

A STUDY OF CHILD LABOUR
WITH REGARD TO BLACK
NEWSPAPER VENDORS IN THE
CAPE PENINSULA

BY

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..... to trace the lines of exploitation in a society is to discover the key to the understanding of social relations of superordination and subordination which apply within that society.

A. Giddens

(The Class Structure of
Advanced Societies, : 29)

And my heart bled within me;
for you can only be free when even
the desire of seeking freedom becomes a
harness to you, and when you cease
to speak of freedom as a goal and a
fulfilment.

You shall be free indeed when your days
are not without a care nor your nights
without a want and a grief,

But rather when these things girdle your
life and yet you rise above them naked
and unbound.

K.Gibran

(The Prophet, : 41)

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ABSTRACT

The study was designed to investigate child labour with particular regard to Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula.

Data was gathered from interviews with local organisations active in the field of child labour and the employment conditions of newsvendors, as well as a field study carried out in the Cape Peninsula. A review of local and international literature was also undertaken.

A brief account of child labour in the Western Cape is given which provided the necessary backdrop to the study.

The field study involved in-depth interviews with 52 Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula. This comprised interviews with the first available four newsvendors in each of the 13 areas in the Cape Peninsula in which newspapers are sold by vendors.

Respondents completed an interview schedule administered by the researcher. The interview schedule furnished information on the employment conditions of newsvendors, their role as wage-earners, their education and training, their safety, health and welfare.

Analysis of the data revealed that the majority of newsvendors worked as child labourers under deplorable working conditions.

The findings demonstrated that young Black newsvendors comprised a pool of cheap and exploited labour. Their exploitation is evident in their deprivation of family life, of reasonable working hours, of time to pursue social and leisure interests as children, of a negotiated wage, of favourable working conditions, of dignity, of the acknowledgement of the value of their labour, of legal protection, of membership in an effective worker organisation, of further acquisition of knowledge and skills, of opportunities and scope for advancement.

The findings reveal that young Black newsvendors work under conditions detrimental to their health, safety and welfare. Many young Black newsvendors who sell newspapers in the early hours of the morning often start to work without breakfast. They spend a considerable amount of time on the streets without any rest periods, leading to irregular mealtimes, while many survive on food of inferior nutritional value.

These young newsvendors have to survive in occupational circumstances where robberies and assaults frequently occur. In these circumstances the peer group begins to play an important role. Young newsvendors are often induced to succumb to the influences of co-workers.

The newsvendors in this study also expressed a deep sense of hopelessness and despondency about their own lives. Any prospects of a better future are seriously curtailed by the lack of formal education and industrial skills. The majority of the newsvendors said that they enjoyed going to school but had to leave in order to support the family income.

The recommendations draw attention to the need for the improvement of working conditions, training and supportive services, but recognises that this is only possible once newsvendors are organised in an effective worker organisation.

CHAPTER 1

ORIENTATION TO THE STUDY AND ITS CONTEXT

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The shift from an agricultural and commercial society to an industrialised society has been one of the most important developments in modern times. There is little doubt that it has modified many social relationships and led to the disintegration of others as members of an industrialised society were forced to adjust to new ways of life. Industrialisation has had a serious impact upon the status and role of the family - that of men, women and children. In many ways the latter are the most vulnerable of all when they leave the shelter of their homes and enter the office, factory or the inner-city streets.

Family structures are conditioned and mediated by the social relations of production obtained at historical stages and the development of social formations. In other words, the nuclear family is produced and reproduced within a capitalist mode of production. Hence

it follows what Seccombe said that : "regardless of their precapitalist origins ... sex and family relations have become capitalist relations in the bourgeois epoch, and must be studied as such". (Seccombe,1973:5).

Horkheimer has pointed out that the family as "a natural relationship" cannot be simply dismissed as a fallacy in some people's minds, but serves very definite ideological functions within the capitalist mode of production. (Horkheimer,1972:117).

One could therefore argue that because of the family being produced and reproduced within the capitalist mode of production, any structural analysis of the family - men, women and children has to be done as an analysis of class relations in society.

Recent research by Wilfred Schärf (1986) on "strollers" pointed out to this analysis. "We consider it important not merely to analyse the actions and motivations of the children in terms of individual pathologies or inadequacies, but to acknowledge the role that ideology and history have played in their lives. Indeed, to confirm an analysis to an individual or even social pathology could fall in the same trap like La Hausse (1982:66) criticizes : the perception of the ruling classes of the conditions under which the working classes live in the city gives rise to a myth of social pathology turning the harshness of economic inequality

back upon its victims as moral condemnation. Squalid housing, crime, ignorance and poverty come to be seen as mutually reinforcing set of circumstances independent of the economic relationships which cause them". (Schärf, 1986:264).

Schärf further argued that : "To confine oneself to the social pathology argument, ignores the fact that the material conditions in which certain classes find themselves at particular times are partly attributable to the policies of the ruling classes related to social reproduction. In addition, they are influenced by the ability and willingness of the ruled class or classes to fight for a better deal. Poverty, for example, is influenced by the wage level, the unemployment rate, the level of skilling and schooling, the criminalization of informal criminal activities, and the lack of access to other income opportunities in a particular region". (Schärf, 1986:264).

Marx maintains that labour power itself has become a commodity with direct producers having been separated from the means of production. Labour power, therefore, has been socialised. The ownership of the means of production resides in the hands of the ruling or capitalist class. In other words, the capitalists control the means of production. The rest of the population have no tools or land of their own. The only tools are their labour which they sell to the owners of

production. The direct producers of commodities receive only a fraction of the value they produce, the remainder of which is surplus value, realised by the capitalists in the market as profits. The value of labour power is determined by "several historical conditions, that is his (the worker's) natural wants, such as food, clothing, fuel and housing which must be sufficient to maintain him in his normal state as a labouring individual". (Marx, cit. by Seccombe, 1973:7).

The capitalist mode of production, by socialising labour power, has fundamentally changed the social relations within specific social formations.

It is against this background of the capitalist mode of production and its social implications that the researcher wants to look at child labour with specific reference to Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula.

1.2. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The use of child labour highlights one of the central dilemmas of poverty. Should parents or society prohibit a child from working if that work is vitally necessary in providing income, in cash or in kind, which helps a poor family to survive? Everything depends of course,

on the conditions under which the child must labour. Outlawing the employment of young children in the coal mines of nineteenth-century England or in the Dickenson factories was generally agreed to be necessary. Even then there were proponents of free enterprise who argued that the market should be allowed to regulate these matters and that the state should keep out.

The abolition of child labour and the protection of children and young persons against work of a character or under conditions unsuitable to their age have been constant concerns of organisations such as the International Labour Organization, who has concentrated on the role of information dissemination in creating public awareness and in enhancing the advocacy role of national and international organisations.

Child labour is still widespread and perhaps an even growing phenomenon in much of the world today. While many of the children who are working are engaged in activities permitted by national and international standards, others are working in violation of these standards. Children helping their fathers to herd cattle in the evenings or fetching water for the household or spending an hour or two delivering morning newspapers on their bicycles before school to pay for textbooks are seen to be engaging in legitimate activities.

The study is not concerned with teenagers working for a

few hours to earn additional pocket money but with teenage newsvendors leading prematurely adult lives, working long hours for low wages under conditions damaging to their health and their physical and mental development, sometimes separated from their families, frequently deprived of meaningful educational and training opportunities that could open up for them a better future. Child labour of this kind is the object of this research study.

For years people have been talking about newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula, but little research has been done. It was only in 1977, after the accident in which 14 newsvendors died in a flaming distributor van, that the issue of child labour was taken up in Parliament. Referring to this in her research study of newsvendors B.Baatjies (1980) stated : "Boraine (Progressive Reform Party) asked for an investigation into the working conditions of the newsvendors, the length of the working day, schooling and legislation. The Minister of Police said there had been an offence only in terms of the Motor Carrier Transportation Act and nothing else. The Minister of Labour at the time (S.P.Botha), said that there was no intention of having the working conditions of newsvendors investigated. He said that newspapers were mainly sold from shops and were thus subject to the wage determinations for the Commercial Distribution Trade. Newspapers were also, to a great extent, sold by persons to whom the determinations could not be applied

because they were not employers but individual contractors". (B.Baatjies,1980 :51).

Baatjies further argued : " The fact that thousands of newspapers are sold by newspaper vendors of varying age - the majority of them being under the age of fifteen years - should cause reason for concern. Secondly, simply because newspaper vendors are being employed by private contractors does not mean that they should not be provided with the necessary protection". (B.Baatjies,1980:52).

It is argued by some that children all over the world are being used to sell newspapers. In the United States of America and in the United Kingdom, it is common practice for children to sell newspapers for extra pocket-money. This is not the case with regard to Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula, where the selling of newspapers by Black children is widespread and an acceptable labour practice.

In 1980 the Society for Social Workers expressed their concern at the service conditions of Black newsvendors in an open letter to the employers of newsvendors. "The question of child vending is part of a much greater issue involving such factors as compulsory education and the ethical issue involved in a system which uses child labour". (The Cape Times,9 December 1980:4).

At the end of 1983, it was found that of the 600 newsvendors on the streets in the Cape Peninsula, the average age was 16 years. Most of them were Xhosa-speaking workers living in the sprawling squatter communities in the Cape Flats. They do not sell newspapers for extra pocket-money; economic reasons make street-work necessary for newsvendors. From what can be gathered, some newsvendors are employed casually, that is, on a daily basis by the sales-supervisors. Some of them selling morning newspapers, commence work at approximately three o'clock in the morning and finish selling at about 12 noon. In some instances supervisors build up teams living together with him in order to get a good start each morning.

To this end Pollack stated that : "Absence of housing, or living in inadequate overcrowded conditions, exercise detrimental influence upon families... Resultant educational problems are, a high rate of scholastic retardation, early school-leaving to supplement inadequate family income, poor motivation and performance". (Pollack cited by Walters, 1976:9).

In short, the problem of newsvendors as a form of child labour is principally one of poverty and unemployment, a result of unequal and low levels of development. Research by Don Pinnock pointed to some of the causes of this form of child labour in the Western Cape : "... family dislocation among poorer families, the collapse

of the extended family following the Group Areas removals to the Cape Flats, the abuse of drugs, following a rise in stress in atomised families, a high illegitimacy rate among people and the inability of poor people to support their children during a recession with inflation running at 15%". (Pinnock, 1983:20).

The researcher, through this study, will concentrate on the employment conditions of newsvendors. He will also attempt to answer the following research questions: What are the employment conditions of newsvendors? Do newsvendors act as wage earners within the family? Does the work of newsvendors endanger his safety, health or welfare? Does the work of newsvendors exploit him as a cheap substitute for adult labour? Does the work of newsvendors impede his education and training and thus prejudice his future?

1.3. SOME BASIC ASSUMPTIONS

1.3.1. South Africa is a capitalist society where acquisition, ownership and consumption of material goods are the greatest aims of human beings. Work is only a means towards this end, not something to be done for its inherent creativity. The capitalist employs the worker to

an end other than the worker's own satisfaction, so that the nature of the work and the work environment are designed for that other purpose. They are designed to maximise profit, not to afford the worker the satisfaction of a meaningful task.

1.3.2. Capitalism ensures that men, women and children of the working class are seldom in the same house at the same time, which affects the moral, mental and physical upbringing of children. A normative assumption is the belief that moral degradation arises out of the exploitation of the labour of children by capitalism.

1.3.3. It is not the misuse of parental authority which created the capitalistic exploitation of child labour, but rather the capitalistic mode of exploitation.

1.3.4. Economic reasons make street-work necessary for newsvendors. The use of teenagers to sell newspapers is seen merely as a symptom of the socio-economic inequalities so deeply rooted in our society. The material conditions in which the working classes find themselves at particular times are partly attributable to the policies of the ruling classes related to social production.

1.3.5. In order for the family of the working class to survive, the children of the working class must provide not only the labour for the capitalist, but also relative surplus labour. Production ensures that the children fulfill a role as wage-earner. The whole family of the working class - the children included - are seen in a relationship to capitalist production and the necessary reproduction.

1.3.6. It is assumed that the working class child shares the social class status of his parents. In this status game, the working class child is at a disadvantage with regard to the child of the ruling class. In an effort to narrow or equal this gap between him and the child of the capitalist, the working class child encounters and creates many problems within the family structure, at school and other socialisation agents.

1.4. OPERATIONAL DEFINITIONS

1.4.1. BLACK : The term embraces Africans, Coloureds and Asians.

1.4.2. CHILD : The term child is difficult to define objectively. "From the outset it should be remembered that the concept of childhood is a recent one, at least if it is understood in terms of the consequences of being boxed into different life stages". (Rodgers and Standing, 1983:136).

Childhood can also be defined in terms of age, but then different societies may have different age thresholds for defining childhood. In some societies, age may not be a sufficient basis for defining childhood. The fulfilment of certain social rights and traditional obligations may well be important requirements in defining "adult" and "child" status. While in other societies, the integration of children into socio-economic life may begin so early and the transition from childhood to adulthood may be so smooth and gradual that it may be virtually impossible to identify clearly the different life phases. It must therefore be recognised that the researcher is dealing with a concept which could mean different things in different societies and at different times.

However, in the context of child labour, a working definition for the purpose of this study would be the definition in the Child Care Act No.74 of 1983 as : "A child means any person

whether infant or not who is under the age of eighteen years". (The Child Care Act, No.74 of 1983:4).

1.4.3. CHILD LABOUR : Child labour too can be a controversial concept to define, especially in the case of children. Children assist their families, for example, at home from early years on; they also assist in farms, in shops, etc. But this is not what the researcher means by child labour. Rather, for the purpose of this study, the researcher would refer to the employment situation where newsvendors are engaged on a more or less regular basis to earn a living for themselves or their families. In short one could say that child labour refers to paid labour of children in an employer-employee relationship. Rogers and Standing pointed out to some specific characteristics of child labour, namely :

1. "Labour supply is plentiful ... because of the continued high birth rates and high rural emigration. This places children in an intensely competitive environment with little bargaining power over the conditions imposed upon them.
2. Children do not have a "right to work", and

this makes the juvenile workforce easy to manipulate. The duration of employment and its regularity are determined by the unpredictable ebb and flow of orders and markets.

3. The illegality of much children's work makes their dismissal easy. Political and trade union organisations, which provide the only chance they have of improving their situation, is difficult because of their age.
4. The unspecialised nature of the work of children implies that they may be given a wide range of tasks, depending on the production mechanisms. In addition, certain tasks are technically well suited to children and are highly profitable from the point of view of the employer; this is the case of the "little hands" in the tobacco and match industries of the Indian peninsula.
5. Finally, some juvenile activities are particularly well adapted to clandestine and illegal operations because of children's physical and psychological characteristics, such as agility, running and hiding, the ability to keep quiet or mislead. Although somewhat tainted by subjectivity, these points should not be ignored in a study of the tasks

in which child labour is concentrated".
(Rogers and Standing, 1983:144).

1.4.4. SURPLUS VALUE : The capitalist class has organised much of the material production as a system of commodity production and exchange, and has organised most forms of labour as wage-labour that is, as a commodity. By paying the labourer less than the value which the labourer produces, the capitalist is able to accumulate surplus value, known as profits. Surplus value is the social basis for the existence of the capitalist class. The sphere in which the surplus value is produced and realised determines the imperatives of society as a whole.

1.4.5. ABSOLUTE SURPLUS VALUE : This is surplus value which is produced by the lengthening of the working day.

1.4.6. EXPLOITATION : Exploitation is a concept which is frequently used loosely and very infrequently examined. It is not the prerogative of Marxism, but it is a concept to which Marxists have a special claim. On the theoretical level, in a Marxist critique of capitalism, exploitation was one of the set of linked concepts which provided an interpretive framework.

In Marxist terms the concept of economic exploitation is tied to the notion of surplus value. Marx considered that the worker in capitalist system was exploited because he did not receive in the form of wages the whole of the value produced by his labour.

In terms of this analysis the researcher would agree that the paid newsvendor is firstly a wage-labourer, and thus subject to the discipline of the wage, and the worker receives less than he produces, the surplus, being appropriated by the newsvendor's employer. The newsvendor plays a critical role in the reproduction of labour power and the relations of production. He is an important element in the indirect production of surplus value.

1.5. LIMITATIONS

The researcher is aware of the limitations of this study regarding the inaccuracy of information provided by teenagers on such a sensitive issue. There is likely to be considerable resistance to a study on child labour. There is no reason to believe that newsvendors would

differentiate in favour of the researcher and tell the truth, particularly about their age, working conditions and home circumstances. Deep probing of their circumstances might be resisted by newsvendors because it may arouse feelings of guilt or may be painful to talk about.

Information given by a child might not reflect the child's precise feelings, in the presence of his employer, parent or guardian, and official, etc.

With regard to child labour it should be remembered that employees have nothing to gain (and perhaps feel that they have much to lose) through co-operating in enquiries concerning their young employees. Therefore data collection on the work of children will have restrictions not only for the reasons given above, but also because of the low reliability of the information likely to be obtained on such a delicate question.

There is no doubt that child labour raises complex problems for researchers, as is evident from the aforementioned. But this should in no way prevent the researcher from investigating child labour. As Francis Wilson said, "Far too little is known about child labour in South Africa, and that is itself a reflection of a desire not to know". (Wilson, 1987:53).

1.6 OUTLINE OF THE STUDY

The research study will be divided into six chapters dealing with the following topics:

Chapter 2 will deal with the review of related literature ; Chapter 3 with child labour in the Western Cape ; Chapter 4 will refer to the methodology of the study ; Chapter 5 will present the results of this study and discuss its findings ; and in Chapter 6 the researcher will deal with the conclusions and recommendations.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

The literature on child labour focused mainly on studies conducted in other countries. Articles on newspaper vending as a category of child labour, have appeared occasionally in newspapers such as The Argus, The Cape Times, Die Burger, and nationally. The only study on newsvendors in South Africa was undertaken in 1980 by B.Baatjies. Since then the conditions and circumstances of newsvendors have changed substantially. We find that the majority of newsvendors are currently Blacks from the sprawling squatter communities. The number of newsvendors have also increased over the years and so have their remuneration.

Although literature related to the study and especially child labour in South Africa is somewhat patchy, the researcher was able to obtain literature giving some idea of the phenomenon of child labour from the 18th century to the present with all its ramifications.

Child labour is not new. The child was an intrinsic part of the agricultural and industrial economy before 1780.

The early forms of factory organisation often preserved the family unit. In the mills and manufacturing workshops of the early 18th century, families worked as a unit. For this reason, the working classes defended child labour, since it preserved the traditional ties between children and their parents.

The early 19th century was a period marked by the worst labour conditions. The changes caused by the Industrial Revolution were acutely felt; the reorganisation of trade along modern lines caused a dislocation of the customary way of life and labour practices. The small businessman found himself crushed by the capitalist, whose predominance was assured by the general use of machinery or technology. The usurpation of the small business by the large, and the transfer of labour from the domestic workshops to the factory, were not in themselves necessarily changes for the worse. They were changes which required a readjustment of society with regard to the political ideas directing the social and industrial machine.

Consequently, the first half of the 19th century can be seen as a period of chronic under-employment in which the skilled trades were threatened on every side by technological innovations and by the in-rush of unskilled juvenile labour. Child labour was deeply rooted in the textile industries - to the envy of labourers in other occupations where children could not

find employment to supplement family income - while factories in the wool industry met with opposition on the grounds that they would lead to child unemployment.

There was a drastic increase in the intensity of the exploitation of child labour between 1780 and 1840 in England. It was not only the factory which led to the intensification (shortening of the working day) of child labour. Firstly, there was the fact of specialisation itself; the increasing differentiation of economic roles, and the break-up of the family economy. Secondly, the break-down of the late 18th century humanitarianism and the counter-revolutionary climate of the wars.

Specialisation and the economic differentiation led to children outside the factories being given special tasks at piece-rates which required monotonous application for 10 to 12 hours or more per day. The factory system was to inherit the worst features of the domestic system in a context which had none of the domestic compensations; "... it systematised child labour, pauper and free, and exploited it with persistent brutality ... In the home, the child's condition would have varied according to the temper of parents or of masters; and to some degree his work will have been scaled according to his ability. In the mill, the machinery dictated environment, discipline, speed and regularity of work and working hours, for the delicate and strong alike". (Thompson, 1968:370).

Literature on child labour also indicated that there is a definite link between compulsory education and admission to employment. As soon as it becomes necessary to pay for children to continue at school, those families who cannot afford to pay have no alternative but to withdraw their children, and inevitably the child begins to participate in some activity to supplement the family income.

In a general review of the situation of child labour in South Africa, the Anti-Slavery Society of London in 1983 published *Child Labour in South Africa*. Its findings, many collected at first hand, on the use of child labour in different parts of the country, remain the major source of information on the subject. Reporting on child labour in South Africa Francis Wilson wrote, "The analysis of working-class children growing up on the white-owned farms of South Africa brings into sharp relief the interrelationship between the division of labour within households, the use of child labour within the commercial sector of the economy, and the opportunities for education. On the one hand, children-particularly girls- are caught, as we have seen, by the urgent demands of household tasks, collecting water, or gathering fuel, which for the poor often require long hours. On the other hand, there is considerable evidence, although it is naturally patchy, of the widespread use of child labour, particularly but not exclusively in agriculture, in return for some form of

payment either in cash or in kind. The need to work, whether at household chores or to supplement the family income, can severely limit the time available to children to attend school and simply to enjoy being children and carefree. Far too little is known about child labour in South Africa, and that in itself is a reflection of a desire not to know. For, despite legislation curbing its use few resources are devoted to finding out whether or not the law is effective. But from occasional reports in the newspapers and from glimpses provided by the few research workers who have applied themselves successfully to gaining access to farms there is enough evidence to show that current practices are a matter for grave concern and that they warrant a full-scale independent and public enquiry". (Wilson, 1987:53).

An International Labour Organization Report compiled in 1986 stated that, "Looking at the child labour situation globally, one cannot deny that progress has been made in the reduction in the incidence of child labour over the last few decades. But this progress has generally been uneven. In a large number of countries, however, it still continues to be a persistent problem. Children are also found working in a variety of work situations and under varying conditions reminiscent of the cruelty and exploitation portrayed in many novels and narratives of the early years of the industrial revolution". (Child Labour : A briefing manual, 1986:33).

The researcher believes that this is still the situation in many countries, particularly in South Africa where Black children are so educationally disadvantaged, that they are frequently forced to take on the most unskilled work. Although it is illegal in South Africa to employ a child under the age of 16, many Black children are forced to work in order to survive. The children are often illegally employed as newsvendors, in factories, and as domestic servants. Because of the disintegration of family units because of the migrant labour system, some Black children are homeless and have to find the means to support themselves. In farming areas for example, while not homeless, Black children are often expected to work beside their parents for pitiful wages or food rations.

Furthermore, in South Africa : "the absence of statutory protection against the employment of children over the age of seven (ie. capable of consent) means they may enter into contracts of employment which are ratified by their guardians and in which they consent. If there is no parental consent the contract is voidable but not void. In terms of the Black Labour Regulations, written parental consent is needed if the minor is employed on a farm away from where his parents or guardians live. From this we may assume that a farmer may not employ his own worker's children without obtaining a worker's written consent. In common law, such contracts are voidable if the parent refuses consent but this is academic as the

farmer is in a position of such power as to induce his labourers' children to work". (Wilson, 1987:53).

Rodgers and Standing make this profound statement regarding the desire not to know about child labour : "It has to be recognised that few groups have a direct interest in tackling the problem ... it is likely that investigation into children's work would be viewed with such reticence, at least if it were treated in terms of exploitation. There are two possible government attitudes towards this subject: Either child labour is made illegal, in which case the authorities would no doubt prefer to turn a blind eye to its continued existence; or there is no specific legislation resulting in a laissez-faire policy which relies on a conspiracy of silence. It is all the easier to maintain these negative attitudes because juvenile activities tend to be concentrated in sectors where official control is difficult". (Rodgers and Standing, 1983:131).

Marxists maintain that in any capitalist society modern industrial conditions have made room for both women and child labour in several ways. Firstly, industrialisation brought with it improved machinery, and secondly, the sub-division of labour with separate lighter forms of work from more difficult operations, and thirdly, women and children can be secured for such work at comparatively low wages. When the work does not require special skills, the tendency is to dismiss the adult in

favour of the young teenager.

Marxists also argue that many employers in capitalist society encourage and demand child labour in order to enhance their profits. There is a demand for juvenile workers because they are an unprotected and disorganised working force and as such are exploited even more than women workers. This situation exists, because capital, with its concern for profits would make use of the most exploitable category of labour.

In South Africa we find that juveniles are often employed instead of adults by business, especially the small businessman. By accepting children, the employer encourages the continued exploitation of child labour in order to maximise profits. Thus in a capitalist society children do not only supply labour for the capitalist, but also relative surplus labour.

On the other hand one could argue that the exploitation and ideological considerations that accompany work or labour, should not be confused. In fact working could impart a significant element of self-esteem to a child. It is maintained that many children are pleased to work. Not all work is harmful to children. Some types of activities under regulated conditions can have positive effects for the child and society. Work experience of the right sort is a means of acquiring skills, of learning responsibility, of becoming a full member of

the community. In short, it could form a valuable part of growing up for a child.

Rodgers and Standing pointed out some of the complex problems of child labour. "It is here, in the production-system being examined, that everyone becomes involved; the state, which does not take financial responsibility for training; the child's family, which does not have the means to meet the high cost of schooling which may have no evident immediate advantages, the small businessman or contractor (who may be a member of the family) for whom the children are an inexhaustable source of cheap, even free, labour. Since the strength and viability of the informal sector resides in its low prices, an extremely cheap workforce is an indispensable condition for its survival. It is important to note that if, other things being equal, illegal "apprentice" labour (and that of children in general) were to be instantly and completely stopped, many small production units would be doomed to immediate closure because they operate on the basis of minimum margins". (Rodgers and Standing, 1983:134).

Any proposals to eliminate child labour without compensation for family income loss thereby, should be viewed with great caution. Child labour may not be morally acceptable, but it is economically natural under conditions of economic dependence and extreme poverty. The researcher does not agree with those who set out to

eliminate child labour without taking these facts into account.

Literature on child labour in South Africa evinced that in spite of the Child Care Act No.74 of 1983, we find that the economic pressure on the Black child and his family lead to economic vulnerability and exploitation because the employer has an over-supply of cheap labour. The Child Care Act makes provision for the protection of children, specifically against child labour, but inexplicably it is not being enforced for Black children.

It does not seem that legislation per se, with regard to compulsory education and strict enforcement of the Child Care Act, would solve the problem of child labour since it cannot be divorced from poverty. The researcher agrees with those who argue that child labour is deeply rooted in poverty and that the elimination of child labour would not succeed unless the causes of poverty are eliminated ; and often it is related to the economic conditions of a particular segment of that society.

A briefing manual by the International Labour Organization provides interesting insight into child labour: "Where work by children is truly part of the socialisation process and a means of transmitting skills from parent to child, it is hardly meaningful to speak of child labour. Nor can such work be divorced from the

poverty and underdevelopment and the absence of alternatives to child work which together generate and sustain it. For the overwhelming majority who assist and work with their parents at home or on the farm, it is almost impossible to address their situation through formal measures as such; nor would such measures, if successful, necessarily be in the interest of child workers and their families. Child labour is rooted in poverty: the progressive elimination of unacceptable labour by those too young to undertake it requires a general improvement of the economies of the countries concerned. In this context, the impact of policies or measures which may not be specifically addressed to children but which do try to bear on the causes of poverty and inequality can have a significant and even decisive impact on the incidence and extent of child labour". (Child Labour, A briefing manual, 1986:4).

On the other hand one could argue that the mere fact that children are working, and are suffering because of it, is too important a problem to wait until economic conditions can be improved to the point where it will be no longer necessary or profitable for children to work. Child labour cannot be controlled or abolished at once. This should be the objective of governments in countries where child labour is prevalent, but these governments should begin to take measures immediately in order to halt a practice which is universally recognised as unacceptable.

Although one recognised that in many instances children are compelled to work in order to survive or to supplement their family income, this does not mean that children working under unsuitable conditions should not be a matter for grave concern.

The minimum age set for the employment of children by the International Labour Organization is linked to the nature of work. Thus it is necessary to specify the ages of admission to heavy and light work. The Convention of the ILO held in 1973 fixes the minimum age for admission to employment or work which is likely to jeopardize the health, safety or morals of young persons at 18. However, this may be lowered to 16 on condition that the health, safety and morals of the person concerned are fully protected and that they have received adequate, specific instructions and training in the relevant branch of activity.

The researcher believes that the prohibition of child labour in hazardous and unsafe activities is a matter for grave concern. That children do work and have to work is an undeniable fact, but that they work in conditions demonstrably dangerous to their health and safety is totally unacceptable and the child must be protected, whatever the level of development.

In South Africa, child labour can be seen as symptomatic

of the inequalities inherent in the social order of this society. The vending of newspapers by children is another category of child labour which is the subject of this study. It is an obvious form of child labour, that will be investigated by the researcher and which forms the basis of this study.

The researcher's background knowledge does not come solely from reading, but also from observations and working with teenage newsvendors, street-sales supervisors, families of newsvendors and management of the three major newspaper companies in the Cape Peninsula. The literature reviewed revealed that child labour is still today a particular problem in the world, especially in developing countries, but the vending of newspapers by children seems to be a particular problem in the Cape Peninsula.

An International Labour Organization Report (1986) gives some good insights into the problems and issues of child labour. "The elimination of child labour and the progressive raising of the minimum age for admission to employment must be regarded as objectives to be attained gradually and as an integral part of a process of development designed to overcome the scourges of unemployment and destitution. Formal measures alone will not work; if applied in isolation from overall measures to improve the economic and social context, and especially in the absence of alternatives to work, they

may even be harmful. Child labour is embedded in poverty and it is through sustained increases in standards of living that it will be abolished.

"Yet it must also be stressed that there are certain absolutes arising from the inherent dignity of the human person and recognised in international covenants which nations, irrespective of their level of development, have accepted and therefore should adhere to both in the formulation of labour laws and their subsequent enforcement. Every effort must be made at the national and international level to persuade and assist governments to adopt and enforce labour laws that can protect children at least from the worst forms of exploitation and dangerous working conditions. Such laws need not and should not await structural changes or significant improvements in general standards of living. To dismiss in a cavalier way, as some do, the potential role of child protective laws, or to invoke the pretext of poverty and underdevelopment for the continued transgression of universally accepted values is to accept the perpetuation".(Child Labour: A briefing manual, 1986: Preamble).

In conclusion, reference has been made to many of the problems and issues raised by the above quotation. Many of the problems and issues highlighted with regard to child labour are pertinent and appropriate for modern technologically advanced societies like South Africa

and is in many instances relevant and urgent in the context of young Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula.

The researcher has made some attempt to incorporate issues pertinent to developing countries in the foregoing discussion, but as there is a dearth of data about child labour in South Africa in general, and the Cape Peninsula in particular, one can at best mirror a fragmented image. B.Baatjies (1980) recognised this in her study on newsvendors: "The need for further research becomes apparent through the study. However, the difficulty of obtaining further information on this controversial form of child labour must be recognised". (B.Baatjies, 1980: Abstract).

CHAPTER 3

CHILD LABOUR IN THE WESTERN CAPE

In this chapter the researcher will discuss child labour in the Western Cape by referring to child labour on the farms and the selling of newspapers by young teenagers; by means of observations, case studies, and research conducted by others on this subject. In this way the researcher will attempt to illustrate the seriousness of the problem in the Western Cape. There is still a dearth of literature in South Africa on this controversial subject and the book: Child Labour in South Africa published by the Anti-Slavery Society in London in 1983, remains the major source of information.

There is considerable evidence, although it is patchy, of the widespread use of child labour in the Western Cape, in particularly but not exclusively in agriculture, in return for some form of payment, either in cash or in kind. Referring to child labour in the Western Cape, Wilson (1987) stated: "The need to work, whether at household chores or to supplement the family income, can severely limit the time available to children to attend school and simply to enjoy being

children and carefree ... For, despite legislation curbing its use, few resources are devoted to finding out whether or not the law is effective. But from occasional reports from the newspapers and from glimpses provided by the few research workers who have applied themselves successfully to gain access to farms there is enough evidence to show that current practices are a matter for grave concern and that they warrant a full-scale independent and public enquiry". (Wilson, 1987:53).

The sexual division of labour places a particular heavy burden on Black girls growing up in homes too poor to afford servants or the appliances of modern living and where the adult woman has to go out to work to make ends meet. One research worker in the Carnegie Inquiry drew special attention to the difficulties facing daughters of farm labourers in the Western Cape. "It is not surprising that so many children are unlikely to have sustained contact with the formal educational system. Rhythms of exploitative, low-wages and disproportions of times in home-labour all of necessity bring children into production and the servicing of essential house-hold human needs, whether it be tending younger children, running errands for farmer's wives, as a means of earning a few cents, or the daily humping of bundles of wood over long distances. Winter makes rigid demands upon children's labour; with diminishing common access to woodlands, young children are having to trudge

increasingly long distances daily in search of firewood for fuel". (Carnegie Working Paper, No 97:35).

In this regard Wilson (1987) said : "This analysis of working-class children working in the Western Cape brings into sharp focus the interrelationship between the division of labour within households, the use of child labour within the commercial sector of the economy, and the opportunities for education. But more importantly, it underlines that children of working class families - particularly girls - are caught by the urgent demands of household tasks : Collecting water or gathering fuel for the poor often require long hours". (Wilson, 1987:53).

In recent years the researcher has also come across many cases of child labour in the Western Cape, especially amongst the Black newsvendors, where the manner of child recruitment meant that records were seldom taken of the children who were picked up by recruitment teams, transported to a central depot and from there distributed to sales-supervisors to sell newspapers. Very few were registered or recruited with the consent of their parents. Thus, in instances where children became ill or had an accident while away from home, no one could be held responsible for them even if they died.

The children have no choice whatsoever which means that

the child begins to accept at an impressionable age that this is what human life consists of. The tragedy is that the parents also have no option whatsoever. They often let their children go out to work because they bring home money which supplements the family income. If several members of a Black family are unemployed, the income contributed by a Black child is by no means negligible; it may even be indispensable.

Beulah Baatjies in a study on Black newsvendors in the Western Cape as a form of child labour drew attention to this : "Newspaper vendors are symptomatic of the whole situation - they have to leave their homes in the early hours of the morning in order to supplement the family income. It is revealed in the results of the questionnaire that these children's earnings are an essential component of the family income. In order that the family may live, the children of the working class must provide not only labour for the capitalist, but also relatively surplus labour. The whole family - the children included - are seen in relation to the capitalist production and the necessary reproduction of the social relations of capitalism. This process involves the family - also the children - in day-to-day oppression". (B.Baatjies, 1980:52).

It is the researcher's observation that the large majority of newsvendors in the Western Cape are young Black boys who are used to sell newspapers to the

detriment of their education. One could further argue that child labour is not a new social phenomenon in the Western Cape and the vending of newspapers is one of the obvious forms of child labour that has been on the increase for the past number of years.

The majority of newsvendors interviewed during a study by B. Baatjies (1980) "... indicated an actual economic necessity as the chief reason for their selling newspapers. The parents are wage-earners who, in the case of the father, earns R27,00 to R29,00 per week, while the mother earns R2,50 to R3,00 per day and usually 'chars' two to three days per week". (B. Baatjies, 1980:42).

The survey further concluded that most of the newspaper vendors interviewed during the survey were part of families living below the estimated household subsistence level. According to Potgieter the estimated subsistence level for Blacks and Coloureds in major urban centres of the Republic of South Africa in 1979 was respectively R181,83 and R184,14 per month for a family of six. (Potgieter : Fact Paper No 4, 1979). This once again confirmed that working children are an indispensable source of income for poor families or those living below the poverty datum line.

Information made available to the Anti-Slavery Society from an unpublished survey conducted in 1979 indicated

that some Black newsvendors take home a weekly wage of R 2,00, and others, mainly the older ones, a little more. (Child Labour in South Africa, 1983:56).

It is the researcher's observation that the recruitment methods, working conditions and wages of newspaper vendors in the Western Cape are often deplorable. Young teenagers are employed at an early age, work extremely long hours (up to 60 hours per week), have very little or no paid holiday, earn meagre wages - in some instances a daily commission - and are generally underpaid and overworked.

Consider the profile or case study of one of the newsvendors selling newspapers daily in the inner-city, of Cape Town.

Sixteen-year old Vusumizi lived in Crossroads with his mother, father and unemployed elder brother in a six-room corrugated iron and wood shack that they shared with two other families. Since, 1960 his father has been a migrant worker and had lived in one of the "bachelor" compounds at Langa. In 1980, he decided to call his wife and son, Vusumizi to come from the Transkei so that they could live as a family in the squatter settlement. Four other children stayed with relatives in the Transkei. Vusumizi and his father were the only ones working in the family. His mother, a domestic worker, had lost her job after being arrested for living in Cape Town

illegally.

Vusumizi left school while in Std 2, on the grounds of ill-health. He started work as a vendor in November 1982, and he earned in the region of R35,00 a week. He had to get up at 3.00am to get to his beat. He carried, he said, 130 to 140 newspapers a day. The money he earned was handed by him to his father who gave him R5,00 a week for food to work.

The vendor complained about the conditions of employment. He did not know how his wages were calculated and was often threatened with dismissal if he tried to query this with his sales-supervisors (those who drive the vans). He does not foresee a life as a newspaper vendor because of the lack of job security, lack of rights, and job advancement, but admitted that there are few alternatives, due to his low level of education and the Western Cape being until recently a Coloured preferential area. (Interview conducted by researcher in 1983).

The above case study accurately reflects some of the issues relating to child labour in the Western Cape. The search by children for income-earning opportunities is typically part of a family survival strategy - often a response to extreme poverty, or to a major household crisis. (eg. death, departure or unemployment of a principal income-earner). When households rely for

survival only on their own labour, and especially if the work available is irregular, casual, and poorly paid, there is an obvious need to mobilise all family labour resources, especially in the face of difficulties encountered by Black urban-working class households in the Western Cape to find jobs. Failure often accelerates the drift into poverty, idleness and crime. High levels of adult unemployment and widespread poverty no doubt pushes Black children into the labour market.

Let us now consider the 15 newsvendors interviewed in 1983 by a young researcher, Mr D.Vukani of the Carnegie Inquiry. The interviews were informal and were conducted on the streets of Cape Town according to an interviewing schedule. The ages of the newsvendors ranged from 15 to 20 years. The most salient points that emerged from the interviews were complaints directed at the sales-supervisors, namely :

1. Sales-supervisors often write less than the actual numbers of papers sold when filling in the takings of each newsvendor. Vendors only realise this when they get paid.
2. They let vendors pay up to R10,00 for the raincoats and other protective clothing provided.
3. They ask vendors to stay with them so that they can charge for food and accommodation.

4. Any form of protest is resented by the sales - supervisors and easily dismissed if it raises a lot of questions.
5. Another problem was that of communication between Xhosa-speaking vendors and supervisors who only speak Afrikaans.
6. Most of the vendors dropped out of school because of what they stated as the "bullying" tactics of teachers and inferior Black education.
7. Most of the vendors claimed that they took the money home. In many instances they supplement the family income, which is often indispensable to its survival.
8. For the newsvendors there was great uncertainty about how the wages are calculated. Most of the vendors felt that they were cheated and that they are powerless to rectify or redress their grievances.
(Unpublished Report: D.Vukani, 1983:2-3).

The aforementioned interviews give a cogent example of the economic use of young Black children in the Western Cape. In addition, it lends support to the researcher's view of child labour in the area. Fourteen young newsvendors were burnt to death in 1977 when the delivery van they were travelling in caught fire. This

focused attention for the first time on the employment of children as newspaper vendors and their conditions of employment.

The delivery van was owned by the Cape Town newspaper company, Die Burger, which often employs children from age 10 to 15 to sell newspapers six days a week. These children, clad in rags and often bare-foot, work in the heat, cold and rain. Many of them work for cash after school or during holidays but for the majority it's a permanent job.

Street trading by children is illegal under the Child Care Act No.74 of 1983, which defines a child as anyone under the age of 18. Neither this provision nor the frequent reports about child vendors have altered the fact that minors continue to work for long hours and low wages, are subject to arbitrary punishment by their sales-supervisors, van drivers in charge of a groups of newspaper vendors and are driven to steal because of the inadequacy of their wages.

One has to bear in mind that until recently the Western Cape has been a Coloured preferential labour area, with the result that Blacks were excluded from competing in the open labour market. The result was that Black children (young teenagers) from the homelands where poverty, congestion, unemployment and hunger existed because of the South African Government's "Bantustans"

policy and it's neglect of the homelands, was employed illegally on farms, as hawkers, newspaper vendors and in factories, for pitiful wages.

It is clear that the dominant features of the homelands such as high unemployment and general starvation forced people to seek work elsewhere, mainly in the Western Cape, in order to survive. Labour is plentiful in the cities of the Western Cape because of the continued high birth rates and high rural immigration. This places children in an intensely competitive environment with little bargaining power over the conditions imposed on them.

Further, the fact that children (especially Black children from the homelands) are often illegally employed in the Western Cape makes the juvenile working force easy to manipulate. Also, the duration of employment, and its regularity are determined by the unpredictable ebb and flow of markets. The small businessman or trader can underemploy a child if production threatens to drop. The illegality of much of child labour makes their dismissal easy. Trade union organisation is extremely difficult because of the age, entrenched paternalistic, exploitative systems and lack of social recognition of children as producers.

The dismantling of the subsistence economics in the homelands has led to a considerable increase in urban

populations. Black children have been deeply involved in this process because their agricultural work is no longer secure following the destruction of the delicate equilibrium between subsistence and commercial production. In addition, the birth rate has dropped. Statistics show that the urban populations are relatively young, a consequence of the rural exodus of young people. Black children arriving alone in the cities of the Western Cape are usually accommodated by families who themselves face employment problems: putting these unproductive and costly individuals to work is thus a primary objective of the family with which they live. This must be seen in the more general context of urban poverty, itself partly a product of accelerated rural-urban population drift.

In the agricultural sector of the economy, one of the main fruit-growing areas in South Africa is the Boland area of the Western Cape. Although there is a number of companies, such as the Hex River De Beer Group in the Western Cape recruiting Black labour, research by Don Pinnock (1980) suggested that farmers simply drive into the outskirts of Cape Town in trucks and pick up child workers there. These come predominantly from street gangs. "In part the vertical migration of youngsters from farms into the urban area is turned ... into a cycle from the gutters of the city into the fields and back again". (Pinnock, 1980:21).

One of these youngsters, 13 years old when the Anti-Slavery Society spoke to him in 1979, was Tollie, born about 80 km from Cape Town in the Paarl-Wellington area. "From the time he could barely walk he had been used as an assistant by his mother, who took his entire wage and only occasionally allowed him a few cents as a treat. During the time the Society knew him he worked on a farm in the afternoon and was paid R2,50 a week together with a piece of whatever fruit was available. It was the practice on the farms for younger children to help their parents for only a small amount of fruit daily. Tollie was attending school in the mornings, but started to drop out for days and then for weeks at a time and he made several trips to Cape Town with some boys of his own age. His mother was fired at about this time and he seemed to have passed out of her control. He was not sleeping at home or attending school and constantly roamed the farms with a group of youths, working where they could and probably living on stolen fruit and chickens". (Pinnock, 1980:21).

Don Pinnock further reported about Tollie that : " By the time he was 10 he was a fully-fledged labourer being paid a derisive wage or simply fruit 'gesondheid' while having to attend school 8 km from his home. He had no time for homework in the afternoons and no space for it in his crowded candle-lit house at night. By the age of 12 he was hay-baling, milking and cutting, digging holes and planting, fruit-picking and preparing, and

able to drive a tractor, for which he effectively earned nothing. His rebellion at the age of 13 is hardly surprising, and his movement into a peer-group of peripatetic minors suggests that other youths found themselves in the same position. During this study he made several trips to Cape Town. If the situation on the farm makes it difficult for him to live there, as it undoubtedly will do if he is stealing to survive, he will move to Cape Town. And the only organisation which will welcome him is a street gang, of which there are hundreds". (Pinnock,1980:21).

The following case history further illustrated child labour exploitation on the farms in the Western Cape as told by a child worker. "When I was 10 I went to work on a white farm because I wanted money for clothes. Before I wore a beshu. I herded the cattle. I worked from 8 to 5, seven days a week. In six weeks I didn't get one day off. I took my own food, I earned R1.00 per month. The farmer was a bad farmer - he still is bad. He paid the men R6,00 a month (now they get R10,00), the women did piece work. Many children worked there - there are still many children. Some people complained to the farmer about the money but was very angry and sent them away. So people stole cabbages and oranges because they didn't earn enough money. I also stole vegetables and sold them to get money to buy jam and biscuits". (Wilson,1987:57).

These case studies are typical of those caught in the child-labour trap and often exploited by farmers in the Western Cape. In many instances the farmer requires children for seasonal labour : harvesting, which is often done by labourers' wives and children at casual rates. The poverty and deprivation of the farm labourers, and the resultant illiteracy, high infant mortality rate, malnutrition, bad housing, inadequate clothing and alcoholism are all conducive to children starting working at an early age. But while conditions in agriculture may vary widely and there are some farmers who do not use child labour, there are many farmers who do. Such children may live on the farms or they may be hired, particularly at harvest time, being housed for the duration in often unsatisfactory conditions.

Thus it is clear from the above that the availability of children may permit farmers in the Western Cape to rely on a particularly intensely exploited group of workers. Unorganised, with low dependency rates, a need for income, and vulnerable by nature of their age, these children are more exploited than any other labour groups.

In agriculture we find that the advent of modern technology saw adult workers being dismissed as a result of mechanisation, while child labour continues. "In the Hex River Valley, for example, where the main

type of farming is the production of grapes for export, labour is still widely used in picking, pruning and thinning. Usually one male and one female are required per hectare. With about 3 000 hectares under cultivation this means a workforce of approximately 6 000. The workers are 80 percent coloured and 20 percent black. The total black population in the area is estimated at 2 000, 70 percent of whom are still under the age of 16. The families of black workers in the area are usually considered 'illegal' as the Western Cape is a coloured preferential labour area. This means that black children living there are not eligible for schooling. They almost certainly migrate to nearby Cape Town and start working on the farms at a very early age". (Graaff : Saldru Farm Labour Paper, 1976).

In the rural areas of the Western Cape, the growth of a sub-class of capitalist farmers in many instances tends to promote educational differentiation, as the relatively prosperous farmers substitute hired for family labour, thereby reducing the pressure on the labourers' children to substitute economic activity for schooling. At the same time, the increasing use of hired labour draws more adults and sometimes children into the labour market even where children are not directly hired, their work levels are likely to increase if they have to substitute for those who are working outside of the domestic unit of production. Likewise, the effects are similar where the household head migrates in search

of employment, either seasonally or for longer periods. In any case impoverished families can rarely afford the direct cost of schooling, and see little benefit from making major sacrifices in order to permit children to attend school.

There is considered to be active or passive support by the State for child labour exploitation. Examples of this passive support often cited included the inefficiency of labour legislation, surveillance mechanisms and legislation for the protection of minors are not implemented because of the lack of manpower.

In 1980 the Anti-Slavery Society, in its report to the United Nations body, the Working Group of Experts on Slavery, recommended that "the Government of the Republic of South Africa be invited to appoint a commission to examine the legislation affecting all children of whatever colour as concerning their education, labour and welfare, and the administrative machinery for implementing that legislation. The commission should be requested to recommend any measures it may consider necessary to ensure proper and efficient protection of children, having special regard to the circumstances of their migration, movement or settlement, their recruitment and their removal for employment particularly from the Bantustans". (Child Labour in South Africa, 1983:79).

There is no evidence to suggest that the South African Government heeded this invitation. In most instances the government has turned a blind eye to child labour. This is borne out by the fact that there is a lack of statistical data on this phenomenon. It is all the easier to maintain these negative attitudes because juvenile activities tend to be concentrated in sectors where official control is difficult.

There is considerable evidence, as discussed in this chapter, about the use of Black children to work on farms and as newspaper vendors in the Western Cape, in return for pitiful wages to supplement family incomes. It also further lends support to the argument that the situation is so grave that it warrants a full-scale public enquiry and also underlines the urgency of legislation to ensure proper and efficient protection of children against exploitation. The need for further research on this contentious subject is therefore urgently necessary, in particularly but not exclusively in the Western Cape.

CHAPTER 4

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

4.1. INTRODUCTION

In South Africa there is a dearth of literature on the phenomenon of child labour. For this reason the existence of young Black newsvendors selling newspapers in the Cape Peninsula under exploitative working conditions, poses serious questions to society. An exploratory study of the employment conditions of young Black newsvendors, their role as wage-earners, their education and training, was perceived as useful to lend support to the argument that the situation is so grave that it warrants the establishment of a commission of enquiry. Such a study could confirm the necessity for urgent legislation to ensure the protection of young teenage Black newspaper vendors against exploitation. Furthermore, as the study was to be exploratory and descriptive in nature, it was hoped that areas for further research would be highlighted.

4.2. TYPE OF RESEARCH

This research takes the form of an exploratory study. According to Selltiz (1959:50) : "The purpose of this type of research is to gain familiarity with a phenomenon or to achieve new insights into it, often in order to formulate a more precise research problem".

An exploratory study is called for when a researcher wants to "explore" a problem area into which there has been little or no research. In such studies there are usually no precise hypothesis tested and researchers usually undertake such studies:

4.2.1. To gain a better understanding of the problem investigated;

4.2.2. To test the feasibility of undertaking a more careful study;

4.2.3. To develop the methods to be employed in a more careful study;

(Selltiz,1959:50).

4.3. METHODOLOGICAL STEPS

The framework for discussion in this section includes the following steps: background information about the conditions of young Black newspaper vendors in the Cape Peninsula ; exploring the feasibility of the study; choosing the sample; design of the interview schedule; interviewing respondents; recording data; editing; tabulation; analysis and interpretation of the data and possible interview biases.

4.4. GATHERING BACKGROUND INFORMATION

Before conducting the empirical study under discussion the researcher gathered background information through his own observations and contacts with young Black newsvendors working on the streets in the Cape Peninsula. This was done by attending meetings organised by MWASA (Media Workers Association of South Africa); meetings called by SHAWCO (Student Health and Welfare Centres Organization) to discuss grievances of newsvendors.

4.4.1. Meetings with people involved with newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula

The meetings were used to gain a better understanding of current practices and to gain information about future developments. The researcher met with the staff of Child Welfare Society; Media Workers of South Africa; newspaper companies, which enabled him to gain a comprehensive picture of the conditions of employment of young Black newsvendors and diverse opinions related to such conditions.

4.4.2. Attendance at meetings organised by MWASA

Information was obtained about the exploitative conditions of Black newsvendors and strategies devised regarding negotiations with newspaper companies in order to improve the employment conditions of newsvendors. It also gave the researcher insight into the variety of problems of newsvendors. Further, these meetings indicated that newsvendors had little bargaining power over the conditions imposed on them because of their age and lack of social recognition of young children as producers.

4.4.3. Meetings organised by the researcher with Black newsvendors

The researcher, as a staff member of SHAWCO and co-ordinator of the newsvendors project, dealt with many

enquiries pertaining to the conditions of employment of young Black newsvendors. This afforded the researcher direct access to the young Black newsvendors' conditions of employment, and the circumstances of newsvendors and their families. At these meetings with newsvendors, the researcher was able to speak to the Black newsvendors in relaxed and informal surroundings which enabled him to gain direct insight into their circumstances.

4.5. EXPLORING THE FEASIBILITY OF THE STUDY

An overview of the literature regarding child labour indicated that a programme of data-collection on child labour can be expected to come up against difficulties because of the low reliability of information likely to be obtained on such a delicate issue. Be that as it may, some researchers have succeeded where trust has been established, and an interview schedule had been devised to gather data. The researcher was aware that long and fixed response questions might intimidate these children. It would be advisable that the questionnaire interview schedule be administered in a flexible manner, depending on the newsvendor's particular response.

The question of trust is therefore a crucial issue, since

the information and opinions elicited would be unreliable if distrust existed. Welsh (1979:396) described numerous difficulties encountered by research workers in African non-squatter communities. "Apart from the suspicion that the field worker was an informer or a municipal official, there was ambivalence among some educated respondents who felt that any attempt to study Africans was a means for providing justification for separate development".

Beulah Baatjies (1980:18) carried out her research among Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula and warned : "... the questionnaire was greeted with general distrust, fear and suspicion. Many newspaper vendors tried to fit the researcher into a discription of 'the welfare' or 'probation officer', who wishes to send them to a children's home. Consequently many of them ran away or totally ignored the researcher".

Dixon and Leach (1984:7) advised that researchers should "avoid being associated with the Government or too closely with the authority responsible for the schemes".

Studies on child labour also revealed that one should not view the child as lacking responsiblity and in need of protection, but rather as a person within his own right who can speak for himself. Thus the researcher would seize the opportunity presented to him by those expressing concern over the question of child labour and

let the children themselves speak. But it is imperative that trust and good rapport be established and that patience be exercised during the interviews. In this regard B.Baatjies (1980:19) in her study pointed out that one should apply oneself to the situation in order to gain access to young Black newsvendors. "However, with great pains and endless patience as well as simplistic explanations, the researcher succeeded to interview 80 newsvendors, and also managed to get the co-operation of some (50%) of the parents".

In view of the above observations it is necessary to apply the interview schedule in a flexible manner so that the newsvendors can respond indirectly, perhaps while talking about other things than the questions being asked. The greater the resistance to the inquiry (and there is likely to be considerable resistance in the case of child labour), the more appropriate this method.

As a result of work undertaken with teenage Black newsvendors, the researcher found himself in the fortunate position that he had already established good rapport and trust with both the newsvendors and their sales-supervisors, which no doubt minimised their distrust, fear and suspicion. The researcher also tries to explain that the results of the investigation would attempt to improve the lot of newsvendors instead of merely presenting it as scientific. In this way it is

surmised that the respondents would view the study as beneficial. In situations where respondents spoke neither English nor Afrikaans, an interpreter was used.

4.6. CHOOSING THE SAMPLE

According to Babbie : "Sampling is the process of selecting a subset of observations from among many possible observations for the purpose of drawing conclusions about the larger population". (Babbie, 1983:160).

The fact that there are no official figures about the number of newsvendors selling newspapers in the Cape Peninsula and that they are scattered, widespread and difficult to trace, excluded the use of random sample. It was however possible to obtain a list of all the areas in which the three major newspaper companies use newsvendors to sell newspapers. The following list of areas in the Cape Peninsula were obtained :

Cape Argus	Cape Times	Die Burger
Athlone	(Athlone)	(Bellville)
Bellville	(Gardens)	Kuilsriver

City Centre	(Milnerton)	Kraaifontein
Epping	Mitchells Plain	Parow/Goodwood
Gardens	(Sea Point)	
Milnerton		
Mowbray		
Plumstead		
Sea Point		

The subjects of the study are representative of the 13 areas in which newsvendors sell newspapers in the Cape Peninsula. The researcher therefore chose to make use of non-probability sampling, namely availability sampling, by conducting in-depth interviews with the first four available newsvendors of each of the 13 areas listed in order to ensure even representation. It was considered sufficient for this study since in-depth interviews were held and because the study itself was descriptive-exploratory. The sample of 52 vendors who were interviewed could therefore be considered as representative of the areas in which they work.

A sample of 52 newsvendors is undoubtedly small. There is a widespread tendency in social science to assume that a large sample provides some guarantee of reliable results, while a small one suggests unreliability. This is a misconception which is "... based on a naive idea of what constitutes 'validity' and 'reliability' in research procedure. Statistical representativeness is not, of course, assured simply by means of large

numbers; a large sample running into several hundreds or thousands may be selected in a way which makes it unrepresentative of the general population, while a small sample may conversely meet more precisely the criterion of representativeness". (Oakley, 1974:31).

Oakley (1974:33) stressed that every research study needs to be assessed on the criterion of whether it measures up to its own stated objectives. Her sample consisted of 40 London housewives. She writes that: "For the goals of mapping out an area, describing a field and connecting events, processes or characteristics which appear to go together, a sample of 40 individuals is certainly adequate".

This study sets out to describe and explain child labour with regard to Black newsvendors. In the analysis of data that follows, the conclusions drawn about young Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula do, strictly speaking, apply only to the research sample. However, as Oakley stressed in her own study, there is no reason to believe that the sample is unrepresentative.

It would be shirking one's responsibility not to speculate on how one's own findings may or may not be generalisable beyond the research field. Important connections to draw are those between one's own findings and the conclusions of other related research. These are broadly the approaches the researcher adopted. No

pretentious claims are made to portray the situation of the 'typical' young Black newsvendor. However, there is no reason to believe that the 52 newsvendors interviewed are unrepresentative of the newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula. Despite the small size of the sample, the results are probably representative of the areas under investigation. While the results pertain strictly to that sample, evidence from other studies and sources is used to argue that newsyendors consists mainly of young Black teenagers working under exploitative conditions.

4.7. DESIGNING THE INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

The interview schedule was designed (See appendix A) to collect information about the incidence of child labour and circumstances and conditions of employment of Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula. The interview schedule was translated into Xhosa by the interpreter.

4.7.1. The structure of the interview schedule

The structure of the interview schedule was designed to procure accurate information and accurate responses. According to Young : "Accurate communication is achieved when the respondents understand the survey objectives.

Accurate response is obtained when the replies contain the information sought and at the same time fulfill the demands of tabulation, plans and analytical programmes". (Young, 1958:183).

The vocabulary was kept simple in order to cater for the less sophisticated of the respondents and the low literacy rate of newsvendors. The questions were short and devoid of jargon and great care was taken to avoid ambiguity and double-meaning questions.

The interview schedule combined open-ended and fixed-choice questions. It was surmised that many of the respondents would not have clearly-formulated opinions on many of the issues. To avoid a forced statement of opinion and elicit a free response it was decided to keep some of the questions open-ended. This would also help to ensure that certain information basic to the study could be obtained from all participants. The closed questions were used to obtain fairly straight-forward, uncomplicated information. The interview schedule consisted mainly of closed questions. It was decided to use mainly the closed form, as simple information was required but also because open questions are only effective when used by people who are able to express themselves in writing and can do so succinctly. The use of closed questions also facilitated the translation from format to local language. The order of the questions were also given consideration so that the

factual questions were asked first, before moving on to more sensitive topics. The respondents were therefore able to participate early in the contact.

The subject matter was likewise attended to, in that questions related to a specific subject were grouped together and the respondents were alerted to a change in subject during the contact.

A cover page was also included to introduce the researcher and to stress his links with the University of Cape Town, as well as to explain the purpose and importance of the study and to assure anonymity to respondents. The manner of selection was explained to each respondent at contact.

4.7.2. Interviewing the respondents

The method of approach was indirect, namely interviewing newsvendors on the streets as they became available and talking in general about the selling of newspapers before asking questions. The interviewer insisted on complete privacy where this was practicable. Dixon and Leach (1984) stated that : "Successful interview can take place anywhere that the respondent feels comfortable and relaxed ...". (Dixon and Leach, 1984:2).

All respondents were requested to participate verbally. The task of the interviewer was to encourage the respondent to talk freely and fully in response to the questions included in the interview schedule. The interviews were in-depth, especially with regard to the open-ended questions.

The researcher made contact with respondents who spoke either English or Afrikaans. The researcher resolved at all times to be patient and sympathetic to interviewees. When asked for direct advice, the researcher limited his involvement to giving factual information about the relevant agencies to contact. Respondents who could only converse in Xhosa were interviewed by an interpreter.

4.7.3. Interviewer training

Dixon and Leach (1984:60) reported that the first element of interviewee training involved motivation, making the interviewers au fait with the purpose of the study and ensuring that they feel their business is legitimate. The interpreter, who was to interview respondents who only spoke Xhosa, is a community organiser and is familiar with the situation and circumstances of newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula. He had therefore built up a good rapport with the newsvendors and fully understood the purpose of the study. He was chosen because of these attributes. It was

felt that someone else might have inhibited the respondents. His personal qualities of warmth and compassion went a long way to establish trust in his respondents. Indeed, the insights he has elicited on extremely delicate and thorny topics is the most effective tribute to his skills as interviewer. The interpreter had completed a diploma in Community Adult Education at the University of Cape Town and was aware of the need for confidentiality, and had some experience of interviewing. The researcher was initially apprehensive about selecting a person from the local community who was well known to the newsvendors, but the researcher considered, on balance, that the interpreter would exercise discretion and he assured the researcher that all the information received would be regarded as confidential.

The interpreter was made fully conversant with the study and aware of the implications of the questions he was asking, so that he could present each question exactly and consistently and would not be encouraged to assist the respondent in answering the questions or make answers fit his own preconceptions. The interpreter translated the questions into Xhosa during training, so that the exact meaning of the questions was captured avoiding the need to improvise during the interview. The researcher was present at all the interviews and checked that all the questions were asked, cleared up inaccuracies and inconsistencies that occurred, and

provided any additional information that respondents asked about the study.

4.7.4. Recording data

The respondent's permission was requested to report details of address and assurance was given that details were for the researcher's purposes, in case of call backs for supplementary information.

Recording was done in pencil and the researcher tried at all times to keep maximum eye contact with the respondents.

Dixon and Leach (1984:53) commented that it is difficult for the interviewer to return to ask questions but that strictly factual information could sometimes be obtained. The researcher had to revisit three of the respondents, to obtain supplementary information and on one occasion to re-complete an interview. The work was physically exhausting as the researcher had to cover the entire Cape Peninsula. It was tedious at times as it was difficult to interview while newspaper vendors were trying to sell newspapers. But with the assistance of the newsvendors and their sales-supervisors the researcher managed to interview 52 newsvendors.

4.7.5. Editing

Young (1958:200) mentioned that : "A review of the questionnaire entries, generally referred to as the editing operation, is one essential step ... editing involves an inspection of the questionnaire for the purposes of detecting omissions and inadequate entries and for making relationship checks for consistency ... editing is set up primarily to prevent the tabulation of incorrect information and to screen out totally unacceptable work in order to facilitate its return to the interviewee for correction...". The editing carried out by the researcher was firstly to write in full the responses to the open-ended questions, as the carrying out of this task during the interview would have interfered with the communication. After completion of the day's interviewing, the researcher inspected all the completed interview schedules to check information given, inadequacies, inconsistencies and gaps in information. This culminated in the combination of lists for all come-backs and revisits; to keep check of the number of respondents interviewed and in which area; of the number of Xhosa-speaking respondents.

4.7.6. Analysis of the data

As the study is an exploratory study, descriptive statistics were deemed to be sufficient for the purposes

of this study. The researcher had gained mainly numerical data and descriptive statistics were organised manually to determine the characteristics of the data at hand.

Univariate distributions were drawn in respect of the questions, indicating how many respondents were found in each category and also for descriptive purposes.

Open-ended questions provided a range of responses and were classified into main categories which reflected similar responses.

Percentages were stated when the comparison of the number of responses in each category could not be readily made by looking at the figures in the tables.

4.7.7. Possible bias

A recurrent problem is to know how far the researcher can rely on the respondents telling the truth. It is generally thought that much depends on the subject of enquiry and the purpose to which it will be put, but this balance could have been disturbed by the type of enquiry, namely a study of child labour. There are always concerns about the reliability of information, because of the insecurity and suspicion that are likely to exist. The researcher was aware that some respondents

were suspicious of him, especially when he arrived with printed material, but once the researcher had introduced himself and clarified the aim of the study, respondents appeared co-operative. It is however possible that withholding of information may have occurred, or that misleading information may have been given. However, only two respondents declined to be interviewed. Perhaps this serves as a good indicator that a perceived social distance and hence the suspicion, may not have been great.

The researcher's concern about having to interview respondents who may be hostile to him may have influenced the way in which questions were posed to the respondents and this could in turn have influenced the respondent's perception of the researcher and provided another source of bias.

The interpreter's perception of his role, as well as his reasons for accepting their role, may have influenced the attitude he portrayed during the interview. The use of the interpreter accentuated other sources of bias.

The researcher accompanied the interpreter and attempted to control the flow of the interview. However, because of the language barrier, this can never be fully controlled.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

5.1. INTRODUCTION

In the following chapter the findings of the study carried out amongst young Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula is presented.

The contents of this study include the findings from the respondents who completed the interview schedule. Results of the total sample are presented statistically as they provide some indicators as to the incidence of child labour amongst young Black newsvendors and employment conditions, family background, work history, wages, hours of work and relationships with sales-supervisors. It is to be remembered that the study was explorative and descriptive as opposed to establishing direct causal relationships in a problem that was clearly multi-complex. Obtaining information was not easy. Newsvendors were often reticent about events which some said that they would prefer to forget. In no way do the findings begin to reflect the

relationship between newsvendors and their employers, the attitude of employer and the attitude of parents. Parents and employers were not interviewed to corroborate the information provided by the newsvendors. However, the tentative study was still relevant, in that some common phenomena of child labour were found. These revealed some of the family background information, their role as wage-earners, their conditions of employment, their circumstances on the streets, education and training opportunities and how their jobs affect their health, welfare and safety. It also revealed some of the difficulties and stresses experienced by the newsvendors as well as potential areas for future research.

A discussion of the major findings and related tables is also provided.

5.2.

ANALYSIS AND
PRESENTATION OF DATA WITH
RELATED COMMENTS

TABLE I : MARITAL STATUS OF PARENTS

	Father / Stepfather	Mother / Stepmother
Marital Status	Frequency	Frequency
Married	31	31
Deceased	13	3
Cohabiting	3	1
Separate/Deserted	2	2
Divorced	2	2
Widow/Widower	1	13
	52	52

N = 52

The table reflects that a significant percentage 31 (59,6%) of the parents were married, while 17 (32,7%) of the mothers were single parents. From the above findings it would appear that the majority of newsvendors in this study emanated from stable families.

RESIDENTIAL DISTRIBUTION AND AREA OF BIRTH OF PARENTS

It is interesting to note that of the 39 fathers who are alive, 29 (74,4%) were staying in the Cape Peninsula while the remainder stayed in different parts of the country. Of the 49 mothers alive, 38 (77,6%) were staying in the Cape Peninsula and the remainder 11 (22,4%) were staying elsewhere.

It is significant to note that 50,0% of the newsvendors' fathers were born in the Transkei and only 25,0% were born in Cape Town. On the other hand, 48,1% of the newsvendors' mothers were born in the Cape Peninsula. Of the remainder a significant percentage (28,9%) were born in the Transkei.

TABLE II : MONTHLY INCOME OF PARENTS

Monthly income in Rands	Father / Stepfather		Mother / Stepmother	
	Frequency	%	Frequency	%
0 - 100	2	8,7	3	13,6
101 - 200	10	43,5	14	63,6
201 - 300	4	17,4	2	9,1
301 - 400	5	21,7	3	13,7
400 plus	2	8,7	-	-
	23	100,00	22	100,00

N = 23

N = 22

A large percentage (43,5%) of the 23 working fathers earned between R101 - R200 per month and only 21,7% earned between R301 - R400 per month. Whilst a large percentage (63,6%) of the working mothers earned between R101 - R200 per month and only 13,7% earned between R301 - R400 per month.

Of the 23 working fathers studied, 21 (91,3%) were employed in the Cape Peninsula, whilst of the 22 working mothers studied, 19 (86,4%) were employed in the Cape Peninsula.

The findings also revealed that of the 39 fathers of newsvendors who are alive, 16 (41,0%) are unemployed, and of the remaining 23 (59,0%), a large number (20) are employed in manual and non-skilled jobs. Of the 49 mothers who are alive a significant percentage 27 (55,1%) of mothers of newsvendors are unemployed. Of the remaining 22 (49,9%) a large number (16) are domestic workers.

TABLE III : WEEKLY INCOME DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILY MEMBERS PER HOUSEHOLD OTHER THAN PARENTS AND RESPONDENTS

Weekly income in Rands	No	%
less than 300	36	69,2
301 - 400	11	21,2
401 - 500	5	9,6
	52	100,00

N = 52

The collective weekly income of 69,2% of the households studied were less than R300 per week. In only 30,8% of the households studied was the collective weekly income more than R300.

TABLE IV : DISTRIBUTION OF NUMBER OF CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD

Number of children	%
0 - 1	-
2 - 3	9,6
4 - 5	53,8
6 - 7	32,7
8 - 9	3,9
	100,00

N = 52

53,8% of the households had 4 - 5 children in the family and of the remainder, a large percentage (32,7%) had 6 - 7 children.

ALCOHOL / DRUG ABUSE

Of the sample interviewed, 21 (40,4%) indicated that their parents (father or mother) consumed alcohol. It is significant to note that the remaining 31 (59,6%) didn't consume alcohol. With regard to drug taking other than alcohol, 14 (27,0%) indicated that their parents also took drugs and 38 (73,0%) did not use drugs other than alcohol.

Of the 26 newsvendors who indicated that they do drink or use other drugs, 15 (57,7%) used such substances daily, while 11 (42,3%) used it only over weekends.

TABLE V : DISTRIBUTION OF NEWSVENDORS BY AGE

Age	No of newsvendors	%
8 - 12	-	-
13 - 17	31	59,6
18 - 22	14	27,0
23 plus	7	13,4
	52	100,00

N = 52

The majority of newsvendors fall in the 13 - 17 years category (59,6%), 27,0% between 18 - 22 years and a small percentage (13,4%) 23 years and over.

TABLE VI : DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS STAYING WITH THEIR PARENTS

YES	33
NO	19
TOTAL	52

63,5% of the newsvendors stayed with their parents, while 36,5% stay elsewhere. The majority of newsvendors 36 (69,2%) stay in the townships, 15 (28,9%) stay in squatter areas and 1 (1,9%) stay elsewhere.

Of the sample interviewed, 35 of the newsvendors stayed in houses in the townships, 1 in a flat, whilst 16 stayed in shanties.

In 35 (67,3%) of the dwellings of newsvendors, there are only 1 - 2 rooms, and in the remaining 17 (32,7%) of the dwellings there are 3 - 4 rooms.

TABLE VII : FREQUENCY DISTRIBUTION OF LEVEL OF EDUCATION OF NEWSVENDORS

Level of education	Frequency
Sub A	-
Sub B	1
Std 1	8
Std 2	5
Std 3	3
Std 4	13
Std 5	12
Std 6	4
Std 7	4
Std 8	2
TOTAL	52

N = 52

All of the respondents claimed that they enjoyed school and had to leave because of financial reasons. It is significant to note that only a small percentage, 10, (19,2%) has gone beyond Standard V.

TABLE VIII : PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF LENGTH OF TIME AS A NEWSVENDOR AND LENGTH OF SERVICE WITH PRESENT EMPLOYER

Time period	Length of time	Length of service
	%	%
Less than 6 months	15,4	13,4
7 months - 1 year	11,5	19,3
2 - 4 years	57,7	52,0
5 - 7 years	9,6	9,6
8 - 10 years	3,9	3,8
11 years plus	1,9	1,9
	100,00	100,00

N = 52

73,1% of the newsvendors had been selling newspapers for two years and more, while only 26,9% had been selling for a year and less.

67,3% of the newsvendors had been working for their present employer for two years and more, while 32,7% had been working for a year and less.

The findings revealed that of the newsvendors interviewed 61,5% of recruitment occurred through personal recommendations. A significant percentage (38,5%) occurred via the sales-supervisors.

TABLE IX : NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF WEEKLY WAGES OF NEWSVENDORS

Weekly wages in Rands	No of newsvendors	%
0 - 50	1	1,9
51 - 100	23	44,2
101 - 150	28	53,9
151 plus	-	-
	52	100,00

N = 52

The table reflects that 53,9% of the newsvendor's weekly wage ranged between R101 - R150. A large percentage (44,2%) were paid between R51 - R100 per week.

TABLE X : TIME OF STARTING WORK OF NEWSVENDORS

Starting time	No of newsvendors	%
3 am - 5 am	34	65,4
6 am - 8 am	2	3,9
9 am - 11 am	15	28,8
12 noon - 2 pm	1	1,9
3 pm - 5 pm	-	-
Total	52	100,00

A large percentage (65,4%) of newsvendors started work between 3 am - 5 am. Of the remaining 34,6%, a fair amount started between 9 am - 11 am.

TABLE XI : TIME OF STOPPING WORK OF NEWSVENDORS

Stopping time	No of newsvendors	%
12 am - 2 pm	35	67,3
3 pm - 5 pm	-	-
6 pm - 8 pm	16	30,8
9 pm - 11 pm	1	1,9
Total	52	100,00

The table reflects that 67,3% of the newsvendors stopped work between 12 am - 2 pm. 32,7% stopped work after 6 pm. This is especially significant in view of the fact that all newsvendors indicated that they got no time off during the working day.

A considerable amount of the sample of newsvendors, 35 (67,3%) claimed that they received four weeks annual holiday. In 17 cases (32,7%) no leave was given to newsvendors.

5.3. DISCUSSION OF FINDINGS

5.3.1. Information about the family background of the newsvendors

The results that emanated from the study indicate features which are markedly similar to those identified by B.Baatjies (1980) as distinguishing features of newsvendors. "The summary reflects the contention that educational and occupational influences could either motivate the child positively or negatively in the way he is to develop. Sources from abroad have indicated that a positive relationship exists between an educational level of the parents and limits which the parents set for the child. However, the contrary is also true. In instances where the family is affected by the especially economic factors, the parents expect the child to leave school and augment the family income". (B.Baatjies,1980:23).

This has been found to be the case in this particular study. A significant number of mothers (32,7%) are single parents as a result of death of the spouse, divorce or separation. These mothers often find themselves in dire financial straits and are normally forced to secure work - often unskilled labour - in

order to support the family income. In these circumstances the newsvendors' earnings may be a significant contribution to the family income. Further, the fact that the single mother has to seek work in the open labour market, results in a lack of parental supervision during the day. This may result in slack school attendance, delinquency and neglect. The children in turn are often absorbed into industry at an early age with their education and future earnings drastically curtailed.

The findings revealed that the majority of working parents of newsvendors occupied unskilled jobs. Of the sample interviewed, a significant percentage of fathers (41,0%) were unemployed and in the case of mothers, 55,1% were unemployed.

In 1988 the employment index of Market Research Africa (MRA) estimated : "That one in four metropolitan Africans aged 16 and over did not have a job and was looking for full-time employment. According to the index, about 856 000 unemployed Africans were seeking full-time employment and a further 108 000 were unemployed and looking for part-time work. MRA said that unemployment was worst among those under 34 years of age. An estimated 304 000 unemployed people between 16 and 24 years of age were looking for full-time work, and of those unemployed who were between 25 and 34 years of age, a further 313 000 were seeking full-time

employment". (Race Relations Survey, 1987/88:295).

It is interesting to note that 16 (32,7%) of the working mothers in the sample were domestic workers. Referring to a study of domestic workers Jacklyn Cock (1980:315) stated : "Within the South African social formation this study has attempted to show that domestic workers comprise a group of ultra-cheap and ultra-exploited labour. The ultra-exploitation is evidence by deprivation of family life, of reasonable working hours, of time to pursue social and leisure interests of their own choosing, of a negotiated wage, of favourable working conditions".

The findings also accentuated the impoverished position of the parents of the newsvendors. Of the 23 fathers employed, 10 earned between R101 - R200 per month, whilst almost three-quarters of the fathers earned below R300 per month. Only in seven cases were fathers earning more than R300 per month. The father, traditionally the breadwinner of the family, finds himself in an extremely difficult position to provide adequately for his family. In view of the fact that only 25,0% of the fathers were born in the Cape Peninsula one could surmise that they were forced to emigrate to the city or town in search of employment, bearing in mind that until recently the Western Cape has been a Coloured preferential labour area. Thus obtaining work, often illegally, even at low wages in the town was a primary objective of the

breadwinner, especially those from the 'independent homelands'. This must be seen in the more general context of urban poverty, itself partly a product of accelerated rural-urban population drift. The majority of parents is employed in the Cape Peninsula, a negligible percentage is employed elsewhere.

With regard to the mothers of newsvendors, the situation is worse. Of the working mothers, 63,6% earned between R101 - R200 per month; while only three (13,7%) earned between R301 - R400 per month; in three cases R0 - R100 per month and only in five cases were mothers earning more than R200 per month. (Table II). One could therefore argue that although the overall pattern of development in capitalist societies is that women are increasingly incorporated in widening areas of economic production, they nevertheless are mainly found at the lowest levels in terms of pay, prestige, skills or working conditions.

Discrimination on the basis of sex is extremely wide-spread in South Africa. Under capitalism it is rooted in the division of private or domestic labour and social or collective labour. However, the oppression of women predates the development of capitalism and exists in many socialist societies. Various attempts have been made to analyse its source.

Johnstone (1976:23) argued that capitalism in South

Africa has inherited a sex-based division of labour and sex-relations of property and authority, together comprising a system of sexual domination in South Africa, must be seen as generated and determined in its specific forms and functions by the system of reproduction and class structures of which it now forms a part.

This system has two components : various measures of sexual discrimination serving to maintain women in a position of dependence; and a sexist ideology serving to legitimise this dependence. One may perhaps conceptualise this system of discrimination operating against women as a number of 'sex bars'. These form a structure of constraints effectively limiting women at the levels of legal rights, employment, reproduction and education.

To justify the payment of low wages it is argued that women are merely secondary providers, either wives or daughters for whom husbands or fathers are the main providers. The implication is that women work for pocket money. Thus the scale of women's labour power is mediated through the dependence on men as husbands or fathers. This places Black working women in an extremely vulnerable position, especially where she is a single parent and a sole contributor to the family income. In many instances she is an indispensable source of income for poor families.

Referring to the situation of Black domestic workers, an occupation of a large percentage of mothers of newsvendors, Jacklyn Cock (1980:316) commented : "It has been suggested that the ultra-exploitability of black female domestic servants is secured by the systems of racial and sexual domination which are generated by the capitalist mode of production and class structure ... they are trapped within a complex tightly-woven structure of constraints generated by these class-based inequalities".

The study also included questions about the salaries of all wage-earners in the home, excluding the respondents and their parents. The findings (Table III) revealed that the collective weekly income of 69,2% of the households studied was less than R300 per week. In only 11 cases (21,2%), the collective weekly income ranged between R301 - R400 per week, while in only five cases (9,6%) the collective weekly income ranged between R401 - R500 per week. In instances of inadequate family income the employment of newsvendors may represent significant additional income to poor families. The overwhelming majority of wage-earners in these families is locked into low income earning potential and does not possess the necessary training to qualify for higher salaried employment.

These households also consist of large families : 53,8% of households had four to five children, 32,7% six to

seven children, 3,9% eight to nine children and only 9,6% two to three children, who have to be maintained from the meagre salaries of the household. In these circumstances it is easy to understand that the employment of children becomes an essential means of generating or supplementing family income. The employment of children as newsvendors therefore becomes significant in this study.

As the researcher has pointed out, many of these young Black newsvendors enter the labour force initially due to poverty or unemployed parents or where their parents oblige them to become secondary workers. For certain casual forms of work, children may well have a higher casual income than adults. Child labour may not be morally natural but it may be economically natural under conditions of economic dependence and extreme poverty. Thus one can argue that to eliminate child labour without taking these facts into consideration would be dangerous. It must be viewed against the extremely poor economic position of their families.

5.3.2. RESPONDENTS

(a) Age

The findings indicate that the majority of newsvendors (59,6%), fall in the 13 - 17 years age category, 27,0% between 18 - 22 years and a small percentage (13,4%) 23 years and over (Table V). The newsvendors interviewed were all males. The above ages were probably correct, judging by the physical size of the newsvendors and given the good rapport between the researcher and the newsvendors. The researcher was not able to corroborate these ages with their parents or their employers. Where working children are employed and suspicious, one must reasonably expect them to make themselves older, to mislead the researcher and to appear of working age. There is no reason to believe that the employers or parents would give their correct ages, as the employers or parents have nothing to gain and much to lose. For the employers the child worker is an invaluable form of cheap labour and for the parents in many instances an indispensable source of income.

The minimum age set for employment or work must no doubt be linked to the nature of the work. The International Labour Organization fixed at 18 years the minimum age for employment or work which is likely to jeopardise the health, safety or morals of young persons. However, this may be lowered to 16 on condition that the health,

safety and morals of young persons concerned are fully protected and that they have received adequate, specific instructions and training in the relevant branch of activity.

Further, the Child Care Act (No. 74 of 1983:191) defines : "A child means any person under the age of eighteen years". Thus in terms of the Child Care Act the majority of newsvendors in this study comprise of child newsvendors as a category of child labour. It lends support to the argument that neither the provisions of the Child Care Act nor the frequent reports about child vendors have altered the fact that a large percentage of children continue to work as newsvendors. This is also pointed out by Wilson (1987:53) : " For despite legislation curbing its use, few resources are devoted to finding out whether or not the law is effective".

B.Baatjies in her study (1980:26) demonstrated that the majority of children that sought employment as newsvendors were between 10 - 14 years of age. Most of these children retained fairly strong ties with their families and may still live at home (Table VI). According to this study 63,5% of the newsvendors were staying with their parents, 69,2% stayed in the townships and 28,9% in squatter areas. The findings further revealed that the overwhelming majority (67,3%) stayed in one to two room homes (excluding bathroom and kitchen).

(b) Wages

The findings indicated that 53,9% of the newsvendors' weekly wage ranged between R101 - R150 per week. A considerable percentage (44,2%) were earning between R51 - R100 per week (Table IX). In one case a newsvendor was earning as low as R50 per week. Those who earned between R51 - R100 were working on a commission basis i.e. R0,75 per newspaper plus R3,00 per day bonus. The findings also show that 27 (52,0%) of the sample sold 100 - 150 newspapers per day. 38,5% sold 100 - 200 newspapers per day, while only 9,5% sold more than 200 newspapers per day.

Only in 12 cases were the wages increased regularly every year. The remainder stated that they received no increases to their wages. The increases received by the 12 cases ranged from R4,00 to R17,00 per week. The majority of those who indicated that they do receive annual wage increase, claimed that they received R17,00 per week. But not one newsvendor knew by how much it would be increased the following year. As one newsvendor expressed it, "The Company gives us an increase as they feel like it".

Several of the newsvendors said that they were too afraid of losing their jobs to ask for an increase :

"I tried complaining that I cannot get out on my wages. But when we approach the sales-supervisor, he threatens us with dismissal".

Others said that they have given up trying to ask for increased wages :

"I was told that the Company has no money and if I am not happy I should leave".

"I was told I must never ask for an increase because I am not worth it".

This reflects the atomised, vulnerable position of young Black newsvendors. This is so because trade-union organisation is extremely difficult because of the age, entrenched paternalistic, exploitative systems and lack of social recognition of young newsvendors as producers. Yet if the weekly wages of the newsvendors are compared with that of their parents, then the former's weekly wages by far exceeded those of their parents. Hence it can be said that newsvendors in this study are wage-earners who often supplement family income. As is customary on the Cape Flats, the overwhelming majority (80,4%) of newsvendors claimed that they give all or large portions of their earnings to their families and are given pocket-money in return.

The whole sample of newsvendors claimed that no contract exists between them and their employers. It would appear that the newsvendors start work without knowing how much they would be paid; it means simply waiting at the end of the week to see what the first payment would be. In general wages appear to be settled entirely by the employers, in a haphazard way decidedly disadvantageous to the newsvendors.

Clearly the manner in which the starting wage is arrived at reflects the vulnerability and powerlessness of the newsvendor vis-à-vis his employer. Whisson and Weil (1971:3) pointed out that this fixing of wages by employers without consultation with the workers seems to be "the traditional relationship in South Africa. The employer states the terms and the employee accepts them without attempting to negotiate". The newsvendor can hardly do so, as he is trapped within a structure of constraints which leave him little choice of alternative employment or lifestyle.

Two arguments are frequently advanced to justify the payment of such low cash wages : one has to do with the unskilled nature of the work involved; and the other with 'tips' received by newsvendors. Both these arguments present difficulties. In the first case it must be stressed that the labour of newsvendors is not a simple commodity. While the work of newsvendors is traditionally regarded as an unskilled occupation, in

fact there are skills expected, knowledge assumed, and trust and responsibility involved. While one employer may expect the newsvendor to do the simplest of work, another may require of him extremely complicated and personal services.

In addition to their wages, traditionally newsvendors depend on 'tips' from the general public to augment their earnings. Writing about newsvendors B.Baatjies stated : "The results of the questionnaire showed that 100% of the newspaper vendors received 'tips' on a daily basis ... 90,0% of the newspaper vendors interviewed mentioned that white people are the most generous with 'tips'". (B.Baatjies,1980:32). The findings of this study differs in that only 15 of the sample received 'tips' from selling newspapers. This varied considerably from R0,50 to R1,50 per day. The overwhelming majority stated that since the price of newspapers had been increased the general public are not so keen on giving 'tips'.

Other forms of cash payment are rare. All of the newsvendors stated that they are not paid overtime for work done outside of their 'normal' hours.

The general trend that follows from this discussion is that the newsvendors are still poorly-paid workers because of being an unorganised working force, lack knowledge about their rights and are easily manipulated

because of their age. Overall, wages are considerably lower than is recommended by MWASA (Media Workers Association of South Africa), of a minimum wage of R200 per week for a news vendor working 40 hours a week. This seems to confirm Marxist's theory (Marx cited by Seccombe, 1973:7) that : "The ownership of the means of production resides in the hands of the ruling or capitalist class. In other words the capitalist controls the means of production. The rest of the population have no tools or land of their own. The only tools are their labour which they sell to the owners of production. The direct producers of commodities receive only a fraction of the value they produce, the remainder of which is surplus value, realised by the capitalists in the market as profits. It also supports (La Hausse cited by Schärf, 1986:264) : "That the material conditions in which certain classes find themselves at particular times are partly attributable to the policies of the ruling classes related to social reproduction. In addition, they are influenced by the ability and willingness of the ruled class or classes to fight for a better deal. Poverty, for example, is influenced by the wage level, the unemployment rate, the level of skilling and schooling, the criminalization of informal criminal activities, and the lack of access to other income opportunities in a particular region".

In terms of this analysis it is arguable that the paid news vendor is firstly a wage-labourer, and thus subject

to the discipline of the wage, and the worker receives less than he produces, the surplus being appropriated by the newsvendor's employer. The newsvendor plays a critical role in the reproduction of labour power and the relations of production. He is an important element in the direct production of surplus value known as profits.

Newsvendors are not protected by legislation stipulating the minimum wage, hours of work or other conditions of services. Add to this legal vacuum the lack of disability and unemployment insurance, pensions and paid sick leave and newsvendors are clearly an extremely insecure group of workers, open to exploitation by their employers. This situation exists because capital, with its concerns for profit would make use of the most exploitable category of labour. Such exploitation is evident, not only in newsvendors' low wages, but also in the long hours they work.

(c) Hours of work

In this study out of the sample of 52 newsvendors, most of the newsvendors indicated that they work on average 54 hours per week. This is calculated on the basis that in the case of the morning newspapers, newsvendors are picked up by sales-supervisors at 3 am and finish at 12 noon. In the case of the evening newspapers the newsvendors usually start work at 10 am and end at 7 pm.

This is confirmed by the results of this study. 65,4% of the newsvendors started work between 3 am and 5 am, while 67,3% indicated that they stopped work between 12 noon and 2 pm. On the other hand, 28,8% claimed that they started between 9 am and 11 am and 30,8% stopped working between 6 pm and 8 pm (Table X and XI). While there is no legislation stipulating the hours of work it is easy to understand that hours of work is one of the main areas of abuse in the employment of newsvendors.

Such long working hours for children have been reported by other studies conducted in a number of Third World countries : "... children between the ages of 7 and 15 are found intensively involved in farm work, especially during the busiest farming season. In Asia a study of a Bangladesh village noted that girls between 13 and 15 years of age did seven hours a day of domestic work, boys between 10 and 12 years also did nearly seven hours of 'productive' work and those between 13 and 15 did nearly nine hours of work per day, which was equal to and in some cases even higher than the amount of time older persons and adults devoted to farming and farm-related activities.

"The situation in the non-agricultural sector is comparable. In the Phillipines, for example, in 1976 over 57 percent of the children (between the ages of 10 and 14) employed in non-agricultural industries worked for 40 hours or more per week. In India a Ministry of

Labour survey factories employing children found that, in 44 cases out of 50, daily working hours of children varied between six to eight hours, as against the four and a half hours prescribed under the Factories Act, 1948". (Child Labour : Report by the Director General, 1988:13).

Marx cited by Hyman (1975:13) argued that the struggle for legal hours of work "told indeed upon the great contest between the blind rule of the supply and demand laws which form the political economy of the middle class, and social production by social foresight, which forms the political economy of the working class".

Like other workers, the newsvendors may have to spend a considerable amount of time each day travelling to and from work. This is not the case with the newsvendors in this study. All of them stated that they are picked up by the sales-supervisors and taken to their distribution points by means of the distribution van supplied by the newspaper company. They are also taken home in the distribution van by the sales-supervisors. However, the researcher came across four cases where the sales-supervisors had refused to pick up the newsvendors. The newsvendors also claimed that often when their sales-supervisors are late, they are blamed when the former is confronted by the manager.

All of the newsvendors stated that they do not get any

time off during the day. Several newsvendors stressed this :

"I only sit down when I eat".

"I eat while I am standing selling the newspaper".

"I only eat when I stop working".

The results of the study is highly disturbing in that it clearly has serious implications for those concerned with the well-being of young teenagers. The realisation that children have to get up as early as 3 am to go and work is a reflection of that society who must bear a large share of the responsibility for the existence and perpetuation of this form of child labour. The findings further revealed that 54,4% of newsvendors indicated that they fear being on the streets early in the morning.

(d) Paid Leave

Not only do newsvendors work for long hours than other workers, but they also receive less paid leave. The norm in industry is three or four weeks of paid leave per year, plus public holidays. As in the case of working hours and wages, there are considerable variation in the amount of paid leave given to newsvendors; however, with the variation certain features emerged clearly. The

great majority of newsvendors (90,4%) have to work on public holidays. Several mentioned that this was one of the worst features of their jobs.

"I have to work on public holidays instead of enjoying myself in the township with my friends".

A significant number of newsvendors (17) were given no annual leave. Overall, (67,3%) were given four weeks holiday each year.

Paid leave is not invariably the practice of newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula. Only 13 (37,1%) of the newsvendors who received annual holidays said that they were paid during their annual holidays. It is beyond the researcher's comprehension how the employers expect their newsvendors to live without paid holidays.

(e) Circumstances on the street

Apart from the long hours and low wages, the newsvendors clad in rags and often bare-foot work in heat, cold and rain. The results of this study indicated that the newsvendors do wear orange luminous vests for protection against motor vehicle accidents, and yellow coats for protection against the weather. These are supplied by the newspaper companies. Only 14 of the newsvendors interviewed said that they had been involved in motor

accidents while selling newspapers. The vast majority (46) were uncertain about who was responsible for medical and insurance coverage in the event of an accident. However, six indicated that the newspaper companies were responsible for medical and insurance coverage.

The effects of poor and unsafe working conditions of working children can be direct and visible. These may take the form of fatal accidents or accidents that result in deformities. There seems to be an inadequacy of statistics on occupational accidents in this study. But information from other countries shows that the incidence of occupational accidents among child workers can be high. "For example, according to one study, between 1969 and 1972, out of 517 people killed on British farms, 105 - that is, over one in five - were children under 15. An official report covering the year 1976 cited 108 fatal accidents, of which 31 were to be children". (Child Labour : Report by the Director General, 1988:16).

With regard to the question of robberies and assaults, 12 claimed that they had been robbed and 10 indicated that they have been assaulted while on duty. All of the newsvendors said that they were held responsible for any losses if they were robbed. It is deducted from their wages. It would appear from the newsvendors' responses that sales-supervisors, in many instances do not believe

the newsvendors who claimed to have been robbed. The sales-supervisors feel that these are fake robberies and, resultingly, hold the newsvendors responsible for all the losses of the particular day. Only in instances where the newsvendors had laid a charge of robbery or theft, would the sales-supervisors pay the newsvendors their full wages - otherwise the newsvendors through lack of proof, will have the losses deducted from their wages.

The results of this study also revealed that all of the newsvendors interviewed claimed that they did not receive any food while on duty, having to buy their own food from the daily takings. The sales-supervisor in turn keeps the daily record book of all money paid in short or borrowed from the daily takings.

The occupational circumstances of young newsvendors no doubt affects their safety, health and welfare. The young newsvendor spends a considerable amount of time on the streets under difficult conditions and may face many temptations to succumb to the influences of his co-workers. The findings of this study indicated that 26 (50,0%) newsvendors claimed that they used alcohol or dagga. Of these 57,7% mentioned that they used drugs daily, while 42,3% said that they used drugs only over weekends. Thus it seems that there is a definite pattern of alcohol or drug abuse amongst some of the newsvendors in this particular study. In her study on newsvendors

B. Baatjies (1980:37) stated : "During the course of the study, the researcher came across a group of youngsters - or newspaper vendors for the Cape Times - who call themselves 'The Time Killers' and function as a gang. They smoke marijuana daily because, according to them, it gives them the necessary energy and keep them awake during the early hours of the morning. The news-boys are also active participants in gambling games such as the throwing of the dice".

Hence the minimum age set for employment must be linked to the nature and circumstances of the work. The work of newsvendors is likely to jeopardise the health, safety and morals of young newsvendors. There is therefore a responsibility on the employers to see that the health, safety and morals of young Black newsvendors are fully protected and that they receive adequate, specific instructions and training.

(f) Education and training

The majority of newsvendors had only a minimum of formal education (Table VII). All of them had been to school but the vast majority has not progressed beyond Standard V.

More than half have not progressed beyond Standard IV. No one in the sample had progressed higher than Standard VIII. None of the respondents had any other education or

was going to classes of any kind.

The situation should be viewed against the background of the substantial inequalities inherent in the South African education system which is based on race. Sonia Bendix (1989:421) demonstrated this : "... approximately one-third of unemployed persons leave school between standard six and seven. The position as it exists is largely the result of social, economic and political discrimination, leading to a dualistic education system, in which the quality of education received by blacks were distinctly inferior to that of whites. Furthermore, blacks did not have the same opportunity of, nor were they equally available for, education. Owing to a greater cultural pressure and an increased awareness of the manpower requirements for the future, the past decades have seen an increased spending on black education ... Yet, substantial inequalities still existed. According to the government statistics for 1978, educational allocation to the various race groups as a percentage of Gross National Product was as follows : White 2,62% ; Coloured 0,51% ; Asian 0,25% and African 0,66% . Pupil-teacher ratios showed the following inequalities : White 1:18,6 ; Coloured 1:28,8 ; Asian 1:25,6 and Black 1:45,9 ".

From these statistics it is apparent that the Black news vendor emanates from an education system which is clearly disadvantageous to him. In education less money

is spent on pupils from the Black population group. There are usually more pupils per class, most buildings and equipment are inferior, the teachers less qualified and still paid less even when their qualifications are the same. The government's declared intention of providing equal education for all race groups, of increasing per capita expenditure on Black, Coloured and Asian education and of improving teacher training of other race groups must be welcomed. Likewise it would be necessary to restructure the entire system of education so that the quality of education as a whole improves. This is important for both growth and development. The present education system is not equipping pupils with the necessary skills to handle the real world of work and business.

Many of the newsvendors in the sample expressed a deep sense of hopelessness and dispondency about their own lives. Their hopes for a better future is seriously curtailed by the lack of formal education and industrial skills. They complained that the newspaper companies give them no in-service-training ; and coupled with the lack of formal education find themselves in an economic cul-de-sac. This is so in spite of what Jones (cited by Bendix, 1989:462) pointed out : "The growth of the stock of skilled and semi-skilled workers through apprenticeships and industrial training courses is potentially the most important factor in the improvement of the quality of human capital in South Africa".

In almost all societies the labour market is segmented, with higher status, higher paying jobs clearly differentiated from those which involved unskilled work. In general, the possibilities for movement from the lower to the higher segments are limited. Often access to higher status jobs is determined by the point of entry, which in turn is determined by educational and social qualifications. Hence schooling assumes an increasingly important and indeed decisive role in determining labour market entry and subsequent life-time opportunities.

It must be said that there is a definite link between compulsory education and admission to employment. As soon as it becomes necessary to pay for children to continue at school, those families who cannot afford to pay have no alternative but to withdraw their children, and inevitably the child begins to participate in some activity which assists his family economically. This has been the case of the newsvendors in this study. The majority said that they enjoyed going to school but left to support the family income.

Many of the newsvendors stressed the low status of their jobs because of the lack of formal education and training. None wanted their own brothers to become newsvendors. Reasons given included :

"We get no respect".

"Educated people look down on us
as newsvendors".

"A newsvendor is not counted as
an important person".

"Lack of appreciation by employers".

"Our employers look down on us, but
our job is important because we do
a lot for them".

"Low wages".

"You work very hard and you earn
very little".

"It's hard work, very little money
and makes you tired".

"Lack of pension rights or job
security".

"You can't complain or you might
lose your job".

"You learn nothing useful, you get
bossed around too much. I have to be
up at 3 am even in winter. Its hard".

The attitudes towards their jobs expressed in these statements underscore the pathos of the situation in which many newsvendors are trapped. Their weak bargaining position reflects their deprivation of critical rights as workers.

(g) Deprivation of worker rights

The newsvendor is deprived of critical rights as a worker, especially a right to collective bargaining and legal protection. Newsvendors are in a legal vacuum. There are no laws stipulating minimum wages, hours of work or other conditions of service. They are not covered by the provisions of the Industrial Conciliation Act (28 of 1956) nor by the Wages Act (5 of 1957). The latter authorises statutory boards to fix minimum wages. The newsvendor is excluded from South Africa's industrial laws as a worker. Wages, conditions of service such as hours of work, rest periods, paid holidays and other benefits are fixed for other workers in South Africa in terms of the Shops and Office Act (75 of 1964), and the Factories, Machinery and Building Work Act (22 of 1941). For newsvendors these are drawn up arbitrary by the employer. The newsvendor is also excluded from the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act.

The lack of disability insurance, pensions and paid sick leave mean that the newsvendors are an extremely insecure group. This insecurity is illustrated by the fact that instant dismissal is frequently resorted to by unscrupulous sales-supervisors who often fail to observe the common law provisions relating to the issuing of notice and payment in lieu of notice. The threat of instant dismissal illustrated a further dimension of the

newsvendors' vulnerability.

Newsvendors lack critical rights as workers. They lack the right to a negotiated wage and favourable working conditions, membership of an effective worker's organisation, to respectful treatment, to the further acquisition of knowledge and skills, to opportunities and scope for advancement, to an acknowledgement of their contribution to society and the dignity of their labour.

Rodgers and Standing (1983:144) argued that : "Children do not have a right to work and this makes the juvenile workforce easy to manipulate. The duration of employment and its regularity is determined by the unpredictable ebb and flow of orders and markets. The illegality of much of children's work makes their dismissal easy. Political and trade-union organisation which provide the only chance they have of improving their situation, is difficult because of their age".

Vulnerable, flexible and unorganised, child workers are used for reducing labour costs and maintaining competitive advantages and as a means of adapting and responding to economic uncertainties and fluctuations in demand.

Some efforts to improve the situation of newsvendors are being made under the direction of MWASA. The trade-union has acted on behalf of newsvendors, especially those

from the English newspaper with regard to improved working conditions. An advice office was established by SHAWCO in 1985 to support newsvendors and to educate them about their rights and so to change the condition of their lives.

The difficulties in organising such atomised workers in organisations for collective bargaining are as formidable as the importance of the task. Organising newsvendors into unions present difficulties because of their age and the exploitative systems inherent in the South African society. Of the 52 newsvendors interviewed, 38,5% indicated that they do belong to a union.

In an analysis of trade-unions in capitalist societies Gramsci (cited by Richard Hyman, 1975:12) stated : "Trade unionism is evidently nothing but a reflection of capitalist society, not a means of transcending capitalist society. It organise workers not as producers but as wage-earners, that is as creations of the capitalist system of private property, as sellers of their labour power. Unionsim unites workers according to the tools of their trade or the nature of their product, that is according to the contours imposed on them by the capitalist system".

The newsvendors' low wages, long hours of work which involved considerable levels of deprivation of social

life, lack of job satisfaction, low status in the community and marginal position as workers, all suggest exploitation.

Isolated and impotent, the only weapon of a dissatisfied newsvendor who finds his situation intolerable is to 'vote with his feet', to withdraw his labour and to find another job. This is not always easy.

Given the high levels of unemployment among Blacks in the Western Cape, despite their low wages and long hours, those newsvendors are considered to be the lucky ones. Poverty and lack of employment often propel Black teenagers to work as newsvendors. Despite this, the work histories of most newsvendors show a marked stability.

(h) Work histories

The great majority of newsvendors in this study, 67,3% had been newsvendors for between 2 - 7 years. They all stressed they had no alternative. Only 14 (26,9%) of the newsvendors have held any other kind of job. Most of the newsvendors in the sample said that they chose this particular job because there were no other jobs available. A few said that they had tried various 'informal sector' activities such as hawking vegetables, liquor dealing, selling pine cones collected from the forest, selling scrap metal, but had been unable to make a living.

In the townships in the Cape Peninsula newsvendors are extremely easy to obtain. As one sales-supervisor stated when asked how he could obtain a newsvendor :

"Oh, here it is easy. We just drive in to the townships and pick them off the streets".

The main mode of recruitment in fact appeared to be through personal contact. Of the 52 newsvendors in the sample, most (61,5%) found out about their present job through a connection of kinship or friendship with a newsvendor. Only 38,5% did so through approaching the sales-supervisor directly themselves. The majority of newsvendors have worked for the same employer for a considerable period.

The length of service with the present employer (Table VIII) ranged from less than 6 months to 11 years. The majority (61,6%) had worked for the same employer for between 2 - 7 years.

In this study various reasons were given by the 14 newsvendors who had held other jobs for having left their last job : Two said they were dismissed by their employer ; four of their own choice and eight were retrenched. Their answers to the question, 'Why did you leave your last job?' is revealing :

"I did not want to work overtime because I get home late".

"I got sick. They don't want you to be sick".

"Most of the money I earned I spent on commuting to and from work".

"The boss said that I was no longer needed".

As was pointed out earlier, dismissal is usually with immediate effect. Many of these newsvendors are caught up in the cycle of poverty, with lack of education and employment opportunities which continue from generation to generation. This is confirmed by B.Baatjies (1980) study which found that they were "living below the poverty datum line". (B.Baatjies, 1980:25).

Because of the vulnerability and powerlessness of newsvendors, relationships with the sales-supervisors are crucial aspects of the newsvendors' situation. As perceived by the newsvendors, these relationships are not generally as warm, close and supportive as many apparently believe them to be.

(i) Work relations

Relationships between the newsvendors and their

co-workers were described as good in all except in six cases. On the other hand, the relationships between newsvendors and their sales-supervisors were overwhelmingly described as 'bad'. The newsvendors and their sales-supervisors were strangers, with nothing between them but work and wages. In many cases the relationships were characterised by formality and rigidity. Newsvendors were treated in the vast majority of cases with extreme harshness and personal interaction was strictly limited to the workplace. In very few cases, the relationship showed a genuine human feeling on both sides, a mutual trust and caring structured on a daily intimacy. Most relationships were based on a degree of paternalism with a sense of superiority on the part of the sales-supervisors and an intense sense of dependency on the side of the newsvendors. The sense of superiority was a dominant feature of this relationship.

The great majority of sales-supervisors were either English or Afrikaans-speaking. Very few spoke Xhosa. In this study the majority of newsvendors (29) communicated with the sales-supervisors either in English or Afrikaans, while a significant number (23) could only communicate in Xhosa.

The majority of newsvendors (48) perceived the sales-supervisor as the 'boss' to whom they are accountable. Because of the nature of their work, they have little or no access to their employers at the

newspaper companies. Even those who did not perceive the sales-supervisor as the 'boss' was uncertain as to who was the employer. This further illustrates the awesome powers of the sales-supervisors and their dominance within their relationship between themselves and the newsvendors. And it is within such an unequal relationship that the abuse of power begins. Malpractices by sales-supervisors were often a major complaint by newsvendors, qualified by the following comments :

"He cheats us".

"He gives us R0,07 per newspaper instead of R0,075 per newspaper".

"He does not pay our bonuses at the end of the week".

"He threatens us with dismissal if we ask questions about our earnings".

"He said that we paid in short".

"He failed to pick us up the next morning".

"He robs us of our hard-earned cash".

The newsvendors said that they feel powerless to complain as the sales-supervisors often blocked any overt expression of dissatisfaction. In any event, the managers of the newspaper companies would rather listen to the sales-supervisors than the newsvendors because of

the low status of their jobs. They find themselves in an intolerable situation with little recourse to redressing their grievances.

Only 13 (25,0%) of the sample said that they get along well with their sales-supervisors. Almost three-quarters said that they did not like their sales-supervisor and given a choice would work for someone else. Though several qualified this by saying : "I have to like him to earn a living".

Only 11 newsvendors thought that they were liked by their sales-supervisors, 18 said that they did not know, while 23 believed that their sales-supervisors did not like them.

When asked 'What are your feelings towards your sales-supervisor?' a considerable range of answers were given :

"I don't like him".

"I hate him".

"I like him".

"Feel good with him because he cares".

"I have no feelings".

"He is a good person".

"I don't like him but I have to work for him".

"I feel that he is dishonest".

"I am unhappy working for him".

When asked, 'What do you think his feelings are towards you?' the answers again showed a considerable diversity:

"He doesn't like me".

"He knows he can cheat us
because we are powerless".

"I don't know".

"I think he hates me because
he treats me like a dog".

"He does not consider me when
my parents are sick".

"He does not trust us".

"He does not like me because
I am too clever".

"He likes me because I work
hard".

"He is happy with my work".

"I don't know. He does not like
me to talk about my problems".

When asked, 'What sort of person do you think your sales-supervisor is?' the most frequently mentioned qualities were : dishonesty and mistrust. However, there were a considerable range of answers to the question about the sort of person the newsvendors thought their sales-supervisors was :

"He is a devil".

"He likes to exploit us".

"He is a good person. He
considers me".

"He is a difficult person,
not easy to get along with".

"He is a hard man".

"He is a bad man".

"He is a dishonest person".

"We cannot trust him".

When asked about the qualities newsvendors liked the most about their sales-supervisors, the answers were revealing :

"He gives me money when I
need a loan".

"He buys us food".

"He does not greet me in the
mornings when in a bad mood".

"The way he talks to us".

"He speaks as if he is not
happy with me".

"He lends me money".

Answers, to this and the following question, 'What do you like the least about your sales-supervisor?' revealed very clearly the average newsvendor's sense of

powerlessness and vulnerability :

"He likes to accuse us of stealing from his money but he can't prove it".

"He loses money and accuses us of stealing it".

"He does not respect us. He swears at us".

"He is rude to us".

"He hits us with a sjambok".

"I have nothing to moan about".

"When we fight about something he threatens us with dismissal".

"He gets up late in the morning and blames us for being late".

"He treats me like a dog".

He drives us like slaves and moans when we do not sell all the newspapers".

Many of the newsvendors' comments show that they feel that their sales-supervisors perceive them only in their occupational role. This one-dimensional perception is seen to involve a denial of their human feelings and needs. Further, most relationships between the newsvendors and their sales-supervisor showed a large degree of social distance. In only one of the cases did a newsvendor discuss his personal and family problems

with his sales-supervisor.

The vast majority complained that their sales-supervisors did not appreciate them. Only eight (15,4%) said that their sales-supervisors praised or thanked them for the work they did. They were extremely appreciative of such praise and gratitude.

"I feel good".

"It makes me happy".

"It makes me feel good and

I want to do more".

Overall, the relationships between newsvendors and their sales-supervisor were intensely paternalistic. This has two implications : it consigns the newsvendor to a dependent and powerless position and it generates a sense of power and superiority in the sales-supervisor.

Clearly, the sales-supervisor's earnings depend largely on the skills and hard work of the newsvendors. Yet the newsvendors are not recognised for this. They are dependent on sales-supervisors who assume differing degrees of responsibility, in various combinations of authority and affection. They are given privileges, but no rights, and have no sense of job security.

Within this framework, with its connotation of sales-supervisor's power and newsvendor's dependence,

the feelings of newsvendors ranged widely. In the best relationship the sales-supervisor was viewed as a source of strength and support. In the worst relationship, the sales-supervisor was viewed as a cheat and exploiter. This dependence both reflects and reinforces the structural location of young Black newsvendors in South African society.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The study confirms that child labour among Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula still exists under unsafe working conditions, endangering their health, physical and mental development. They are deprived of educational and training opportunities, are forced to lead prematurely adult lives, condemned to a cruel present and a bleak future. They are propelled to seek employment in order to supplement the family income. The study further supports previous findings that for many Black newsvendors the choice of alternative employment is extremely narrow. There is a limited amount of self-employment in 'informal sector' activities. There is also a limited amount of wage employment in industrial undertakings in various capacities. (B.Baatjies, 1980:52). The vast majority of Black newsvendors are employed because of poverty, often the result of the migrant labour system, which forces families to send their children out to work or compels the children themselves to work in order to survive.

6.1. Minimum age for employment

The findings of this study revealed that the majority of newsvendors (59,6%) fall in to the 13 - 17 years age category, 27,0% between 18 - 22 years and a small percentage (13,4%) 23 years and over.

The fact that children between 13 and 17 years have to work under conditions both detrimental to their health, physical and mental development is a matter for grave concern. The Child Care Act No.74 of 1983 makes provision for the protection of children. The relevant sections of the Act state: "At such an enquiry the children's court shall determine whether -the child has a parent or guardian or is in the custody of a person who is unable or unfit to have the custody of the child, in that he -

- (a) fails to maintain the child adequately;
- (b) neglects the child or allows him to be neglected;
- (c) cannot control the child properly so as to ensure proper behaviour such as regular school attendance".

(Child Care Act No. 74 of 1983:18).

These provisions, intended to protect the child from child labour, reflects how out of touch the architects of such laws are with the socio-economic realities of

the South African situation. This study has shown that economic necessity is propelling an increasing number of Black children to leave school to seek employment in order to support themselves and their families. This study reveals that an overwhelming majority of newsvendors (80,4%) claimed that they give all or large portions of their earnings to their families.

In the case of newsvendors it is suggested by some - taking in consideration that the work of vendors is likely to jeopardise their health, safety or morals of young persons - that the minimum age for news vending should be fixed at 18 years.

This argument presents difficulties. While children should clearly not become workers from a young age, and it is universally accepted that they have a right to education, good health and prospects of employment in adulthood, to apply and enforce strict legal standards of minimum age for employment would serve no purpose. These laws and regulations will simply be disregarded, as is in the case of the Child Care Act. Social evils can never be legislated away. In so doing the hardships suffered by them might be merely compounded. Clearly, these Black newsvendors are at work because they are victims of poverty.

In view of the findings of this study it is recommended that pending the improvement of economic conditions to

the point where it should be no longer necessary or profitable for children to work, the establishment of a general minimum age for admission to employment or work is necessary though difficult step in any programme aiming at the elimination and regulation of child labour. One should adopt a variety of measures to fix the ages below which children shall not work. Some countries fix a general age ; some fix ages for only some sectors ; and others link admission to employment or work in some manner to the completion of compulsory schooling. While each of these measures may be justified by the special problems of each situation, it is important that measures to be taken to fix minimum ages in all economic sectors and categories of employment for which it is possible to do so.

The relationship between schooling and admission to work is another area that needs to be seriously considered. In this regard it be recommended that the age of admission to employment of newsvendors be no less than the age of completion of compulsory schooling and the effective provision of compulsory education and training up to the minimum. In other words, a gap in either direction between the school - leaving age and the minimum age should be avoided. A number of countries comply with this, at least in some sectors or occupations. Many others, however, have problems in this regard because of the educational infrastructure is not sufficiently developed to provide facilities for all

children to attend school. It is apparent that many countries have been unable to achieve this goal of providing schooling for all children. However, where these facilities are available, it is necessary to make sure that children's schooling is not interfered with by beginning to work too early.

6.2. Employment conditions of newsvendors

This study has attempted to show how young Black newsvendors are trapped in conditions of subjugation, inferiority and immobility. This exploitation is broadly congruent with the class interests of the dominant ruling classes : especially with their labour demands, material goals and desired way of life. The demand for child labour is often invaluable for business to enhance profits. There is a demand for child labour as they are an unprotected and disorganised workforce. This situation exists because capital, with its concerns for profits, would make use of the most exploitable category of labour.

Within the South African social formation, this study also attempted to show that young Black newsvendors comprise a group of cheap and exploited labour. Their exploitation is evident in their deprivation of family life, of reasonable working hours, of time to pursue social and leisure interests. They are also deprived of

a negotiated wage, of favourable working conditions, of dignity, of the acknowledgement of the value of their labour, regular paid leave and of legal protection. The majority are not members of an effective worker organisation and thus have no effective bargaining power. All these factors show a great deal of variability between different areas and employers, but especially in an extreme form in the Kraaifontein, Kuilsriver, Goodwood/ Parow and Bellville areas, known as the Northern Suburbs, where predominantly newsvendors of the Afrikaans morning newspaper, Die Burger are employed.

In the northern suburbs area, the average wage is R50,00 per week while most of them earn below R100,00 per week. They do not receive any annual leave, work on public holidays, do not belong to an unemployment insurance fund, have no medical coverage, work long hours and receive no food while on duty. Payment in kind in the form of 'tips' is generally of a haphazard nature and far lower than it is commonly believed to be. Clearly, these newsvendors are paid wages below the value of their labour power.

No strong positive correlation was found between wages and working hours. Newsvendors work an average of 54 hours per week. The newsvendors of the morning newspapers start as early as 3 am and finish at 12 noon, while those of the evening newspapers start at 10 am and

finish around 7 pm. It is the newsvendors in the northern suburbs who are particularly exploited, which is evident from the fact that the average wage paid to a newsvendor is R70,00 per week and the average working week is 54 hours. All of the newsvendors working in this study work a six-day week. The majority of them have to work on public holidays and only 13 of those who were given annual holidays were paid during this period.

There is no government legislation stipulating their minimum wages, hours of work, or other conditions of service. Young Black newsvendors thus exist in a legal vacuum. Most are driven into wage labour by the need to support their families, lack education opportunities and employment alternatives; coupled with the remnants of influx control legislation which restrict movement of Blacks, all combined to trap young Black children into newsvending.

The key to understanding the newsvendors' situation lies in their powerlessness and dependence on their employers. The employer set wages and conditions of work at will, which are usually decidedly disadvantageous to the newsvendors. The predominant response obtained from the newsvendors interviewed in this study is a sense of being trapped; of having no viable alternative; of living out an infinite series of daily frustrations, indignities and denials.

In view of these conditions of employment, it would be appropriate to recommend that irrespective of the level of development, trade unions and welfare organisations such as Child Welfare Society begin to play a crucial role in advocating and persuading the government of the day to adopt and enforce child labour laws. Such laws can protect children at least from the worst forms of exploitation and dangerous working conditions as shown in this particular study. There is a risk that labour legislation particularly child labour laws, without supporting socio-economic changes, may lead to greater clandestine work and more exploitative work situations. Such laws must therefore never be implemented in isolation from the socio-economic setting.

Given the situation that the total abolition of child labour is unattainable in South Africa, every effort should be made to ensure that those children who have to work because of socio-economic conditions, work under conditions not endangering their health, welfare and safety. This should be the focus of government legislation such as labour laws. In this regard it should be compulsory that the newsvendor should be protected by means of insurance coverage against accidents and robberies while on duty. Furthermore, the newsvendors should be given fair guaranteed remuneration, and bonuses for those who get up at 3 am, strict limitation of hours of work to 40 hours per week and the prohibition of overtime. They should be granted

a minimum consecutive period of 12 hours night rest and of customary weekly rest days, the granting of an annual holiday with pay of at least four weeks. Further, newsvendors should be covered by social security schemes, including employment injury, medical care and sickness benefit schemes, and the maintenance of satisfactory standards of safety and health.

For this protective legislation to be effective it would need to be backed up by effective enforcement machinery. This would mean that the government would have to strengthen labour inspection and related services such as the training of inspectors, to detect and correct abuses in the employment of young persons such as the young Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula. With regard to the verification of ages, it is imperative that the newspaper companies are compelled to maintain registers and documents indicating the names and ages of all employed newsvendors and all of those who are receiving training.

6.3 Health, safety and welfare

This study confirms that young Black newsvendors work under conditions detrimental to their health, safety and welfare. The effects on bodily growth and physical development is one of the most important objections to

child labour. Young Black newspaper vendors, especially those who sell in the early hours of the morning often begin to work without breakfast. They spend an inordinate amount of time on the streets without any rest period, hence they are irregular with regard to mealtimes, while many of them survive on food of inferior nutritional value. The late hours of work of those who sell the evening newspaper may contribute to stunted growth.

In the words of B.Baatjies (1980:50) : "Premature employment during the day or employment at night, paves the way for those physical disabilities which result in an early incapacity for self-support. Both economic and social conditions require high standards of physique, and a vigorous manhood ...".

Clearly these physical disabilities as a result of child labour will in the long-term affect the productive power of these newsvendors when they reach adulthood and required to perform vigorous work.

Because of the poor socio-economic background from which most newsvendors come, they may often suffer from severe malnutrition or undernourishment. Reports from various countries indicate that working children in particular suffer from acute nutritional deficiencies because of the energy imbalance arising from malnutrition and the additional energy requirements of working for long

hours. In view of this the provision of supplementary feeding programmes for newsvendors should be given a primary place in efforts directing at enhancing their nutritional status.

Further, the social costs of premature employment has serious consequences for the child's welfare. In the case of newsvendors, this type of employment toughens the young, vulnerable teenager in order to survive in circumstances where robberies and assaults frequently occur. Peer group formation in these circumstances is often an essential survival mechanism. Young Black newsvendors are often induced to succumb to the influences of co-workers. The findings of this study indicated that 50,0% of the newsvendors claimed that they used chemical substances. Of these 57,7% mentioned that they use drugs daily and 42,3% uses either alcohol or drugs over the weekends. This may be significant in that it reflects the pattern of drug abuse. These chemical substances are used by young newsvendors to escape the harsh realities of the situation of powerlessness and dependence.

The safety of these young Black newsvendors working in the early hours of the morning and late at night is also of grave concern. They often start work in the early hours of the morning even in winter, and sell newspapers in heat, cold and rain. This study revealed that 50,4% of the newsvendors interviewed indicated that they fear

being on the streets in the early hours of the morning. Although only 14 of the newsvendors in this study mentioned that they were involved in motor accidents, 46 were uncertain as to who is responsible for medical and insurance coverage in event of an accident. Health and safety risks for working children arise from two sources : the workplace and the living environment. The vulnerability of newsvendors to accidents and health risks arising from work is a compelling reason for exceptional emphasis on these group of workers in the formulation and establishment of occupational safety and health programmes. Innovative delivery systems must be designed if existing occupational safety and health programmes are to reach a larger number of newsvendors and to provide effective services.

It would also appear that such programmes should be carried out in conjunction with and perhaps as part of the network of primary health care services. This is desirable for at least two reasons. First, many countries have embarked on extensive programmes of primary health services which can be used to reach a very large number of children and provide them with protection from occupational safety and health risks.

Secondly, the strong link between the working environment and the living environment may well justify an integrated approach in the provision of general and occupational health services. Since newsvendors in this

study come from poor families and live and work in generally unhealthy environments, actions aiming at protecting them from work-associated diseases can have a more lasting effect if they are carried out as an integrated programme that bears on both the working and the living environment.

Many of the activities, especially in the field of health and nutrition, would be in vain if they were not accompanied by parallel improvements in conditions within the workplace. Some of the major problems facing newsvendors at the workplace have already been pointed out and need not to be repeated. It would be suffice to recommend several areas in which improvements can be made. These include improvements in working time, work organisation, economics and simple hygiene. For example, the provision of rest periods and holidays and the elimination of overtime and night work, the reduction of work pace, the elimination of piece-rate pay systems, the provision of simple protective clothing. All of these can significantly enhance the health, safety and well-being of newsvendors and concurrently improve their productivity.

The researcher does not claim that the introduction of such improvements will be easy. But it can be done if sufficient efforts are made by government to provide supporting services. An important step would be the provision of simple instruction in the benefits

employers can derive from a more rested, better fed and healthier workforce of newsvendors.

6.4. Education and training

The study revealed that all of the newsvendors had been to school but that the vast majority have not progressed beyond Standard V. More than half had not progressed beyond Standard IV. No one in the sample had progressed higher than Standard VIII. None of the respondents had any other education or was going to classes of any other kind. The vast majority of newsvendors stated that they left school for economic reasons.

Education is a social right and the poor must not be denied that right because of their disadvantaged economic position and the costs of schooling. These costs may consist of direct costs such as school fees, and indirect costs like uniforms and school materials and other incidental expenses which can be a significant burden on families struggling to eke out a living. In these instances, the families who cannot afford to pay have no alternative but to withdraw their children, and inevitably the child begins to participate in some activity which assists his family economically. A striking feature of this study was that the earnings of young Black newsvendors constituted a very significant

portion of household income. In such situations families can send children to school only at their own peril. The long-term solution lies in promoting income-and-employment generating and income-support schemes. Further, alternative schemes should be seriously considered, such as school-feeding programmes and other innovative measures, in order to lighten the burden on poor families and to make it attractive to them to send their children to school rather than to work.

These programmes should form an integral part of anti-poverty development policies. Further, attention should also be paid to making the education and training responsive to the felt needs of the newsvendors. This study confirms that even where facilities do exist, newsvendors often fail to take advantage of them because their parents see little practical value in attending and are reluctant to forsake opportunities for immediate income.

Educational expansion is known to have a significant impact on the incidence and extent of child labour. The close connection between school attendance rules and the incidence of child labour therefore gives greater weight to the proposal made in the Minimum Age Recommendation, 1973 (No.146) by the United Nations, that "full-time attendance at school or participation in approved vocational orientation or training programmes should be

required and effectively ensured up to an age at least equal to that specified for admission to employment".

As a result of the findings of this study it can be argued that the educational authorities have failed to provide adequately for the needs of young Black children through the provision of nursery schools, additional adaptation classes for slow learners or alternate educational programmes which could equip disadvantaged children adequately with skills for adult life. Black youths are subjected to inferior education where poorly equipped schools are staffed by poorly qualified teachers.

Writing about the education system of Blacks in the Leadership Magazine (1986:66) Ken Hawthorne stated : "In looking at the next five years it is absolutely clear that no fundamental changes within the systems can be expected: segregated, divisive education is to remain. However, there is a greater acceptance of private education, which is to be partially subsidised and allowed more freedom to experiment with forms of education not approved within the formal systems".

He further concluded that : "While over-all in black schools there is a slow but steady improvement in the teacher-pupil ratio and in drop-out rate, the latter has worsened in DET secondary schools. At the Standard 10 level, the position is likely to be as bad as, or worse,

than in 1985, when, of the 25,584 pupils enrolled at the beginning of the year, 24,231 registered for the senior certificate examination, but only 10,523 wrote and 4,807 passed (19,1% of the original enrolment). DET enrolment at standard 10 level formed less than a quarter of the total in black schools, but accounted for 70,0% of the total drop-out rate over the year". (Leadership, 1986:67).

The findings of this study concluded that most of the newsvendors have little or no opportunity of education and training; as a result they are more or less permanently locked in their current work situation. This may be either because of facilities are not available or, even if they are, because the newsvendors and their parents are unable or unwilling to sacrifice the income generated from their work. Yet only through education and training can children have the possibility of realising their potential.

This therefore requires action in at least two areas. The first is to inject special literacy and vocational training programmes into the existing network of the formal education system. Secondly, another area of potential significance is job vocational training which could lead to better-paid jobs. This might provide the newsvendors with genuine opportunities for skill acquisition at little cost to the government or the employer. There is no doubt that existing formal

vocational and technical institutions can have an important role to play in this regard.

It should be pointed out that efforts to provide access to minimum levels of education and training can only be successful if there were corresponding changes at the workplace by way of reduced hours and workloads. If newsvendors continue to work for long hours or are engaged in fatiguing work, they will certainly be unable to follow or derive the full benefits from educational and training activities. The co-operation of employers and the introduction of improvements at the worksite are therefore crucial. Efforts in the educational area are unlikely to be effective if carried out in isolation from the necessary changes at the workplace.

6.5. Further research

There are many vital questions which remain unanswered. Research reports often conclude by calling for yet more research, and this report is no exception. This study has provided some description of child labour among Black newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula. It is a tentative and exploratory study and much more detailed research is needed to fill in the outlines.

In spite of the growing awareness of the prevalence and

harmful effects of child labour, policy and programme-oriented research remains surprisingly patchy. Yet knowledge of the context of child labour, the causes, the conditions under which children work and the impact of various policies and programmes is essential if informed and comprehensive policies are to be designed. The researcher shall, therefore, recommend some of the areas which should be given priority in future research. The areas indicated are by no means the only ones that deserve attention. They should rather be viewed as illustrations of the types of work needed to fill the existing gap in research and to provide a basis for design and implementation of action programmes.

Although general estimates of the magnitude and scope of the problem of child labour at the global level can be made, there is insufficient detailed knowledge of the true incidence, dimensions and trends at the national and regional levels of South Africa. Such information is necessary for formulating and monitoring policies and programmes and for determining priority areas of child labour.

Generally speaking, the root causes of the persistence of child labour are poverty and underdevelopment. Yet it may well be that these are not a sufficient explanation in all cases. We therefore need to study in greater depth the various causes in different situations so as to understand better the reasons for the differences in

incidence of child labour among socio-economic groups and regions and to indentify the appropriate points of intervention.

Important also are the lessons that can be learned in the area of legislation. Although South Africa has adopted legislation aimed at the prevention of employment of children, the understanding of the practical impact of such measures and the conditions of their success or failures remains insufficient. Better information about this can be extremely useful in the revision of existing legislation for the formulation of new ones.

One of the most frustrating aspects of work in the area of child labour is the lack of information on action programmes already carried out at the local level or at the enterprise level in the provision of welfare services, vocational education and training, etc. However modest these programmes might be, the experience gained could be an invaluable guide in the design of schemes for the provision of minimum levels of health, feeding, vocational education and training.

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INTRODUCTION

My name is Fuad Moerat and I am a student at the School of Social Work, University of Cape Town. I am talking to a few newsvendors in the Cape Peninsula to find out more about their conditions of employment, education and training. I would be grateful if you could help me by answering a few questions.

Can I please write your name and address down? I need to know these details in case I have to call back to see you, to clear up some details which you may have given.

The details about your name and address is not part of the study and will be destroyed.

INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

THE NEWSVENDOR

SECTION 1

✓ 1. NAME OF RESPONDENT :

✓ 2. ADDRESS :

.....

..... CODE :

✓ A. FAMILY BACKGROUND

✓ FATHER / STEP-FATHER

- 3. (a) Known
- (b) Reputed
- (c) Deceased

✓ 4. If known, is he ;

- (a) Married
- (b) Divorced
- (c) Separated / Deserted
- (d) Cohabiting
- (e) Never married
- (f) Widowed

✓ 5. Is father/step-father employed ? YES / NO

6. If yes, is he employed in the Cape Peninsula ? YES / NO

7. Does your father / step-father stay in the Cape Peninsula ? YES / NO

8. If no, where does he stay ?

✓ 9. Occupation of father/step-father :

10 . Where was father/step-father born ?

✓11. What is the income of father/step-father ?
.....

✓ MOTHER / STEP-MOTHER

✓12. (a) Known
(b) Reputed
(c) Deceased

✓13. If known, is he ;
(a) Married
(b) Divorced
(c) Separated / Deserted
(d) Cohabiting
(e) Never married
(f) Widower

✓14. Is mother/step-mother employed ? YES / NO

15. If yes, is she employed in the Cape Peninsula ? YES / NO

16. Does your mother / step-mother stay in the Cape Peninsula ? YES / NO

17. If no, where does she stay ?

✓18. Occupation of mother/step-mother :

✓19 . Where was mother/step-mother born ?

✓20. What is the income of mother/step-mother ?
.....

✓21. What is the combined income per week of family members in the household other than the respondent and the parents ?

- (a) less than R 300
- (b) R301 - R400
- (c) R401 - R500
- (d) R501 and up

✓22. How many children are in the family ?

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

✓23. Do your parents consume alcohol ? YES / NO

✓24. Do your parents use other forms of drugs ? YES / NO

✓25. If yes, for both question 23 & 24, how do you feel about your parents using alcohol or other forms of drugs ?

.....
.....
.....

SECTION 2

✓B. DETAILS OF RESPONDENT

BACKGROUND ITEMS

✓26. Sex :
(a) Male
(b) Female

✓27. Age :
(a) 8-12
(b) 13-17
(c) 18-22
(d) 23 plus

✓28. Are you staying with your parents ? YES / NO

✓29. If no, who do you stay with ?

✓30. Where do your parents stay ?

- (a) Townships
- (b) Squatter Areas
- (c) Other :

ACCOMODATION

✓31. What type of house do you stay in ?

- (a) House
- (b) Flat
- (c) Shanty

✓32. Number of rooms in the house (excluding the bathroom and kitchen) :

- (a) 1-2
- (b) 3-4
- (c) 5-6

RELIGION

33. Do you belong to a church ? YES / NO

34. If yes, which church ?

35. In general, how many times a month do you go to church ?

- (a) Never
- (b) Seldom
- (c) Once a month
- (d) 2-3 times a month
- (e) 4 times or more

EDUCATION

✓36. Have you ever been to school ? YES / NO

✓37. If yes, what standard did you pass ?

38. Do you still attend school ? YES / NO

39. If yes, please specify

40. If no, when and why did you leave school ?
.....
.....
.....

41. Did you enjoy going to school ? YES / NO

42. If yes, what did you enjoy ?
.....
.....

ALCOHOL / DRUG ABUSE

43. Do you use alcohol or any other form of drugs ? YES / NO

44. If yes, how often ?
(a) Daily
(b) Once/twice per week
(c) Weekends
(d) Other

WORK HISTORY

45. How long have you been a newsvendor ?
(a) Less than 6 months
(b) 7 months - 1 year
(c) 2 - 4 years
(d) 5 - 7 years
(e) 8 - 10 years
(f) 11 years plus

46. Have you done any other kind of work ? YES / NO

47. If yes, please specify

48. If yes to question 46, why did you leave your last job ?
.....
.....
.....

49. Which newspaper do you sell ?
(a) Cape Times
(b) The Argus
(c) Die Burger
(d) Other :

50. How did you come to find out about your present job ?
.....

51. How long have you worked for your present employer ?
(a) Less than 6 months
(b) 7 months - 1 year
(c) 2 - 4 years
(d) 5 - 7 years
(e) 8 - 10 years
(f) 11 years plus

52. Where do you sell newspapers ?
Name distribution point :

WAGES

53. How many newspapers do you sell a day ?
(a) 100 - 150
(b) 151 - 200
(c) 201 - 250
(d) 251 - 300
(e) 301 plus

54. How much do you earn ?
(a) Daily per newspaper :
(b) Weekly wage :

- ✓ 55. Do you receive a commission for selling more than your target ? YES / NO
- ✓ 56. If yes, what is the amount per newspaper sold over the target ? :
- 0 57. Is your wage increased every year ? YES / NO
58. If yes, by how much ? :
59. Do you know how much it will be increased next year ? YES / NO
- ✓ 60. Do you receive tips from the motorist ? YES / NO / SOMETIMES
- W 61. If yes and sometimes, please specify the amount per day
.....
- ✓ 62. What do you do with your wages ?
(a) Spend it on myself ?
(b) Give it to my parents ?
(c) Use it for pocket money ?
(d) Other :
.....

HOURS OF WORK

- ✓ 63. What time do you start working ?
(a) 3 am - 5 am
(b) 6 am - 8 am
(c) 9 am - 11 am
(d) 12 noon - 2 pm
(e) 3 pm - 5 pm
64. What time do you stop working ?
(a) 12 am - 2 pm
(b) 3 pm - 5 pm

- (c) 6 pm - 8 pm
- (d) 9 pm - 11 pm

- ✓65. How much time do you have off during the day ?
- (a) 1/2 - 1 hour
 - (b) 2 - 3 hour
 - (c) 4 - 5 hours
 - (d) 6 - 7 hours

EMPLOYMENT CONDITIONS

- ✓66. What form of transport do you use to get to the selling point ?
- (a) Distribution Van
 - (b) Walk
 - (c) Public Transport
 - (d) Other :

67. Is transport provided ? YES / NO

68. If yes, who provides transport ?

- (a) Newspaper Company
 - (b) Sales-supervisor
 - (c) Other :
-
-

69. Do you fear being on the streets early in the morning or late at night ? YES / NO

✓70. Have you ever been involved in a motor accident while on duty ? YES / NO

71. If yes, explain what happened :.....

.....

72. Do you get paid sick leave ? YES / NO

100. How do you feel about this ?
.....
.....

101. Are you proud of working for your sales-supervisor ?
.....
.....

102. If you have a choice, would you work for someone else ?

YES / NO

103. What language do you communicate in with your sales-supervisor ?

ENGLISH / AFRIKAANS / XHOSA / OTHER

C. GENERAL

104. Have you or your family had any dealings with welfare agencies ?

YES / NO

105. If yes, what agencies ?

(a) Dept of Internal Relations
(b) Dept of Constitutional Development
(c) Child Welfare Society
(e) Other :

✓ 106. Have you ever been involved in criminal offences ?

YES / NO

✓ 107. If yes, what was the offence ?
.....
.....

108. If yes, in question 106 what was the sentence ?
.....
.....

83. Are you held responsible for any losses if you are robbed of a day's takings while on duty ?
YES / NO

84. If yes, please explain

85. Have you ever been assaulted while selling newspapers ? YES / NO

86. If yes, what happened ?

WORK RELATIONSHIPS

87. How do you get along with your fellow workers ?
.....
.....
.....

88. Tell me about your relationship with your sales-supervisor
.....
.....
.....

89. Do you like him ? YES / NO

90. Do you think he likes you ? DON'T KNOW / YES / NO

91. What are your feelings towards him ?
.....
.....
.....

92. What are his feelings towards you ?

.....
.....

93. What sort of person do you think your sales-supervisor is ?

.....
.....
.....

94. What do you like most of your sales-supervisor ?

.....
.....
.....

95. What do you like least about your sales-supervisor ?

.....
.....
.....

96. Do you see your sales-supervisor as your boss ?

YES / NO / DON'T KNOW

97. If no, who do you think is the boss ?

.....
.....

98. Do you discuss your personal / family problems with him ?

YES / NO / SOMETIMES

99. Does your sales-supervisor ever praise you or thank you for the work you do ?

YES / NO / SOMETIMES

73. Who is responsible for covering medical expenses should you be involved in an accident ?

- (a) Newspaper Company
- (b) Sales-supervisors
- (c) Drivers
- (d) Parents
- (e) Self
- (f) Don't know

74. Do you work on public holidays ?

YES / NO / SOMETIMES

75. How much annual leave do you get per year ?

- (a) None
- (b) Less than 1 week
- (c) 2 weeks
- (d) 3 weeks
- (e) 4 weeks
- (f) 5 weeks plus

76. Are you paid when you are on holiday ? YES / NO

77. Do you belong to the Unemployment Insurance Fund ? YES / NO

78. Do you have a written contract ? YES / NO

79. Do you receive food while on duty ? YES / NO

80. If yes, who provides the food ?

- (a) Newspaper Company
- (b) Sales-supervisors
- (c) Self
- (d) Parents
- (e) Public
- (f) Other

81. Have you ever been robbed of a day's takings while on duty ? YES / NO

82. If yes, what happened ?

109. Have you used the services of the Advice Office ?

.....
.....

110. Do you belong to a Union ?

YES / NO