of gang life.

(d) the possibility, for the mothers, of financial gain through maternity grants or affiliation orders.

(e) the environment of the factory in the system of mixing the sexes, which encourages immorality. I noticed that there was fairly lax behaviour between the men and women, especially during the lunch-hour break - a lack of inhibition which amounted to amorality rather than immorality. There appeared to be no condemnation of extra-marital relations and no stigma attached to illegitimacy. The general lack of concern is reflected in the fact that unmarried mothers usually return to the factory a few months after the birth of their children.

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CHAPTER THREE

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THE HOME ENVIRONMENT OF THE WORKERS

1. RESIDENCE AND TYPE  
OF DWELLING ..... p. 29.
  2. RENTS PAID ..... p. 33.
  3. JOURNEY TO WORK ..... p. 34.
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living in houses built under City Council housing schemes (16.38% of the Coloured males and 15.76% of the Coloured females).

Approximately 50% of the Africans are officially listed as living in the Native townships of Langa and Nyanga.

I have classified as "Shanties" or "Pondokkies" all non-permanent dwellings which have neither water nor electricity laid on. A useful definition of a pondokkie, or shanty, was given in the Report of the Committee of Enquiry appointed to enquire into conditions existing on the Cape Flats and similarly affected areas (1942):  
"The word 'pondokkie' is doubtless a diminutive form of the Afrikaans word 'pondok', meaning a hut or hovel. That is a fair definition, but let it be admitted frankly without further elaboration that the structure which has left its image so deeply impressed on the mind of the Committee is capable of pictorial definition only. The pondokkie of the Cape Flats, in its design, owes nought to any school of architecture, European or Asiatic, ancient or modern. Its conception is determined entirely by the scraps of material which go into its structure, pieces of corrugated iron, old tins and drums, rough boughs, sacking, anything which can possibly offer protection against the weather. Piece by piece, scrap material is bought, begged or filched, and added to make room for a growing family. There are no windows, ceilings, and very often no door. Sanitation is non-existent. Many of these hovels would do a disservice to animals. The pondokkie is the lowest standard of human habitation, and the term is not used to describe houses which, though producing similar insanitary conditions, at least conform to elementary standards of architectural design."

The majority of shanties are to be found in such areas as Windermere, Elsie's River, Retreat and latterly, under official sponsorship, in the Nyanga Emergency Camp controlled by the Cape Divisional Council.

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TABLE XIX - TYPE OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY COLOURED FEMALES:

Type of dwelling	No. of rooms in dwelling						Total no. of women
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	
<b>1. Brick House:</b>							
(a) Non-Council - Not shared	8	20	26	17	4	1	150
Shared:	<u>36</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>	
<u>Total:</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>32</u>	<u>40</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>4</u>	
.....							
(b) Council - Not shared:	1	10	9	4	-	-	32
Shared:	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	-	-	-	
<u>Total:</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>4</u>	-	-	
.....							
<b>2. Shanty:</b>							
Not shared:	1	11	4	1	-	-	21
Shared:	<u>1</u>	-	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	-	-	
<u>Total:</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	-	-	
							<u>203</u>

TABLE XX - TYPE OF HOUSES OCCUPIED BY AFRICANS:

Type of dwelling	No. of rooms in dwelling						Total no. of Africans
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five	Six	
<b>1. Brick House:</b>							
Not shared:	5	11	3	1	-	-	99
Shared:	<u>53</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	
<u>Total:</u>	<u>58</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	
.....							
<b>2. Municipal barracks, 'single' quarters, etc. (All shared)</b>							
							50
.....							
<b>3. Shanty:</b>							
Not shared:	48	3	2	-	-	-	111
Shared:	<u>41</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	-	
<u>Total:</u>	<u>89</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	-	
							<u>260</u>

2. RENTS PAID:

TABLE XXI - ANALYSIS OF MONTHLY RENTS PAID BY WORKERS:

Monthly rent paid	Africans		Coloured Males		Coloured Females		All Workers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Under £1.	197	75.73	4	2.27	-	-	201	31.41
£1 to £1.19s.	52	20.04	28	15.82	23	11.33	103	16.10
£2 to £2.19s.	7	2.69	25	14.12	26	12.81	58	9.06
£3 to £3.19s.	4	1.54	21	11.86	37	18.23	62	9.70
£4 to £4.19s.	-	-	17	9.61	26	12.81	43	6.72
£5 to £5.19s.	-	-	4	2.27	14	6.90	18	2.81
£6 and over	-	-	13	7.34	28	13.79	41	6.41
Own property	-	-	38	21.47	32	15.76	70	10.91
Rent unknown	-	-	27	15.25	17	8.37	44	6.88
TOTAL	260	100	177	100	203	100	640	100

It is interesting to note that the bulk of the African workers are paying rents of less than £1. per month, while the majority of the Coloured workers are paying over £3. per month in rent. 32 of the women and 38 of the men are occupying properties either owned by themselves or by their families. In considering the above rents, particularly those paid by Coloured workers, it should be borne in mind that many are probably receiving something towards the rent from sub-tenants. In the case of the "Rent unknown", the respondents were for the most part young people whose parents paid the rent, and husbands who were accustomed to hand over their wages to their wives to spend.

3. JOURNEY TO WORK:

Tables XXII and XXIII detail the journeys to work of African and Coloured workers at FABCOR.

TABLE XXII- DETAILS OF JOURNEY TO WORK OF COLOURED WORKERS:

<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>Means of transport to work</u>	<u>Time taken from home to work</u>	<u>Weekly fare</u>
<u>Windermere</u> (65) <sup>f</sup>	Bus	30 mins.	2. 6d.
<u>Langa</u> (1)	Train	35 "	3. 2d.
<u>Athlone &amp; district</u> (90)			
(a)	Train	40 "	3.9d.
(b)	Bus & train	45 "	7. 2d.
<u>Elsies River &amp; district</u> (62)			
(a)	Train	45 "	5.11d.
(b)	Bus & train	60 "	10.11d.
<u>Goodwood &amp; district</u> (46)			
(a)	Train	40 "	5. 2d.
(b)	Bus	50 "	5. 9d.
(c)	Bus & train	55 "	8. 5d.
<u>Maitland</u> (47)	Walks	20 "	-
<u>Cape Town &amp; district</u> (16)			
(a)	Train	50 "	4. 6d.
(b)	Bus	35 "	5.10d.
(c)	Bus & train	50 "	8. 4d.
<u>Woodstock</u> (13)	Bus	25 "	5. 0d.
<u>Salt River</u> (13)	Train	25 "	2.11d.
<u>Retreat</u> (4)	Train	90 "	11. 0d.
<u>Bellville</u> (10)	Train	60 "	7. 7d.
<u>Claremont</u> (6)	Train	50 "	5.11d.
<u>Lansdowne</u> (1)	Train	30 "	5. 9d.
<u>Wynberg</u> (1)	Train	60 "	6. 2d.

NOTE: <sup>f</sup> No. of workers (male and female) living in each district shown in brackets.

Workers using the railway all travelled 2nd class, with the exception of the following who travelled 1st class:  
Athlone - 2 @4.5d. per week, Elsie's River - 1 @ 7.0d. per week, Bellville - 1 @ 9.0d. per week.

6 workers from Elsie's River travelled to and from work in a station wagon owned by a Coloured man who charged them 8.6d. per head weekly.

TABLE XXIII ...

TABLE XXIII - DETAILS OF JOURNEY TO WORK OF AFRICAN WORKERS:

<u>Place of Residence</u>	<u>Means of transport to work</u>	<u>Time taken from home to work</u>	<u>Weekly fare</u>
<u>Windermere</u> (78) <sup>4</sup>	Bus	50 mins.	3. 4d.
<u>Langa</u> (117)			
(a)	Train	35 "	3. 2d.
(b)	Bus & train	45 "	5. 8d.
<u>Athlone &amp; district</u> (15)			
(a)	Train	40 "	3. 2d.
(b)	Bus & train	50 "	5. 8d.
<u>Elsies River &amp; district</u> (19)			
(a)	Train	75 "	4. 2d.
(b)	Bus & train	85 "	8. 6d.
<u>Maitland</u> (1)	Walks	30 "	4. 0d.
<u>Cape Town</u> (3)	Train	45 "	4. 0d.
<u>Retreat</u> (8)	Train	90 "	11. 0d.
<u>Nyanga</u> (11)	Train	80 "	8. 8d.
<u>Claremont</u> (1)	Train	50 "	4. 6d.
<u>Lansdowne</u> (1)	Train (2nd class)	30 "	5. 9d.
<u>Grassy Park</u> (3)	Train	80 "	11. 0d.

NOTE: <sup>4</sup> No. of Africans living in each district shown in brackets.  
 Except where indicated, all the above workers travelled 3rd. class on the trains.

CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMPLOYMENT BACKGROUND OF THE WORKERS

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  2. EMPLOYMENT AT FABCOR ... p. 45.
  3. GRADING OF THE WORKERS ... p. 46.
  4. QUALITY RATING OF WORKERS  
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CHAPTER FOUR

THE EMPLOYMENT BACKGROUND OF THE WORKERS

1. EMPLOYMENT HISTORIES:

In attempting to classify the job histories of the FABCOR workers, in order to arrive at some assessment of their past employment behaviour, I found that the task was a difficult one in view of the large variety and number of previous jobs held. In the aggregate the Africans had held 1,887 previous jobs, the Coloured males 603 and the Coloured females 438; this gives an average of 7.3 jobs for each African, 3.4 jobs for each Coloured male and 2.2 for each Coloured female worker.

We asked the workers to name the various jobs they had held, the time they spent in each and the spells of unemployment between them. I have handled the answers in two ways. Tables XXIV and XXV give a composite picture for the whole labour force, while Tables XXVI - XXX analyse in more detail aspects of work histories. Table XXVI shows the first and second jobs held by Africans, while Table XXVII shows their first and second jobs in Cape Town, together with the job held immediately prior to coming to FABCOR. In some cases there is an overlap on the two tables: workers who came direct to Cape Town from the rural areas have the same first and second jobs in both Tables. I have dealt with the Coloured workers on similar lines in Tables XXIX and XXX.

I have not attempted to deal with the absorption of the African into urban society in this Chapter, as Chapter Seven is devoted entirely to this question.

In the case of the African, I have assumed his "working life" to commence with his first job in the urban economy, while in the case of Coloured workers, "working life" is taken from the date of their first regular job after leaving school, and no account is therefore made of any casual employment during school life.

In the case of African and Coloured workers, the term "idleness" embraces unemployment, sickness and imprisonment. It also includes spells of home leave for Africans. Owing to difficulties of verification I have not tried to separate these various components of idleness, except in the case of Africans where I have separated the years spent in the Reserves from idleness in the towns.

TABLE XXIV. - AGGREGATE WORKING RECORD OF 260 FABCOR  
AFRICAN WORKERS:

Aggregate age of force		8,580 years
Working life to date		3,737 years
No. of years spent in rural areas during working life		716 years
- Percentage of working life	... ..	19.16%
No. of years spent in idleness in towns (unemployment, sickness, imprisonment)		215 years
- Percentage of working life	... ..	5.75%
Total no. of years spent in idleness		931 years
- Percentage of working life	... ..	24.91%

TABLE XXV - AGGREGATE WORKING RECORD OF COLOURED WORKERS:  
(177 MALES, 203 FEMALES)

	<u>Males</u>	<u>Females</u>
Aggregate age of force	4,675 years	5,698 years
Working life to date	1,680 years	2,096 years
No. of years spent in idleness	176 years	312 years
- Percentage of working life	... 10.47%	... 14.88%

From the above Tables it would appear:

(a) that if the disrupting factor of home leave is disregarded, the Africans have a better record of steady employment. One has, of course, to take into account the fact that urban African workers are controlled by the Natives (Urban Areas) legislation and therefore cannot, even if they wish, indulge in long periods of idleness in the towns, as would appear to be the habit among many Coloured workers. One can only speculate

on...

on what the position would be if the African had free movement in the urban labour market. Without the risk of advancing a value judgment, however, a pointer may be found in the African workers' record of absenteeism as compared with that of the Coloured workers. It is interesting to note that in a period of twelve months from April 1955 to March 1956 average absenteeism per head was for Africans 0.92 days and for Coloured males 1.02 days.

(b) that the Coloured females have spent longer periods in idleness than the males. This is mainly due to the fact that marriage and pregnancies are important disrupting factors in their working lives. Many women do not work for the first few years after marriage. Pregnancies seem to incapacitate women workers for comparatively short periods: it was noticed at FABCOR that four months was the usual period of absence. Idleness among Coloured men appeared to be conditioned largely by "Work-shyness", which was particularly noticeable in younger workers. In numerous instances when a Coloured man was asked why he had joined FABCOR the reply was that he had been forced by someone in authority in the family to seek work against his own inclinations. A frequent cover for idleness seemed to be the claim that a worker was engaged in some form of hawking, and in many cases women were found to be maintaining husbands, sons and other members of the family in idleness. In one instance, a middle-aged woman was the sole bread-winner in a family of nine men, five of whom were of working age.

TABLE XXVI ...

TABLE XXVI - GENERAL JOB HISTORIES OF AFRICAN WORKERS:

	<u>1st job</u>		<u>2nd job</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Mines	131	50.37	112	43.07
Factory	20	7.69	25	9.62
Offices, shops, etc.	17	6.54	10	3.85
Farm	15	5.77	7	2.69
Domestic service	13	5.00	10	3.85
Dairy	11	4.23	8	3.08
Builders	7	2.69	9	3.46
Hotels	6	2.30	13	5.00
Brickfields	5	1.92	8	3.08
Government	5	1.92	5	1.92
Docks	5	1.92	6	2.30
Garages	4	1.54	-	-
Municipal	3	1.15	2	0.77
<u>FABCOR</u>	2	0.77	16	6.15
Quarries	2	0.77	2	0.77
Engineering	2	0.77	4	1.54
Railways	2	0.77	3	1.15
Stables	2	0.77	3	1.15
Tearooms, etc.	2	0.77	2	0.77
Bakeries	1	0.39	2	0.77
Army	1	0.39	4	1.54
Admiralty	-	-	1	0.39
Miscellaneous other	<u>4</u>	<u>1.54</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>3.08</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XXVII ...

TABLE XXVII - CAPE TOWN JOB HISTORIES OF AFRICAN WORKERS:

	<u>1st Cape Town job</u>		<u>2nd Cape Town job</u>		<u>Job prior to present job</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Mines	-	-	-	-	-	-
Factory	33	12.68	52	20.00	70	26.93
Offices, shops, etc.	19	7.31	23	8.85	15	5.77
Farm	17	6.54	4	1.54	7	2.69
Domestic service	15	5.77	8	3.08	4	1.54
Dairy	29	11.15	8	3.08	9	3.45
Builders	20	7.69	17	6.54	12	4.62
Hotels	13	5.00	15	5.77	12	4.62
Brickfields	8	3.08	6	2.30	3	1.15
Government	5	1.92	4	1.54	3	1.15
Docks	11	4.23	7	2.69	2	0.77
Garages	4	1.54	5	1.92	5	1.92
Municipal	4	1.54	1	0.39	6	2.30
<u>FABCOR</u>	22	8.46	62	23.84	55	21.17
Quarries	4	1.54	2	0.77	-	-
Engineering	10	3.85	8	3.08	12	4.62
Railways	4	1.54	6	2.30	7	2.69
Stables	4	1.54	4	1.54	5	1.92
Tearooms, etc.	4	1.54	1	0.39	2	0.77
Bakeries	6	2.30	5	1.92	6	2.30
Army	13	5.00	7	2.69	7	2.69
Admiralty	1	0.39	-	-	1	0.39
Miscellaneous other	<u>14</u>	<u>5.39</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>5.77</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3.85</u>
TOTAL ..	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

It appears from the above that:

(a) just over 50% of the African workers made their first contact with the towns through the Gold Mines. It is, however, interesting to note that of the 131 who started their working lives on the mines, 70.8% are over 30 years of age, while only 29.1% are under 30. Of all the workers below the age of 30, 36.5% started their work careers on the mines as against 59.6% of all the workers above the age of 30. 42.3% of the FABCOR workers have had no service on the mines.

It is possible that since the war younger Africans are showing less inclination to go to the mines; on the other hand, there is the possibility

that...

that these figures may be influenced <sup>in</sup> that most workers go to the mines at an early age (about 17 - 20 years of age) and spend several years intermittently between the mines and the rural areas before drifting to other towns, such as Cape Town. In consequence, there would be a tendency for the 1st job mine-workers to predominate in the upper age brackets.

12 of the African workers were found to have gone back to the mines at a later stage in their working lives. I followed this up by asking them their reasons and discovered that in most cases workers used the mines as a convenient way of getting a job when they were destitute in Cape Town and, indirectly, a useful - though arduous way of returning to their rural homes. There is a branch of the Native Recruiting Corporation in Langa which was able to confirm my findings. For workers who wish to go to the mines from Cape Town, the Corporation is prepared to pay their fares to Johannesburg or the Free State, as the case may be, and on their arrival they are free to choose the mine they prefer to work at. On their satisfactory completion of a ninemonths' service contract, their fare home is paid. Table XXVIII shows the extent to which Africans have used this service since its inception in the thirties. (19th May, 1930).

TABLE XXVIII - NO. OF AFRICANS RECRUITED BY THE LANGA OFFICE OF THE NATIVE RECRUITING CORPORATION:

<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>Year</u>	<u>No.</u>
1930	409	1943	1,777
1931	595	1944	1,451
1932	694	1945	983
1933	510	1946	867
1934	512	1947	257
1935	763	1948	248
1936	455	1949	606
1937	404	1950	493
1938	999	1951	237
1939	617	1952	515
1940	455	1953	627
1941	498	1954	381
1942	240	1955	288

A breakdown of the 1953 figure shows that there was a tendency for recruitment to rise during the winter months, which may be accounted for by seasonal lay-offs in the building and allied industries. Monthly totals for 1953 were as follows: Jan. - 37, Feb. - 61, Mar. - 82, Apr. - 81, May - 98, Jun. - 64, Jul. - 40, Aug. - 60, Sep. - 27, Oct. - 28, Nov. - 23, Dec. - 26.

(b) there is a tendency for African workers to move gradually towards factory employment and finally to associate themselves, if possible, with a single firm, such as FABCOR.

(c) 21.17% of the Africans interviewed named FABCOR as their immediate previous employer. This is largely accounted for by the system of home-leaving.

In studying the records of engagement for Africans during 1954-55, I noticed that about one-third of the African workers engaged by FABCOR during that period were former employees returning to the company from home leave.

(d) comparatively few Africans commenced their working lives on farms (5.77%). This is probably due to the fact that most of them were not born on European farms but in the Reserves, where they or their families have some form of land rights.

TABLE XXIX ...

TABLE XXIX - JOB HISTORIES OF COLOURED MALE WORKERS:

	<u>1st job</u>		<u>2nd job</u>		<u>Job prior to present job</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Miscellaneous factories	43	24.32	37	20.90	48	27.12
<u>FABCOR</u>	39	22.04	52	29.38	20	11.30
Offices, Shops, etc.	39	22.04	28	15.83	38	21.47
Food-processing factories	10	5.65	8	4.52	6	3.39
Domestic service	8	4.52	5	2.82	5	2.82
Farm	7	3.95	1	0.56	4	2.27
Builders	6	3.39	4	2.27	8	4.52
Government	5	2.82	3	1.69	4	2.27
Dairies	3	1.69	-	-	2	1.13
Cafes, etc.	3	1.69	1	0.56	1	0.56
Railways	3	1.69	5	2.82	4	2.27
Municipal	3	1.69	2	1.13	5	2.82
Clothing factories	2	1.13	2	1.13	4	2.27
Clubs, etc.	2	1.13	2	1.13	1	0.56
Army	2	1.13	4	2.27	2	1.13
Garages	1	0.56	-	-	2	1.13
Brickfields	1	0.56	-	-	-	-
.....						
Continuous employment at FABCOR	-	-	<u>23.</u>	<u>12.99</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>12.99</u>
TOTAL	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>

From the above table it appears:

(a) that the bulk of the workers have restricted their activities to factories, offices and shops (74.05%), while few have worked in the more strenuous industries such as brickfields or quarries.

(b) that the pattern of jobs held by Coloured males does not seem to alter substantially throughout their work histories.

(c) that whereas 22.04% of the workers name FABCOR as their first job, only 12.99% have been in continuous employment with the company since they started work. The fact that such a comparatively small percentage remain in continuous employment is probably due to the fact that, owing to seasonal fluctuations, the company is forced to lay off a large part of their

labour...

labour force within a few months of engagement. This is substantiated by the fact that 11.30% of the Coloured males named FABCOR as their immediate previous employer. (See Chapter Six)

TABLE XXX - JOB HISTORIES OF COLOURED FEMALE WORKERS:

	<u>1st job</u>		<u>2nd job</u>		<u>Job prior to present job</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
FABCOR	89	43.85	101	49.76	43	21.19
Domestic service	67	33.01	19	9.36	42	20.69
Clothing factories	18	8.87	7	3.45	18	8.87
Miscellaneous factories	11	5.42	2	0.98	13	6.40
Food processing factories	8	3.94	5	2.46	10	4.92
Offices, shops, etc.	5	2.46	2	0.98	8	3.94
Cafes, etc.	2	0.98	-	-	2	0.98
Dairies	1	0.49	-	-	-	-
Clubs, etc.	1	0.49	4	1.97	4	1.97
Teaching	1	0.49	-	-	-	-
.....						
Continuous employment at FABCOR	-	-	<u>63</u>	<u>31.04</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>31.04</u>
TOTAL	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>

It is interesting to note from the above Table:

(a) that a substantial proportion of the female workers have named FABCOR as their first employer (43.85%), while 31.04% have been in continuous employment with the company. Comparing these figures with those for other workers, it appears that the Coloured females are a more stable group. This is borne out by the company's service records which show that 12.28% of the female workers have been with the company for 10 or more years, compared with 10.78% of the Coloured males and 2.30% of the Africans. In the case of Africans, of course, one has to remember that the company has only been employing them on a large scale since 1952.

(b) that the FABCOR figures confirm that there has been a drift from domestic service to the factories: 33.01% of the female workers started their working lives in domestic service. It seems that this drift is

continuing...

continuing, as 9.36% of the women named Domestic service as their second job, whereas 20.69% had been in Domestic service immediately before coming to FABCOR.

(c) there is one ex-teacher among the female workers. She is a middle-aged woman who gave up teaching in 1928.

2. EMPLOYMENT AT FABCOR:

Table XXI shows to the nearest year the service records of the workers interviewed. It covers periods of unbroken service and excludes previous spells of employment with the Company.

TABLE XXI - LENGTH OF SERVICE:

<u>No. of years</u>	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Races</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
0	81	31.16	39	22.04	27	13.32	147	22.97
1	89	34.23	45	25.43	44	21.68	178	27.82
2	39	15.01	17	9.61	25	12.32	81	12.66
3	21	8.08	18	10.17	15	7.39	54	8.44
4	13	5.00	15	8.47	22	10.84	50	7.81
5	2	0.77	7	3.95	14	6.90	23	3.59
6	3	1.15	8	4.52	12	5.91	23	3.59
7	1	0.38	6	3.39	11	5.42	18	2.81
8	4	1.54	2	1.13	4	1.97	10	1.56
9	1	0.38	1	0.56	4	1.97	6	0.94
10	2	0.77	3	1.69	6	2.95	11	1.72
11	2	0.77	4	2.27	4	1.97	10	1.56
12	-	-	4	2.27	2	0.98	6	0.94
13	-	-	1	0.56	2	0.98	3	0.47
14	-	-	2	1.13	1	0.49	3	0.47
15	-	-	3	1.69	1	0.49	4	0.62
16	1	0.38	1	0.56	3	1.48	5	0.78
17	-	-	1	0.56	1	0.49	2	0.31
18	-	-	-	-	1	0.49	1	0.16
19	1	0.38	-	-	2	0.98	3	0.47
20 & over	-	-	-	-	2	0.98	2	0.31
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

NOTE: / 0 signifies periods of service amounting to less than one year.

It appears from the above table:

(a) that half of the non-European workers (50.79%) have been with the company for less than two years.

64.39% of the Africans fall in this category, compared with 47.47% of the Coloured males and 35.0% of the Coloured females. The Africans are, of course, affected by the system of home leave, but it is interesting that in spite of the disrupting effect of marriage and pregnancies the Coloured women have longer records of unbroken service than the men.

(b) that few of the workers have remained with the company for more than ten years. Only 2.30% of the Africans, 10.73% of the Coloured males and 12.16% of the Coloured females joined the company prior to 1945 and have remained in continuous employment since then. In the case of the Africans it should be borne in mind, of course, that the company has only employed them extensively since 1952.

### 3. GRADING OF THE WORKERS:

Table XXXII shows the distribution of the workers interviewed according to the grade of work they do in the factory, and Table XXXIII shows the relationship between grading and educational standards reached.

TABLE XXXII - DISTRIBUTION OF WORKERS ACCORDING TO GRADE:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Races</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Grade I	38	14.62	103	58.19	101	49.75	242	37.81
Grade II	39	15.00	27	15.25	43	21.18	109	17.03
Grade III	<u>183</u>	<u>70.38</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>26.56</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>29.07</u>	<u>289</u>	<u>45.16</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XXXIII ...

TABLE XXXIII - RELATING GRADING TO EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS:

(i) AFRICANS:

	<u>Grade I</u>	<u>Grade II</u>	<u>Grade III</u>	<u>Total</u>
No schooling	10	11	36	57
Sub.B.	2	3	8	13
Std. 1	3	4	16	23
Std. 2	2	2	33	37
Std. 3	2	6	21	29
Std. 4	2	4	24	30
Std. 5	6	7	19	32
Std. 6	8	1	18	27
Std. 7	1	1	5	7
Std. 8	1	-	3	4
Std. 9	-	-	-	-
Std. 10	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>38</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>183</u>	<u>260</u>

(ii) COLOURED MALES:

No schooling	11	4	9	24
Sub.B.	-	-	-	-
Std. 1	-	-	-	-
Std. 2	2	-	2	4
Std. 3	11	1	7	19
Std. 4	16	5	6	27
Std. 5	20	4	6	30
Std. 6	30	12	16	58
Std. 7	10	1	1	12
Std. 8	3	-	-	3
Stds 9 & 10	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>103</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>177</u>

(iii) COLOURED FEMALES:

No schooling	2	-	6	8
Sub. B.	1	-	-	1
Std. 1	2	-	1	3
Std. 2	3	-	3	6
Std. 3	14	3	2	19
Std. 4	22	13	15	50
Std. 5	12	7	11	30
Std. 6	27	13	13	53
Std. 7	13	5	6	24
Std. 8	4	2	2	8
Std. 9	-	-	-	-
Std. 10	<u>1</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>101</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>203</u>

From...

From the above tables it will be apparent that educational standards cannot, for the most part, be directly related to the grading of the workers. As no practical aptitude tests are applied in the grading of workers, I have correlated grading with length of service and found a more apparent link. Table XXXIV summarises the position.

TABLE XXXIV - RELATING GRADING TO LENGTH OF SERVICE:

(i) <u>AFRICANS:</u>	<u>Grade I</u>	<u>Grade II</u>	<u>Grade III</u>	<u>Total</u>
<u>No. of years with company</u>				
0 - 4	29	32	182	143
5 - 9	4	6	1	11
10 - 14	4	-	-	4
15 - 19	1	1	-	2
20 & over	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	<u>38</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>183</u>	<u>260</u>
 (ii) <u>COLOURED MALES:</u>				
0 - 4	61	27	46	134
5 - 9	23	-	1	24
10 - 14	14	-	-	14
15 - 19	5	-	-	5
20 & over	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	<u>103</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>47</u>	<u>177</u>
 (iii) <u>COLOURED FEMALES:</u>				
0 - 4	49	27	57	133
5 - 9	30	13	2	45
10 - 14	12	3	-	15
15 - 19	8	-	-	8
20 & over	<u>2</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>
TOTAL	<u>101</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>203</u>

It is interesting to note that whereas 25.5% of the workers with no schooling were in the first Grade, and 24.8% of workers with Standard 6 or higher were in Grade III, only two of the 289 Grade III workers have had service with the company in excess of four years. The fact that most of the Africans are in the lowest grade is explained by their persistence in going on regular spells of home leave, seldom remaining long enough to qualify for promotion to a higher grade of work. I found that in exceptional cases the company was prepared...

prepared to re-instate an 'old' employee in his or her grade, e.g. where a worker has resigned voluntarily or through ill health and wishes to return. Higher grade workers are, of course, less likely to be laid off than lower-grade workers who have had comparatively short service with the company.

4. QUALITY RATING OF WORKERS BY MANAGEMENT:

I endeavoured to obtain from supervisors at FABCOR quality ratings of individual workers, but found it difficult to discern any classifiable differentiations. The company itself does not appear to classify the work quality of its employees in the semi-skilled or unskilled categories, and does not go much beyond a policy of hire and fire. If a worker shows at least average work quality he has a good chance of remaining with the company; otherwise, he would be dismissed or laid off when staff reductions take place. The policy of <sup>last</sup>~~first~~ in, first out, usually provided a convenient cover for the weeding out of unsatisfactory workers, and to prevent their being re-engaged in the future their employment records in the Personnel Office would be endorsed accordingly.

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## CHAPTER FIVE

### MOTIVATION AND MORALE OF WORKERS

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CHAPTER FIVE

MOTIVATION AND MORALE OF WORKERS

1. REASONS FOR JOINING FABCOR:

The Coloured workers were asked why they had chosen to come to work at FABCOR. Their replies indicated that few appeared to have been influenced by any other consideration than that of convenience, the company being the first firm with vacancies. The pattern of replies confirmed that unemployed workers tend to drift from factory to factory until they found one which was prepared to employ them. Their attitude towards work is largely negative: in many cases, particularly among Coloured men, long periods of unemployment were found to have occurred between each job. As was pointed out in the last Chapter, many Coloured workers admitted that they only worked when they were forced to do so and usually took the first job available.

TABLE XXXV: - REASONS FOR JOINING FABCOR (COLOURED WORKERS):

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
1st available vacancy	126	71.19	157	77.35	283	74.46
Understood conditions to be better than elsewhere	22	12.43	22	10.84	44	11.58
Convenient to home	2	1.13	12	5.91	14	3.68
Recommended by friend	10	5.65	3	1.48	13	3.43
Parents worked in factory	6	3.39	7	3.44	13	3.43
Recommended by relative	6	3.39	1	0.49	7	1.84
Sent by Labour Bureau	<u>5</u>	<u>2.82</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.49</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>1.58</u>
TOTAL	...	<u>177</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>100</u>

2. ATTITUDE TOWARDS WORK DONE IN THE FACTORY:

The workers were asked whether they were satisfied with the job they were doing at the time of interview. Table XXXVI summarises their replies, while Tables XXXVII

and ...

and XXXVIII set out the reasons they gave for their attitudes.

TABLE XXXVI - ATTITUDES TO PRESENT JOB:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Satisfied with job	114	43.85	151	85.31	179	88.18	444	69.37
Dissatisfied with job	56	21.54	16	9.04	14	6.90	86	13.44
Indifferent ("It's a job like any other")	<u>90</u>	<u>34.61</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>5.65</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>4.92</u>	<u>110</u>	<u>17.19</u>
TOTAL	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XXXVII - REASONS FOR BEING SATISFIED IN JOB:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Job is light and easy	34	29.82	51	33.77	59	32.96	144	32.43
Knows the job well	31	27.19	15	9.93	34	18.99	80	18.02
Likes the type of work	2	1.75	27	17.88	27	15.08	56	12.61
No special reason	15	13.16	4	2.66	20	11.18	39	8.78
Work is varied	-	-	19	12.58	17	9.49	36	8.11
Wages are good	5	4.39	10	6.62	10	5.59	25	5.63
Learns new things	7	6.14	7	4.63	2	1.12	16	3.61
Congenial working conditions	-	-	11	7.28	4	2.24	15	3.38
Job is steady	7	6.14	1	0.66	5	2.79	13	2.93
Foreman does not interfere with work	5	4.39	4	2.66	1	0.56	10	2.25
Job is semi-skilled	<u>8</u>	<u>7.02</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1.33</u>	-	-	<u>10</u>	<u>2.25</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>114</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>151</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>179</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>444</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XXXVIII ...

TABLE XXXVIII      REASONS FOR BEING DISSATISFIED IN JOB:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Job is unskilled	20	35.71	2	12.50	1	7.14	23	26.74
Work is heavy	12	21.43	2	12.50	7	50.00	21	24.42
Uncongenial working conditions	15	26.78	4	25.00	2	14.29	21	24.42
Wages are low	7	12.50	6	37.50	2	14.29	15	17.44
Foreman is unpleasant	1	1.79	2	12.50	1	7.14	4	4.65
No special reason	<u>1</u>	<u>1.79</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>7.14</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2.33</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>56</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>100</u>

It appears from the above Tables that while the overwhelming majority of the Coloured workers are satisfied in their jobs, the majority of Africans are either indifferent or dissatisfied. Indifference and dissatisfaction are largely induced by a sense of frustration over grading of work and wages paid, combined with a feeling that opportunities are limited. The physical nature of the particular job appeared to be of secondary importance to the bulk of the African workers.

It was perhaps to be expected that a large proportion of the female objections would be related to the degree of physical exertion required on the job, but this consideration apparently influences Coloured workers of both sexes to an appreciable extent.

It is interesting to note that the Africans place no value on the fact that a job is varied, although 19 Coloured men and 17 Coloured women stated that they liked their jobs for this reason.

Table XXXIX groups the factors influencing the attitudes of the 530 workers who expressed opinions about their jobs.

TABLE XXXIX - FACTORS INFLUENCING ATTITUDES TO JOBS:

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Coloured Males</u>	<u>Coloured Females</u>	<u>All Workers</u>
Physical nature of job	79	114	144	337
Wages & grading of job	47	21	18	86
Working conditions	15	15	6	36
Prospects	7	7	2	16
Foreman	6	6	2	14
.....				
No reason given	<u>16</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>41</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>170</u>	<u>167</u>	<u>193</u>	<u>530</u>

3. CHOICE OF JOBS WITHIN THE FACTORY:

Workers were asked to name the particular job in the factory which, given the opportunity, they would choose for themselves. No attempt was made to guide them in making their choice and no restriction was placed on the type of work they could select. They were free to choose any work, including that normally done by Europeans. At first some workers were hesitant to reply, claiming that in practice they were not given any choice of jobs; others were unable to make any choice whatsoever and these have been classified as indifferent. Table XL indicates the pattern of job selection.

TABLE XL - JOBS WORKERS WOULD CHOOSE FOR THEMSELVES IN THE FACTORY:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Present job	110	42.32	74	41.81	80	39.41	264	41.25
Machine minder	36	13.85	18	10.17	27	13.31	81	12.66
Packer	3	1.15	5	2.82	22	10.84	30	4.69
Tow motor driver	16	6.15	1	0.56	-	-	17	2.66
Clerical job	11	4.23	2	1.13	2	0.98	15	2.34
Miscellaneous	32	12.30	40	22.60	39	19.20	111	17.34
Indifferent	<u>52</u>	<u>20.00</u>	<u>27</u>	<u>20.91</u>	<u>33</u>	<u>16.26</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>19.06</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

It appears from the above that the pattern of choice and the underlying reasons are much the same for all groups: determining factors were largely consideration of wages paid, knowledge of the job, nature of the job and, to...

to a lesser extent, general working conditions including workmates and foremen. The present job was often chosen because workers felt they could do it better than any other and would be afraid to change lest they prove unsatisfactory.

4. KNOWLEDGE OF WORK DONE IN THE FACTORY:

All the workers interviewed were asked if they were aware of the products which were being manufactured at FABCOR. Most of them had at least some idea of the object of their labours, but there were a surprising number, particularly among the Coloured males, who had no idea whatsoever of what the factory manufactures. Their ignorance was due largely to the fact that non-European workers, on initial engagement, are not given any indication of the exact functions of the factory. European workers, on the other hand, are provided with a booklet setting out the history of the company, its connections, a description of its activities and details of the various welfare services which are provided for the benefit of workers.

We found that this type of ignorance was not confined to the work of the factory, but extended to other spheres. Some workers, for example, appeared to have no knowledge of the existence of the surgery or the canteen.

The fact that there exist some workers who have no idea of what their purpose is at FABCOR, other than to earn a wage, is an important factor in increasing mobility, reducing productivity and inducing work-shyness, or voluntary unemployment. Such workers will obviously show no real interest in their work, or in the firm, and will only respond if close supervision is exercised over their work. I feel that the alleged disinterestedness of non-European workers in the jobs they do may stem largely from a lack of comprehension of their work and the part they play in industry, and the low level of wages may be of secondary importance.

Maximum efficiency cannot be achieved under these circumstances.

8. ATTITUDES TOWARDS FOREMEN:

Table XLV shows the attitudes of workers towards their foremen, that is to say, the departmental heads. Tables XLVI and XLVII summarise the reasons for these attitudes.

TABLE XLV - ATTITUDES TOWARDS FOREMEN:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers liking their foreman	151	58.07	136	76.84	159	78.33	446	69.69
Workers disliking their foreman	56	21.55	37	20.90	38	18.72	131	20.47
Indifferent	<u>53</u>	<u>20.38</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2.26</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2.95</u>	<u>63</u>	<u>9.84</u>
TOTAL	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XLVI - REASONS FOR LIKING FOREMEN:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Considerate & does not shout or swear	56	37.09	62	45.58	55	34.59	173	38.78
Does not interfere with worker on job	29	19.21	39	28.68	44	27.67	112	25.11
Treats all races alike	2	1.32	17	12.50	23	14.47	42	9.42
Is straight-forward	-	-	13	9.56	17	10.69	30	6.73
Is easy to please	-	-	5	3.68	5	3.15	10	2.24
Does not sack workers	10	6.62	-	-	-	-	10	2.24
Helps worker to go on home leave	4	2.65	-	-	-	-	4	0.90
Understands workers' language	4	2.65	-	-	-	-	4	0.90
Likes worker	2	1.32	-	-	-	-	2	0.44
No specific reason	<u>44</u>	<u>29.14</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9.43</u>	<u>59</u>	<u>13.23</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>151</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>136</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>159</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>446</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XLVII ...

TABLE XLVII - REASONS FOR DISLIKING FOREMEN:

	Africans		Coloured Males		Coloured Females		All Workers	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Moody & inconsiderate task-master	20	35.72	13	35.13	21	55.28	54	41.22
Swears at workers	2	3.57	17	45.95	12	31.58	31	23.66
Sacks workers for trivialities	10	17.86	-	-	-	-	10	7.63
Threatens workers with dismissal	7	12.50	-	-	-	-	7	5.34
Dislikes Africans	5	8.92	-	-	-	-	5	3.82
Moves workers from job to job	2	3.57	-	-	-	-	2	1.53
No specific reason	<u>10</u>	<u>17.86</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>18.92</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>13.14</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>16.80</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>56</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>37</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>38</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>131</u>	<u>100</u>

The workers who disliked their foremen were largely concentrated in one department. They seemed to be afraid of him and were reluctant to speak freely for fear of reprisals.

It is interesting to note that workers place most store upon the fact that a foreman does not shout or swear at them. Many of the workers said that while they fully appreciated the duties of a supervisor, they resented being sworn at, reprovved in front of fellow workers, or addressed in general terms instead of by name.

The Africans appeared to be conscious of the considerable measure of freedom they enjoy in the company in that they are generally not under constant and close supervision, and their foreman, for the most part, are sympathetic.

One of the most popular and respected foremen among the Africans was able to speak Xhosa. We constantly came across evidence of misunderstandings, which sometimes led to dismissals, arising out of language difficulties and I came away from FABCOR with the impression that it is essential for firms employing a large number of African workers to have someone in, or attached to the Personnel Office, who can speak Xhosa.

My own impression of the foremen at FABCOR was that the majority were intelligent, hard-working and usually sympathetic to the problems of workers. The

unpopular ...

unpopular foreman mentioned earlier was a man in his late thirties, somewhat surly, but highly thought of by management because his production record was the best in the factory. This was probably one reason for his unpopularity: he was always on the look-out for anything which slowed down production. He frowned on talking during work and seldom stopped to talk to workers himself. Furthermore, he had been responsible for an innovation which was greatly disliked by the Coloured female workers. Women, he claimed, were constantly leaving their work benches for the cloakrooms where they congregated to talk and smoke. To prevent this, he introduced a system of numbered discs for each of the available toilets and refused to allow women to leave their benches if all the discs were taken. I found this system had reduced his department almost to striking point and most of the workers I interviewed raised the matter in complaint.

9. ATTITUDES TOWARDS WAGES PAID BY THE COMPANY:

The workers were asked if they were satisfied with the wages they received. The summary of responses in Table XLVIII is interesting in that it shows a definite relationship between grading and satisfaction. The Africans, of whom the majority are in the lower paid categories of work, were almost universally dissatisfied with wages, while the least dissatisfied workers were the females who, one may presume, would have the fewest commitments.

TABLE XLVIII - ATTITUDE TOWARDS WAGES:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Satisfied with wages	15	5.77	58	32.77	90	44.33	163	25.47
Dissatisfied with wages	245	94.23	117	66.10	110	5.419	472	73.75
Indifferent	-	-	2	1.13	3	1.48	5	0.78
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

While it may be suggested that few people are ever wholly satisfied with their wages, especially during inflationary periods when incomes never quite catch up with prices, the problem is particularly acute when wage rates tend ...

tend to be near the subsistence level. If one relates a wage of, say, £3.0.0. per week to the present cost of living, it is difficult to see how workers can survive without falling below the poverty datum line. I am indebted to Professor Batson for permission to base my calculations on the formula he has used for the calculation of the Poverty Datum Line for Cape Town. /

The calculations which appear below attempt to assess the income required to maintain oneself just above the level of absolute poverty, allowing only for the barest minimum of food, clothing and fuel, with no allowance being made for such items as housing, sports, amusements, hobbies, medical and dental services and medicines, or luxuries of any kind. Even when transport and housing costs are also taken into consideration, the resulting standard is one of subsistence and not of living.

Food: The calculation of minimum food requirements can be conveniently based upon the standards laid down by dieticians as constituting the minimum food necessary for the maintenance of health among western peoples, and involving the estimation of the cheapest combination of foodstuffs which will provide a sufficiency of minerals and 'protective' elements.

The following is a possible weekly diet for one adult, calculated upon November 1955 prices, and based upon minimum diet standards used by the Social Survey of Cape Town.

/...

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/ The Social Survey of Cape Town, School of Social Science, University of Cape Town, No. RS 212, "Poverty Datum Line, March 1952."

<u>Quantity</u>	<u>Foodstuff</u>	<u>Cost</u>	<u>Protein grams</u>	<u>Fat grams</u>	<u>Calories</u>
2 lbs.	Meat	5. 8d.	132	152	1900
1 lb.	Fish	10d.	44	13	290
4 oz.	Cheese	1. 0d.	28	39	465
1	Egg	3d.	7	5	74
½ tin	Condensed milk	1. 0d.	18	17	813
1 pint	Milk	6d.	19	24	408
6 lbs.	Bread	2. 4½d.	252	36	7092
1 lb.	Cereal	9d.	42	9	1620
8 oz.	Dried peas	6d.	50	2	797
8 oz.	Beans	4d.	51	4	783
4 lbs.	Potatoes	2. 0d.	36	-	1600
8 oz.	Tail fat/dripping	10d.	-	227	2109
6 oz.	Margarine/veg. fat.	1. 0d.	-	170	1582
2 lbs.	Sugar	10d.	-	-	3630
4 oz.	Jam	4d.	-	-	324
4 lbs.	Fresh fruit & vegetables	2. 6d.	24	4	700
2 oz.	Tea	1. 0d.	-	-	-
2 oz.	Coffee	1. 0d.	-	-	-
Weekly total ...		22. 8½d.	703	702	24,187
Daily total (approx.) ...		<u>3. 3d.</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>3,497</u>

Clothing: While the calculation of minimum food requirements can be based directly on dietetical considerations, the question of clothing is influenced largely by social custom. The tables below are drawn up on the assumption that the utmost economy is exercised in buying, wearing and repairing. The prices used are those ruling in Cape Town in November, 1955 and the specimen clothing budget is based upon that used in The Social Survey of Cape Town. Professor Batson has emphasised that the operative factor is the need to maintain decency and to conform to custom, and that most items of clothing are made to last for several seasons.

(a) Adult Male - Minimum annual clothing requirements:

Footwear and repairs	£4. 0. 0d.
Suit (coat, trousers)	6. 0. 0d.
Overcoat	2. 5. 0d.
Headwear	7. 6d.
Shirts and underwear	4. 10. 6d.
Socks	1. 10. 0d.
Sundries	8. 0d.

Annual total £19. 1. 0d.

(b) ...

(b) Adult Female - Minimum annual clothing requirements:

Footwear and repairs	£3. 0. 0d.
Dresses, skirts, blouses, jerseys	3. 12. 0d.
Coat, mackintosh	1. 15. 0d.
Hats	17. 6d.
Underwear & nightwear	2. 0. 0d.
Stockings	1. 10. 0d.
Sundries	9. 0d.

Annual total £13. 3. 6d.

Cooking, heating, lighting and cleaning: (1955 prices)

Weekly cost:

Fuel (per household)	5. 0d.
Lighting, etc.	2. 0d.
Cleaning	6d.
	<u>7. 6d.</u>

On the basis of the above calculations, the annual expenditure for a married couple (without taking account of children) would be as follows:

Food	£118. 1. 8d.
Clothing (man)	19. 1. 0d.
" (woman)	13. 3. 6d.
Fuel, etc.	<u>19.10. 0d.</u>

Total ... £169.16. 2d.

If the minimum annual expenditure is £169.16.2d., on an annual income of £156.0.0d, (wages of £3. per week), there is a shortfall of £13.16.2d. This takes no account of travelling expenses and rent. If a worker lives in a shanty, he will pay about £1.0.0d. per month in rent, and he will probably spend about 5.0d. a week in fares. This represents an additional annual outlay of £25.0.0d., and his total expenditure for the year would be in the region of £194.16.2d. - representing an excess of £48.16.2d. over income. If the worker lives in a brick Council house, the deficit will, of course, be correspondingly larger, as can be seen from Table XXI showing the rents paid by the FABCOR workers. Fares also vary considerably and are often higher than 5.0d. per week (see Tables XXII and XXIII).

It may be possible for the wife to work, but as non-European people generally have large families, it is more likely that the woman will be busy looking after

the...

the children who are, of course, an extra burden on the wage earner. Some families are fortunate in having one or more children of working age to assist in contributing to income, but in any event the presence of adults in the household places an additional strain on the family budget. In the case of the majority of Coloured people interviewed, it was found that a child was born every year. This has the effect of causing Coloured children to leave school at the earliest possible age in order to assist with family earning. In discussing ambitions with workers, many told me that they had been prevented from following the careers they would have preferred by the fact that their parents were unable to afford to maintain them at school for longer than was absolutely necessary. I came across some cases where mothers had taken work and were denying themselves in order to give their children the educational opportunities which circumstances had made impossible for them.

#### 10. THE CANTEEN:

As mentioned earlier, the canteen provides hot meals for workers at subsidised prices. A meat or fish dish, with vegetables, costs 10d. for Europeans and 6d. for non-Europeans; a pint of soup costs 5d. and 2d. respectively. Non-Europeans pay  $\frac{1}{2}$ d. for a cup of tea and 3d. for four slices of buttered bread. Payment is effected by coupons, which are purchased at the dry goods canteen.

While few of the workers disputed the prices of the food supplied, a minority regularly bought meals at the canteen. This was largely due to the fact that an outlay of 6d. a day is comparatively high for a person whose income is in the region of £3.0.0d. per week. In the case of many workers, particularly married women, it was both cheaper and more convenient to bring left-overs from home which they could have warmed up in the canteen ovens. The remainder preferred to buy buttered bread and have a hot meal in the evening when they got home.

It is interesting to make a comparison between the relative costs of a meal for Europeans and non-Europeans on the basis of income. If a non-European

worker...

worker earning £3.0.0. per week buys a hot meal at the canteen every day, it would represent an outlay of 2.6d. per week, or one-twentyfourth of his income. If we disregard the fact that persons earning a subsistence wage have less latitude in the spending of their earnings than those on higher income levels, we find that if a European is earning £12.0.0. per week, an outlay of one-twentyfourth of his income on buying hot meals at FABCOR would amount to 10.0d., while a man earning a weekly wage of £8.0.0d. would, on the same basis, spend 6.8d. per week at the canteen. In fact, at existing prices, neither would have to spend more than 4.2d. per week.

The problem is not simply one of reducing prices, for the entire question of providing amenities is fraught with difficulties. Many workers seem to be under the impression that the company provides subsidised meals merely as an excuse to pay lower wages, while Africans are usually suspicious of subsidised schemes and feel that there must be something inferior about them.

The provision of meals to workers is a vital factor in raising their productive efficiency. Many of them leave for work without having a meal of any sort and usually complete a day's work on bread and tea alone. Furthermore, it should be borne in mind that some Coloured workers do not spend sufficient money on food but prefer to use their money to buy wine.

We found that few of the Africans at FABCOR were making use of the canteen for meals. They were apparently influenced by two considerations: many disliked European food, while others said they were afraid to get used to it as it would prove more expensive than the traditional African diet. I discussed the question of the African diet with the Personnel Officer at FABCOR and suggested that the company should provide the Africans with samp, beans, etc. in addition to meat or fish. This was tried out and we found that within a short time there was an hundred per cent increase in African patronage of the canteen. The scheme has now become a permanent feature of the canteen.

Tables XLIX to LIV summarise the attitudes of workers towards the provision of food at their work and

towards ...

towards the FABCOR canteen.

TABLE XLIX - ATTITUDE OF COLOURED WORKERS TOWARDS CANTEENS  
IN GENERAL:

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Preference for canteen at work	99	55.93	140	68.96	139	49.64
Not interested in canteen at work	33	18.65	18	8.87	51	18.22
Indifferent	45	25.42	45	22.17	90	32.14
TOTAL ...	177	100	203	100	380	100

TABLE L - PATRONAGE OF FABCOR CANTEEN:  
(includes those buying tea only)

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers patronising canteen	188	72.31	92	51.98	119	58.62	399	62.31
Workers not patronising canteen	72	27.69	85	48.02	84	41.38	241	37.66
TOTAL ..	260	100	177	100	203	100	640	100

TABLE LI - REASONS FOR NOT USING FABCOR CANTEEN:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Brings own lunch	58	80.56	58	68.23	38	45.25	154	63.90
Food not provided for Moslems	-	-	7	8.24	18	21.44	25	10.37
Insufficient food & of poor quality	7	9.72	3	3.53	2	2.38	12	4.98
Cannot afford meals	-	-	4	4.71	8	9.52	12	4.98
Prices too high	5	6.94	-	-	1	1.19	6	2.49
Goes home to lunch	-	-	1	1.18	5	5.94	6	2.49
No knowledge of canteen	2	2.78	-	-	-	-	2	0.82
Miscellaneous other reasons	-	-	12	14.11	12	14.28	24	9.97
TOTAL ...	72	100	85	100	84	100	241	100

TABLE LII ...

TABLE LII - ATTITUDES OF COLOURED WORKERS TOWARDS CANTEEN PRICES:

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers considering prices dear	3	1.69	8	3.94	11	2.89
Workers considering prices reasonable	36	20.34	55	27.09	91	23.95
Workers considering prices cheap	81	45.76	84	41.38	165	43.42
Workers expressing no opinion	<u>57</u>	<u>32.21</u>	<u>56</u>	<u>27.59</u>	<u>113</u>	<u>29.74</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE LIII - ATTITUDES OF AFRICANS TOWARDS CANTEEN PRICES:  
(Before introduction of traditional diet)

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers satisfied with prices charged	57	21.92
Workers dissatisfied with prices charged	125	48.08
Indifferent	6	2.31
Workers having no opinion	<u>72</u>	<u>27.69</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE LIV - ATTITUDES OF WORKERS TOWARDS FOOD SUPPLIED:  
(includes workers buying bread and tea only)

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers liking food supplied	137	52.70	108	61.02	129	63.55	374	58.44
Workers disliking food supplied	31	11.92	17	9.60	35	17.24	83	12.97
Indifferent	20	7.69	52	29.38	39	19.21	111	17.34
Expressing no opinion	<u>72</u>	<u>27.69</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>72</u>	<u>11.25</u>
TOTAL	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

11. THE SURGERY:

The well-equipped factory surgery is open to workers for all manner of purposes in addition to the accident cases. The Sisters visit the homes of sick employees, and workers who are taken ill at work are usually driven home in a factory car, unless of course hospital treatment is needed. On the whole, the surgery is popular and the Sisters are kept busy attending to a variety of minor complaints, ranging from common colds to intestinal upsets.

Africans...

Africans constitute the majority of workers who do not use the surgery: many of them seemed to be suspicious of the Factory doctor, whom they regarded as merely an agent of the company, and they preferred to pay for the services of an outside physician.

Table LV shows the extent to which the surgery was used by the workers interviewed, and Table LVI summarises their reasons.

TABLE LV - USE OF SURGERY:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers using the surgery	168	64.62	170	96.05	183	90.15	521	81.41
Workers not using the surgery	<u>92</u>	<u>35.38</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>3.95</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>9.85</u>	<u>119</u>	<u>18.59</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE LVI - REASONS FOR NOT USING THE SURGERY:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Prefers own doctor	43	46.74	-	-	10	50.00	53	44.54
No confidence in factory doctor	32	34.78	-	-	2	10.00	34	28.57
No knowledge of surgery	10	10.87	-	-	-	-	10	8.40
No need of surgery	7	7.61	7	100	2	10.00	16	13.45
No reasons given	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>30.00</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5.04</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>92</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>20</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>119</u>	<u>100</u>

12. ATTITUDE TOWARDS FELLOW WORKERS:

Certain questions were designed to ascertain whether racial prejudice existed among non-European workers. Some interesting information was obtained within the narrow framework of our procedure. Tables LVII and LVIII summarise the attitudes of Coloured and African workers vis-a-vis each other. They were not asked to give their opinions of Europeans.

While most of the Africans said that they had no

objection...

objection to working with Coloured people, some of the Coloured workers - particularly women - expressed dissatisfaction at having to work with Africans. The women felt that this invariably led to Africans wishing to be accepted on terms of social equality, which they considered caused embarrassment; they complained that their friends were inclined to misinterpret the greetings of African workers outside factory hours.

TABLE LVII - ATTITUDE OF COLOURED WORKERS TOWARDS AFRICANS:

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Liking to work with Africans	153	86.44	147	72.42	300	78.95
Disliking to work with Africans	22	12.43	56	27.58	78	20.53
Indifferent	<u>2</u>	<u>1.13</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>0.52</u>
! TOTAL ...	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE LVIII - ATTITUDE OF AFRICANS TOWARDS COLOURED WORKERS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Liking to work with Coloured people	206	79.23
Disliking to work with Coloured people	47	18.07
Indifferent	<u>7</u>	<u>2.70</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

13. RECREATIONAL FACILITIES:

A number of sporting activities are organised for the non-European workers. There is a women's net-ball team and soccer for the men. We asked the workers whether they were interested in recreational facilities at work, and found that most of them were not; some belonged to private clubs, while the majority were not interested in anything to do with sport. The factory concerts, on the other hand, are popular with the workers and interest is lively, especially when a public performance is given.

In the main, the Africans take little part in any of these activities and generally show no interest in the concerts or film shows. A few of the more sophisticated Africans do join in.

TABLE LIX - ATTITUDE OF COLOURED WORKERS TO FACTORY

	<u>RECREATIONAL FACILITIES:</u>					
	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers showing interest	52	29.38	36	17.74	88	23.16
Workers showing no interest	<u>125</u>	<u>70.62</u>	<u>167</u>	<u>82.26</u>	<u>292</u>	<u>16.84</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>380</u>	<u>100</u>

14. FUTURE INTENTIONS:

All the workers interviewed were asked whether they expected to remain with the company and whether, if circumstances permitted, they would prefer to work elsewhere. While the proportion of Africans expecting and preferring to remain at FABCOR is about the same, there is a marked difference among Coloured workers, as shown in Tables LX and LXI.

TABLE LX - FUTURE EMPLOYMENT EXPECTATIONS:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Expecting to remain with the company	180	69.23	125	70.63	144	70.94	449	70.16
Expecting to leave the company	56	21.54	46	25.98	58	28.57	160	25.00
Indifferent	<u>24</u>	<u>9.23</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3.39</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.49</u>	<u>31</u>	<u>4.84</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE LXI - FUTURE EMPLOYMENT PREFERENCES:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Preferring to work elsewhere	67	25.77	75	42.37	86	42.37	228	35.62
Preferring to remain at FABCOR	184	70.77	100	56.50	116	57.14	400	62.50
Indifferent	<u>9</u>	<u>3.46</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1.13</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>0.49</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>1.88</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

Table LXII summarises the reasons given by workers for preferring to work elsewhere, while Table LXIII sets out their reasons for preferring to remain with the company.

TABLE LXII ...

TABLE LXII - REASONS FOR PREFERRING TO WORK ELSEWHERE:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Present wages too low	37	55.22	60	80.00	30	34.88	127	55.71
Prefers different type of job	26	38.81	4	5.33	45	52.33	75	32.89
No prospects at FABCOR	-	-	9	12.00	3	3.49	12	5.26
Dislikes conditions at FABCOR	3	4.48	2	2.67	1	1.16	6	2.63
Prefers housewifery	-	-	-	-	3	3.49	3	1.32
Prefers self-employment	1	1.49	-	-	-	-	1	0.44
No reason given	-	-	-	-	4	4.65	4	1.75
TOTAL ...	<u>67</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>75</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>86</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>228</u>	<u>100</u>

Note: / This includes 22 who specifically stated that they would prefer to work in the clothing industry.

TABLE LXIII - REASONS FOR WISHING TO REMAIN WITH THE COMPANY:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Likes conditions of work	97	52.72	60	60.00	58	50.00	215	53.75
Used to present job	16	8.70	20	20.00	28	24.14	64	16.00
Dislikes changing jobs	19	10.33	6	6.00	5	4.31	30	7.50
Cannot find other work	14	7.61	2	2.00	4	3.45	20	5.00
Present wages are good	1	0.54	4	4.00	8	6.90	13	3.25
Good prospects at FABCOR	-	-	5	5.00	2	1.72	7	1.75
Too old to move	2	1.09	-	-	4	3.45	6	1.50
Convenient to home	1	0.54	1	1.00	4	3.45	6	1.50
Work permit only for this job	5	2.71	-	-	-	-	5	1.25
Relatives or friends at FABCOR	-	-	2	2.00	3	2.58	5	1.25
Has a steady job	3	1.63	-	-	-	-	3	0.75
No reason given	<u>26</u>	<u>14.13</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>6.50</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>184</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>116</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>400</u>	<u>100</u>

Wages appeared to be the strongest consideration influencing most of the workers who said they would prefer to work elsewhere. Apart from the 37 Africans who stated explicitly ....

explicitly that they would prefer to work elsewhere because the wages at FABCOR were too low, the majority of those who said they preferred a different type of job were, in fact, likewise influenced by the level of wages at FABCOR.

The majority of Coloured women expressed a preference for work in a clothing factory. The appeal was not only the higher wages paid there, but also the possibility of being able to obtain clothes for themselves and their families at reduced prices. There was also the belief that if they worked at a clothing factory they would learn something about dressmaking.

15. AMBITIONS:

The Coloured workers were asked to name the type of work they would most like to do, and, as the case of the choice of jobs in the factory (Table XL), they were given no guidance by the interviewers. The men selected a wide variety of trades, ranging from radio engineering to carpentry, which ten of them favoured. Few chose the building trade; one wanted to be a musician and another a photographer. The women were more narrow in their choice. It was not possible to detail the wide range of jobs selected by 37.86% of the men and Table LXIV, therefore, gives a general summary of their answers.

TABLE LXIV - CHOICE OF OCCUPATION BY COLOURED WORKERS:

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Work in Clothing factory	4	2.27	57	28.08	61	16.05
Dressmaking	-	-	42	20.69	42	11.05
Machinist in factory	12	6.78	8	3.94	20	5.26
Printing industry	14	7.91	3	1.48	17	4.47
Driving	14	7.91	-	-	14	3.68
Teaching	2	1.13	11	5.42	13	3.43
Nursing	1	0.56	12	5.91	13	3.43
Clerical work	7	3.95	4	1.97	11	2.89
Housewifery	-	-	10	4.93	10	2.63
Shop assistant	3	1.69	4	1.97	7	1.84
<u>Work at FABCOR</u>	5	2.82	1	0.49	6	1.58
Domestic service	-	-	5	2.46	5	1.32
Shorthand typist	-	-	4	1.97	4	1.05
Miscellaneous other trades	67	37.85	7	3.45	74	19.48
Miscellaneous factory work	4	2.27	7	3.45	11	2.89
No choice	44	24.86	28	13.79	72	18.95
TOTAL ...	177	100	203	100	380	100

16. CHOICE OF CAREERS FOR CHILDREN:

The workers were asked what they hoped their children would do when they grew up. The questions put to the African and Coloured workers were somewhat different; while the Africans were asked directly to name their choice of career for their children, the Coloured workers were asked whether they wanted their children to do the same type of work as they themselves were doing, i.e. factory work. They were also asked whether they would like them particularly to work for FABCOR.

Table LXV summarises the Africans' choice of occupations for their sons. Only those workers who actually had sons of their own were asked to make this choice. (122 workers)

TABLE LXV - AFRICANS' CHOICE OF OCCUPATIONS FOR THEIR SONS:

Teacher	18	14.75
Carpenter	12	9.83
Farmer	10	8.19
Doctor	6	4.92
Lawyer	6	4.92
Work at FABCOR	6	4.92
Builder	4	3.28
Clerk	4	3.28
Work on Mines	4	3.28
Son should make own choice	3	2.46
Any type of factory work	3	2.46
Policeman	1	0.82
Driver	1	0.82
Interpreter	1	0.82
Mechanic	1	0.82
Tailor	1	0.82
No opinion	<u>41</u>	<u>33.61</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>122</u>	<u>100</u>

The majority of Africans, in choosing occupations for their sons, appeared to be influenced by considerations of betterment. 22 told us that the occupation chosen would offer their sons independence, and five said that good

salaries ...

salaries were attached to the career they selected. Those who favoured the mines did so because they believed that every boy should begin his working life on the mines.

Table LXVI summarises the choice of careers for daughters and, as in the previous case, only those 124 Africans who had daughters of their own, were asked to make this selection.

TABLE LXVI - AFRICANS' CHOICE OF OCCUPATION FOR THEIR DAUGHTERS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Nurse	48	38.71
Housewife	28	22.58
Teacher	14	11.29
Daughter should make own choice	4	3.22
Dressmaker	1	0.81
No opinion	<u>29</u>	<u>23.39</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>124</u>	<u>100</u>

Nursing was a popular choice largely because African workers believed that it offered security and a good income; a few also felt that it would enable their daughters to help sick people in the rural areas. A strong element in inducing Africans to choose housewifery for their daughters was the prospect of obtaining lobola: 15 workers were specific in this respect.

Tables LXVII and LXVIII summarise the responses of Coloured workers to questions about their choice of work for their children. The workers generally said that they wanted their children to be better off than they were, and this was a strong influence against their choosing FABCOR for the employment of their children. Many of the married women told me that they were working in order to make it possible for their children to stay at school. Those who had been forced by domestic circumstances to leave school at an early standard were particularly conscious of their educational limitations and anxious for the betterment of their children.

TABLE LXVII - CHOICE OF TYPE OF WORK FOR COLOURED CHILDREN:

	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers in favour of children doing same type of work as themselves	29	36.25	37	31.62	66	33.50
Workers against children doing same type of work as themselves	31	38.75	56	47.86	87	44.16
Indifferent	20	25.00	24	20.52	44	22.34
TOTAL ...	80	100	117	100	197	100

TABLE LXVIII - ATTITUDE OF COLOURED WORKERS TOWARDS THEIR CHILDREN WORKING AT FABCOR:

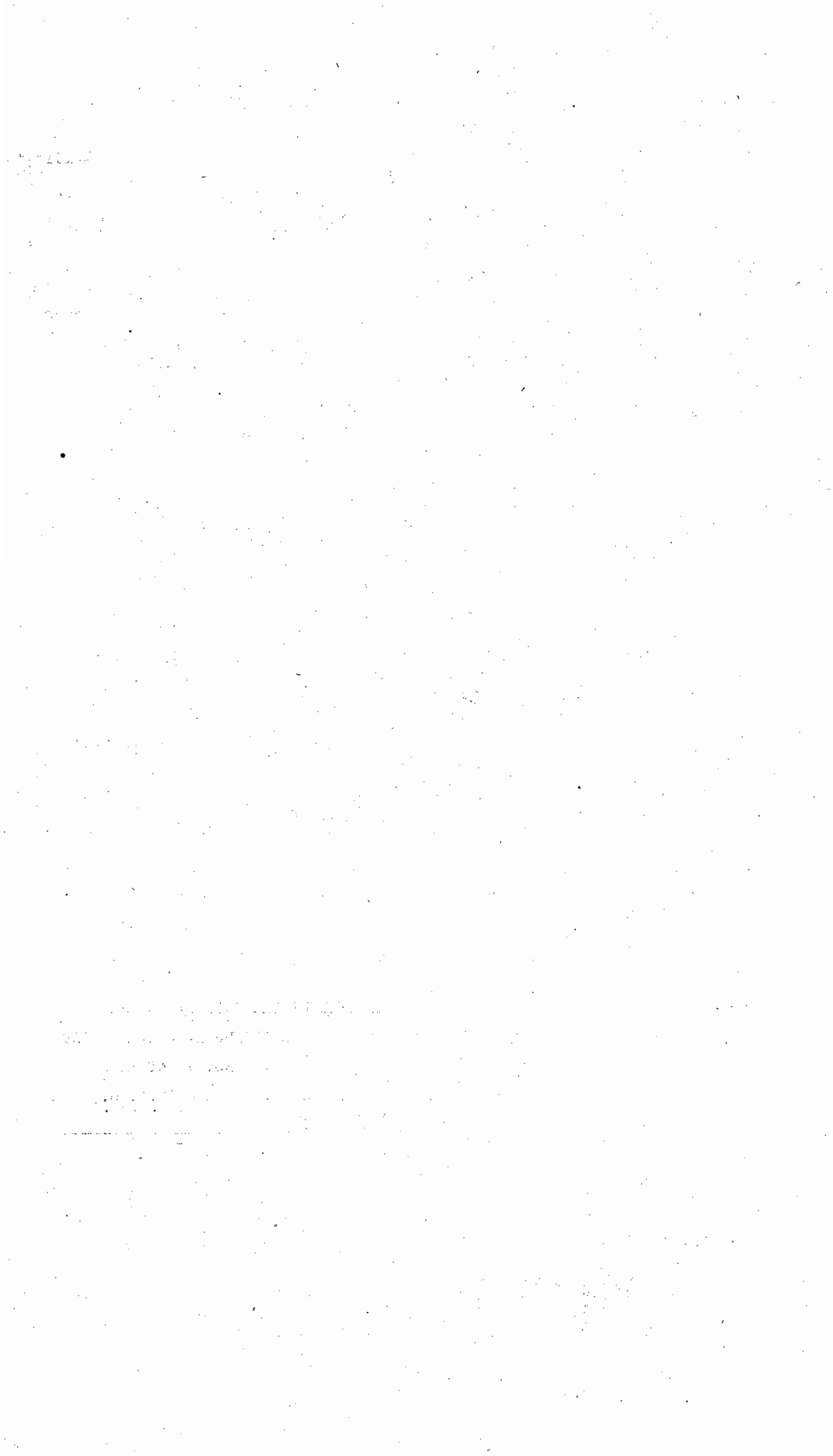
	<u>Males</u>		<u>Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers in favour of children working at FABCOR	22	30.14	20	18.35	42	23.08
Workers against children working at FABCOR	39	53.42	76	69.73	115	63.18
Indifferent	12	16.44	13	11.92	25	13.74
TOTAL ...	73	100	109	100	182	100

CHAPTER SIX

MOBILITY OF WORKERS

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CHAPTER SIX

MOBILITY OF WORKERS

1. RECRUITMENT:

Table LXIX shows the channels through which the workers interviewed originally came to the company. The recruitment of workers is handled by the Personnel Officer who interviews applicants and makes the selection in consultation with the Departmental Head requiring labour. No scientific tests are used in choosing workers; the decision is in the discretion of the Personnel Officer or the Departmental Head. A record is kept, however, of previous employees who were considered unsuitable and unless there are special circumstances to warrant it, such workers are not re-engaged.

It is seldom necessary to advertise for non-European labour and generally the company prefers to recruit employees through friends and relatives in the factory. This, they believe, not only ensures the integrity of the workers but also fosters a spirit of loyalty through kinship. One Coloured female chargehand who has been with the company for a number of years appears to be an unofficial recruiting agent and has placed innumerable workers in employment at FABCOR. The practice of recruiting through friends and relatives seems to be of value, and it was especially noticeable that some of the older employees felt a sense of responsibility towards the company in making recommendations. One woman who had been employed at FABCOR for many years told me that she did not want to bring her daughter there because the girl was inclined to be unstable and seldom remained long in her jobs. On the other hand, many employees were disinclined to introduce their children into the company as they felt opportunities in FABCOR to be limited.

The company encourages and helps African workers with home leave and usually gives them every assistance in obtaining permits to re-enter the area. In the company's record of engagements it was noticed that Africans returning from home leave were usually re-engaged even

during...

during slack periods when workers were being laid off.

TABLE LXX - CHANNELS OF RECRUITMENT:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Applied at gates	206	79.23	66	37.29	72	35.47	344	53.75
Through friend at FABCOR	42	16.16	58	32.77	69	33.99	169	26.41
Through relative at FABCOR	8	3.08	45	25.42	57	28.08	110	17.19
Through Labour Bureaux	1	0.38	8	4.52	5	2.46	14	2.19
Applied in writing	<u>3</u>	<u>1.15</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>-</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>0.46</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

It is interesting to note:

(a) that while the majority of the Africans are listed as having been recruited at the gate, a fair proportion are, in fact, workers returning from home leave. The unemployed African relies to a great extent on an effective 'bush telegraph' system to find a job: if vacancies occur, the news is soon spread by word of mouth. Throughout our investigations we were impressed by the sense of kinship and willingness to assist each other which appear to characterise most Africans.

(b) that the flow of Coloured workers is roughly divided between those who applied at the factory gates and those who were recruited through friends or relatives in the factory.

2. CO-ORDINATION OF THE LABOUR MARKET:

(i) The Use of Labour Bureaux:

All the workers interviewed were asked whether they had ever utilised the services of the various Labour Bureaux to obtain a job. Table LXXI summarises their responses.

TABLE LXXI - USE OF LABOUR BUREAUX:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>All Workers</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Never used	224	86.15	133	75.14	160	78.82	517	80.78
Used at some time or other	<u>36</u>	<u>13.85</u>	<u>44</u>	<u>24.86</u>	<u>43</u>	<u>21.18</u>	<u>123</u>	<u>19.22</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>177</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>203</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>640</u>	<u>100</u>

The lack of interest shown by workers and management in the official Bureaux is indicative of the disorganised state of the labour market in Cape Town. These attitudes stem largely from an ignorance of the true purpose of Labour Bureaux. The name itself is misleading. In Great Britain, for example, the title Labour Exchange is now preferred, and is probably more appropriate, as it stresses its true function which is the provision of a point in the labour market where the supply and demand for labour can be brought together.

To the employer, the recruitment of fresh labour through existing employees has decided advantages. The element of recommendation or sponsorship is valuable and the task of the recruiting officer is greatly simplified. It is, however, not always possible to meet all labour needs in this manner and employers are usually obliged to resort to other methods of recruitment. As in the case of FABCOR, many employers draw from the pools of work-seekers at their gates, not only because of convenience but also in the belief that such workseekers have shown a particular preference for their factory. This is, of course, not necessarily the case, for workseekers usually wander from factory to factory until they are taken on. When preference is shown, it is usually of a negative nature, in that workers tend to avoid firms which are known or reputed to be bad employers.

There is no guarantee that an employer can obtain the labour most suited to his needs from a force of wandering workseekers. It may be argued that in the case of a factory like FABCOR there will always be previously laid-off workers among the workseekers. On the other hand, they may not be the most suitable for the company's purpose.

The assumption is sometimes made that as far as the bulk of unskilled and semi-skilled labour is concerned, little discrimination in recruitment need be exercised. This assumption would be hard to substantiate, for the needs of modern industry call for different aptitudes even among basic labouring tasks. There is, for example, a substantial difference between the basic labourer in the brick fields and one employed in, say, the food processing industry. Different requirements exist not only between industries but within the individual firm. The aptitude required by a cleaner is obviously not the same as that necessary for a machine assistant.

The need for co-ordination of the requirements of labour and management is therefore of prime importance particularly in a multi-racial labour market where it is customary and in some cases obligatory for certain tasks to be performed by members of different racial groups.

An efficient and properly organised system of labour exchanges can play a useful role in bringing together the right labour and the right employer with the minimum loss of time. The emphasis is on the right labour and the right employer; that is to say, the exchange should aim to satisfy as precisely and as swiftly as possible the exact needs of both labour and management. What is called for is a smoothly working organisation, highly geared to the needs of the labour market.

(ii) Labour Co-ordination in the United Kingdom:

In the United Kingdom, Labour Exchanges have been operating since 1912, and there exists today a network of exchanges, throughout the country, which are linked telephonically through a central headquarters in London. Every effort is made to bring together employers and workseekers as speedily as possible. Nevertheless, it has been found that no matter how well equipped the Exchanges are, they cannot hope to succeed unless they have the full and voluntary co-operation of all concerned. Compulsory direction of labour, or compulsory notification of vacancies may assist the work of the employment exchange but it is achieved at the cost of dissatisfaction and frustration on the part of both management and workers.

During ...

During periods of emergency, it may be necessary to introduce the element of compulsion as happened in the United Kingdom during and again shortly after the last war. Regulation 58 A. of 22nd May, 1940, (S.R. & O. 1940, No. 781) gave the Minister of Labour and National Service power:

- (a) to direct any person of any age in Great Britain to perform any service in the United Kingdom which that person was capable of performing, at the 'rate for the job';
- (b) to make provision for regulating the engagement of workers by employers and the duration of their engagement;
- (c) to require persons of any class or description to register particulars about themselves;
- (d) to enter and inspect premises and require employers to keep and produce such books, accounts and records as might be prescribed;
- (e) to make provision by order for securing that enough workers were available in undertakings engaged in essential work.

Essentially the war-time mobilisation of civilian manpower in Britain rested on four major controls:

- (a) the issue of directions to work;
- (b) the registration for employment;
- (c) the control of engagements for employment;
- (d) the Essential Work Orders.

Workers who failed to comply with a direction were liable to prosecution, while employers were also subject to penalties if they knowingly continued to employ (without official consent) a person who had been directed to other employment.

The powers which vested in the Minister under Regulation 58 A. were used with discretion, and normally a worker was not directed to employment except in the last resort. Directions were, however, used to provide labour for work of special wartime urgency. Direction of labour was implemented through the medium of Employment Exchanges.

By 1947 the issue of directions to work under Defence Regulation 58 A. was much reduced, but in October of that year the system was revived as part of the planned export drive. In December, 1949, the practice was discontinued, and in the following March the Control of Engagements (Revocation) Order, 1950, was passed. All statutory control over the employment of workers was thus removed, In the Report of the Ministry of Labour

and ...

and National Service for 1950, the following comment appears "The existence of a free labour market after so many years of control meant that the Employment Exchange Service had to demonstrate through its efficiency as a placing agency that it could retain the confidence of employers and workers alike, so that both would continue to use the free service it offered." /

(iii) The Cape Town Labour Market:

In our local labour market, the problem of labour co-ordination is both one of organisation and of lack of support of labour Bureaux by managements and by workers.

I discussed the problem of recruitment of labour with employers in a recent survey I made of 185 Cape Town employers of different types, and found that while many expressed approval of the basic principles underlying a system of labour exchanges, in practice their behaviour was governed by certain prejudices. In the first place, they felt that the labour Bureaux usually attracted the worst type of labour. They argued that the relatively buoyant demand for labour, as a result of conditions approximating to full employment, meant that workseekers were not usually hard pressed to find jobs. The need for them to use the services of the Bureaux did not, therefore, arise, other than as a means of obtaining unemployment relief. The employers made the further assertion that the Bureaux officials were never anxious to prolong unemployment relief and tended, therefore, not to be over scrupulous in their recommendation of workers registered with them.

Workers appear to have similar reactions to the Bureaux. I found at FABCOR and elsewhere the belief that only bad employers utilised the services of the Bureaux, as their reputations as bad employers made it virtually

impossible ...

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/ Information about employment exchanges and direction of labour in the United Kingdom is taken from the Reports of the Ministry of Labour and National Service for the period 1939-1946 and for the years 1947 to 1952.

impossible for them to obtain their labour needs in any other direction. Many workers also looked upon the Bureaux essentially as providers of relief and accordingly felt there was a stigma attached to using them. I was frequently told that only habitual 'wont works' used the Bureaux.

There is no doubt a measure of truth in these allegations, and the reactions noted above are not confined to our own labour market, but have manifested themselves elsewhere. They only serve to stress the need to make the Bureaux more efficient and more attractive to both employer and workseeker, while at the same time placing less emphasis on their function as relief offices.

The existence of private employment exchanges for European and Coloured people does, to a certain extent, meet the gap in the functioning of the official Bureaux. Such exchanges - together with consulting industrial psychologists - do the work which should more properly be done by the Department of Labour. I do not wish to suggest that these private agencies cannot play a useful role in the labour market, but I feel that efficiently run official labour exchanges should carry the brunt of labour placements, leaving more specialised work to the outside agents.

In the field of African labour, a system of labour mobilisation has been created, within the framework of the various influx control measures, which is perhaps unique in its web of legal intricacies and which enables control to be effected relatively easily both at the source of supply (the rural areas) and the source of demand (the industrial centres). The cornerstones of the system, which relies on the principles of compulsion and what may be termed voluntary inducement, are the Natives (Urban Areas) Act., No. 25 of 1945, as amended, and a national scheme for the establishment of Labour Bureaux introduced by the Department of Native Affairs in 1952, with the expressed purpose of eliminating the "appalling wastage and uneconomic employment of Native labour" resulting from the lack of effective machinery for placement. /

The...

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/ Regulations for the establishment and control of Native Labour Bureaux, Government Notice 2495 of 31st October, 1952, and explanatory memorandum.

The Department set as its objectives:

- (1) The reduction of the high turnover of labour and the extension of the length of service and duration of employment.
- (2) A proper and expeditious distribution of labour according to the needs of each area.
- (3) An assessment of the labour requirements of each area.
- (4) The placing of labour in jobs on the basis of a workman's experience, training and physical and mental attainments, thus reducing the desire to change employment and, at the same time, meeting the needs of employers.

To achieve these objectives, a system with four distinct, but inter-related types of Labour Bureaux was set up:

- (a) A central Bureau in the office of the Secretary for Native Affairs to co-ordinate and control the activities of Regional, District and Local Bureaux and to equate the supply and demand for labour on a national basis.
- (b) Regional Bureaux, in the offices of each of the Chief Native Commissioners, to co-ordinate and control the activities of District and Labour Bureaux and to equate the supply and demand for labour within their areas of jurisdiction.
- (c) District Labour Bureaux, in the office of each Native Commissioner or Magistrate, which function within the area of jurisdiction of such Native Commissioner or Magistrate.
- (d) Local Native Labour Bureaux which are established and controlled by some local authorities within a defined area of jurisdiction.

The Labour Bureau at Langa, operated by the Native Affairs Department of the municipality of Cape Town, was set up in 1953. The work it does today differs little

in ...

in essence from the haphazard system of labour placement which was formerly conducted by the Registration Office at Langa, as the selection of employees is not made on any scientific basis. The Registration Office was always willing to send labour to those employers who sought its assistance, although little regard was paid to the suitability of any African for a particular job. Africans who were granted permits to seek work in Cape Town, in terms of Section 10 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act (which will be discussed later in this Chapter) were free, under the old system, to select their own field of employment.

In theory, the Labour Bureau is intended to place workers in jobs on the basis of experience, training and similar criteria, with the objects of reducing turnover and satisfying the needs of employers. In fact, in the absence of proper machinery for testing aptitudes, the Bureau has since its inception attempted to place workers as far as possible in fields of employment where they have had previous experience - this being the only criterion by which labour placements could be effected. It would appear that under this system a worker could find himself confined permanently to a particular type of work, irrespective of whether he has a total lack of aptitude for it, or whether he desires to change for personal reasons. This tendency is strengthened by an amendment to Section 10 of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act which provides for the automatic re-issue of permits to Africans returning to the same employer within a period of 12 months. While it is obviously economically desirable to build up a stable and experienced labour force in any particular industry, efficiency will suffer unless, in the first instance, it is ensured that the right type of labour is selected, and also that the workers enter the industry willingly and can move to other fields of employment if they so desire.

The effect of the system operated by the Langa Bureau is to reduce normal mobility and to create conditions of unnecessary rigidity. The absence of aptitude testing, such as is used at Germiston for example,

means...

means that the Bureau at Langa is more concerned with labour control than with labour selection, and its value as a true labour exchange is negligible. It forms a convenient part of the general machinery of control over Africans entering and working in Cape Town.

In terms of the Natives (Urban Areas) Act, the municipality of Cape Town is the designated registering authority for the whole of the proclaimed area of the Cape Peninsula, which was defined in Proclamation No. 74 of 1946 / and includes the municipal areas of Cape Town, Pinelands, Durbanville, Goodwood, Parow and Bellville, and a portion of the area under the jurisdiction of the Cape Divisional Council \* . Following this proclamation, the urban local authority (in this case, the Cape Town City Council) is required to exercise considerable powers, as defined in Section 23 (1) of the Act, in respect of the compulsory registration of all contracts of service, the authorisation of entry into the proclaimed area for African men and women, the granting or refusal of permission to Africans to remain in the area, and so on. In terms of Section 10 of the Act, which deals with the restriction of the right of Africans to remain in proclaimed areas, no African may remain in such an area for a period exceeding 72 hours unless:

- " (a) he was born and permanently resides in such area;  
or
- (b) he has worked continuously in such area for one employer for a period of not less than ten years or has lawfully remained continuously in such area for a period of not less than fifteen years and has not during either period been convicted of any offence in respect of which he has been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for a period of more than seven days or with the option of a fine for a period of more than one month; .....
- ..... or
- (d) permission to remain has been granted to him by a person designated for the purpose by that urban local authority.

Normally, permission to remain beyond the 72-hour period, which is within the discretion of the appropriate official ...

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/ Government Gazette No. 3630 of 12th April, 1946.

\* as defined in the schedule to Proclamation No. 248, contained in Government Gazette No. 3424 of 8th December, 1944.

official, is not granted to newcomers to the area, but in certain circumstances exceptions may be made: for instance, if the African in question has an offer of employment which cannot be met from the existing pool of unemployed workers. Alternatively, an employer may be permitted to employ an unauthorised African if he offers like employment to an African from the pool. Should authority to remain be refused, the African is taken under escort to the District Labour Bureau where efforts are made to place him in employment outside the proclaimed urban area. The District Bureau, which is controlled by the Department of Native Affairs, is situated in a building adjacent to the Langa Bureau.

As the result of the continuation of an administrative arrangement between the Native Affairs Department of the municipality of Cape Town and the South African Railways & Harbours, rail tickets are not issued to Africans wishing to travel to Cape Town unless they have written permission from Langa authorising them to proceed there. This means that Africans entering Cape Town without such permission must come by other means than rail transport. Any African who wishes to enter and work in the proclaimed area of Cape Town must obtain permission not only from Langa but also from the Registering Officer or Native Commissioner in the area he wishes to leave.

The pool of officially listed unemployed workers registered with the Labour Bureau at Langa is made up of Africans who have lost their employment in the area, for some reason, and those who have been given permission to enter the area and look for work. The Reference Books of these authorised workseekers are endorsed with a permit to look for work for a period of not less than seven days, and not more than 14 days, though this permission may be renewed. The Africans are also issued with a yellow card, "Annexure M", which employers are required to complete on engagement. A portion of this card is detachable and must be sent back to Langa for record purposes within three days of engagement. Permission to seek work is not necessarily restricted, but may be given for a specific class of employment, such as dairy, farm or

building ...

building work where labour is, at that time, in short supply. In many cases, the name of the prospective employer is also entered on the card. (Specimens of Annexure M. and types of permits to seek work will be found at the end of this Chapter.)

In theory, both employer and workseeker should operate through the Bureau (Regulations 11 (5) and 9 (9) of the Regulations for the establishment and control of Native Labour Bureaux). Every employer is required to notify the Bureau of vacancies within three days, so that the Bureau may fill them from the pool of unemployed workers. Each African receiving a permit to seek work is advised to report regularly to the Bureau for placement. A notice board is displayed outside the office showing daily vacancies and Africans reporting for work are sorted out and sent to firms which need labour. Little latitude in final selection is left to the employer; he must either engage one of the applicants sent, or apply again for others. In practice many firms dislike this method, as the labour sent is not always suitable and much time is wasted in making fresh application. They have found that the Bureau is not equipped to make a proper selection and therefore many prefer to make their own choice from the ranks of workseekers, in possession of permits to seek work, who present themselves at the factory gates. The Africans themselves dislike having to report to Langa - particularly in the case of non-Langa residents for whom reporting entails at least two journeys daily, from home to Langa and from the Bureau to the prospective employer, without any guarantee of employment. They prefer to apply direct to employers; a procedure which is permitted under the Registration system.

The Bureau's activities are limited by the fact that it has no effective means of maintaining contact with all workseekers or with all employers needing labour.

It is difficult to arrive at an accurate assessment of the actual number of workers placed in employment by the Bureau, as the official figures indicating placements include those workers who have found jobs for themselves and therefore have not utilised the services of the Bureau. Table LXXII shows the number of Africans officially registered as unemployed as at the 25th of each calendar month...

month for the years 1953 to 1955, and the first seven months of 1956. These figures reflect the total number of Africans in possession of permits to seek work at the end of each month. An official of the Bureau keeps a record of all permits to seek work issued and at the end of the month he subtracts the number of service contracts registered; by this means, a figure is obtained for those Africans remaining unemployed.

TABLE LXXII - NO. OF AFRICANS SHOWN AS UNEMPLOYED AT THE  
END OF EACH MONTH:

		<u>1953</u>	<u>1954</u>	<u>1955</u>	<u>1956</u>
January	...	2,381	4,479	169	666
February	...	3,511	3,925	7	157
March	...	3,611	3,001	55	885
April	...	3,850	2,460	470	1,411
May	...	5,226	1,472	88	1,441
June	...	8,067	1,255	1,312	1,678
July	...	6,880	953	1,444	1,211
August	...	5,715	1,775	1,522	2,417
September	...	5,883	1,181	1,534	
October	...	5,994	606	1,503	
November	...	4,158	166	251	
December	...	3,850	89	564	

Note: The apparent annual rise in unemployment during the winter months is at least partially accounted for by seasonal lay-offs in the building and allied industries and in the hotel and cafe trades.

One may venture to doubt whether the numbers of unemployed workers in the official pool have been adequate, since 1954, to meet the working needs of industry in the area. In addition to satisfying the demand for labour due to normal turnover, the pool is expected to provide a substantial number of casual workers and substitutes for workers returning to the rural areas on home leave.

If we apply the generally accepted measure of 3% unemployment as necessary to meet the working needs of industry (other than during periods of expansion), then out of an African labour force of approximately

57,000 ...

57,000 in the Cape Peninsula area, a pool of unemployed workers in the region of 1,710 would be required. While it is difficult to estimate with any degree of accuracy the actual number of casual workers required at any given time, it is of interest to examine the situation in FABCOR in order to arrive at some measure of the number of workers needed as substitutes for those going on home leave. I found that during the year 1954 - 1955 106 FABCOR African workers went on home leave. This gives an average of about nine per month, or 3.8% of the African labour force. If we assume that a similar wastage takes place throughout the African labour force in the Cape Peninsula, then out of the total of 57,000 2,166 workers would be required each month to replace those going on home leave.

3. LABOUR TURNOVER AT FABCOR:

During the period 1st July, 1954 to 30th June, 1955 a total of 743 non-European workers left the company's employ, while 690 were engaged. These changes are reflected in Table LXXIII.

TABLE LXXIII - CHANGES IN THE FABCOR LABOUR FORCE DURING

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Coloured Males</u>	<u>Coloured Females</u>	<u>1954-1955:</u> <u>Total</u>
Strength of force as at 1st July, 1954	243	319	276	838
Discharges from 1.7.54. to 30.6.55. -	342	293	108	743
Engagements from 1.7.54. to 30.6.55. †	298	294	98	690
Strength of force as at 30th June, 1955	199	320	266	785
NET CHANGE	- 44	† 1	- 10	- 53

Tables LXXIV ...

† Period from 1st July, 1954 to 30th June, 1955.

Tables LXXIV to LXXVII analyse the leavers in relation to length of service with the company, and reasons for quitting.

TABLE LXXIV - ANALYSIS OF LEAVERS IN RELATION TO LENGTH OF SERVICE AT FABCOR:

<u>Period of Service</u>	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Under 3 months	137	40.1	124	42.3	12	11.1	273	31.2
3 - 5 "	73	21.3	56	19.1	4	3.7	133	14.7
6 - 8 "	47	13.8	42	14.3	15	13.8	104	13.9
9 - 11 "	26	7.6	19	6.5	11	10.2	56	8.1
12 - 14 "	16	4.6	12	4.1	11	10.2	39	6.3
15 - 17 "	11	3.2	4	1.4	11	10.2	26	4.9
18 - 20 "	9	2.8	5	1.6	5	4.6	19	3.0
21 - 23 "	2	0.6	3	1.0	3	2.8	8	1.3
24 and over	<u>21</u>	<u>6.0</u>	<u>28</u>	<u>9.7</u>	<u>36</u>	<u>33.4</u>	<u>85</u>	<u>16.6</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>342</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>293</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>743</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE LXXV - FORM OF SEPARATION:

	<u>Africans</u>		<u>Coloured Males</u>		<u>Coloured Females</u>		<u>Total</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Dismissed	159	46.5	171	58.3	39	36.2	369	47.0
Resigned	<u>183</u>	<u>53.5</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>41.7</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>63.8</u>	<u>374</u>	<u>53.0</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>342</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>293</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>108</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>743</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE LXXVI - REASONS FOR RESIGNATION:

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Coloured Males</u>	<u>Coloured Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
Leaving district	88 *	5	1	94
Domestic reasons	15 *	1	8	24
Ill health	9 *	5	16	30
Dissatisfied with wages	2	-	-	2
Confinement	-	-	20	20
No reason given	<u>69</u>	<u>111</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>204</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>183</u>	<u>122</u>	<u>69</u>	<u>374</u>

Note: \* includes 106 African workers who returned to rural areas.

TABLE LXXVII - REASONS FOR DISMISSAL:

	<u>Africans</u>	<u>Coloured Males</u>	<u>Coloured Females</u>	<u>Total</u>
Staff reduction	92	53	20	165
Absent without leave	7	28	7	42
Unsatisfactory conduct	4	16	2	22
Unco-operative	5	-	-	5
Disregard of instructions	9	2	1	12
Drunk on duty or found smoking dagga	6	11	-	17
Fighting on premises	1	4	-	5
Sleeping on duty	3	1	-	4
Arrested	2	2	-	4
Accused of larceny	3	8	3	14
Unsatisfactory work	18	30	5	53
Disorderly behaviour	2	1	-	3
Insolence	-	3	1	4
Miscellaneous reasons	7	12	-	19
TOTAL ...	<u>159</u>	<u>171</u>	<u>39</u>	<u>369</u>

The fact that FABCOR is subject to seasonal fluctuations in the demand for its products explains why 45% of the dismissals were due to reductions in staff. The high proportion of leavers within three months of joining the company is, however, accounted for only partially by reductions; while all the laid-off workers had under a year's service with FABCOR, only 20% were workers with under three months service.

26 of the 106 Africans who went on home leave during this period had less than three months service with the company, while 30 were workers of more than a year's standing.

Pregnancies are an important influence in the turnover of both married and unmarried Coloured women. Such workers usually return to FABCOR as soon as conveniently possible after their confinement.

S P E C I M E N

ANNEXURE "M"

BYLAAG "M"

PROCLAIMED AREA OF THE CAPE PENINSULA  
GEPROKLAMEERDE GEBIED VAN DIE KAAPSE SKIEREILAND

NOTIFICATION BY EMPLOYER  
KENNISGEWING DEUR WERKGEWER

National Identity Number:  
Nasionale Identiteitsnommer:.....

Name of employer:  
Naam van werkgewer: .....

Address:  
Adres: .....

Name of Native:  
Naam van Naturel:.....

Exempted/Not exempted  
Vrygestel/Nie vrygestel nie.

Date of engagement: ..... Rate of pay:  
Datum van indiensneming: ..... Loon: .....

Nature of employment: ..... Date of discharge:  
Aard van werk: ..... Datum van ontslag:.....

Deserted my service on: ..... Died on:  
Weggedros uit my diens op: ..... Oorlede op: .....

Was granted leave with effect from: ..... to:  
Het verlof ontvang vanaf: ..... tot:.....

N.B./L.W.

This portion to be retained by the employer for record purposes and payment of usual Labour Bureau and monthly Registration fees. Kindly return this portion immediately on termination of services to the Registration Officer, Langa Native Township.

Hierdie gedeelte moet deur die werkgewer vir rekord-doeleindes en betaling van die gewone gelde vir die Arbeidsburo en maandelikse Registrasie behou word. Geliewe hierdie gedeelte onmiddellik na diensbeëindiging aan die Registrasiebeampte, Naturelledorp Langa, te stuur.

National Identity Number:  
Nasionale Identiteitsnommer:.....

This portion to be detached and brought or sent to the Registering Officer, Langa Native Township, within 3 days of engagement /Hierdie gedeelte moet afgeskeur word en moet binne 3 dae na indiensneming aan die Registrasiebeampte, Naturelledorp Langa, gebring of gestuur word.

Name of Native/Naam van Naturel: .....:..

Date of engagement/Datum van indiensneming ..... Rate of pay/Loon:.....

Whether food and/or quarters provided  
Word voedsel en/of huisvesting verskaf: .....

Nature of employment/Aard van werk: .....

Name of employer/Naam van werkgewer: .....

Address/Adres: .....

Signature of employer/Handtekening van werkgewer

SPECIMENS OF PERMITS ISSUED IN TERMS OF SECTION 10 OF THE NATIVES  
(URBAN AREAS) ACT No. 25 OF 1945.

---

- (a) Permitted to reside at ..... and to seek work (Class of Work .....)  
within the proclaimed area of the Cape Peninsula until ..... and to  
remain therein for the duration of the contract of service entered into  
before that date / Toegelaat om te ..... te woon en om tot .....  
binne die geproklameerde gebied van die Kaapse Skiereiland werk te soek  
(Klas werk .....) en om daarin te bly vir die duur van die diens-  
kontrak voor daardie datum aangegaan.

Date/Datum -----

Designated Officer/Aangewese Beampte

- (b) Permitted to remain in the proclaimed area of the Cape Peninsula while  
employed by ..... as ..... /Toegelaat om  
binne die geproklameerde gebied van die Kaapse Skiereiland te bly  
terwyl hy in diens is van ..... as .....

Date/Datum -----

Designated Officer/Aangewese Beampte

- (c) Permitted to work in the proclaimed area of the Cape Peninsula as a togt  
or casual labourer or as a ..... until ..... and  
to reside at ..... / Toegelaat om tot ..... binne die  
geproklameerde gebied van die Kaapse Skiereiland te werk as tog of los  
arbeider of as 'n ..... en te woon te .....

Date/Datum -----

Designated Officer/Aangewese Beampte

- (d) Permitted to be in the proclaimed area of the Cape Peninsula until .....  
for the purpose of ..... and to reside at ..... /  
Toegelaat om binne die geproklameerde gebied van die Kaapse Skiereiland  
te wees tot ..... met die doel om ..... en te  
woon te .....

Date/Datum -----

Designated Officer/Aangewese Beampte

- (e) Not permitted to take up employment in or remain within the proclaimed  
area of the Cape Peninsula/ Nie toegelaat om diens te aanvaar in of om  
te bly binne die geproklameerde gebied van die Kaapse Skiereiland.

Date/Datum -----

Designated Officer/Aangewese Beampte

---

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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE AFRICAN AND URBAN SOCIETY

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  3. THE RURAL HOME ... .. p. 95.
  4. CONTACT WITH THE RURAL  
HOME ... p. 96.
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  6. ATTITUDE TOWARDS URBAN  
LIFE .. p.100.
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CHAPTER SEVEN

THE AFRICAN AND URBAN SOCIETY

1. INTRODUCTION:

"The city" writes Lewis Mumford, "is the form and symbol of an integrated social relationship: it is the seat of the temple, the market, the hall of justice, the academy of learning. Here in the city the goods of civilization are multiplied and manifolded; here is where human experience is transformed into viable signs, symbols, patterns of conduct, systems of order."

Whereas the mediaeval walled town arose through the need for a convenient market place or out of the sheer necessity of protection against the marauding invader, modern urban growth is largely dictated by the exacting needs of industrialisation which call for a specialisation of human labour and aptitude which can only be achieved by the bringing together of men of differing talent. Driven by the ominous threat of poverty and hunger, and lured by tales of "streets paved with gold", the African is increasingly forsaking the cold comfort of his rural home to join the often uncouth disorder of urban life. Unlike his historical counterpart the English 'Bleak Ager', he is largely unable both by choice and sanction to break completely with his rural origins.

The pattern of modern urban civilisation is to the rural African, steeped in primitive tribal tradition, bewildering and sometimes painful in its complex mechanism of legal circumscription. The alienness he feels in his new surroundings is not unlike that felt by the Southern European immigrants to the Americas, who had to face a totally new environment among people speaking a different language from their own. The African has, of course, the increased bewilderment of having to learn two new languages, while he faces the new situation without the support of his family who are not welcome additions to permanent urban society. The natural desire of the

exiled ...

exiled countryman to escape to the familiar environment of his rural home is, for the African, reinforced by the host of legal restrictions which surround his movement in the town. Add to this the squalor and vice of a large part of urban African society, and the insecurity and poverty which are often the lot of the disabled and aged urban African, then it is small wonder that the migrant worker strives to maintain some link with his rural origin in the hope that he may, some day, return there to enjoy the meagre sanctity of his own home.

I have not discussed the concept known as the migratory system which has created within our economy a group of workers who are neither wholly agricultural nor wholly industrial and who wander wastefully from the one environment to the other without playing a proper or efficient part in either; nor have I attempted to formulate an index of urbanisation in relation to the workers at FABCOR. I do not think it is possible at this stage to draw a clear line of demarcation between Africans who are 'urbanised' and Africans who are not. I feel that one cannot disregard the important element of intention, as exemplified in the legal concept of domicile. In answering our attitudinal questions, few Africans showed any real desire to remain permanently in Cape Town and most of them would prefer to return permanently to the rural areas. I do not think that any of the first generation arrivals become truly settled in the towns; there remains the fear that disability or old age will one day prevent them from earning a living and then the reserve plot will offer the security denied them in the urban areas. Even those who are born in the cities are influenced in their yearnings by the contact they have with the continuous flow of new arrivals, fresh with tales of rural life and traditions.

I have sought, therefore, to show the extent to which the African workers at FABCOR are settled in Cape Town, and their attitudes towards town-life, but I have not sought to classify them into so-called urbanised or non-urbanised workers.

2. DOMICILE:

The workers were asked whether their home was in the rural or urban area. 80.38% of the 260 Africans said that their home was in the rural area, while only 19.62% named the urban area.

We also asked them where their relatives were living and it will be seen from the summary of their responses in Table LXXVIII that the ties with the Reserves remain strong: whereas 83% have near relatives (including wives, parents, brothers and sisters) in the rural areas, 65% have no relatives at all in the urban area.

TABLE LXXVIII - DISTRIBUTION OF RELATIVES:

No. of workers with:-	<u>Urban area</u>		<u>Rural area</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Close relatives (including wives, children, parents, brothers and sisters)	87	33.46	216	83.08
Distant relatives	4	1.54	19	7.31
No relatives	<u>169</u>	<u>65.00</u>	<u>25</u>	<u>9.61</u>
TOTAL	... <u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

We found that the majority of the married workers had their wives and children in the rural areas; only 33.8% had their wives with them in Cape Town.

3. THE RURAL HOME:

In order to ascertain whether, in fact, the African workers had some enduring link with the rural areas, I asked for details of their land rights. As we have no means of verifying this information, I have not tabulated it, but it can be regarded as a useful indication of the extent to which workers have material ties with the rural areas. This will have a strong influence on the rate of absorption of migrant Africans into urban society. It is probable that Africans without material ties in the rural areas, for example those who came from European farms, will have less incentive to return than those who have some definite land rights of their own. 66.5% of the FABCOR African workers had land rights of some sort in

the...

the rural areas or owned livestock there.

4. CONTACT WITH THE RURAL HOME:

Most of the workers are accustomed to return to the rural areas for regular spells of home leave. Workers with wives in the urban area appeared to have discontinued visits to the rural areas and those who had taken a second woman in Cape Town had reduced considerably their rate of home-leaving. In two cases, such workers had deserted the rural home altogether.

I have not summarised the amounts of cash which workers claimed to send home, as in many cases the amounts stated were in reality what they endeavoured to send, rather than what they actually sent. Most workers do remit sums ranging from £5.0.0. to £15.0.0. per quarter, and sometimes they send clothing as well. If there is any sudden call for money in the rural home, as a result of illness, or prolonged drought, it seems the custom for workers to borrow from friends and relatives working with them in Cape Town. This sense of group loyalty manifests itself in other ways. We found, for example, that brothers alternate between the town and the rural areas - one looking after the rural plot and joint families, while the other does a spell of work in the urban centre. Some of the workers had advanced the fares of their younger brothers to come to Cape Town from the rural areas. The most common method of raising fares, other than out of savings or by family borrowing, appeared to be through the mortgaging of cattle with local traders. In the case of FABCOR workers, the advance was usually in the region of £12.0.0. per head of cattle.

Table LXXIX shows the number of years which have elapsed since the workers last visited the rural areas. It is interesting to note that almost 48% of the workers had returned to the rural areas within two years of being interviewed. Only 10% had never paid a visit to the rural areas, while 27% had paid their last visit over five years before the date of interview.

TABLE LXXIX - NO. OF YEARS SINCE WORKERS LAST VISITED RURAL AREAS:

<u>Years</u>	<u>No. of workers</u>	<u>%</u>
0	19	7.34
1	65	24.27
2	42	16.16
3	36	13.85
4	14	5.39
5	14	5.39
5 - 10	23	8.85
over 10	23	8.85
No visits	<u>24</u>	<u>9.90</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

5. CONTACT WITH URBAN LIFE:

Table LXXX shows the towns in which workers first sought employment, while Table LXXXI summarises their reasons for going to these towns.

TABLE LXXX - FIRST URBAN CENTRE OF EMPLOYMENT:

<u>Town</u>	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Johannesburg	131	50.38
Cape Town	63	24.23
East London	13	5.00
Port Elizabeth	13	5.00
Durban	4	1.54
Reserve Towns	15	5.77
Eastern Province towns *	3	1.15
Free State towns	4	1.54
Western Province towns *	4	1.54
Transvaal towns *	2	0.77
Natal towns *	8	3.08
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

Note: \* other than cities specified.

TABLE LXXXI - REASONS FOR GOING TO URBAN CENTRE:

	<u>Born there</u>	<u>Brought by parents</u>	<u>To attend school</u>	<u>To look for work</u>	<u>To work on mines</u>
Johannesburg	-	-	-	1	130
Cape Town	5	5	4	49	-
East London	-	-	1	12	-
Port Elizabeth	1	-	-	12	-
Durban	-	-	-	4	-
Reserve towns	4	-	-	11	-
Eastern Province towns	1	-	-	2	-
Free State towns	-	-	-	4	-
Western Province towns	1	-	-	3	-
Transvaal towns	-	-	-	2	-
Natal towns	4	-	-	4	-

It is interesting to note that slightly more than half of the FABCOR African workers were first brought into contact with urban society through the gold mines. For a comparison between the older and younger African mineworkers see comments at the foot of Table XXVII on page 40.

While 16 workers were born in towns, only five others came to a town to attend school.

Table LXXXII compares the ages at which workers first went to an urban centre and their age on first coming to Cape Town.

TABLE LXXXII -

<u>Age on first coming to</u>	<u>(a) Urban Centre</u>		:	<u>(b) Cape Town</u>	
	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>		<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Born in town	16	6.15	:	5	1.92
16 and under	43	16.52	:	19	7.30
17 years	36	13.83	:	8	3.07
18 "	41	15.75	:	16	6.15
19 "	30	11.52	:	16	6.15
20 "	35	13.56	:	21	8.08
21 - 24	38	14.61	:	82	31.53
25 - 29	9	3.46	:	53	20.38
30 - 34	8	3.07	:	19	7.34
35 and over	4	1.53	:	21	8.08
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>	:	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

It will be noticed that whereas 77.33% were 20 years of...

of age or less when they first went to an urban centre, 67.33% were over 20 when they first came to Cape Town.

It is useful to compare the above figures with Table LXXXVIII which shows the ages at which workers first went to work on the gold mines.

TABLE LXXXVIII - AGE AT WHICH WORKERS FIRST WENT TO THE MINES:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
18 and under	56	42.75
19 years	22	16.79
20 years	19	14.50
21 - 24	20	15.27
25 - 29	6	4.58
30 - 34	5	3.82
35 and over	<u>3</u>	<u>2.29</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>131</u> *	<u>100</u>

Note: \* This figure includes only those workers whose first job was in the mines.

Workers were asked why they had originally come to Cape Town and Table LXXXIV summarises their replies;

TABLE LXXXIV - REASONS FOR COMING TO CAPE TOWN:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
To look for work	217	83.45
In search of higher wages	15	5.77
Brought by parents or relatives	7	2.70
Recruited by employer	7	2.70
To attend school	5	1.92
For health reasons	2	0.77
Born in Cape Town	5	1.92
No reason given	<u>2</u>	<u>0.77</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

It appears from the above Table that few of the FABCOR workers came to Cape Town in the first instance other than to look for work. I gained the impression that it was generally believed that Cape Town offered better prospects than any other centre. There is also the fact that wage levels are somewhat higher in Cape Town than elsewhere. The eagerness of workers to reach Cape Town is shown by the ...

the great lengths to which they are prepared to go to this end.

Table LXXXV shows the number of years since workers ( other than the five born in the area) first came to Cape Town. While 61.17% have been doing spells of work in Cape Town for under 11 years, 12.56% have been in contact with Cape Town for over 15 years.

TABLE LXXXV - NO. OF YEARS SINCE WORKERS FIRST CAME TO CAPE TOWN:

<u>No. of years</u>	<u>No. of workers</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>Average no. of years for group</u>
0	1	0.39	0
1 - 5	81	31.76	3.3
6 - 10	74	29.02	7.8
11 - 15	67	26.27	12.9
16 - 20	22	8.63	17.0
21 - 25	4	1.57	22.0
26 - 30	4	1.57	28.5
31 and over	<u>2</u>	<u>0.79</u>	31.5
TOTAL ...	<u>255</u> *	<u>100</u>	9.2

Note: \* excludes five workers born in Cape Town.

6. ATTITUDE TOWARDS URBAN LIFE:

The workers were asked a series of simple questions about their attitude towards urban life. These questions were not, as I have already stressed, based upon any psychological formula of measurement, but were designed to show general trends of opinion. The answers should, therefore, be considered in this light and in relation to those tendencies, mentioned in the introduction to this Chapter, which condition the African's approach to urban society. I think it is possible to discern not only an awareness of these influences but also a sensitivity to the corrupting forces at work in the towns. The reluctance to introduce wives and daughters into urban society bears this out.

The workers' attitudes were influenced to some degree or other by their possession of land rights in the Reserves, their inability to introduce wives and families into Cape Town, the legal restrictions on their own

movement...

movement and the comparative discomfort of urban African life combined with the relatively high cost of living. In the case of FABCOR workers it should also be borne in mind that the company both encourages and assists the Africans to retain their rural contacts through regular home visits.

Table LXXXVI summarises the attitudes of workers towards remaining permanently in Cape Town.

TABLE LXXXVI - DOMICILIARY INTENTION OF AFRICAN WORKERS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Wishing to remain permanently in Cape Town	53	20.38
No desire to remain permanently in Cape Town	193	74.24
No preference	<u>14</u>	<u>5.38</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>260</u>	<u>100</u>

We asked the married workers if they would like to have their wives with them in Cape Town. Table LXXXVII summarises their replies while Tables LXXXVIII and LXXXIX set out the reasons they gave.

TABLE LXXXVII - ATTITUDE TOWARDS WIVES LIVING IN CAPE TOWN:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Wishing to have wives with them in Cape Town	70	46.05
Wishing wives to live in rural areas	<u>82</u>	<u>53.95</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>152</u> *	<u>100</u>

Note: \* This figure includes workers whose wives are already in the area, i.e. 33.8% of all married men.

TABLE LXXXVIII - REASONS FOR CHOOSING TO HAVE WIVES IN CAPE TOWN:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Wants wife to look after home in C.T.	29	41.43
Intends remaining permanently in C.T.	28	40.00
Stays for long periods in C.T.	9	12.86
No reason given	<u>4</u>	<u>5.71</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>70</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE LXXXIX ...

TABLE LXXXIX - REASONS FOR CHOOSING TO HAVE WIVES LIVING  
IN RURAL AREAS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Wants wife to look after Reserve home	50	60.97
Cost of living too high in Cape Town	19	23.17
Wife would desert worker in Cape Town	7	8.54
No reason given	<u>6</u>	<u>7.32</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>82</u>	<u>100</u>

Whereas relatively few (20%) of all the African workers wish to remain permanently in Cape Town, about half of the married men wish to have their wives with them presumably if only during spells of work. Here again, it is dangerous to generalise, as it is very likely that workers would have different attitudes towards living in Cape Town if they were permitted to bring their wives here. In other words, although there appears to be a desire to bring wives to the urban area, one cannot say with any certainty whether denial of entry influences the general attitude towards town life. On the other hand, if the few cases at FABCOR where workers have reputed wives, or second women in Cape Town can be taken as any general indication, then the presence of a woman in the town home does hasten the pace of absorption. I noticed that in the case of such men, their last visit to the rural areas coincided approximately with the date given for the commencement of the unorthodox relationship.

Workers with children were asked a series of questions about the environment they would choose for them. Their replies and reasons are set out in Tables XC to XCIX.

TABLE XC - CHOICE OF ENVIRONMENT FOR GROWING SONS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers in favour of Cape Town	27	22.13
Workers not in favour of Cape Town	89	72.95
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>4.92</u>
	<u>122</u>	<u>100</u>

Only 18 of the 27 workers who chose Cape Town as an environment for their growing sons could give any reasons for their choice; the reasons were in each case linked with their own desire to remain permanently in the area. On the other hand, as will be seen from Table XCI, those were not in favour of their sons growing up in

Cape Town...

Cape Town had definite reasons for their attitude.

TABLE XCI - REASONS FOR WISHING SONS NOT TO GROW UP IN CAPE TOWN:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Too much juvenile delinquency in Cape Town	28	31.46
Cost of living is too high in Cape Town	22	24.72
Home is in rural area	14	15.73
Son is needed on reserve plot	6	6.74
Living conditions are bad in Cape Town	3	3.37
No reason given	<u>16</u>	<u>17.98</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>89</u>	<u>100</u>

The workers were then asked whether they would like their sons to work in Cape Town. Their attitudes are set out in the following three Tables.

TABLE XCII - CHOICE OF CAPE TOWN FOR EMPLOYMENT OF SONS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers in favour of sons working in Cape Town	45	36.89
Workers opposed to sons working in Cape Town	23	18.85
No opinion	<u>54</u>	<u>44.26</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>122</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XCIII - REASONS FOR CHOOSING CAPE TOWN FOR SONS TO WORK:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Permanently resident in Cape Town	17	37.77
Wages in Cape Town higher than elsewhere	13	28.88
Son should get used to town life	3	6.67
Wants son to work at FABCOR	2	4.45
Wants son to learn English & Afrikaans	1	2.23
No reason given	<u>9</u>	<u>20.00</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>45</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XCIV - REASONS FOR NOT WISHING SONS TO WORK IN CAPE TOWN:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Son should work in rural areas	10	43.48
There are no farms in Cape Town	3	13.04
No reason given	<u>10</u>	<u>43.48</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>23</u>	<u>100</u>

Of the 54 workers who expressed no opinion about their sons' future, six said that they were prepared to allow them to make their own decisions.

It...

It is interesting to note that the proportion of fathers with daughters who chose Cape Town as the environment for them to grow up in is slightly less than the proportion of fathers of sons making the same choice. (17.24% as compared with 22.13%)

Table XCV shows the choice of environment for growing daughters .

TABLE XCV - CHOICE OF ENVIRONMENT FOR GROWING DAUGHTERS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers in favour of Cape Town	20	17.24
Workers not in favour of Cape Town	90	77.58
No opinion	<u>6</u>	<u>5.18</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>116</u>	<u>100</u>

Only 16 of the 28 workers who chose Cape Town as an environment for their daughters to grow up in could give any reason for their choice; 14 said they were permanently resident in Cape Town, one said he thought his daughter would starve in the Reserves while the last said his daughter was born in Cape Town.

As in the case of fathers of sons, fathers of daughters who were opposed to their growing up in Cape Town were able to give specific reasons, summarised in Table XCVI.

TABLE XCVI - REASONS FOR WISHING DAUGHTERS NOT TO GROW UP IN CAPE TOWN:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Home is in rural area	32	35.56
Girls fall into bad company in Cape Town	21	23.33
Cost of living is too high in Cape Town	15	16.67
Girls who grow up in towns never return to rural areas	15	16.67
Lobola is low in town	4	4.44
No reason given	<u>3</u>	<u>3.33</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>90</u>	<u>100</u>

Table XCVII summarises the reactions of workers to the idea of their daughters working in Cape Town.

TABLE XCVII ...

TABLE XCVII - CHOICE OF CAPE TOWN FOR EMPLOYMENT OF DAUGHTERS:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Workers in favour of daughters working in Cape Town	23	19.17
Workers opposed to daughters working in Cape Town	42	35.00
No opinion	<u>55</u>	<u>45.83</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>120</u>	<u>100</u>

It is interesting to note that whereas 36.89% of the fathers chose Cape Town for their sons to work, only 19.17% of the workers having daughters wished them to work here. In the above table, 12 of the workers expressing no opinion thought their daughters should make their own decision, while nine said that they should work wherever they could find a job.

TABLE XCVIII - REASONS FOR WISHING DAUGHTERS TO WORK IN CAPE TOWN:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Permanently resident in Cape Town	12	52.18
Wages are high in Cape Town	5	21.73
No reason given	<u>6</u>	<u>26.09</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>23</u>	<u>100</u>

TABLE XCIX - REASONS FOR NOT WISHING DAUGHTERS TO WORK IN CAPE TOWN:

	<u>No.</u>	<u>%</u>
Daughter should get married and not work	23	54.76
Daughter should work near home	5	11.91
Daughters should stay at home	3	7.14
No reason given	<u>11</u>	<u>26.19</u>
TOTAL ...	<u>42</u>	<u>100</u>

It is highly probable that the 23 workers who stated that their daughters should get married and not work were influenced by the prospect of receiving lobola.

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

CHAPTER EIGHT

CONCLUSION

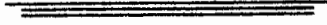
The picture I have presented of FABCOR workers is perhaps best compared with a tinted photograph. I sought to be a camera, recording what I saw, and afterwards giving the completed print the colour needed to make it more lifelike. Should the reader feel that I may not always have selected exactly the right tint, I can but plead that I have tried to put the picture in perspective and to make it approximate as closely as possible to reality. I do not claim that FABCOR is typical of all Cape Town factories, though I have found many similarities among the workers we have contacted in other firms during subsequent investigations.

The FABCOR project showed immediate results in two directions. As far as I personally am concerned, it was an invaluable experience in bringing me into contact with the daily life of a large, multi-racial factory, through which I was able to learn a great deal which proved of value during later enquiries. I feel, too, that our presence at FABCOR did much to foster a sense of well-being among the workers in that they appreciated the fact that someone was taking a direct interest in them and in their problems. I should like to think that we also reduced their suspicions of the motives of management; certainly at the outset the African workers suggested that we were the "stooges" of management, but by the time we left FABCOR we were regarded with friendliness and I have found on periodic return visits to the factory that I am always greeted warmly by the workers.

Management reacted in similar fashion and showed a keen interest in my findings, acting in many instances upon my suggestions for change. I hope that I have in a small way demonstrated to them the immediate value which research of this kind can be to industry.

From ...

From the point of view of our research, the enquiries at FABCOR have provided a body of information which should go some way to suggest answers to many of the manpower problems of industry in this area. When combined with the results of our later investigations it will, I think, provide a wealth of information of value not only to the Labour Turnover enquiries of the Department of Economics of the University of Cape Town, but also for the wider picture it will draw of non-European industrial workers in the Cape Peninsula.



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NOTE: The above Bibliography is a selection of those works which I found particularly interesting and useful.

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ANNEXURE "A"

Specimen of Schedule used for recording  
information obtained from employers in  
regard to individual African and Coloured  
workers

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SECTION ONE.

NAME OF FIRM: .....

INFORMATION FROM EMPLOYERS RECORDS.

1. Name of Worker .....

2. Record of Employment with Firm:

<u>Job.</u>	<u>Date Commenced.</u>	<u>Wages Paid.</u>
(a) .....	.....	.....
(b) .....	.....	.....
(c) .....	.....	.....
(d) .....	.....	.....

3. Method of Engagement .....

4. Earnings (per week)<sup>3E</sup> (a) Wages .....  
(b) Overtime .....

5. Shift worked .....

6. Quality of Workmanship: (a) Excellent .....  
(b) Very good .....  
(c) Good .....  
(d) Fair.....  
(e) Poor .....

7. Degree of Reliability: (a) Excellent .....  
(b) Very good .....  
(c) Good.....  
(d) Fair .....  
(e) Poor .....

8. Absenteeism (no. of days per year) .....

9. Reason for Discharge: (a) Leaving of own accord .....  
(b) Long leave .....  
(c) Dismissal: (i) Dishonesty .....  
(ii) Unsatisfactory work .....  
(iii) Insubordination .....  
(iv) Unreliability .....

---

<sup>3E</sup> Wages and overtime during week of interview or  
" " " " " notice

ANNEXURE "B"

Specimens of Factual and Attitudinal  
Schedules used for interviewing  
African workers

---

NAME OF FIRM .....

FACTUAL INFORMATION FROM WORKER

1. Code Number: .....
2. Sex: .....
3. Age: .....
4. Town or District of Birth: .....
5. Magisterial District of home:(Tax district) .....
6. Whether District tax is paid: .....
7. Tribe: .....
8. Is your home in rural or urban area: .....
9. Can you:
 

	<u>English</u>	<u>Afrikaans</u>	<u>Xhosa</u>	<u>Sesuto</u>	<u>Other Vernacular</u>
(a) Speak	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(b) Read	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
(c) Write	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
10. Home language: .....
11. School standard reached: .....
12. Marital status: .....
13. Type of marriage: .....
14. Lobola: (a) Amount paid: .....
- (b) Amount unpaid: .....

15. Dependents: (a) Urban area:

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Working full-time</u>	<u>Working part-time</u>	<u>Not working</u>	<u>At school</u>
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....

Total contributions .....

15. (cont'd) Dependents: (b) Rural area:

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Working full-time</u>	<u>Working part-time</u>	<u>Not working</u>	<u>At school</u>
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	...	.....	.....	.....	.....

Total contributions: .....

16. Locality of dwelling: .....

17. Type of dwelling: .....  
.....

18. Is dwelling shared with other families: .....  
.....  
.....  
.....

19. Rent paid: .....

20. Reserve home:  
(a) Type of agriculture: .....  
.....  
.....

(b) No. of cattle owned: .....

(c) Maize yield: .....

(d) Amount of cash sent home: .....

21. Transport:

(a) Means of conveyance: .....

.....  
.....

(b) Time taken from residence to work: .....

.....  
.....

(c) Cost of conveyance: .....

.....  
.....

Total time taken: .....

Total cost: .....

22. Date of first coming to a town: .....

23. Name of town where you first worked: .....

24. Reason for coming to the town: .....

.....  
.....

25. Date of first coming to Cape Town: .....

26. Reason for coming to Cape Town: .....

.....  
.....

27. Means of coming to Cape Town: .....

.....

28. Cost of coming to Cape Town: .....

29. How was money for fare raised: .....

.....  
.....

30. Employment Record:

	<u>Name of firm</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Date of engagement</u>	<u>Date of leaving</u>
(a)	.....	.....	.....	.....
(b)	.....	.....	.....	.....
(c)	.....	.....	.....	.....
(d)	.....	.....	.....	.....
(e)	.....	.....	.....	.....
(f)	.....	.....	.....	.....
(g)	.....	.....	.....	.....
(h)	.....	.....	.....	.....
(i)	.....	.....	.....	.....

31. Periods between work:

	<u>Time</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Place</u>
(a)	.....	.....	.....
(b)	.....	.....	.....
(c)	.....	.....	.....
(d)	.....	.....	.....
(e)	.....	.....	.....
(f)	.....	.....	.....
(g)	.....	.....	.....
(h)	.....	.....	.....
(i)	.....	.....	.....

32. How was present job obtained: .....

33. Whether Langa Labour Bureau ever used: .....

34. Type of Pass carried: .....

35. Religious Denomination: (a) Christian: .....

(b) Independent churches: .....

(c) Pagan: .....

36. Are you a member of a Trade Union: .....

Information from Leavers

(1) (In case of dismissal) Reason for dismissal: .....  
.....  
.....

(2) (When leaving of own accord)

(a) Reason for leaving: .....  
.....  
.....

(b) Whether intends returning: .....  
.....

(c) Whether would return if wages were higher: .....  
.....



- 18. Do you like to work with Coloured people: .....
- 19. Do you use the canteens: .....
- 20. If not, why do you not use it: .....  
.....
- 21. Do you like the food supplied: .....
- 22. Are you satisfied with prices charged: .....
- 23. Do you use any other facilities offered by the factory: .....  
.....
- 24. Do you know what work the factory is doing: .....
- 25. Do you like the conditions under which you work: .....  
.....
- 26. Do you use the surgery or other free medical treatment  
provided by the factory:  
.....
- 27. If not, why do you not use it: .....  
.....
- 28. If you have a son, what work would you like him to do: .....  
.....
- 29. Reasons for preference in Question 28.: .....  
.....
- 30. Would you like him to grow up in Cape Town: .....
- 31. Reasons for preference in Question 30.: .....  
.....
- 32. Would you like him to grow up elsewhere and work in Cape Town:  
.....
- 33. Reasons for preference in Question 32.: .....  
.....



ANNEXURE "C"

Specimens of Factual and Attitudinal

Schedules used for interviewing

Coloured workers

---

Name of Firm .....

FACTUAL INFORMATION FROM WORKER.

1. Code Number: .....
2. Sex: .....
3. Age: .....
4. Town or District of Birth: .....
5. Were you brought up in a rural or an urban area: .....
6. Can you:
 

	<u>English.</u>	<u>Afrikaans.</u>	<u>Native Languages.</u>	<u>Other Languages.</u>
(a) Speak	.....	.....	.....	.....
(b) Read	.....	.....	.....	.....
(c) Write	.....	.....	.....	.....
7. Home language: .....
8. School standard reached; .....
9. Marital Status: .....
10. Date of Marriage: .....
11. Dependents:
 

<u>Relationship</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Working Full-time</u>	<u>Working Part-time</u>	<u>Not Working</u>	<u>At School.</u>
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
12. Locality of dwelling: .....
13. Type of dwelling: .....
14. Is dwelling shared with other families: .....
15. Rent paid: .....
16. Transport:
  - (a) Means of conveyance: .....
  - .....
  - .....
  - (b) Time taken from residence to work: .....
  - .....
  - .....

(c) Cost of conveyance: .....  
.....  
.....

Total time taken: .....

Total Cost: .....

17. Date of first coming to a town: .....

18. Name of town where you first worked: .....

19. Reason for coming to the town: .....  
.....  
.....

20. Date of first coming to Cape Town: .....

21. Reason for coming to Cape Town: .....  
.....  
.....

22. Employment Record:

<u>Name of firm</u>	<u>Town</u>	<u>Date of engagement</u>	<u>Date of leaving.</u>
(a).....	.....	.....	.....
(b).....	.....	.....	.....
(c).....	.....	.....	.....
(d).....	.....	.....	.....
(e).....	.....	.....	.....
(f).....	.....	.....	.....
(g).....	.....	.....	.....
(h).....	.....	.....	.....

23. Periods between work:

<u>Time</u>	<u>Reason</u>	<u>Place.</u>
(a) .....	.....	.....
(b) .....	.....	.....
(c) .....	.....	.....
(d) .....	.....	.....
(e) .....	.....	.....
(f) .....	.....	.....

- 24. How was present job obtained: .....
- 25. Do you have close friends or relatives in the factory:.....  
.....
- 26. Whether labour bureaux ever used: .....
- 27. Are you a registered voter: .....
- 28. Are you a member of a trade Union: .....

Information From Leavers.

- (1) (In case of dismissal) Reason for dismissal: .....
- .....
- .....
- (2) (When leaving of own accord)
  - (a) Reason for leaving: .....
  - .....
  - .....
  - (b) Whether intends returning: .....
  - .....
  - (c) Whether would return if wages were higher: .....
  - .....

Do you like to work with Africans: .....

Do you use the canteen: .....

If not, why do you not use it: .....

.....

Do you prefer to work where there is a canteen: .....

Do you like the food supplied: .....

Do you find it (a) Cheap .....

(b) Reasonable .....

(c) Dear .....

Do you take part in the social or sporting activities of the factory: .....

If not, why do you not take part: .....

.....

Do you use the surgery or other free medical treatment provided by the factory:

.....

If not, why do you not use it: .....

.....

Do you use any other facilities offered by the factory: .....

.....

What work does the factory do: .....

Do you like the conditions under which you work: .....

If you have children would you like them to take up the same type of work: ....

.....

Would you like them to work in this factory: .....

Reason for preference in Question 35: .....

.....

MISCELLANEOUS ADDITIONAL INFORMATION AND COMMENTS.

.....

.....

.....

.....

.....

Date of Interview: .....

Time taken for Interview: .....