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**The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis and the use of social
networks for job search in Site C, Khayelitsha, Cape Town**

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GQDICH001

**A mini-thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Social Science in Global Studies.**

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The University of Cape Town

Faculty of Humanities

2012

DECLARATION

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature: _____

Date: _____

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ABSTRACT

This is a study on the spatial mismatch hypothesis, unemployment and the use of social networks for job search in Site C, Khayelitsha. The spatial mismatch hypothesis proposes that where employment centres are located a significant distance from low-income residential areas, the result is unemployment, low wages and limited access to information for people residing in these peripheral residential areas. This happens because commuting costs are high making travelling for job search highly challenging. Furthermore, these job seekers have social network contacts who cannot relay reliable information on employment opportunities because they live in the same neighbourhoods and are similarly unemployed. Ultimately, the theory goes, job seekers have limited access to information about job vacancies and thus remain unemployed. However, research into social networks provides a challenge to this argument by showing that job seekers in peripheral residential locations continue to successfully use their networks in gaining employment. This study contends that the challenge presented by research on social networks is made possible by the fact that the spatial mismatch hypothesis neglects to consider the nature of its mechanisms. Using this as a departure point, this study investigates the precise manner in which commuting costs and social networks influence job search in Site C, Khayelitsha.

With a qualitative approach using in-depth, semi-structured life-history interviews with residents of Site C, Khayelitsha, this study finds that job seekers in Khayelitsha have successfully used their social networks in job search. These networks are comprised of unemployed and employed contacts and are spread far beyond Site C and Khayelitsha to include contacts residing and working in various areas in Cape Town. These contacts provide relevant information and even recommendations facilitating employment for the job seeker. On transportation, this study finds that commuting costs are restrictive for job seekers, but manageable for low-wage workers living in Site C. These findings show that using an approach which is concerned more with understanding the nature of the mechanisms rather than proving causality, shows that there is a possibility that there may be various mitigating factors to the effects of a spatial mismatch. These factors can only be

identified when specific context is taken into consideration, and when the mechanism itself becomes the subject of the study, rather than a given.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

This thesis is about spatial fragmentation in the city of Cape Town, unemployment in the township of Site C in Khayelitsha and the role that social networks perform in mitigating joblessness. More specifically, it considers transportation issues as experienced by job seekers and workers residing in Site C, and how, if at all, unemployed residents of this township use social networks to gain information about job opportunities. The departure point for this study is a theory known as the spatial mismatch hypothesis (SMH), which postulates that where a spatial mismatch exists between employment centres and the residential locations of low-skilled, low-wage workers, the following three conditions occur among residents of these areas: high unemployment, low wages and limited or no access to information about employment opportunities.

According to the theory, the existence of a spatial mismatch is linked to these three variables in processes which operate in distinct, albeit inter-related ways. Firstly, distance from job centres imposes heavy commuting burdens on job seekers and workers. The result is that job seekers are unable to travel to search for jobs, and in the reduction of wages for residents who are already employed. Secondly, distance from job centres limits access to information about jobs because job seekers cannot afford to travel to these areas, and because employers advertise low-skill, low-wage jobs locally. Thirdly, people in low-income residential areas located far from job centres are in contact with other people in similar socio-economic conditions. This makes it unlikely that their social networks will yield relevant information about job opportunities. These arguments are based primarily on a causal mechanism which operates between the existence of a spatial mismatch as an independent variable, and the above three conditions as the dependent variables. These arguments linking city structure with unemployment, low wages and limited knowledge about jobs are also based on the use of positivistic, econometric methodologies, which although successful in drawing these links, are incapable of investigating the manner in which such causality operates.

This study is primarily concerned with two of the SMH mechanisms, namely, how expensive commutes affect job search and the net wage of low-skilled, low-wage workers, and the claim that social networks operating in the residential areas of these job seekers are ineffective as job search strategies. While the first mechanism is based on the assumption that travelling is the primary job search means and the argument that job seekers find it difficult to access funds to commute to job centres, the second mechanism falls short of fully considering that the character of social networks can vary even within low-income areas, and that these networks can be successful in relaying useful information about job opportunities. On these mechanisms, this paper makes two contributions. Firstly, commuting costs affect job seekers and workers living in Site C in different ways, while job seekers find it difficult to access travelling funds to search for employment opportunities, workers are generally able to shoulder the burden imposed by long and expensive commutes to work. Secondly, the social networks that operate in Site C are comprised of employed and unemployed people alike, as well as people who live and work in different parts of Cape Town. These networks are comprised of contacts who have the capacity to use their own workplace networks to provide the job seeker in Site C with relevant job vacancy information. As a result, they play a meaningful role in providing a platform for information-exchange, and are instrumental in relaying job information regardless of where the job seeker resides.

This thesis focuses on these two mechanisms of spatial mismatch for four reasons. Firstly in order to thoroughly and effectively investigate a topic of interest it is imperative that a study limit its focus to what is practically achievable given time, budgetary and other constraints. Secondly, although an extensive body of work on the limitations of the expensive and inefficient transport system in South Africa exists, there is a need to test how exactly transportation affects job search and wages in a specific context. Thirdly, there is a large body of evidence which shows that social networks can be used to access information about job opportunities irrespective of the residential areas or employment status of the agents operating within these networks. This body of knowledge potentially provides a challenge to how spatial mismatch theorists have conceptualised social networks. This in turn allows one to look more closely the spatial mismatch claims on the ineffectiveness of social networks operating in low-income areas. Fourthly, there is a need to complement existing SMH

research by conducting a study which takes a qualitative, in-depth look at the causal process itself, rather than just the outcome. Doing this will facilitate a thorough understanding of precisely how a spatial mismatch influences unemployment, low wages and limited knowledge about job opportunities.

This study hopes to contribute to the larger spatial mismatch debate by conducting an in-depth investigation of how commuting costs affect job search and wages earned, and the manner in which social networks influence access to job information. With the use of a qualitative life-history interviewing method, the field research intends to access longitudinal information about how residents in Site C, Khayelitsha have conducted their employed or unemployed lives. The interview process focuses on, inter alia, employment and unemployment; survival strategies; job search methods and experiences; transportation; and the use of social networks (See interview schedule in the Appendix).

The report is structured as follows: Chapter 2 unpacks the spatial mismatch hypothesis as it has been applied in various contexts from the United States, Britain and South Africa. This chapter also provides an elaboration on the specific mechanisms selected for this study. Chapter 3 is a brief overview of the city of Cape Town as the setting in which this research takes place. Chapter 4 makes a case for a spatial mismatch in Cape Town and how it operates by investigating how Apartheid planning influenced the city's spatial patterns and how post-Apartheid planning has influenced city structure. Here the main argument is that post-Apartheid planning has failed to facilitate urban integration in spite of government identifying it as an urgent necessity. The result is that the burdens of spatial fragmentation are disproportionately carried by those who can least afford them. The chapter then provides some facts about Khayelitsha, elaborates on the trends with regard to job locations in the city and investigates how transport relates to city fragmentation. These subsections, taken together, draw a clear picture for why the argument of the existence of a spatial mismatch is compelling in the case of Cape Town. Chapter 5 describes what social networks are, their nature, their influence on the labour market and how they operate in mitigating the adverse effects of a spatial mismatch. Chapter 6 explains why methods adopted by spatial mismatch scholars are not appropriate for a study such as this, elaborates on the rationale for the use of the qualitative approach, gives a breakdown of the interviewing and analysis processes and provides a brief description of the interview subjects. Chapter 7 and

8present the findings of the research. While Chapter 7 describes how the burden of commuting affects job seekers and workers in Site C, Chapter 8 discusses how social networks are used in the job search process among residents of Site C, Khayelitsha. Chapter 9 provides some concluding remarks, and is followed by the Appendix in which the references, interview schedule and interviews are located.

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CHAPTER 2: THE SPATIAL MISMATCH HYPOTHESIS

2.1. Background

The SMH is a theory that attempts to explain why people who reside in areas removed from economic centres experience high unemployment, low wages and limited knowledge of employment opportunities. According to Gobillon, Selod and Zenou (2007: 2401) the idea of spatial mismatch as a theory to explain these outcomes emerged in the 1960s after riots broke out in numerous inner city ghettos of the major American states. In response to these riots, Kain (1968) began theorising about the possible reasons behind these uprisings. In a groundbreaking article, he argued that part of the reason behind the riots was that low-skilled jobs formerly located in the inner city had begun to suburbanise. Inner city residents who could not afford to follow the jobs remained in these areas. This resulted in a spatial disconnection between employment opportunities and low-skilled inner city residents who were unable to shoulder the cost of commuting to the new employment areas. The resultant spatial disconnection manifested in joblessness and exclusion from the mainstream economy among inner city residents. Kain's theory hypothesised that it was this exclusion that caused the riots and general discontent among residents of the ghettos. Although this study is less concerned with the riots as an outcome of unemployment, it is highly concerned with the manner in which a spatial mismatch affects low-skilled job seekers and workers living in Site C, Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

2.2. Applications of the spatial mismatch hypothesis

Borrowing from Kain's seminal article, Gobillon et al (2007) give two possible reasons for the continued and specific growth in low-skilled jobs in the suburban areas of the U.S. They argue that, firstly, wealthier residents moved from the inner city to suburban areas. This meant that the number of people needing low-skilled services in the suburbs increased dramatically, while it decreased in the ghettos. This exodus also prompted the relocation of older firms to, and the emergence of new ones in the suburban areas. Secondly, these firms needed large tracts of cheap land to operate, which the city centres could not offer (Gobillon et al., 2007: 2404). This large scale outflow of work opportunities left those who were least

able to afford the financial burden of commuting to work, trapped in areas that were spatially removed from the new employment centres (Ellwood, 1986: 148). Inevitably, these were low-skilled, low-wage workers. This, was the spatial mismatch.

The SMH, historically and currently, concerns itself only with low-skilled work (mainly manufacturing and service-related work) and its relocation, rather than highly skilled jobs (Gobillon et al, 2007: 2402). The reason for this is that when the 1968 riots broke out it was specifically the former jobs that the affected low-skilled, low-wage job seekers sought to occupy. And it was the relocation of specifically these jobs away from the inner city to suburban areas that had an adverse impact on job seekers who could not afford commuting costs. It is common knowledge that high-skilled, high-wage workers do not experience the same mobility constraints as blue-collar workers, even in instances where they travel longer distances for work than their lower wage counterparts. It is for this reason that the spatial mismatch argument does not consider this segment of the population.

This theory was later adopted and adapted by researchers whose interests were investigating reasons behind high levels of unemployment in U.S. metropolitan ghettos. Throughout the decades, a plethora of research has been conducted to test the validity of this theory, mainly in the U.S. but also in Britain (Houston, 2005) and South Africa (Rospabe and Selod, 2006; Naude, 2008). Regardless of the various contexts in which the theory has been applied, the specific focus remains what Gobillon et al. (2007: 2402) refer to as “adverse labour market outcomes”, which are in this case, high unemployment, low net wages and limited knowledge of job opportunities among disconnected job seekers who would occupy low-skilled jobs.

2.3. The mechanisms of the spatial mismatch hypothesis

In their study, Rospabe and Selod (2006: 262) write that both sociology and urban economics literature support the idea that when the spatial organisation of a city leads to the disconnectedness of workers from places of employment, it can have a direct and adverse impact on employment. The basic argument put forward by researchers in support of this theory is as follows: where a spatial disconnection between work and residence exists, people who reside in locations distant from employment centres experience high unemployment, low net wages and limited knowledge about job opportunities. In this way, a

causal link is drawn between the existence of a spatial mismatch as the independent variable and the conditions mentioned above as the dependent variables. This mismatch between employment centres and residential areas operates in three distinct ways, all leading to the negative labour market conditions mentioned above. In focusing specifically on how transport costs affect job seekers and workers in Site C, and the use of social networks in the job search process, this study adopts the formulations put forward by Gobillon et al. (2007) and Rospabe and Selod (2006). It must be noted that the SMH is primarily concerned with job seekers, but it also looks at workers in so far as distance from work has a negative impact the net wage earned. The spatial mismatch debate centres around three causal mechanisms when looking at how distance from employment centres affects job seekers and to a lesser extent, workers. These are expensive commutes, limited knowledge about job opportunities and ineffective social networks among residents of low-income, spatially removed residential areas.

2.3.1. *Expensive commutes*

Unemployment in areas where low-skilled workers reside remains high because job seekers cannot afford the cost of travelling to employment centres. Long and expensive commutes make it difficult for job seekers to find out about jobs due to these travel restrictions. As a result of this limitation, these job seekers are compelled to either not travel at all in search of work or to restrict their searches to areas that they can access cheaply, which are closer to where they reside. Unfortunately, these areas usually do not offer employment opportunities (Gobillon et al., 2007: 2408). This consideration is especially relevant for South Africa given that the country is characterised by a weak and expensive public transport system (Naude, 2008: 269).

Rospabe and Selod (2006: 263) also argue that job seekers may refuse to take jobs whose wages will ultimately be unjustifiable due to high transport costs. The argument here is that the wages that would potentially be earned would be heavily weighed down by the cost of commuting to work rendering work financially unsustainable. Not only is the public transport system in South Africa expensive, but it also does not always cover all routes and experiences a shutdown after a certain time in the evening, which compels commuters to opt for more expensive options (Rospabe and Selod, 2006: 263). In the cases where job

seekers do accept jobs in spite of high public transport costs compounded by the inability to use private transport, the result is low net wages (Houston, 2005: 226). Thus, where a spatial mismatch exists between work centres and residential areas, the result is that commuting to the areas where jobs are located is expensive. This in turn leads to unemployment because people cannot afford to travel to search for work or low net wages where seekers accept a job in spite of disproportionately high travel costs.

Some arguments citing racial discrimination as the root of unemployment among low-skilled workers residing far from job centres have also surfaced since Kain proposed his theory of spatial mismatch. It would be difficult to find this situation in South Africa given that labour market discrimination is illegal and in fact mechanisms such as affirmative action aimed at redress prevent this from being the case (Naude, 2008: 269). In fact, population numbers alone prohibit employers from excluding blacks or coloureds (the highest and second highest racial groups) from employment given that these are the racial groups predominantly engaged in low-skilled work. While some might argue that racial discrimination exists in the cases where employers prefer to employ coloureds rather than blacks, this would not explain persistent unemployment among coloureds.

2.3.2. Distance from job centres limits knowledge about job opportunities

Gobillon et al (2007: 2408) argue that the efficiency in job search diminishes the further the distance between job opportunities and residential locations of job seekers. There are numerous factors that result in this. Firstly, job seekers are not familiar with distant areas where jobs are located and therefore do not know where exactly to search. This could result in them narrowing their searches to places that they are familiar with and can access relatively cheaply. Unfortunately, these are the areas where job prospects are low (Gobillon et al., 2007: 2411). Secondly, the recruitment strategies, particularly for low-skilled jobs, adopted by some employers are often locally-based, for example advertising in a suburban paper or posting "vacancy" signs on shop windows. This means that job seekers, residing far from these areas, and who are unable to access them due to mobility constraints, do not receive this information. Without this information, job seekers are unable to make themselves available for work, and thus remain unemployed.

2.3.3. High local unemployment means social networks are ineffective as job search strategies

In what Rospabe and Selod (2006: 265) refer to as social networks, people that reside in areas far from job opportunities are in contact with other people in the same plight. This, the SMH argues, makes it less likely that the sharing of information through networks can yield much information on the availability of jobs (Gobillon et al., 2007: 2412). This presents a major constraint to job search and employment prospects since Rospabe and Selod argue that “a significant proportion of jobs are usually found through personal contacts” (2006: 264). From this line of argumentation, it follows then that since unemployment is usually higher in these areas (e.g. Site C) than the average national rate, there are fewer people who can feed the social networks with information regarding job opportunities whether from their own employers, or from other personal contacts (Rospabe and Selod, 2006: 265). This also results in unemployment.

So, to be clear the SMH argues that firstly, people who live in areas far removed from job centres are faced with high commuting costs when looking for work. For the job seeker, this inability to travel then leads to unemployment or low net wages in the cases where job seekers accept jobs regardless of high commuting costs. Secondly, because job seekers are unable to afford the high cost of commuting to work centres to access job information, which is usually available within those areas for low-skilled, low-wage work, distance from job centres results in limited knowledge about job opportunities. This too invariably leads to persistent unemployment. Thirdly, social networks in areas located far from job centres with high unemployment are ineffective in providing meaningful information about job opportunities because actors in these networks are similarly unemployed. Again this mechanism undermines the potential for job seekers to find jobs.

This study aims to take these aspects of the SMH as a departure point. Having done this, a study will be conducted on the mechanism or actual processes that operate between distance from job centres and the outcomes proposed by the SMH. What is important to understand is how being compelled to commute between home and work affects the job search process, whether job seekers use social networks in job search and if so how, and whether these networks can mitigate the disadvantages imposed by distance. The point here

is this, if the actual causal mechanisms are thoroughly investigated, we can gain insights into precisely how distance from job centres affects the job seeker. Depending on what the research finds, there might be potential to consider that there are means by which job seekers can access funds for travelling or information about jobs without travelling to areas of employment. If this is indeed the case, then some of the arguments put forward by the SMH can be challenged to show that there are methods that can be used to limit the impact of a spatial mismatch by accessing funds to travel to search for jobs or by using locally-based job search strategies such as networking. Also, it could be argued that the SMH operates in distinct ways based on prevailing circumstances in various localities. If this is correct, making universal pronouncements about the mechanisms of the SMH without taking full consideration of context does not do the theory justice.

In advancing this line of argumentation, this study will investigate whether a spatial mismatch does in fact exist between Site C, Khayelitsha and employment centres where predominantly low-skilled, low-wage jobs are located. It will study how job seekers or workers residing in Site C, experience challenges when it comes to commuting to employment centres, and if this is true, whether people living in Site C, Khayelitsha are able to access information about job openings via means that do not involve them travelling outside of their areas. The study will investigate whether these job seekers are active in social networks, and if so what the character of these networks is. Further, it will look at whether these social networks provide them with information on job opportunities and thus positively influence the job search process. And if this is the case, the possibility that social networks used in job search can have a positive impact on the employment prospects of job seekers in Site C, Khayelitsha.

CHAPTER 3: THE SETTING

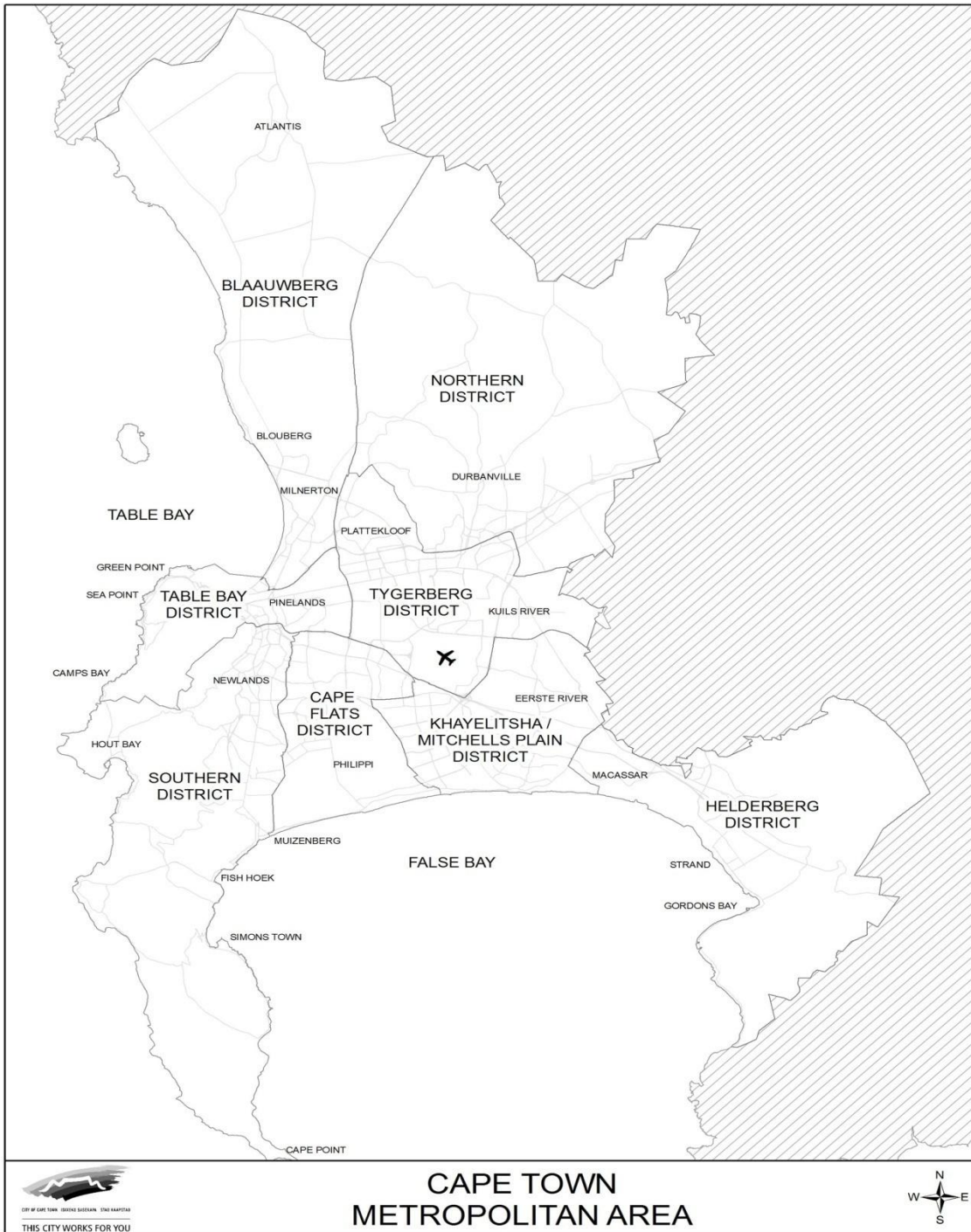
3.1. Current and historical overview of the city of Cape Town

Cape Town was developed in 1652 as a trading post for the Dutch East India Company. It is the oldest and third largest city in South Africa. The City of Cape Town is one of South Africa's metropolitan municipalities, and is the main urban centre in the Western Cape Province. It is located on the southern peninsula of the province, and covers a surface area of 2 479 square kilometres. It is the legislative capital of South Africa, and hosts the country's National Parliament (Lemanski, 2007: 451). In 2007 the Western Cape had a population of approximately 5.3 million people, with 3.5 million of them residing in the City of Cape Town (Community Survey, 2007: 6-7). In the same year there were approximately 902 000 households in the city with the average household size being four inhabitants (Community Survey, 2007: 10). In 2009 the City of Cape Town contributed 71 per cent to the province's gross domestic product (Draft Analysis of the Cape Town Spatial Economy, 2010: 19).

The city is a major tourist destination and boasts a diversified business sector that contributes significantly to the national economy, second only to Johannesburg. Although the city has mean incomes that are above the national average, it is characterised by high unemployment, inequality, a "sprawling, inequitable spatial structure" and residential segregation with large concentrations of the population residing in areas located far from employment centres (Sinclair-Smith and Turok, 2012: 392).

The map below shows Cape Town divided into eight districts. Site C, the study area, falls within the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain District.

3.1.1. Map of the city of Cape Town



Source: www.capetown.gov.za

According to Lemanski (2007: 451), Cape Town is a highly polarised city characterised by the “majestic table mountain”, beautiful expansive coastlines and “celebrated wine farms”. These characteristics are starkly contrasted by the presence of informal settlements, residential segregation, inequality and poverty (*ibid*). Cape Town is the quintessential Apartheid city and racial polarisation has continued almost unabated nearly two decades after the end of Apartheid. In fact, according to Turok (2001: 2371), Cape Town is one of the “least-altered” cities in the country and remains the site of widening economic and social division. Economic opportunities are available to those who either reside in, or have access to the “affluent suburbs and prosperous economic centres” (Turok, 2001: 2349). However, these opportunities are dimmed by the socio-economic and spatial exclusion of those living in the peripheral, overcrowded and poverty-stricken townships (*ibid.*). As a result of Apartheid-era racial and economic engineering, and a perpetuation of class structures post-Apartheid, these people, mainly black and coloured, fall within the low-income and high unemployment brackets.

3.2. The spatial mismatch hypothesis and Cape Town

There are many formulations of the SMH depending on the context in which it is applied. In the case of South Africa the social, economic and political circumstances bare some differences to those of the U.S. where most of spatial mismatch research has been conducted. Where socially excluded populations reside in the inner city areas in the U.S., in South Africa, and more specifically Cape Town, they live in peripheral townships located tens of kilometres away from the central business district (CBD) and other suburbs where jobs are centralised. This is as much a result of Apartheid social engineering as of post-Apartheid city planning. Regardless of this difference, the fundamental basis of the theory remains the same: the spatial disconnection between jobs and residence.

In adapting this theory to the South African setting, Naude’s (2008) conceptualisation of the possibility of a spatial mismatch in South Africa is particularly compelling. He writes that in Apartheid South Africa, cities were organised opposite to the formation of the U.S. city structure. Non-whites were located in areas far from city centre, and whites occupied residential areas that were in and around the city centre where jobs were also located. Also, legislation for black or “bantu” education, as it was known during Apartheid, thwarted any

possibility of skills formation among this group. This meant that low-skilled, low-wage earning blacks and coloureds lived in residential locations far from the urban centres where business was conducted. The burden of commuting to work was as strong then as it is today. This legacy of Apartheid remains starkly visible long after the abolition of minority rule.

When considering the location of jobs in Cape Town Rospabe and Selod (2006) and Turok (2001) argue that the suburbanisation of jobs has occurred alongside a regeneration of the CBD and its surrounds. Addressing this, Turok writes that development has taken place in the northern and southern suburbs as well as the CBD and its surrounding areas. Suburbanisation of jobs in the city has indeed taken place but it has taken place differentially and development has bypassed the already marginalised southeast section of Cape Town where Khayelitsha and other townships are located (Turok, 2001: 2359). Thus the peripheral location of residential areas of low-skilled, low-wage workers, who in South Africa happen to be black and coloured, coupled with the positioning of job opportunities in the CBD and increasingly the northern and southern suburbs of Cape Town, provides fertile grounds for the existence of a spatial mismatch. This is exacerbated by an inefficient and expensive public transport system, which according to Clark 2000, has not been able to successfully mitigate the negative effects that a spatial mismatch has on mobility. The precise operation of this mismatch is discussed in the following chapter.

CHAPTER 4: THE CASE FOR A SPATIAL MISMATCH IN CAPE TOWN

4.1. The legacy of the Apartheid City

The importance of considering the socio-political history of South Africa, and particularly Cape Town lies in the fact that in the past, legislation was used to effectively mould the economic circumstances of blacks and coloureds living in the country's urban areas. The level of economic and spatial exclusion experienced by low-income coloureds and blacks today is partly a result of previous government policies that encouraged total separation. It is also a result of the post-1994 democratic governments' shortcomings in successfully reintegrating excluded classes into the mainstream economy and society (Turok, 2001: 2350). This perpetual exclusion is crucial to understanding the arguments put forward by the SMH because it attempts to explain the link between spatial separation and the employment prospects of excluded populations, as compared to those of suburban residents. It must be noted however, that the SMH itself is neither premised nor exclusively focused on racial segregation. It is a class-based theory that investigates the employment circumstances of low-skilled, low-wage workers residing in locations removed from job centres. It is however, a theory that also seeks to explain the racial differences in unemployment. When this is considered, race does in fact have a role to play, particularly in the South African (and Cape Town) case. The attention paid to race in this chapter is as a result of decisive policies that encouraged a city structure fragmented along racial lines. This invariably resulted in the lower classes of society being occupied mainly by blacks and coloureds. So, although it is class that is one of the primary considerations in the SMH, South Africa's history prevents the exclusion of race in the application of this theory to the country, and indeed to Cape Town. The legacy of Apartheid on city structure is discussed below.

Turok (1994: 244) writes that the Apartheid state, through policies of urban influx control and economic and social separatism, attempted to build independent, self-reliant, financially viable and racially-distinct localities. Using race-based legislation such as the Population Registration Act of 1950 and the Group Areas Act of the same year, the state sought to create a country modelled on racial separatism and differential opportunities for the four

population groups as identified by the former act. Although it is true that most cities that have suburbanised have a clear separation of employment centres and residential areas, the modus operandi adopted by the Apartheid government was such that this separation was further encouraged by perceived and legislated racial hierarchy and classification, rather than the result of natural forces linked exclusively to urbanisation and suburbanisation. This effectively meant that preferential residential locations were reserved for whites, Indians, coloureds and blacks in that particular order. The result was that in 1996, the Cape Town CBD, including its northern and southern residential settlements housed 37 per cent of the population while being the location of 80 per cent of jobs in the Cape Metropolitan Area (Turok, 2001: 2352).

During Apartheid, reservation of residential areas inevitably meant that in order to gain access to places of employment, most blacks and coloureds had to travel long distances. This was excluding the few who lived in central areas such as District Six, which was demolished and also reserved for Whites in 1966 (Wilkinson, 2000: 197). Transportation was provided by a public transport system that included bus and train network systems, which were expensive and inefficient, albeit heavily subsidised by the government (Clark and Crous, 2002: 78). Later, in the 1970s, unsubsidised mini-bus, privately-run taxis were introduced as an alternative means of transportation for a burgeoning population that needed to commute between residential areas and job centres. Today, we see that one of the legacies of Apartheid planning is that distance between residence and work persists and continues to impose burdens on workers especially in cases where a “safe, integrated mass transit system” is lacking (Turok, 1994: 251). Unfortunately, these burdens rest squarely on the shoulders of the poor, marginalised segments of the population who because of their class and race were forced to live far from areas of employment.

The result of such planning is that post-1994 we find that an Apartheid city originally modelled on racial separation, has manifested into class segregation, with temporary integration happening only when required by the economy. In Cape Town the majority poor, low-income blacks and coloureds continue to suffer the consequences of a spatial mismatch, a situation that is further aggravated by contemporary urbanisation trends. At the same time there is no absolute uniformity even within this group of lower class blacks and coloureds. Their more affluent, middle class counterparts of the same races who might also be living in

the same residential areas have greater access to employment centres because they can comfortably afford the cost of public transport, or are able to drive to work in their private vehicles. This reality renders the class basis, as opposed to a solely racial basis, of the SMH even more compelling.

4.2. Post-Apartheid planning

In 1994, the year in which South Africa officially became a full democracy, it became clear that the racially-engineered cities of the Apartheid era would be a pressing challenge for the incumbent democratic government. Urban segregation was soon identified by the national government as a nationwide problem that needed to be addressed. As such, soon after coming into power, the democratic coalition government, through the Ministry in the office of the President, issued the following statement:

“The Urban Strategy seeks, foremost, the physical, social and economic integration of our cities and towns.”(Turok, 2001: 2354).

Although this statement of intent sounds decisive, Huchzermeyer (2003: 118) argues that initially, the government’s commitment to redressing urban segregation resulting from Apartheid laws was presented as a vision, rather than a policy. It was only later that this vision was transformed into policy through the 1996 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) and the 1997 Urban Development Framework. In keeping with the urgent need for urban integration, the national Ministry for Provincial Affairs and Constitutional Development released the following statement in 1998:

“Apartheid planning has left deep scars on the spatial structure of our cities, towns and rural areas, and the lives of millions of individuals and households. The spatial integration of our settlements is critical. It will enhance economic efficiency, facilitate the provision of affordable services, *reduce the costs households incur through commuting* [my emphasis], and enable social development.” (Turok, 2001: 2354).

Turok argues that at the same time, similar statements of intent were being issued by the Cape Town City Council. Discussions surrounding this imperative gave birth to the Metropolitan Spatial Development Framework (MSDF) with the vision of “reintegrating a divided city” by proposing a variety of measures for urban integration. Although lacking

legislative authority, the proposals made by the MSDP were seen as necessary in addressing the legacy of Apartheid in the city (Turok, 2001: 2354-5).

In spite of these commitments by national government and the Cape Town City Council, segregation persists. There is growing concern that government's delivery of low-income subsidised housing has served to perpetuate segregationist urban patterns introduced during colonial rule and solidified by the Apartheid government. As far down the line as 2009, Pieterse (2009) argues, South African cities have remained segregated and unequal despite the efforts of successive national and local governments. On this, Sinclair-Smith and Turok (2012: 391) contend that South African cities have continued to have a "dispersed and segmented structure that is believed to exacerbate unemployment and social exclusion" among other things. This concern is echoed in a statement contained in a 2011 National Planning Commission document:

"Spatial challenges continue to marginalize the poor ... In general, the poorest people live in remote rural areas. In the cities the poorest live far from places of work ... the situation has probably been aggravated since 1994, with many more people now living in poorly located settlements." (Turok, 2011: 13).

Similarly, an Organisation for Economic Development and Cooperation (OECD) report notes that:

"The evolution of the spatial structure of Cape Town has also resulted in several obstacles...The functional area...has evolved into a sprawling and low-density multi-nodal city region characterised by strong spatial fragmentation. This trend...generates a spatial mismatch between employment and housing locations (Sinclair-Smith and Turok, 2012: 396).

In its introductory comments in the section titled "Transforming human settlements and the national space economy", the National Development Plan 2030 presented to the South African National Parliament in August 2012 notes that:

"Where people live and work matters. Apartheid planning consigned the majority of South Africans to places far away from work, where services could not be sustained, and where it

was difficult to access the benefits of society and participate in the economy” (National Planning Commission, 2012: 260).

The public housing programme was identified as one of the mechanisms of redistribution that would concomitantly encourage urban integration. Local governments aimed to achieve this through the provision of free houses to the poor, and/or the promotion of rental agreements (Pieterse, 2009: 7). Huchzermeyer (2003: 115), supported by Lemanski (2007: 465) and Watson (2003: 151) argues that market-driven, government housing policies have in fact continued to build houses in peripheral areas thereby merely continuing along a trajectory developed and solidified by the Apartheid government. Clark and Crous (2002: 78) make the argument that the government has continued to develop new low-cost housing in “greenfield sites” located away from employment centres. According to Turok and Watson (2001: 120-1), the main reason behind the peripheral location of low-income housing projects lies in the fact that local governments search for the cheapest land. This land inevitably lies in areas far from urban centres such as the south-eastern areas of Cape Town. Goebel (2007: 293) explains this by stating that part of the reason behind this location was the government’s adoption of a neo-liberal economic paradigm as it inevitably contributed towards the promotion of a market-led housing strategy. Looking closely at Cape Town, it is then no surprise that areas such as Delft and Philippi became the most likely sites for this form of housing development. Unfortunately these are also the areas that are disadvantaged economically, spatially and topographically (Huchzermeyer, 2003: 122). An unintended consequence of this trend is that due to location, it has exacerbated the problem of spatial disconnection and inaccessibility to employment and commercial sectors (Clark and Crous, 2002: 78).

Rospabe and Selod (2006: 267) adopt a class-based argument and write that after the end of Apartheid, racial segregation was replaced by market-driven income segregation. This ensured that fragmentation continued almost unabated in Cape Town because lower class residents could not afford to live in centrally-located areas. This claim is supported by Lemanski (2005: 433) where the author argues that post-Apartheid, race-based spatial discrimination has been replaced by class-based biases. This resilient trend has served to ensure the persistence of spatial segregation in the city. This is a concern that was also recognised by the MSDF Redraft (2001: 384), which stated as one of its objectives the need

to make land for low income housing available within “activity corridors and nodes, close to urban opportunities”. Addressing reintegration along economic lines, Watson (2003: 140) argues that initial statements of commitment to redress through spatial integration under the government’s RDP were never realised. Instead, with the shift of economic policy in 1996 towards a more neo-liberal regime, emphasis was placed more on South Africa’s global standing and the importance of attracting foreign direct investment, rather than on the goals of urban integration, poverty alleviation and redistribution.

Robins (2002: 511-13) contradicts the above claims and argues instead that the situation has not been uniform. According to the author, there have been attempts towards urban integration in Cape Town through the construction of low-cost subsidised housing in suburban areas. An example of this is the demolition and subsequent upgrading of an informal settlement previously known as Marconi Beam, now known as Joe Slovo Park, in Milnerton. Through the provision of RDP subsidies, government, assisted by a non-governmental organisation known as the Development Action Group built low-cost formal brick houses in an area located approximately five kilometres from Cape Town city centre and even closer to an industrial area known as Montague Gardens. In another case, low cost houses were built in Westlake near Constantia in the Southern Suburbs. This area is close to employment centres and was previously reserved for whites under Apartheid. The project began in 1999 and was seen as a ground-breaking initiative that would provide housing for various income scales and socio-economic groups. Part of the development was set aside for the provision of “state-assisted” low-income housing (Lemanski, 2005: 419). This development would ensure that workers employed in the nearby economic centre, mainly in low-wage unskilled jobs, could reside closer to work. In this way spatial integration would be encouraged and commuting costs for workers would be minimised. This is an important benefit since the author argues that most residents earn low wages (Lemanski, 2005: 421,424).

Important as the Joe Slovo Park and Westlake developments are, it does appear that they have been the exception, rather than the rule, a reality indicated even by the Department of The Presidency’s National Development Plan. Despite these cases of urban integration, in Cape Town, the areas where poor, lower-income or unemployed blacks and coloureds live remain primarily located in the southeast periphery of the city, an area that accommodates

a third of the city's population. This is the area where the Cape Flats are located, identified by Rospabe and Selod (2006: 266) as, inter alia, Khayelitsha, Gugulethu, Mitchell's Plain, Philippi and Langa. This study is based on Khayelitsha, one such peripheral area, created in the 1980s as a dormitory settlement for the mushrooming urban black population in Cape Town.

4.3. Khayelitsha

In what can best be termed a "haphazard *ad hoc* crisis management decision" (Turok, 2001: 2352), in 1983 the National Party government announced the creation of a new township to be located 39 kilometres from the Cape Town CBD. This was supposedly a "pragmatic" response to a housing crisis that could be blamed on an escalating "problem" of black urban dwellers in the city (Cook, 1986: 65). It was envisioned that this township, located in the southeast of the city, would be the dominant settlement for black urban workers. Cook argues that the creation of this residential area fed directly into the ideal of an Apartheid city in that it would reduce the number of dispersed "race islands" by relocating the majority of blacks to a single peripheral unit (1986: 60). According to the author, the government started building basic housing structures in Khayelitsha in spite of a lack of consultation with intended residents, and widespread protests against the possible relocation of blacks living in other townships such as Gugulethu and Nyanga. In spite of this, people started living in the government houses in Khayelitsha in 1984. By this time, an informal settlement containing structures built using corrugated iron sheets had already developed in an area of Khayelitsha called "Site C" (*ibid.*).

Cook (1986: 62) contends that contrary to state rhetoric at the time, the township, located on the outer periphery of the city, was never designed to be self-reliant or independent. Evidence in support of this claim was that no sites had been set aside for industrial development and there were no plans for a local shopping centre, the basic indicators of a self-sustaining area. In fact a bus service was scheduled to provide transport to the closest shopping district in Mitchell's Plain, as well as to industrial centres in Parow Industria (18km), Bellville South (20km) and Epping Industria (15km). This deliberate underdevelopment was not a novelty, but a continuation of the Apartheid state's modus operandi of forcing township residents to be dependent on white, suburban and central city

business. Turok (1994: 246) supports this and argues that in the 1960s and 1970s the townships were controlled by city-appointed officials through councils that thwarted any attempts at the development of black business in a bid to protect white business located in the city centres. Randall (1996: 664-5) elaborates on this by pointing out that in the same period, blacks could only own one undertaking, which had to be in the retail sector. Blacks were permitted only to trade in a limited number of consumer goods, were not permitted to enter into any kind of partnerships or be involved in the financial, industrial or wholesale sectors. Furthermore, blacks were prohibited from constructing or owning any of their business premises in urban South Africa. For those blacks who managed to enter into business, the isolation of the residential townships also meant that their businesses could only access limited low-income markets. As a result, growth potential within Khayelitsha was drastically limited (Turok, 1994: 251), which inevitably hampered any opportunities for the creation of employment in the area. Lemanski (2004: 455) writes that although to date some development has been made in the area, in the form of the Khayelitsha Retail Centre, it does not come close to the development that characterises the northern and central-southern suburbs of the city. This development also does not provide employment opportunities that even come close to those needed by the number of job seekers in Khayelitsha.

The southeast is the least economically developed area in the city and as a result is home to most of the city's poor. It is characterised by large numbers of unskilled workers, a high percentage of the households in the area earn less than the household subsistence level of R1 600 per month and a large percentage of adults in the area do not possess a matriculation certificate. Within the south-eastern section of the city known as Cape Town's "poverty trap", Khayelitsha is the quintessential township (Business Trust and The Department of Provincial and Local Government, 2007: 8). It is the largest township in the Western Cape and the second largest township in South Africa (*ibid.*). It is underdeveloped and houses many of the low-income, poor and unemployed residents of the city, a reality that makes it the most densely populated residential area in Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2010: 12). With the exception of the services and retail sectors, Khayelitsha remains highly underdeveloped. Cape Town's City Development Index measures the level of development in an area by aggregating infrastructure, health, education and income. When measured in these terms, Khayelitsha currently has one of the lowest development indices, even lower

than the provincial average (PGWC, 2006: 19-20). When the level of development is measured in terms of the internationally-recognised Human Development Index, Khayelitsha occupies the lowest rung within the city. It measures 0.69, lower than the provincial and city averages of 0.72 and 0.82 respectively (PGWC, 2006: 20-21).

The distance between Khayelitsha and employment centres and the level of underdevelopment in the area compels residents to travel long distances when commuting to work or to search for employment opportunities (Business Trust and The Department of Provincial and local Government, 2007: 10). This has high social and economic costs for Khayelitsha residents, who because of their socio-economic conditions, struggle to afford such commutes. This is the spatial mismatch in operation.

4.4. Employment areas in Cape Town

In 2001 Turok and Watson identified a shift in Cape Town's office, retail and industrial activities. At the time the trend was a shift from the CBD towards suburban centres in the northern and western areas of the city, and the development of office parks along the major freeways (Turok and Watson, 2001: 120). In 2004, the manufacturing sector employed 19.4 per cent of the city's employed population and was instrumental in absorbing the city's semi-skilled workforce (PGWC, 2006: 16-17). In the same year, the wholesale and retail services sector employed a lower 17.9 per cent of Cape Town's workers (*ibid.*). At this time, the city's unemployment rate was measured at 23.4 per cent, a marked increase from 17.27 per cent as measured in 1995 (PGWC, 2006: 17). The unemployment rate in the Western Cape is around 22.2 per cent, which is lower than the national rate of 25.2 per cent (Quarterly Labour Force Survey, 2011). In 2006, the PGWC identified manufacturing and the wholesale and retail services sector as the second and third key drivers of Cape Town's economy, after the finance and business services sector (PGWC, 2006: 3). This renders these sectors instrumental to economic growth and the absorption of the unemployed.

In 2010 Cape Town's Spatial Economy document argued that the reason behind the continuing decentralisation was that by 2010 the office, retail and industrial sectors accounted for more than 50 per cent of the city's economic growth. This meant that businesses could afford the shift to commercial centres away from the city centre (City of Cape Town, 2010: 4). This decentralisation failed to have a positive impact on spatial

fragmentation as these areas remained inaccessible to workers living in areas located on the city's periphery and reliant on public transport. This was because these areas were serviced by weak commuter rail and bus networks (Turok and Watson, 2001: 120). Meanwhile, some of the factors that have impeded development in the south-eastern section of the city, within which Khayelitsha is located, are low average household incomes, low skills and qualification levels, high unemployment, poor infrastructure and hazardous everyday living conditions (Turok and Watson, 2001: 122).

A breakdown of sector by location shows that the finance, insurance and services sector is centred in the CBD area including the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront and to a lesser extent Bellville and the Southern Suburbs. The wholesale and retail sector is primarily located in the Northern Suburbs where household income is also concentrated. Manufacturing is mainly situated in the traditional centres such as Montague Gardens, Parow Industria and more recently on the West Coast (City of Cape Town, 2010: 11-13).

From the above it is clear that development in the city has not been uniform. Rather, it is concentrated in the central, northern and southern areas of the city, at the exclusion of the poor, low-income southeast. This selective development has encouraged fragmentation between employment centres, and many of the lower class residential areas in Cape Town (Turok, 2001: 2356-8). The above condition of a "mismatch between residence and employment areas" was recognised by the MSDP Redraft (City of Cape Town, 2001: 387), which then committed itself to addressing the challenge through spatial planning. This persistent mismatch is also the reason Goebel (2007: 297) proposes that new housing developments aimed at redress and ensuring service delivery reaches the poor and be located close to where jobs are. This, she argues, may not necessarily be close to the CBD, but may very well be close to suburban areas, where an increasing number of jobs are being located. In their comparison of job centres and residential areas, Rospabe and Selod (2006: 268) find that a spatial disconnection exists between work and residence, especially where the black and coloured demographic is concerned.

In 2010 the Draft Analysis of the Cape Town Spatial Economy (City of Cape Town, 2010: 5) measured turnover, payroll and the number of companies by location. It concluded that the five highest contributing locations to the city's economy were:

4.4.1. Table 1: Employment areas in Cape Town

*In order of highest contributor

Highest contributing locations
City Centre (including the Victoria and Alfred Waterfront)
Bellville/Tyger Valley
Salt River, Paarden Eiland, Maitland
Milnerton, Montague Gardens, Killarney Gardens
Epping Industria

(City of Cape Town, 2010: 6)

Research on Cape Town's spatial economy conducted by Sinclair-Smith and Turok shows similar trends. Data obtained from company payments to metropolitan or district councils between 2001 and 2005 show that the CBD remains the main economic node despite increasing relocation of businesses. It is then followed by the areas highlighted in the table above (Sinclair-Smith and Turok, 2012: 397). Interestingly, of the 23 economic nodes analysed by the authors according to turnover, payroll and number of companies, Khayelitsha does not feature at all. Sinclair-Smith and (2012: 404) argue that there is glaring absence of economic activity in the south-eastern section of the city, as compared to other areas. Where economic activity does exist, it is primarily located in Mitchell's Plain. This is particularly concerning given the large numbers of people that reside in Khayelitsha. Moreover, economic activities in the City of Cape Town are dispersed along nodes, rather than in a linear setup. This condition complicates accessibility by public transport as efficiency is easier to attain with linear rather than nodal spatial patterns (City of Cape Town, 2010:8). On this, (Turok, 2001: 2361; Clark and Crous, 2002: 78) find that new areas of industrial and commercial development are not well-served by public transport, which invariably means inefficient and/or unreliable transportation and higher costs of commuting.

4.5. Transportation

Before the implementation of the Group Areas Act of 1950 Cape Town was the least segregated city in South Africa. By 1985, it had become the most segregated major city in the country, characterised by spatial and racial fragmentation (Saff, 1996: 237). Most coloureds and blacks lived on the Cape Flats, located in the southeast of the city and were thus subjected to long commutes when travelling to employment centres (*ibid.*). By 1996 the Cape Town city centre housed 37 per cent of the population but contained 80 per cent of all the jobs in the city (Turok, 2001: 2353). This meant that a large number of people were travelling from their residential areas to their places of work using public transport in the form of a state-subsidised, scheduled rail or bus network, or privately-run, unscheduled mini-bus taxis.

As argued above, the disjuncture between the residential areas of coloured and black low-income populations, which persists to this day in Cape Town, is partly a direct result of Apartheid policies that sought to relegate these population groups to the periphery of the city, while neglecting to ensure that these residential areas were well-served by economic centres and efficient transport networks (Behrens, 2004: 317). The rail and bus systems were developed in response to Apartheid city planning and designed to transport workers between townships on the peripheries of the city to urban centres of employment (Clark, 2000). As argued above, post-Apartheid spatial planning has not succeeded in alleviating the need for workers to travel long distances to get to work. This is because low-cost housing projects have been located in “greenfield sites” on the city’s peripheries, away from employment centres (*ibid.*). This has been exacerbated by “a widely dispersed distribution of employment areas which are difficult to serve by public transport” (*ibid.*).

One of the results of having high segregation and persistent economic imbalance is that people have to be highly mobile to reach their places of work. This inevitably imposes financial, time and energy costs on those who have to move around (Turok, 2001: 2353). Rospabe and Selod’s study (2006: 272), found that 58 per cent of black people, the majority racial group in Khayelitsha, use public transport and have the longest commuting trips as compared to the other three racial groups in Cape Town. The Integrated Transport Plan for the City of Cape Town (City of Cape Town, 2006: 47) contends that there is a high usage of

public transport by employed persons who reside in the south-eastern section of Cape Town. This percentage is even higher for those residing in the lowest income areas of Khayelitsha, Gugulethu and Nyanga, who are incidentally predominantly black.

The Integrated Transport Plan for the City of Cape Town argues that although the city has a well developed road and rail network emanating from the city centre and linking the various residential, commercial and industrial zones of the city, many public transport users experience travel delays of up to two hours (City of Cape Town, 2006: 52). Behrens (2004: 318) contends that in spite of policy prescriptions aimed at redressing spatial inequalities, coloureds and blacks, the bulk of whom occupy the lower income bracket, continue to suffer disproportionate accessibility indices as compared to the other racial groups in the country. Addressing the same issue, Huchzermeyer (2003: 125) argues that people who live in segregated areas suffer from poor mobility. This is in spite of a state-subsidised public transport system, which she maintains, has remained inefficient. On this Sinclair-Smith and Turok (2012: 394) contend that several years of under-investment in the transport sector has resulted in a system that is inferior and inefficient. The alternative transport system of mini-bus taxis has proven to be prohibitively expensive for commuters who have to travel long distances to commercial and employment centres (Huchzermeyer, 2003: 125).

According to Clark (2000), the public transport system in South Africa provides a “one size fits all” service. While unscheduled, unsubsidised mini-bus taxis are flexible enough to adapt to new developments and new routes, they are expensive and regarded by users as unsafe from accidents. The rail service is the cheapest and most widely used mode but also suffers from overcrowding and lack of safety, particularly the Khayelitsha line. The bus system has a wide network coverage and covers relatively long distances, but is seen by passengers as unreliable and slow (*ibid.*). Naude (2008: 269) argues that in developing countries such as South Africa, the combination of widespread cities, a weak public transport system, a lack of employer-sponsored transport system such as in the U.S., along with the high costs of private transportation could serve as a major constraint to job searches. Godlonton and Burns (2006: 2) cite a Statistics South Africa finding which states that just under 20 per cent of job seekers regard high job search costs as the reason for not actively looking for work. This supports the spatial mismatch claim that high transport costs discourage workers from travelling to employment centres to search for work. On this point, Rospabe and Selod

(2006: 263) write that in South Africa, physical disconnection between jobs and residential areas affects employment in two distinct but interrelated ways, both linked to transportation. These are: a) the distance from job locations has the potential to discourage job searches due to the high costs incurred when job seekers travel to search for work. Linked to this, that physical distance from employment centres leads to decreased knowledge about job opportunities, which also impedes job search. And b) South Africa has a weak transport system, a result of “incomplete network coverage, long waits at connection nodes or the lack of coordination between transport modes” (*ibid.*). This makes commuting expensive and difficult for people who live far from areas of employment. The situation is even worse for unskilled part-time employees who work very early and/or very late shifts as they are at times confronted with a complete shutdown or at the very least irregular functioning of the transport networks. The authors argue that the result of these costs is that people are less inclined to accept jobs that will lead to a drastically lowered net wage, not only in terms of actual money but time and energy as well (*ibid.*).

Having identified long commutes as one of the consequences of a spatial mismatch, Houston (2005: 226) makes similar points to those made by Rospabe and Selod (2006) above. He argues that travelling daily to jobs located far from residential areas is not a feasible option for many people. Because of the low wage nature of the jobs, commuting becomes an unaffordable exercise that lowers the net wage of the employees drastically. Furthermore, he contends that distance from work can also impede job searches because the further a job is located, the less likely a person is to find out about it. This he justifies by arguing, *inter alia*, that employers tend to advertise locally for blue-collar jobs through word-of-mouth or putting up signs on the premises. Distance from such areas hampers the reach of these advertising methods.

This chapter aimed to make a case for the existence of a spatial mismatch in Cape Town, particularly between Site C, Khayelitsha and the various employment centres in the city located mainly in the city centre, in the north and the south. In doing this, the focus was on the manner in which Apartheid city planning led to the formation of a segregated city structure that placed lower classes (blacks and coloureds) on the peripheries. Unfortunately, post-Apartheid city planning has not succeeded in eradicating the legacy of this city structure, in spite of some notable efforts and commitments to this end. This has resulted in

perpetual dislocation of the low income groups of the city, who happen to be predominantly black and coloured, low-skilled and unemployed. These are the very people who continue to experience low mobility due to these very conditions as well as an expensive and inefficient public transport system. These factors taken together are indicative of an existence of a spatial mismatch in the areas considered, a reality stated even in government policy documents. Given that this has been established, the following chapter unpacks social networks and their potential to act as a medium through which information can be shared in a bid to mitigate the effects of a spatial mismatch.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 5: SOCIAL NETWORKS

5.1. Overview

This study began by elaborating on the mechanisms of the SMH and the manner in which they have been conceptualised since Kain's seminal article in 1968. It focused primarily on the claims that expensive commutes exacerbate unemployment by discouraging job search and that the nature of social networks in areas far from job centres is such that they are not useful in providing job vacancy information. Following chapters described the setting and then made a case for the existence of the SMH in Cape Town, South Africa. This chapter will address social networks and the role that they play in acting as an information-sharing platform for job seekers. The intention here is to investigate whether they are instrumental in providing a platform for information-exchange. In doing this, the chapter will elaborate on the nature and influence of social networks when used as a job search strategy. Following from Crankshaw and Goetz (2011), this section will provide arguments contending that social networks can in fact relay meaningful information about job vacancies because they are comprised of contacts from a wide geographic spread, and because contacts are not necessarily unemployed. In doing this, it briefly considers the following: what comprises a social network; the nature of a social network; how it can be used as a job search mechanism; the spatial elements of such a network and the rationale behind employers using networks in recruitment.

5.2. Social networks in the labour market

The role that social networks perform in job search was emphasised as early as 1966, when Rees conducted a study on "Information networks in labour markets" in Chicago, in the U.S. In this study, the author finds that networks provide a space for the devolution of information and can be used by employees searching for work, and employers looking to fill vacant posts (Rees, 1966: 562). Since then numerous researchers, many of whom are economists, have found a decisive link between these networks and the employment prospects of job seekers.

Social networks can be broadly defined as the formal or informal social connections that exist between individuals. These social networks can comprise of family, friends, neighbours, work colleagues and acquaintances (Ziersch and Arthurson, 2005: 431). Depending on how they operate, they have the potential to impact the labour market in various ways. The process of networking is the maintenance and use of relationships with others who have the capability of assisting individuals with work or career prospects (Van Hoyer, van Hooft and Lievens, 2009: 662). When the authors apply networking to the job search context, it is the actions of a job seeker contacting the links described by Ziersch and Arthurson (2005), in an attempt at gaining information about job prospects. This, they and other authors such as Rees (1966) contend, is an informal way of finding work because it is not reliant on formal intermediaries involved in formal job search mechanisms such as the utilisation of employment agencies, advertising and recruitment campaigns (Van Hoyer et al., 2009: 662-3). According to Godlonton and Burns (2006: 1) the social relationships that are embodied by networks are important both socially and economically because they provide the space for people to engage in complex interactions that facilitate the sharing of information. The authors write that the importance of considering networks in job search lies in the fact that many jobs in South Africa are obtained through informal recruitment methods such as word-of-mouth (*ibid.*). In support of this, a related study by Ziersch and Arthurson (2005: 431) on the impact of social networks on job search concludes that social networks have the potential to enhance chances of employment by 3-9 per cent in South Africa. In a study based on Khayelitsha, Seekings and Nattrass (2005: 281) argue that a substantial amount of research on job search and employment shows that many jobs in South Africa are found through social networks. The authors conceptualise social networks as “social capital” and argue that where a job seeker has such resources, the chances of locating a job are increased, given that increasingly, employers are favouring this method of recruitment.

5.3. The nature of social networks

The literature gives three features of networks as they can be applied to job search. These are: the type of network (Ziersch and Arthurson, 2005); the strength of the network (Granovetter, 1973) and the outcome of the networking process (Van Hoyer et al., 2009). These features are elaborated on below.

5.3.1. *Type of network*

Citing Granovetter (1973), Ziersch and Arthurson (2005) describe three types of social networks. These are: a) *bonding*, where networks are comprised mainly of family, friends and neighbours. This is a horizontal network with people that an individual is in constant contact with; b) *bridging*, here social ties are weak and the network is comprised of heterogeneous contacts that offer a diverse array of information from widespread sources; and c) *linking*, where connections are vertical, hierarchical and are comprised of unequal agents who are linked personally and institutionally. The authors continue to describe bonding networks as those which help people get by, and the latter two as those which assist people in “getting ahead” (Ziersch and Arthurson, 2005: 432).

5.3.2. *Strength of the network*

A network can either be comprised of strong or weak ties Reingold (1999: 1909). Where the former is characterised by constant interaction and closeness, the latter is typified by irregular contact. The strength of a tie is characterised by a “combination of the amount of time, emotional intensity, the intimacy and reciprocal services” (Granovetter, 1973: 1361). In his study on “The strength of weak ties”, Granovetter contends that contrary to the belief in the power and influence of strong ties in yielding results, weak ties characterised by less frequent contact, can be one of the most useful ways of finding employment. This, the author contends, is because a person that one is not in constant contact with is likely to move around more in other circles, where collection of different information occurs. This information can then be imparted onto someone with whom the weak tie has contact. Crankshaw and Goetz (2011) find that former employers are a useful source of vacancy information and are characteristic of this category because contact between agents in the network is not necessarily constant, but can be instrumental in assisting in job search.

5.3.3. *Outcome of the networking process*

According to Van Hoyer et al. (2009), there are three possible outcomes of networking for job search. These are: a) *Job search outcomes*, which they say could be specific information about jobs, interviews and/or job offers. These are the most desirable and can be considered as the most critical evaluation of networking; b) *Quantitative employment outcomes*, which

are described as employment status, speed and exhaustion of unemployment benefits; and c) *Quality of employment* as measured by job satisfaction and employee-organisation fit among other things. They argue that job quality is important because it potentially affects the well-being of the employee or job seeker (Van Hove et al., 2009: 665-6).

5.4. Mechanisms of social networks in finding employment

Kasinitz and Rosenberg (1996: 186-9) conducted a study on “Social isolation and employment” in an area called Red Hook, Brooklyn in New York, in the U.S. In this study they identify three primary ways that networks can contribute to job placement among blue-collar workers. Firstly, networks provide specific information about the availability of jobs such as the *where*, the *when* and the *how*. Secondly, an existing employee can sponsor a job seeker by vouching for them at their place of work, this the authors argue, can have positive or negative effects depending on how well the new recruit does in the job. Thirdly, networks can provide role modelling functions by giving a job seeker, or new recruit information and guidance about how best to function in a particular work setting. Supporting these findings, in his study on “Information networks in labour markets”, Rees (1966: 562) finds that the job vacancy information a job seeker receives from a contact in his/her network can be beneficial in the sense that it is more reliable than information received from an employment agency or newspaper article. Also, having a friend or contact at the workplace can serve as a fringe benefit without actually costing the employer anything (in monetary terms). This makes the job more attractive to the prospective employee. However, it is crucial to understand that the outcome of the networking process is closely related to its characteristics, and that there are no objective outcomes that are uniform to all networking activities.

An interesting conclusion reached by Kasinitz and Rosenberg (1996) in their Red Hook study is that living in close proximity to job opportunities does not necessarily guarantee receiving information about vacancies. This challenges the inference made by researchers such as Gobillon et al. (2007) and Rospabe and Selod (2006) when they argue that physical disconnectedness from employment centres has an adverse influence on employment levels. On the contrary, Kasinitz and Rosenberg (1996: 191) find that although Red Hook residents live close to an industrial area, their levels of unemployment remain high. One of

the reasons for this is that employers prefer to fill vacant positions through the use of word-of-mouth advertising. This means that prospective employees who are active in “hiring networks” containing Red Hook employees and employers receive this information directly. This then has the potential to lead to the current employee vouching for a job seeker, after having relayed information to him/her via networking. This information bypasses those residents who might be living close to the industrial area but are not active in such social networks. Thus, they conclude that geography alone cannot be seen as a determinant of unemployment or access to information about jobs, which is probably of equal if not greater importance (1996: 193). Although this finding may appear to contradict the arguments put forward in this paper thus far, it does not. In fact, it reinforces the social network argument by taking a different route to get to the same conclusion. That is, social networks can be used by job seekers in order to gain access to information about job opportunities, thereby increasing their chances of finding employment regardless of residential location.

5.5. The spatial dynamic of social networks

SMH scholars argue that social networks are spatially confined to the residential area of a job seeker and are also comprised of similarly unemployed contacts. Proponents of this theory argue that a job seeker living in a peripheral area is unlikely to receive meaningful information that could lead to employment because he/she is engaged in a social network that is spatially bound. This network, they argue, is characterised by agents who are similarly unemployed and looking for work. In support of this, Houston (2005: 236-7) argues that social relationships in the form of networks among residents of an area influence their knowledge about jobs and methods of searching for work. These relationships, he continues, have bearing on the likelihood of a job seeker finding work.

Crankshaw and Goetz (2011) unpack this claim in his study on the mechanisms of spatial mismatch and argues that social networks extend beyond residential areas to include former colleagues and previous employers. To elaborate on this, he contends that many low-skilled jobs are found in small businesses such as restaurants where there is direct contact with management. Or, in chain stores or franchises such as Pick ‘n Pay where the management hierarchy is flat thus allowing for the formation of personal relationships between workers and supervisors. In this way information sharing among employers and employees is

increased, regardless of the residential or spatial patterns. This information can then be imparted onto contacts in social networks who reside in areas located far from where the jobs are available. Further, these relationships or contacts can remain intact even if an employee leaves the workplace. In this way, the contacts in a given social network have the potential to span large geographic areas. Crankshaw and Goetz (2011) also argue that inter-employer information-sharing widens the network even more for a job seeker who might find a job through a contact of a previous employer. Viewing social networks in this manner shows that they have the potential to extend beyond the physical boundaries of where employment seekers reside. In this way, information about jobs transcends physical boundaries and this increases the chances of employment. This is even stronger in cases where the job seeker has previously been employed due the links formed at the workplace with the employer and former colleagues during the period of unemployment.

5.6. Social networks as a recruitment strategy

In 2000, the Southern Africa Labour and Research Development Unit (SALDRU) at the University of Cape Town conducted a representative labour force survey in the Khayelitsha/Mitchell's Plain area. One of the findings of this study was that two thirds of the residents currently employed in the area had found their jobs through the use of social networks (Schoer and Leibbrandt, 2006: 703). The survey also showed that job seekers displayed similar techniques in looking for work. Just under two thirds used social networks as one of their methods of job search, with the remaining job seekers using more formal job search strategies such as employment agencies (*ibid.*). The authors suggest that the reason for this preference for the use of social networks is due to a combination of two factors. The first is that this method is seen as effective in finding work, and the second is that it is the most practical for job seekers in the area (*ibid.*). Because a lack of resources negatively affects job search, each job seeker has to weigh up the most suitable job search method by making the following consideration: which (available) method has the potential to yield the positive results (employment), while costing the least? (Schoer and Leibbrandt, 2006: 706).

On this point, Wittenberg (2001) argues that many job seekers who do not have the capacity to use market-based job search strategies due to financial constraints, among other factors, mitigate this by using non-market methods such as social networks. Supporting this claim,

Duff and Fryer (2004) conducted research into the influence of social networks on employment in an informal area called Duncan Village in East London. They found that “most” of the employed respondents had found their jobs through social networks. Furthermore, these employees had found their jobs quicker than those who had opted to look for work by going door-to-door. This suggests that in their area of study, social networks were a more effective job search strategy than other strategies (Schoer and Leibbrandt, 2006: 705-6).

5.7. Demand-side considerations

In their study of job recruitment networks in India, Iversen, Sen, Verschoor and Dubey (2009: 523) write that much research in this area has focused on supply-side explanations where researchers look at the network usage of job seekers rather than that of employers. This is despite the existence of compelling evidence showing that many employers indicate a preference for informal recruitment practices such as word-of-mouth. Standing, Sender and Weeks (1996) conducted a survey which found that 41 per cent of employers recruited friends and family of existing workers. According to Rees (1996: 562) the reason behind this is that employers who are satisfied with their workforce benefit from this form of recruitment because employees tend to recommend other employees who mirror their own qualities. In this way, the referral process serves a dual purpose of filling a vacancy and acting as a cost-effective screening mechanism for the employer.

Crankshaw and Goetz (2011) argue that there are sound justifications for both supply- and demand-side uses of networking in job and/or employee search strategies. In their research the authors find that employers favour using networks for two main reasons: to find workers quickly due to high turnover rates among unskilled employees mainly in small businesses, and to ensure a cooperative workforce. Similarly, Schoer and Leibbrandt (2006: 709) contend that when it comes to recruitment, employers use formal methods to recruit skilled workers, while preferring to use more informal and cheaper methods when looking to fill unskilled vacancies. The result of the latter is that most of the costs are then passed on to the job seeker. The authors justify this by arguing that more educated and better trained employees have the potential to justify the cost of formal recruitment by being highly productive, while this is not necessarily the case for their unskilled counterparts.

From the above literature it is clear that there is well-documented and compelling evidence supporting the argument that both employers and employees use social networks to either share or gain information on job vacancies. Some of the main reasons for the use of this method are that it is cheaper than more formal search methods, it is readily available, it is efficient and that it also provides a screening mechanism. There is no doubt that using social networks to gain information about job opportunities is effective. Whether it is more or less effective than the next method goes beyond the scope of this paper. However, suffice to say that much research has gone into providing the links between networking and employment. These links show that social networks cannot be ignored as a job search strategy which has the potential to limit the adverse impact of distance from employment centres. Considering the nature of social networks used by job seekers in Site C is important because if indeed this strategy is used, and if it has been successful in ensuring access to job information for people searching for work, then these social networks are more effective than the SMH considers them to be.

5.8. The use of social networks in job search

The manner in which the SMH conceptualise social networks necessarily limits the potential that they have in providing a space for the sharing of information on employment opportunities. By contending that the nature of the social network is such that it does not extend beyond the physical boundaries of the residential area, and that actors in the network are similarly unemployed and thus do not have the capacity to relay meaningful information, theorists fall short of fully considering the important role that social networks can play in providing the job seeker with an alternative means of gaining job vacancy information. Investigating the mechanisms of a spatial mismatch in Cape Town, Crankshaw and Goetz 2011 find that social networks used by low-skilled workers living in areas far from job centres are neither spatially confined nor solely comprised of unemployed contacts. For reasons elaborated on above, i.e. that job seekers who have been previously employed are actors in workplace networks that are not geographically bound to their residential areas, the authors argue that vacancy information can still be transmitted via social networks regardless of the distance between a job seeker's residential area and employment centres.

Research into social networks and their influence on job search shows that there is a possibility that social networks in areas removed from employment centres do have the potential to act as a platform for the sharing of job information. These social networks can and often do span large geographical areas, whether peripheral or central, and may be comprised of various contacts including former employers and colleagues, friends, family and neighbours. These widespread contacts are then able to impart information about employment opportunities onto the job seeker, regardless of his/her residential location. Because these contacts reside in various dispersed locations and thus move in different circles, they are able to acquire more information from a multitude of sources. This information-sharing with widespread sources can mitigate the distance between a job seeker's residential location and areas of employment. In this way, networking has the potential to increase a job seeker's chances of finding employment. The importance of this consideration lies in the fact that it can be used to challenge the direct causal claim that where a spatial mismatch exists between job and residential location, job seekers are automatically unable to access information about vacancies. It might also partially challenge the claim that the nature of social networks operating in low-income residential areas such as Site C is such that they are not effective in providing the job search function. This consideration tests one of the mechanisms of a spatial mismatch by looking into the causal process at play, rather than accepting it as given. It investigates the nature of these networks with the aim of coming to a conclusion on how the networks operate and the role they play in the job search process. Adopting this viewpoint enables one to consider that a spatial mismatch can in fact operate in a unique way, depending on context and prevailing circumstances in various situations. Further, although a spatial mismatch might be predominant in an area, there is potential for innovative solutions that can diminish its adverse effects on employment.

When analysing the impact of distance between residential areas and employment opportunities, the SMH makes two claims regarding social networks. These are that the disconnection between residential and employment areas results in limited knowledge about job availability, and that social networks in low-income areas are populated mainly by similarly unemployed contacts and thus have limited capacity to provide the job seeker with relevant job information. Proponents of this theory have adopted econometric

methodologies geared towards causality, prediction and generalisation. In doing this, they have had some measure of success in drawing a causal link between the independent and dependant variables. However, they have failed to examine and provide a descriptive account of the actual causal mechanism that operates between these variables (Crankshaw and Goetz, 2011). That is, what are the actual processes involved in *a* leading to *b*? Is limited or no knowledge of job opportunities always the result of spatial mismatch or are there ways to mitigate this outcome? Furthermore, is there a possibility that the nature of the networks operating in Site C include contacts living and working in other areas of Cape Town, and that they include contacts who are employed and thus have the capacity to relay job vacancy information received at the workplace? The failure to fully investigate the processes involved in these mechanisms invariably means that SMH proponents cannot preclude the possibility that there may be alternative means of accessing information. For this very reason such scholars are also unable to state their findings with absolute certainty and for all cases where a spatial mismatch exists.

University of Cape Town

CHAPTER 6: METHOD

6.1. Summary

Cape Town is a highly fragmented city due to passed policies of separate development and the failure of post-1994 urban planning to address the legacy of Apartheid. Employment centres are disproportionately located in the central, southern and northern areas of the city while the bulk of the poor and unemployed reside in the south-eastern area of Cape Town. Transport networks, although covering most areas, are not affordable, wide or efficient enough to mitigate the adverse consequences of this fragmentation. Commuting costs, as measured in time and money, are high and unaffordable to those who bear the brunt of spatial fragmentation. As a result of the above, a spatial mismatch exists between Site C, Khayelitsha as a residential location and employment centres in Cape Town. This spatial mismatch results in three interconnected labour market conditions, unemployment, low wages and limited knowledge about job opportunities. As argued in Chapter 2, spatial mismatch scholars argue that these conditions are the result of three primary mechanisms. Long and expensive commutes make it difficult for job seekers to travel in search of employment opportunities and unjustifiable for workers to accept jobs in distant locations. Distance from work opportunities means workers must travel to find work and when they are unable to do so the result is limited access to information about job opportunities. Social networks operating in residential areas where unemployment and poverty are high often do not lead to information that can assist job seekers in gaining employment.

While SMH proponents have been successful in providing the causal links between distance from employment centres and the attendant labour market conditions, research into social networks suggests that the opportunity exists that the limitations imposed by physical distance can be mitigated. The networks in which job seekers are active reach beyond the physical boundaries of their residential areas to include previous employers and even the employers of direct contacts. The networks are also comprised of employed contacts who have the capacity to share job vacancy information received at the workplace. These social networks are instrumental in providing a platform for information-exchange for employers

looking for workers and job seekers looking for work. The information shared in these networks then has the potential to lead to employment. This view suggests that regardless of the existence of a spatial mismatch between work and residence, as well as a lack of financial resources to travel, job seekers are still able to access information about jobs. What this paper aims to do is test whether this is indeed the case for job seekers in Site C, Khayelitsha, how these networks operate in the job search process and what limitations transportation imposes on job search and employment.

6.2. Methodological concerns

Primarily, this study aims to investigate two elements of the SMH, how commuting impacts job seekers and workers in Site C, Khayelitsha, and how social networks in the area operate when used in the job search process. Although this theory was developed in 1968 and has to date been applied mainly to the U.S., it can in fact be used to investigate persistent unemployment in other societies characterised by residential segregation and urban fragmentation. Naude (2008: 269) writes that even today, elsewhere in the world, this hypothesis can be used to explain how and why spatial disconnection between employment centres and residential locations leads to increased unemployment and decreased knowledge of employment opportunities by people living on the margins of society. Thus, in theory, the SMH and its effects should also be testable in developing countries whose metropolitan areas show evidence of a spatial mismatch due to class-based spatial fragmentation (Rospabe and Selod, 2006: 262). It is this possibility that informed the arguments for a spatial mismatch in Cape Town, as laid out in Chapter 4.

Crankshaw and Goetz (2011) write that spatial mismatch studies have adopted a “deductive-nomological” approach, a predictive approach which takes a hypothesis as a starting point and conducts mainly quantitative research with the primary aim of testing a claim. Here, investigations are made into the possible causal mechanisms which result in the conditions of unemployment, low wages and limited knowledge about job opportunities among low-skilled, low-wage job seekers living in areas located far from economic hubs. Most importantly, this is done without actually delving into a deep understanding of the actual mechanism at play and how it operates. The authors summarise the methodology as such:

If *a* exists, then *b* results (*ibid.*).

Spatial mismatch researchers such as Naude (2008) and Ihlantfeldt (1997) use questionnaire surveys to draw conclusions on the effects of a spatial mismatch, but fall short of investigating how exactly variable a – distance, leads to variable b – unemployment. These studies are primarily interested in the end result, rather than the course of action that leads to such an outcome. This is then followed by postulations on the mechanisms at play with no data to support such claims. Crankshaw and Goetz (2011) cite Ihlantfeldt (1997) as an example, where the author concludes that a spatial mismatch between jobs and places of residence can be used to explain why inner city black residents of Atlanta have poor knowledge about job opportunities. Although he does discuss how the mechanism might play itself out, his research design and the data gathered does not allow him to elaborate on this fully. It could thus be argued that this shortcoming relegates the section of his paper titled “Theoretical Framework” to speculation. Similarly, in Rospabe and Selod (2006: 278) adopt a similar design and also conclude that, among other factors, distance from employment centres increases the probability of unemployment. Here again, the authors advance some possible reasons for their hypothesis, but as in Ihlantfeldt’s study, their data does not allow them to reach decisive conclusions on the inner workings of the causal mechanism (Crankshaw and Goetz, 2011).

The point here is that although the authors cited above do well to state causal associations between distance and knowledge of job opportunities and unemployment, they are less successful in elucidating precisely how distance transforms itself into the outcomes they claim. Although this might be an area of critique, the lack of focus on the causal process itself does not, on its own, invalidate their findings, for they do in fact fulfil their research objectives. It merely provides fodder for a complimentary qualitative study such as this, focused more on gaining access into the actual causal process. Thus what this study aims to do is take the two SMH claims on commuting costs and the use of social networks in job search and investigate the precise nature in which the causal mechanisms proposed by this theory operate. This research aims to compliment the SMH by providing a descriptive account of the mechanisms, with the hope of testing whether in Site C, the mechanisms operate as predicted by the SMH.

6.3. The research approach

As mentioned earlier, most of the studies that have been undertaken in this area have adopted econometric models that conclude with predictive, generalised statements. Gobillon et al. (2007) Rospabe and Selod (2006), Naude (2008), Houston (2005), Ihlanfeldt (1997) all adopt this approach in their work on the influence that spatial patterns have on employment, wages and knowledge about job opportunities. The method appropriate for this specific study, which seeks at a more in-depth, rich understanding of the causal mechanisms at play, is a qualitative one. The emphasis is on the experiences that people have undergone in attempting, successfully or not, to find employment. So, although this research project takes the claims made by spatial mismatch theorists such as Gobillon et al. (2007) as the departure point, it should not be seen as adopting a “deductive-nomological” approach. These claims are not used as hypotheses to be tested, for they are not. The main objective here is to delve deeply into an understanding of how these mechanisms operate and to investigate whether the possibility exists that such predictability does not automatically apply to all cases where a spatial mismatch prevails.

In order to fully investigate the above, the research adopts a method that allows for in-depth, descriptive accounts of the respondents’ journey towards employment. This method of inquiry, qualitative in its nature, necessarily allows for a thorough examination of the processes of searching for employment, rather than merely looking at the end goal of either remaining unemployed, or gaining employment. According to Miller (2000: 8) adopting a qualitative approach to research avoids some of the pitfalls intrinsic in research focused on pre-determined goals, and instead allows the data collection process to be more exploratory in nature. This is one of the central reasons why the life-history approach is the most appropriate method for this project. The primary aim is to allow the respondent to give an account of his/her life from beginning to the present from his/her own perspective. In this way, information about the respondents’ lives is attained directly from the source and within the social context that the respondents conduct their lives (Miller, 2000: 12, 74). This facilitates an understanding of each respondent’s unique circumstances, which in turn provides a firm grasp of the fluidity of individual experiences with job search, employment and indeed unemployment. This outcome is invaluable in an analysis of the effect of distance on job search and employment.

6.4. Interviewing

6.4.1. *The interviewing process*

Semi-structured interviews were conducted with eight respondents in Site C, Khayelitsha. Three interviews each were conducted with six respondents and two interviews each with two respondents. Whereas the second interview was conducted to gain further insights and information that was perhaps omitted, the third interview was more for clarification and to discuss issues that emerged as important. In order to allow for the incorporation of changed circumstances, the time between each interview with a respondent varied between roughly 30 to 45 and 120 days. Site C was selected because it exemplifies the characteristics of a residential area that is disconnected from employment areas where either high numbers of unemployed people or low-income, low-skilled workers live. The sampling method used to identify the location of the respondents was therefore a non-probability purposive technique. My respondents in Site C were then selected on the basis of convenience depending on the respondents I could get access to during the field trips. On this, Onwuegbuzi and Collins (2007: 287) write that this sampling method can be used when the intention is not to generalise statistically onto a larger population but to gain greater insights into a particular phenomenon.

Because of the nature of the interview, i.e. that it was unstructured and open-ended, a good rapport was needed between the interviewer and interviewee in order to encourage a free flow of valuable and accurate information. Conducting the interview in isiXhosa, the dominant language spoken in Khayelitsha, went a long way in creating a comfortable atmosphere for an exchange of reliable information. It was also important that the interviewee be assured of anonymity, that permission be requested for recording the interviews for the accurate capturing of information and for the respondents to be clearly informed of the reasons for the interview. This was all done at the start of each interview. Transparency, accuracy and honesty remained uppermost throughout the fieldwork.

The respondents comprised three males and five females. Their ages ranged between 28 and 45 with the average age being 35 years. Six of the respondents were born in the Eastern Cape and two in the Western Cape. Six of the respondents originate from townships in urban areas and two from rural areas. Half of the respondents indicated that they have a

matriculation qualification, one of whom holds a post-matric six-month computer course completed at a Further Education and Training College. One of the respondents has completed grade 11 and two of the respondents have completed only grade 10. Five of the respondents are employed and three are not. Two of the respondents who have a matriculation certificate (and computer course in one case) are unemployed, and two of the three respondents who have not completed grade 12 are employed. Only one of the eight respondents has lived in Cape Town her whole life, with the rest of the respondents having moved to Cape Town mostly in search of employment or education opportunities. All of the respondents have children, the majority of whom receive a child support grant. All the respondents have some kind of support system, mainly in the form of family members, who they are in constant communication with. All of the respondents have, at some point in their lives, experienced periods of employment and periods of unemployment.

6.4.2. *The interview guide*

The interview guide provided a guideline for the general areas of enquiry as well as some prompts used more to ensure that the interview did not veer off course rather than to direct responses to certain outcomes. For example, one of the conceptual topic areas was: *Job search strategies*, and one of the probes within this section was: *Do you travel to look for jobs? If yes, how?* (Refer to the Appendix for the interview guide). Further probes were then used to understand which methods of transport were used in job search, the reasons behind the choice of transport mode and cost and time implications. In this way the interview process elicited descriptive accounts from the respondents without leading the discussion in any way.

6.4.3. *Interview analysis*

The interviews were conducted in isiXhosa, translated into English and transcribed in narrative form. Specific quotes used in the following two chapters were further translated directly from the recordings. To facilitate analysis, it was important that the information attained from the respondents plotted their lives from birth to the present. The reason for this was that that the story being shared needed to be understood in the context of each respondent's entire life. However, the focus, inevitably, was on the areas that had a direct or indirect impact on job search, employment and the effects of living a significant distance

from employment centres. This was unavoidable as it was necessary for the interview data to address the research area under study. These areas were then highlighted and honed in on in subsequent interviews and in the analysis. This was done with enough caution to ensure that as much information as possible fed directly into the findings. Throughout this process, what remained important was how the respondent made sense of his/her own situation.

6.5. Rationale for the study

Unemployment in South Africa is estimated at 25 per cent, and at 22.2 per cent in the City of Cape Town, according to the narrow definition, which excludes discouraged job seekers (QLFS, 2011). It has been widely documented that persistent unemployment has a negative effect on local as well as national economic growth, while also contributing to the perpetuation of poverty, civil unrest, inequality and social ills. These high levels of unemployment are not a result of one thing but a consequence of a multitude of forces, whether historical, sociological, economic or geographical. Using linear explanations such as, for example, a skills mismatch between labour supply and labour demand (Rospabe and Selod, 2006:279) for persistent joblessness encourages an overlooking of other factors that might be useful in giving alternative, yet compelling explanations for the challenge of unemployment. And, disregarding explanations such as the existence of a spatial mismatch between employment centres and residential locations invariably limits the policy measures that can be adopted in attempting to stem the scourge of unemployment. Scholars such as Naude (2008), Rospabe and Selod (2006) and Turok (2001) have conducted investigations into whether a case can be made for a spatial mismatch in South African cities. They have by and large concluded that a link can be drawn between spatial disconnectedness and unemployment, low wages and limited knowledge about job vacancies. These conditions are also highlighted in studies conducted by the international Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development, South Africa's National Planning Commission and various national and local government departments. The presence of such a mismatch requires a great deal of research if its effects are to be considered fully and thoroughly when solutions to unemployment are discussed.

This study seeks to contribute to the debate about the SMH and possibly provide some insights on its specific characteristics for Khayelitsha, Cape Town. And, given that past research has focused more on the causal outcome without delving deeply into what goes into the relationship between the variables, the intention here is to give a descriptive account of how it is that distance from employment centres manifests into negative outcomes for job seekers.

This paper is selective in that it focuses more on two rather than all three mechanisms. The reasons for this are that firstly, evidence exists that social networks are used extensively by job seekers residing in low-income areas, in spite of the SMH claim that they are ineffective in providing meaningful information this particular outcome. Secondly, while there is evidence that the public transport system in South Africa is expensive and inefficient, some job seekers still manage to travel to employment centres, and many low-wage workers still manage to commute to work. The interest here lies in testing how commuting affects Site C residents and whether the transport system is as cumbersome as much research cited here proposes. Thirdly, for this project to be meaningful, there is a need for the project to be focused. Doing so allows for a deeper understanding of the specific areas considered, rather than a superficial account of all three spatial mismatch mechanisms.

This study aims to contribute to the larger debate around the effects of a spatial mismatch in South Africa, but more specifically, Cape Town. It looks to contributing to the more econometric studies on social networks by providing a detailed analysis of social networks and commuting concerns in Site C, Khayelitsha. The hope here is that this study will encourage more researchers to look deeper into the causal processes themselves and to consider alternative factors that impact such processes, rather than at more outcomes-based, generalised claims.

CHAPTER 7: THE BURDEN OF COMMUTING

The following two chapters will discuss the findings of the research in terms of how the three mechanisms of a spatial mismatch operate between Site C and employment centres in Cape Town. This chapter elaborates on the findings related to the spatial mismatch claim that expensive commutes limit job seekers' mobility and thereby perpetuate unemployment. Chapter 8 looks at the use of social networks in job search as it relates to the spatial mismatch claims that a) distance from job centres limits knowledge about jobs, and b) that high local unemployment in areas such as Site C means that social networks are ineffective as job search strategies. Both chapters discuss the findings in relation to the arguments put forward in the SMH. The names of the respondents have been changed to ensure anonymity.

Transport can be viewed in two ways, transportation as it relates to job search, and equally important, transportation as it relates to the process of travelling to and from work and the impact that it has on the net wage. The main findings on transportation are that commuting between Site C and prospective places of employment is a challenge in the job search process. This is particularly the case when it comes to accessing funds to travel in search of work. Where such a limitation on mobility occurs, job seekers opt for using localised job search strategies such as social networks and consulting newspapers as a means of accessing information about employment opportunities. Interestingly, transportation does not serve as a barrier to travelling to work once job seekers have found employment. Although costs are high, travel times lengthy and choice of transport mode is primarily based on cost considerations, commuting to work is manageable. This is mainly because the cost of commuting to work, in terms of money and time, is factored into the remuneration and is generally seen as an inevitability of the privilege of having a job.

7.1. Transportation in job search

It has been established that a case can be made for a spatial mismatch between Site C and the areas where jobs are located in Cape Town. Spatial planning patterns developed in the past located low income residents in areas that were far removed from urban centres of

employment. This was certainly the case in Cape Town where the southeast was reserved for blacks and coloureds, who incidentally and by design, also occupied the lower classes in society. Almost two decades after the end of legislated segregation, not much has changed. Despite policy prescriptions as set out in, inter alia, the RDP, the Urban Development Framework and the Metropolitan Development Framework as discussed at length in Chapter 4, urban planning has failed to bring low income residential areas closer to employment centres, either by locating low-income housing near business districts, or by encouraging business districts to be located closer to low-income areas. The result is that the spatial disconnection between work and residence continues to impose heavy burdens on low income workers and job seekers, who happen to be those who can least afford to bear them (Behrens, 2004).

Site C is serviced by privately-run taxis and by state-subsidised bus and rail systems. All the respondents are reliant on public transport as their primary means of getting around. This is not surprising given that Site C is a low-income area with high levels of poverty and unemployment. The respondents alternate between using a train, bus and a taxi to search for or get to work. They report that they use taxis for commuting because they have a wider network coverage. This is seen in Lihle's case where she travels by taxi to her waitressing job in Big Bay (Interview 7, 19/10/11). Others report that taxis are preferable because they are fast and convenient, while for some using a taxi is merely a preference. Those who use the bus do so because they say it is cheaper than a taxi and convenient in terms of reach. Nobuntu travelled to her Bellville job by bus because it was cheaper than taking a taxi, and also by bus to her Constantia job because it dropped her off closer to work than a taxi would have (Interview 3, 3/8/11). Nobantu reports that she uses a bus to get to her job in the city centre because she does not believe that the train is safe in terms of crime or reliable in terms of running on schedule (Interview 6, 22/8/11). The latter point was echoed by Tumi who said that she opted not to travel by train to her Wynberg job because it made her late (Interview 4, 3/8/11). One respondent said that she opted for a bus because she is "just not used to travelling by train" (Interview 2, 3/8/11). Respondents who prefer to use the train do so primarily because it is the cheapest way of travelling between Site C and employment centres. This is seen in Vuyokazi's case where she travelled to her Rosebank job by train primarily because it was cheaper than either alternative transport mode (Interview 2,

4/10/11). Some of the findings supported by the literature are that privately-run taxis are in fact the most expensive means of commuting (Huchezermeier, 2003) and that although trains have a wide network coverage, they are at times inefficient in terms of delays (Rospabe and Selod, 2006).

The respondents travel to many areas to search for work. These include the city centre, Paarden Eiland which is close to the city centre, the Southern Suburbs, Milnerton and Montague Gardens in the northern suburbs and Khayelitsha in the southeast. In this regard, Vuyokazi has searched for work opportunities in the Southern Suburbs (Interview 2, 4/10/11). While searching, she travelled to Rosebank, Rondebosch and Claremont by train because it was the most affordable mode of transportation. Vuyo (Interview 5, 17/10/11) and Madoda (Interview 8, 20/10/11) also provide similar reasons for using the train to search in the Southern Suburbs. While looking for her Kenilworth domestic workers jobs, Vuyokazi travelled by taxi because there is a direct taxi route between Site C and Kenilworth, which is not the case for her other search areas in the Southern Suburbs. She says that this direct route made the journey faster and more convenient (Interview 2, 4/10/11). Although she had the option of any of the three modes of public transport, Nobuntu decided to travel to her jobs in Constantia and Bellville by bus for cost and convenience reasons, as outlined above (Interview 3, 3/8/11). When searching for work in Khayelitsha, Thando walked because he was responding to information he had received about a job opportunity within Site C (Interview 1, 3/8/11). Vuyo used local taxis in the form of small passenger vehicles because this was the only available mode of transport for travelling within the various areas of Khayelitsha (Interview 5, 22/8/11). In order to search for her job as a domestic worker in Milnerton, Tumi used the train because it was cheapest way to travel (Interview 4, 3/8/11). On the other hand, Lihle searched for her waitressing job in the same area by taxi due to preference (Interview 7, 6/9/11). While the evidence shows that all of these areas are covered by at least one form of public transport, in some cases, the choices of transport mode are curtailed either by a limited geographic reach or the high cost of a particular mode of transport. Decisions for which transport system to use in job search are primarily dependent on these two variables, although there are also reports of the choice being made based on preference. The search areas show that the respondents looked for employment opportunities primarily outside of Khayelitsha, although in some instances respondents

responded to information by searching within Khayelitsha. This gives further evidence for the arguments made in Chapter 4, that Khayelitsha is spatially disconnected from the areas where jobs are located in Cape Town. It is also notable that, although public transport is able to bridge this gap, this comes at a high cost for those who are searching for work.

While cost implications mean that travelling to look for jobs is not generally the preferred job search strategy, at some point in the job search process, job seekers are forced to travel to find work. Once a job seeker receives information on a certain employment prospect, the next step is to travel to the relevant place of work to seek further information that could lead to getting the job. This is a challenge for the respondents because they are unemployed and thus do not have commuting funds readily available. This then compels them to rely on relatives, friends or other contacts for travelling money. According to Nobuntu, who is currently unemployed, “to get a job, a person must be in the streets, and visible to people looking for workers...a person must be able to go wherever a job opportunity is available” (Interview 4, 18/10/11). Unfortunately, she says that she is unable to do this herself as she is unemployed and does not have the resources to travel. For some, accessing funds to travel in search of work is not a challenge. Nobantu says that she has always preferred travelling to look for work as this is the strategy that has proved most useful in the past (Interview 6, 22/8/11). She believes that this is made possible by the financial support that her husband gives her. In the past, this allowed her to spend between “R20 to R50 a week” looking for work during her period of unemployment. Similarly, Nobuntu also says “I don’t have too much trouble getting money to travel in search of work because my husband gives it to me” (Interview 3, 3/8/11). Much like Nobantu, she also found her current job through door-to-door searching at employment centres. Madoda also used to travel to look for jobs (Interview 8, 6/9/11). He says that he would use the money he got from the odd jobs he used to do fixing electrical appliances or from his sister who he lived with for a short period after moving to Cape Town.

Having readily available funds for travelling when looking for jobs, is not common to the other respondents however. Some of the respondents say that it is particularly difficult accessing funds to travel in search of work, while others are fortunate enough to have close relatives who are able to provide them with money. However, this is not to say accessing funds is easy. Thando heard about his first job in Montague Gardens from a close relative,

his mother (Interview 1, 3/8/11). After receiving the information, Thando relied on his mother to provide him with money so that he could travel to the workplace to present himself to the employer. His mother recommended him to the employer, who she worked for as a domestic worker, and Thando proceeded to get the job. Nobuntu, who currently works as a domestic worker in Constantia in the Southern Suburbs for the same family that her husband works for, also got her job in a similar way (Interview 3, 3/8/11). Her husband, knowing that his employers were looking for a domestic worker, mentioned that Nobuntu was looking for a job and vouched for her. His employers called her in for an interview, Nobuntu's husband provided the funds for this travel and she subsequently got the job months later. Both Thando and Nobuntu say that getting these funds was not as easy as merely asking and receiving, but their contacts managed to provide them with the resources they needed to increase their chances of getting the jobs. From this and other similar examples it is clear that the respondents have some kind of support system, mainly in the form of family members. Only Tumi depends solely on the benevolence of her neighbours, rather than family, for accessing funds to search for work. She says that funds to travel in search of work are not a priority however, because she has other needs such as buying food for herself and her children (Interview 4, 18/10/11). It is this safety net that ensures that respondents are able to survive in times of unemployment. These support systems ensure that respondents have all their basic needs such as food, shelter, electricity, water, clothes and even money to search for work.

It is interesting to note that in the cases where the job seeker was certain that he or she would be recommended for a particular job, they were able to access the funds to travel to the interview or to present themselves to the prospective employer. This shows that where the job seeker has relationships that can facilitate the attainment of a job through a recommendation, accessing money to travel is perhaps simpler than in cases where this relationship does not exist. In the cases where a recommendation is made, it is made by a contact who is employed, either in the workplace itself, or in a situation that allows for the existence of a relationship with the prospective employer. The former is exemplified by the manner in which Thando got his job at the Department of Water Affairs in Paarl after being referred by his cousin (Interview 1, 3/8/11), and how Lihle got her job as a call centre agent after being referred by her former classmate (Interview 7, 19/10/11). The latter is seen in

how Thando got his job in Montague Gardens and how Nobuntu got her job as a domestic worker in Constantia, as shown above. Providing a recommendation also works in another interesting way. In 2010, while employed as a domestic worker in Bellville, Nobuntu needed to go on maternity leave. In order to ensure that there was somebody to work during the months when she was on leave, she recommended that her employer hire her cousin as a temporary worker until she could return to work (Interview 3, 17/10/11). Her employer agreed, hired Nobuntu's relative temporarily and allowed Nobuntu to return to work after her maternity leave ended. In another instance, when Lihle fell pregnant while working at a call centre in Wynberg, she was told that she could not go on maternity leave, and would lose her job if she did. She opted to quit her job, but before she did this, she advised her employer that she had a cousin that could take her place. After Lihle provided the recommendation, her cousin was interviewed and subsequently got the job (Interview 7, 19/10/11). In the two cases above, the respondents provided the recommendation for family members, who they knew were unemployed and looking for work. All these cases show that many times, the money to travel in order to follow up on a job prospect is provided by the referee, who because he or she is employed, has the financial capacity to do so. So, having provided the recommendation, the referee also shows a willingness to assist in ensuring that his or her contact gets the job. This links the ability to travel in search of work to the social relationships that a job seekers has with his or her contacts.

This notwithstanding, the ability to access funds to travel to look for jobs should not be taken as an indication that getting these funds is easy. Often, respondents are not able to get this money. Tumi says that a neighbour once told her about a job opening for a kitchen cleaner at a restaurant in Camps Bay (Interview 4, 18/10/11). Because she was unable to access the funds to travel to the workplace to get more information and present herself as a prospective employee, she missed this opportunity. This neighbour of hers was also unemployed and thus unable to provide the funds for travelling as in the cases above. Here, the unemployed neighbour could also therefore not potentially improve Tumi's chances of getting the job by serving as a referee. Tumi's experience is telling, as it further illustrates the importance of social contacts in providing the funds necessary for travelling in search of work.

Financial constraints are the primary reason behind the choice not to travel when looking for work. Thando waits to hear about a job opportunity before attempting to get money to travel to look for work (Interview 1, 3/8/11). Vuyo talks to people and asks about jobs or buys the newspaper to look for advertisements when he can afford it because he does not have money to travel from door-to-door (Interview 5, 17/10/11). Vuyokazi says that the one constraint she faces when looking for jobs is accessing money to travel to where the jobs are, because, according to her, people advertise chars in their own residential areas (Interview 2, 4/10/11). Lihle says that the cheapest way to look for jobs is to talk to people, but job search can get expensive when one has to follow up on information received in this way (Interview 7, 19/10/11). Looking for jobs can be an expensive exercise, especially when travelling is factored in. Even after receiving information, the respondents sometimes struggle to find the money to increase their chances of getting the job. This leaves the respondents feeling despondent and often powerless with Thando saying, "I have no option but to sit and wait for information" (Interview 1, 2/10/11). Similarly, Nobantu says that while she was still looking for work she would search vigorously for three-to-four months at a time, get tired of searching and resume her search again after a month or two (Interview 6, 22/8/11). This despondency and sense of hopelessness is displayed particularly by the unemployed respondents, and contributes to feelings that the only option respondents have is to "sit and wait for information" (Interview 1, 3/8/11). The decision not to search based on feelings that there is no alternative but to wait for information is primarily as a result of a lack of funds for active job search methods such as travelling to employment areas. As such, it has a further negative effect on unemployment.

The choice of job search method is primarily based on affordability and opinions on which method is most rewarding. Networking is seen as the cheapest and most reliable method of job search, especially when the respondents consider the prohibitions imposed by the high cost of travelling. The respondents were asked to suggest advertising methods that would allow them greater access to information. All of the methods mentioned were those that would allow the respondents to access information without having to travel first. The suggestions were that prospective employers should use methods such as radio advertisements, newspaper advertisements, handing out pamphlets with job information and putting up notices at public buildings. This finding further shows that commuting to

employment centres is a challenge for the respondents, and although they concede that travel is necessary at some point, they would rather spend money on transport once information about a job opportunity has been received.

The effects of a spatial mismatch are compounded by the inability of job seekers to travel to areas of employment to look for jobs. Job seekers are often unemployed (except in cases where they work for a few days a week, perhaps as chars as in Vuyokazi's case), which means that they seldom have funds that are readily available for them to go from door-to-door in employment areas looking for jobs. Even in cases where they have heard of a job opportunity via social networks or in newspapers, they have difficulty accessing the resources to travel. In cases where respondents are guaranteed a recommendation by a network contact, funds are often provided by the person willing to make the recommendation. In these instances, travelling in search of work is made possible by the social relationships that the job seeker has with people that are able to facilitate him/her getting a job. Thus, in job search, the nature of the mechanism of high commuting costs is such that it has a negative effect on a job seeker's prospects of gaining employment. This is in keeping with Rospabe and Selod (2006:263), who argue that high commuting costs discourage job seekers from travelling in search of work.

7.2. Commuting to work

Another interesting finding is that once employed, commuting to work does not impose unbearable challenges on workers residing in Site C. Many of the employed respondents specifically say that transport is not a prohibitive factor to them and that the cost of travelling in terms of time and money simply cannot be avoided. Even those currently unemployed say that during periods of employment, travelling to and from work is manageable. However, that the public transport system does not impose prohibitions in terms of commuting to work should not be taken to mean that it is flawless or that the respondents do not have complaints about the burdens of commuting to work. The respondents have many reasons for selecting one or other mode of transport on the commute to work, reasons not dissimilar to those given by the job seekers above. Some opt for using the train because it is cheaper than taxis and faster than the bus system. Others use taxis because they cover many more routes than trains and buses, and some

respondents use the bus because it is much more reliable than either taxis or trains. Admittedly, the primary consideration in general is using the mode of transport that is cheapest for the respondent considering the distance that has to be travelled. This on its own shows that there is a calculation that takes place in the mind of the commuter when considering which mode of transport to use. However limited, commuters do have a choice when selecting transport mode. The choice is mainly made based on cost and route coverage considerations. This is not to say that these are the only factors, as issues of a perceived lack of safety on the trains are also a factor (Interview 6, 17/10/11).

Many times, a job demands that respondents work late hours. This is seen in Lihle's waitressing job in Milnerton (Interview 7, 3/3/12), Vuyo's former gym job in Claremont (Interview 5, 17/10/11), Nobantu's restaurant job in the city centre (Interview 6, 17/10/11), and Nobantu's former job as a griller in Constantia (Interview 3, 3/8/11). Where this is the case, some commuters are compelled to use two modes of transport because the city's public transport system shuts down around 10pm. While the first mode of transport used to travel to work is either a taxi, train or bus, the second mode is provided by an evening staff transport which picks commuters up from their workplaces and drops them off at home. This staff transport comes in various forms depending on the arrangement entered into by the commuter. In Lihle's case, her employer arranges the transport but she and her co-workers who also use the staff transport, are responsible for the payments (Interview 7, 19/10/11). Nobantu's night-time staff transport was organised by other employees working in various restaurants in the city centre, all living in Khayelitsha. Nobantu merely joined it when she started working in the city centre (Interview 6, 22/8/11). Vuyo and Nobantu had similar arrangements in their previous jobs where they needed an evening staff transport. In these cases the respondents were responsible for payments of the staff transport, costs that are higher than the mode of public transport used to travel to work. This finding is in keeping with arguments by Rospabe and Selod (2006: 263) that the need for the use of private staff transport arises from the fact that after a certain time in the evening, around 10pm in Cape Town, the public transport system shuts down completely. This imposes heavier financial burdens on those compelled to use such transport arrangements due to odd hours of work. Again, these commuters are willing to pay such fares as they see them as a necessary part of the job.

The data shows that commutes for people residing in Site C are long and expensive. In her first job, Vuyokazi spent 90 minutes travelling between Site C and Rosebank in Cape Town's Southern Suburbs (Interview 2, 3/8/11). Although she could have used any one of the three transport modes, she opted for the train because it was the cheapest. There is no direct train line between Site C and Rosebank, so Vuyokazi was compelled to take two trains each way, changing trains in Salt River from the Khayelitsha line, onto the Southern Suburbs line. This change, which involved waiting for a connection train, also added to her journey time. For the same reason, Madoda uses the train to get to his security guard job in Pinelands situated on the edge of the Southern Suburbs (Interview 8, 6/9/11). While his journey time is shorter, i.e., 40 minutes, he is forced to walk another 30 minutes from the Mutual Train Station in Pinelands to his workplace. He says that although the time he spends on the way to work is taxing, at a cost of R300 for a monthly train ticket, he can afford the financial cost of travelling to work. Lihle works in Milnerton, in the Northern Suburbs, and travels to work by taxi (Interview 7, 19/10/11). She says that she prefers a taxi, and although it is expensive, at around R20 for a single trip, she can afford it on her monthly salary of between R4 500 and R5 500 depending on tips. Currently, Vuyokazi holds three chargs in Kenilworth also in the Southern Suburbs. She now takes a taxi to get to work as she says that it takes her directly to Kenilworth, whereas she would have to take two trains. She also says she can afford the transport costs of R66 a week on her R600 weekly wage from all three chargs.

It must be noted that even though transport costs are high, they are not so high as to render continuing in a job unsustainable. On this Lihle says of her Milnerton job, "I spend a lot (R270/week) on transport but I accept this as a part of having a job" (Interview 7, 19/10/11). In some cases however, respondents left their jobs in the past because of high transport costs. This is in line with arguments put forward by Houston (2005) and Rospabe and Selod (2006). Vuyokazi left her factory job in Philippi located in the southeast of Cape Town near Khayelitsha, in which she was paid according to production, partly because "most of the money went towards transport costs" (Interview 2, 4/10/11). Tumi used to work in Wynberg in the Southern Suburbs handing out flyers for R30/day. She says that her commuting costs, at R15 for a return trip, were too high and "just did not make sense" because she was left with too little to take care of her other needs (Interview 4, 18/10/11). At one point, Vuyo found an advertisement on the internet for a job as a waiter in Durbanville in the Northern

Suburbs (Interview 5, 22/8/11). He reports having had doubts about taking the job after realising that the remuneration of R10/hour (excluding tips) would have reduced the wages so significantly, that taking the job would not have been worthwhile. Incidentally, for reasons unknown to him, Vuyo was never called back, even after having gone for the interview. These cases show that the possibility exists that a spatial mismatch between Site C and employment centres contributes to unemployment. Here, commuting costs are so high, that continuing in a job, or even taking a job would be unjustifiable to the commuter given the cost of transportation. However, it must also be noted that in many cases commuters are able to absorb the cost of transportation and continue working in spite of high costs of travelling in terms of expensive fares and long commutes. This is primarily when the wage is not so reduced by commuting, that a worker feels that holding out for another job opportunity would be more justifiable than either remaining in or accepting a certain job.

There is an obvious willingness on the part of the respondents to do what it takes to ensure that they get to their jobs. This is an interesting finding because it shows that, despite arguments around transport costs and inefficiencies, workers are able to travel to work with relative ease. Apart from the cases of Vuyokazi and Tumi, at least one of the three transport modes discussed here is affordable enough, reliable enough and fast enough to get workers to their jobs. Despite long and expensive commutes, an interesting finding from the interviews is that generally respondents feel that during times of employment, the cost of transportation measured in time and money, is bearable. The predominant view is that it is a necessary part of the job. In fact one gets the feeling that respondents are so grateful to be employed, in the past and presently, that they feel complaining about the burdens of commuting is a sign of taking one's job for granted. Many explicitly say that travelling cannot be avoided and that if one does not travel, then one will not have a job.

At this point, the following is clear: job seekers find it difficult to access funds to travel in search of work. Because of this limitation, they opt to use cheaper and more localised search strategies such as using social networks to gain information about vacancies. Once seekers have received information about a job prospect, they rely on their social capital in the form of relationships with family, friends or neighbours in order to access these funds. In instances where social relationships are so strong that job seekers are guaranteed a

recommendation for a job and provided with the funds to travel to a particular place of work by their referees, as shown above, the prospects are improved. In other cases, where information is shared, but no referrals given, at times because the contact is similarly unemployed, accessing funds to travel and getting further details proves more challenging. While some have close family members such as husbands or siblings who are employed and able to provide funding for job search, many do not have such funds readily available. Sometimes, this is because their family, friends or neighbours are themselves unemployed and thus unable to offer travelling funds. As a result, when it comes to job search, high commuting costs and the limitations on mobility which they impose, can serve to perpetuate unemployment. When one considers the process of commuting to work, travelling costs, although still a heavy burden on the worker, do not serve as a prohibition. While travel times are long and journeys expensive, these costs are absorbed by workers and are seen as a necessary part of having a job. One positive factor is that commuters have a choice between three modes of public transportation. They make their calculation based on cost, route coverage and sometimes preference. Between buses, taxis and trains, commuters are able to find the transport mode that best suits their unique circumstances. Workers display a willingness to absorb the burdens of commuting into the benefits of having a job. This is an interesting finding that should perhaps be further explored if generalised statements about an inefficient and weak public transport system are not to be applied across the board. Finally, these findings show that for the spatial mismatch hypothesis, commuting costs have a differential impact on job seekers and workers. While they are often prohibitive for job seekers thereby contributing to unemployment, they are not necessarily a constraint for workers who earn enough to absorb the costs.

CHAPTER 8: USING SOCIAL NETWORKS IN JOB SEARCH

This chapter looks at the use of social networks in job search. It investigates whether the social networks used by job seekers residing in Site C, Khayelitsha act as an information-sharing platform that can mitigate the job search limitations imposed by high commuting costs. This is done within the context of the spatial mismatch claims that a) distance from job centres limits knowledge about job opportunities, and, more specifically, b) that high local unemployment means social networks are ineffective as job search strategies, as argued in Chapter 2. The main findings reported here are that job seekers in Khayelitsha use social networks to gain access to information about employment opportunities. Social networks have proved effective in providing a space for information-sharing among people looking for jobs. These networks, used in job search, are not spatially confined, but include contacts who reside and work in areas that are outside of the physical boundaries of Site C and Khayelitsha. Job seekers in Site C who have been employed or have contacts that are employed, have access to networks that originate in workplaces outside of Site C, rather than in their neighbourhood. These networks are useful in providing the job seeker with information about job vacancies. Finally, because these networks are spread beyond Site C and Khayelitsha to include even workplace networks, job seekers' contacts are not necessarily unemployed. As a result of this, job seekers living in Site C are able to use these networks to access relevant information about job opportunities.

The SMH argues that the physical distance between areas such as Site C and employment centres manifests in limited knowledge about work opportunities. This condition occurs because job seekers narrow their searches to their neighbourhoods because they are not familiar with the areas where jobs can be found and thus do not know where to search. Because Site C and Khayelitsha in general is poorly developed and does not have job opportunities enough to cater to the population, local searches do not generally result in job seekers finding work. The SMH further argues that employers looking for workers to occupy low-skilled jobs advertise vacancies locally in their areas. This means job seekers who cannot afford commuting costs find it difficult to get access to such information, as shown in the previous chapter. This, the theory goes, exacerbates unemployment in residential areas

located far from employment centres. Related to these claims is the argument that job seekers have limited prospects to mitigate the adverse consequences resulting from travel constraints by using social networks to gain information. This is because their networks comprise of contacts who live in their own neighbourhood and are likely to be similarly unemployed, and thus unable relay reliable information that might lead to job seekers gaining employment. In the end, the argument goes, these social networks have limited capacity to act as a reliable alternative job search mechanism. By using evidence from the interviews, this chapter argues that social networks operating among the respondents in Site C have the capacity to mitigate the limitations imposed by a spatial disconnection from employment areas. In doing so, the chapter provides detailed information on the nature of these networks and about precisely how they operate as a job search strategy.

Respondents use a variety of methods when searching for work, including networking, travelling from door-to-door in employment areas, consulting newspapers and conducting internet searches. Networking as a job search strategy emerges as a method which is regarded as reliable and affordable when it comes to gaining information about job opportunities. Thando reports that networking is the strategy that has been “the most effective” in his job search experience (Interview 1, 3/8/11). Testament to this is that all the jobs that Thando has held in the past have resulted from him having received information from his mother, another close relative, a colleague and an acquaintance. While Nobuntu says that she has used employment agencies, internet searches and networking to look for work, like Thando, all of her jobs have resulted from her having received information from a friend, a friend of a cousin and her husband (Interview 3, 17/10/11). Vuyo is also of the opinion that “talking to people is the best way to look for work” (Interview 5, 22/8/11). Again, in both the jobs that Vuyo has held in the past, he received information from a former teacher and a friend. In fact, the data shows that in the past, the respondents have all received information about job vacancies from their social networks. The evidence from the interviews shows that networking is used as a job search strategy. It is equally clear that the networks that the respondents are active in have been successful in acting as a means of information-exchange for residents in Site C looking for work.

Networking takes on many forms depending on the people that the respondent is in contact with. Information is passed on to and received from family, neighbours, friends and contacts

from various social interactions including but not limited to, conversations on the bus for Nobuntu, church for Nobantu, Tumi and Vuyokazi, at parties for Lihle, talking to neighbours for Thando and Tumi and society meetings for Nobuntu. These are the networks described by Ziersch and Arthurson (2005) and Granovetter (1973) as bonding networks, comprised mainly of family, friends and neighbours. The evidence shows that the choice of using social networks is based on perceptions which are informed by respondents' experiences with certain methods as being reliable and affordable. As argued in the previous chapter, travel constraints compel job seekers to find alternative means of accessing information about employment. On this Wittenberg (2001), supporting the findings in this study, contends that social networks are an alternative low-cost search strategy which is used by many job seekers, including those who cannot afford the costs of using search methods that demand financial resources. Rees 1966 argues that social networks provide a space for the devolution of information that can be used by job seekers and employers alike. Addressing the same point and citing empirical research conducted in Khayelitsha, Seekings and Natrass (2005: 281) contend that "there is considerable evidence from a range of sources suggesting that people find jobs and employers fill vacancies through informal networks". Godlonton and Burns (2006) argue that the use of social networks in South Africa increases the likelihood of gaining employment by six to nine percent. While the studies above cite statistical findings to support their arguments, this study employs a qualitative method and looks more at the nature of the social networks used by residents of Site C in trying to gain employment. It finds that the use of social networking in gaining access to information about job opportunities can in fact mitigate distance from employment centres. In order to elaborate on these findings for the specific objectives of this research, it is crucial to understand the manner in which these networks operate in Site C, for it is this aspect that feeds into the arguments made in the SMH.

The respondents have all gone through periods of employment and unemployment. A close inspection of the data shows that the respondents have experienced greater periods of unemployment than employment. These periods range from several years to months. Between the start and end of the fieldwork (August 2011 - March 2012), no changes in employment status had been reported. The respondents have moved in and out of jobs, and only two of the respondents, Madoda and Nobantu, have held down the same job since they

started working. Many reasons have been given for changes in employment status. Thando stopped working at his government job in Paarl because his contract ended (Interview 1, 6/9/11), Lihle quit her cleaning job in Paarden Eiland because she got her waitressing job in Milnerton (Interview 7, 19/10/11) and Vuyo's computer shop job ended because the shop closed down (Interview 5, 22/8/11). During periods of unemployment the respondents used social networks as a job search strategy in their attempts at gaining employment. While their networks have been successful at relaying vacancy information times, at other times they have not. What follows below is an analysis of the nature of social networks that the respondents are active in, as well as some arguments on the reasons behind some networks being more successful in relaying job information than others.

A questionnaire survey was conducted in 2000 in Khayelitsha and Mitchell's Plain using a representative labour force sample. The study showed that just under two thirds of job seekers used social networks for job search, and two thirds of residents employed at the time had found their jobs through the use of social networks (Schoer and Leibbrandt, 2006; Seekings and Nattrass, 2005). While this study is not quantitative in nature, it adopts a qualitative approach that allows for the gathering of rich, in-depth data that demonstrates the diverse character of social networks and their necessary properties. As stated above, it also shows that residents in Site C use networks in the job search process. Furthermore, it illustrates that social networks have interesting characteristics when it comes to their geography and the employment status of actors in these networks. Crucially, this research finds that these networks comprise of people who are either employed or unemployed or both and contacts who either live in or outside of Site C and Khayelitsha. These findings, used as a means to describe the nature of social networks, have implications for the SMH. Firstly, by using social networks, job seekers are able to mitigate the distance imposed by the existence of a spatial mismatch between employment areas and their residential area. Secondly, that these networks spread beyond Khayelitsha to include contacts acting in workplace networks located in distant employment areas means that job seekers do in fact have access to reliable and often detailed job vacancy information. Thirdly, that these networks are also comprised of employed contacts provides a partial challenge to the SMH in so far as it contends that the networks are ineffective in acting as an information-

exchange platform due to a prevalence of unemployed contacts. These findings are elaborated on below.

8.1. The spatial dynamic of social networks

The table below shows the areas where the respondents' contacts reside.

8.1.1. *Table 2: Social networks*

Respondent	Networks (residential area of contact)
Thando	Khayelitsha; Franschoek; Kraaifontein; Paarl
Vuyokazi	Site C; Philippi; Macassar; Gugulethu; Kenilworth
Nobuntu	Khayelitsha (Taiwan, Makhaya); Khwezi; Constantia
Tumi	Khayelitsha (Site C, Site B)
Vuyo	Site C; Philippi; Du Noon; Khayelitsha
Nobantu	Langa; Houtbay; Khayelitsha (White City)
Lihle	Gugulethu; Khayelitsha (Site C, elsewhere)
Madoda	Delft; Langa; Gugulethu; Khayelitsha

Job information can be received from people either living in Site C or other areas in Khayelitsha, or from people living and working in residential areas outside of Khayelitsha. Thando got his first job after receiving information about a job opening from his mother, who lived elsewhere in Khayelitsha at the time. His mother was employed as a domestic worker for Thando's prospective employer, and had received the information directly from him at her place of work. Thando's mother then recommended her son for the job, he went for an interview and subsequently got the job (Interview 1, 2/10/11). In the past, Vuyokazi worked as a childminder in Rosebank. She got this job via information that she had received from a fellow congregant who also lived in Khayelitsha. This fellow congregant worked for another family in Rosebank, and received information from her employer that another family in the area was looking for a childminder. She informed Vuyokazi and recommended her to her own employer, who then relayed the information to the neighbours who were looking for a worker. Vuyokazi got the job after going for an interview (Interview 2, 4/10/11).

Similarly, Nobuntu got her first job at Barcelo's through receiving information from a friend of hers who was currently employed there. This friend, having received the information directly from the workplace, vouched for Nobuntu to her employer (Interview 3, 3/8/11).

In the cases above, respondents received information from neighbourhood contacts. However, this information is sourced directly from the workplace networks that the job seeker's contacts are engaged in. This finding is significant because it shows that regardless of the fact that the residential area of a contact might be the same as that of the job seeker and thus have the same socio-economic conditions, i.e. Khayelitsha in this case, the possibility exists that meaningful information with the possibility of facilitating employment can be exchanged. This speaks directly to the nature of the social network in that contacts have a reach that goes beyond Khayelitsha to include sources who have received information in areas outside of Site C. In contrast to arguments put forward by the SMH, social networks are not confined to the residential area of the job seeker despite the fact that the primary contact who relays the information might also be a resident of Site C. Most importantly, what the above shows is that the possibility exists that contacts can relay information received at the workplace, which is in an area outside of Site C. A contact's workplace networks can be instrumental in ensuring that the job seeker, who does not necessarily have direct access to these workplace networks, receives job information flowing from the workplace. These workplace networks are rich in information about job opportunities and can be instrumental in facilitating access to information and subsequently employment. Furthermore, these social contacts also provide the job seeker with a recommendation, which further gives the job seeker an advantage in the job search process.

Direct vacancy information can also be received from contacts who reside in areas outside of Site C or Khayelitsha. In his second job, Vuyo worked at a gym in Claremont in the Southern Suburbs. He received information about this job from a friend, while visiting him at his home in Gugulethu, also located on the Cape Flats in the southeast area of Cape Town. His friend's brother worked at the gym and had told Vuyo's contact about a job opening. Because Vuyo's contact was already employed, he passed the information on to Vuyo and informed his brother that he knew of someone who was interested in the job. The brother recommended Vuyo for the job and Vuyo got the job after being called in for an interview (Interview 5, 17/10/11). Here, information was received from a contact residing outside of Site C, who

could thus not be part of Vuyo's neighbourhood networks. This presents a partial challenge to the SMH in that network contacts do not necessarily reside in Site C or even in Khayelitsha, although they may also be residents of areas with similar socio-economic conditions. On this, Rospabe and Selod (2006) argue that job seekers residing in neighbourhoods with poor socio-economic conditions are actors in low quality social networks. According to the SMH this results in the job seeker having access to less information than would be the case if a greater proportion of contacts were employed. While Gugulethu has socio-economic conditions similar to those in Khayelitsha, Vuyo's friend was able to access meaningful vacancy information from his own network and relay it to Vuyo. Here, a partial critique to the SMH is that the theory does not sufficiently consider that job seekers have contacts outside of their neighbourhood, contacts, who can be instrumental in using their own networks to relay information to the job seeker residing in Site C.

Lihle's first job was at a call centre in Wynberg. She had been unemployed when she received information about a vacancy from a former classmate living in Langa, located on the Cape Flats southeast of Cape Town. This contact worked at the call centre and had received the information at work. Lihle got the job after a telephonic and personal interview without receiving a recommendation from her friend (Interview 7, 6/9/11). Madoda has also gone through a similar process regarding gaining employment. He currently works as a security guard in Pinelands, the only job he has ever had. He received information about this job from his sister's husband, who lives in Delft. His contact had overheard people at his workplace saying that the security company that worked for them was recruiting. He made all the relevant enquiries and approached Madoda with information about the job. Madoda travelled to the workplace, was later called in for an interview and subsequently got the job without a recommendation (Interview 8, 6/9/11). Similar to the argument put forward for Vuyo's gym job above, these job seekers received information from contacts residing in areas outside of Khayelitsha. Again, while these areas are located in the southeast area of Cape Town, and have similar socio-economic conditions, contacts were still able to access job information and relay it to job seekers residing in Site C. This information was also received directly from the workplace and was used to assist contacts residing in Site C searching for work. The main contention here is that if job seekers are engaged in networks

that have a reach beyond their own neighbourhood, it is possible that they may have contacts who are more likely to be employed. As in the cases highlighted above, these contacts are instrumental in their job search process.

This evidence shows that job seekers' contacts that are instrumental in relaying information potentially resulting in employment do not necessarily have to be residents of Site C or even Khayelitsha. They spread to areas that are located outside of the physical boundaries of Khayelitsha. While it is also notable that these contacts may also be residents of areas with similar socio-economic conditions, for example Gugulethu, Langa and Delft, the evidence shows that they are still useful resources for information on employment opportunities. Primarily, this is because contacts are able to access information about job vacancies using their workplace networks and relay it to job seekers residing outside of their own residential areas in Site C. While the SMH argues that job seekers are primarily dependent on neighbourhood networks, this finding shows that job seekers are in contact with people who live outside of Site C. Where these people are employed, they are able to access information from the workplace using networks that the job seeker might not ordinarily have access to. This serves as a great benefit and resource to the job seeker, who is then able to get information emanating directly from the workplace that he or she does not have physical or direct network access to. The reason that this finding presents a partial challenge to the SMH is that while these networks are not bound to Site C, they operate in areas with similar socio-economic conditions. However, this similarity notwithstanding, the findings show that these contacts, residing outside of Site C and Khayelitsha, are still able to receive information from the workplace and relay it to job seekers in Site C.

Social networks are not geographically bound to Site C because even those social network contacts who reside in the neighbourhood receive their information from sources outside of Site C or Khayelitsha. While the fact that people receive information from outside of Site C on its own does not challenge the SMH, it is important as it further shows that networks which have their origin at the workplace can be instrumental for a job seeker. For those who are employed at the time of sharing information, the information comes from their workplaces. This is important because it shows that networks are spread far and wide to include people, who although they may not be a contact that the job seeker speaks to directly, can provide information that can eventually lead to the job seeker gaining

employment. Examples here abound. Nobuntu's husband works in Constantia and while at work received information that his employer needed a domestic worker. This information was then relayed to Nobuntu, who subsequently got the job (Interview 3, 17/10/11). Tumi's mother worked as a domestic worker in Milnerton. Her employer informed her that her brother needed the same services for his home. Tumi's mother then relayed this information that was received from a contact in Milnerton, to Tumi, who then proceeded to get her first job as a domestic worker (Interview 4, 3/8/11). In her second job, Lihle received information from a neighbour in a taxi travelling from Mowbray to Khayelitsha. This neighbour's mother worked at a cleaning company in Paarden Eiland near the city centre, and had received information about the vacancy from her workplace. Lihle's neighbour received this information and relayed it to Lihle. Here again, information which was relayed by a contact residing in Site C, came originally from the workplace, located outside of the boundaries of Khayelitsha. Interestingly, a similar finding is put forward by Crankshaw and Goetz (2011) in their study on the spatial mismatch in Cape Town. They argue that social networks among job seekers of the "excluded ghetto" extend beyond their residential areas. Their finding is based on the fact that people who have worked in the past are still connected to former colleagues and employers. The fact that most employment centres are located outside areas such as Site C means that these networks have a wider geographical spread. They go on to argue that this means that people have access to information that comes directly from the workplace. The result is that job seekers are able to get access to information that comes from the workplace, whether directly from the people who are themselves employed or indirectly via a contact who is in a network with the person who is employed. Crucially, contacts acting in the social networks within which job seekers also operate, have a reach that goes beyond Site C to include areas that they themselves have worked in, or areas that their contacts have worked or currently work in. What is important to understand here is that the nature of these networks is such that contacts are able to relay information received from a workplace network. Job seekers residing in Site C are then able to access this information that comes from a contact's workplace. The SMH concedes that information can be received from outside of Site C, but argues that this information is then relayed by network contacts living in Site C. However, it does not consider that this information emanates from a network that is created and operates within the workplace. This is an area

that needs further research because it potentially shows that job seekers are not confined to using only neighbourhood networks.

The manner in which Vuyokazi found work as a daily domestic worker (providing daily char services) in Kenilworth presents a different kind of challenge to the SMH. She currently provides char services to three different houses in Kenilworth, in the Southern Suburbs, one day a week for each house. This work entails cleaning the house and doing the laundry. One day Vuyokazi's cousin who is employed as a full-time domestic worker and lives in Site B also in Khayelitsha, was unable to make it to work and asked Vuyokazi to stand in for her. The cousin's employer was impressed with Vuyokazi's work and when Vuyokazi's cousin returned to her job, her employer recommended Vuyokazi to a friend, also living in Kenilworth. Vuyokazi was subsequently employed as a char for one day a week. Vuyokazi's employer then recommended her to another neighbour, who then also recommended her to a third employer who needed char services, also in Kenilworth (Interview 2, 4/10/11). What is interesting here is that the network in which her employers were active, based in Kenilworth, proved instrumental to her finding work. For all three of her current chars she received recommendations. The existence of a network among employers, originating in Kenilworth, outside of Site C, but also inclusive of Vuyokazi is not considered by the SMH. Because Vuyokazi was in contact with her cousin, who lives in Khayelitsha, she was able to make contact with her cousin's employer, who lives in Kenilworth. Through contact with her cousin's employer, she then got in contact with her three current employers, who all live in Kenilworth. This is an interesting finding as the network that was instrumental to Vuyokazi gaining employment is located outside of her neighbourhood. This further shows that social networks are not limited to the neighbourhood networks as argued by the SMH. The possibility exists that employers passing information among one other, outside of Site C, can be instrumental to a job seeker residing in Site C finding work.

8.2. Social networks and the employment status of contacts

The SMH argues that networks operating in areas such as Site C have limited possibility of facilitating access to job information. This, the theory argues, is because the nature of the network is such that it is mainly comprised of contacts that are similarly unemployed. The theory does however concede that it is possible that job seekers have contacts that are

employed, and where this is the case, job prospects are improved. This study finds that the social networks used by job seekers in Site C do have people that are employed and have the capacity to provide detailed information about employment opportunities. In this way, these findings support two arguments put forward by Kasinitz and Rosenberg (1996) on the character of social networks. Networks can provide two important functions for people searching for work. They can inform the job seeker of the *when*, *where* and *how* as seen in the many cases highlighted above and in the previous chapter. Networks can also provide the function where an existing employee vouches for the incumbent, thereby improving their chances of gaining employment. The vouching role emerged as prominent in the findings as many of the respondents reported being recommended by their contacts. Nobuntu used this method of recommendation to get her cousin a job when she went on maternity leave in her second job. She was also recommended for her current job in Constantia by her husband (Interview 3, 17/10/11). Thando was recommended for his jobs in Montague Gardens and Paarl (Interview 1, 2/10/11) and Vuyokazi, Tumi and Vuyo have also all benefitted from recommendations made by people within their social networks. What is interesting here, but not surprising, is that recommendations have come from contacts who are employed. Where a recommendation has been made, the job seeker is placed in a better position for receiving the job. As argued in the previous chapter, the fact that recommendations have been successful in leading to employment shows that strong social relationships are instrumental in facilitating employment. The evidence shows that this relationship is possible when the contact is him/herself employed, and gets access to vacancy information from the workplace. On this point this study contributes a more descriptive account of the manner in which a job seeker uses his/her social network to get a job. Through such recommendations, employed contacts play a meaningful role in assisting unemployed contacts get work.

While information received from employed contacts can lead to employment, it appears that information received from neighbourhood contacts who are themselves unemployed sometimes lacks the detail needed for a job seeker to improve his/her chances of getting a job. This is in line with the logic of arguments put forward by Gobillon et al (2007) that high local unemployment renders social networks weak. Tumi reports that she spends three hours a day looking for work primarily by talking to her neighbours, most of whom she

admits are unemployed. Regardless of these attempts, she has been unemployed since 2009. She also says that apart from the information she received from her mother for her first job as a domestic worker in Milnerton, only once has information received from a contact resulted in employment (Interview 4, 18/10/11). This was when her neighbour told her about a job handing out flyers in Wynberg. Vuyo spends two hours a day looking for work, mostly by talking to his friends, most of whom are unemployed. He too has been unemployed now since 2009 (Interview 5, 17/10/11). In these cases, most of the people that these respondents are in contact with are unemployed. They share job information with neighbours, who are mostly unemployed, but this has not resulted in access to meaningful job information for Vuyo. In Tumi's case sharing information with a neighbour led to her job in Wynberg, which she subsequently quit because her transport costs meant that she only had half her R30/day wage left over. Interestingly, these are the respondents who report that financial constraints prevent them from using search methods other than networking with the people they have direct contact with.

While this evidence shows that having mainly unemployed contacts may not have a positive impact on gaining employment, it does not fully support the SMH claim that high local unemployment means that social networks are ineffective in job search. There are two reasons for this, one, because this study is not quantitative and can thus not make such statistical claims. Two, even though unemployment is high in Site C, respondents have shown that, the nature of their social networks is such that they are not necessarily dominated by the similarly unemployed, whether in or outside of the neighbourhood. As argued above, many of the respondents have repeatedly found work through information received from employed social network contacts. This is in line with arguments put forward by Seekings and Nattrass (2005) that given that there is "considerable evidence from a range of sources suggesting that people find jobs and employers fill vacancies through informal networks", having social capital in the form of social networks assists the job seeker in gaining employment. Indeed, this study finds that the nature of the social network is such that the social networks used by the respondents have a number of employed contacts. Much information has been received from contacts who are themselves employed, either in the workplace where the job is being offered, or in another capacity that still allows for a relationship with the person looking for a worker. This is where this study differs

fundamentally with the SMH arguments which suggest that these networks are weak on the basis of the unemployed status of contacts. However, it must also be noted that this finding does not negate the argument made above that where a job seeker does have mainly unemployed contacts, finding a job becomes more challenging than in cases where contacts are employed. In these cases the network is weak when it comes to facilitating employment. The crucial difference here is that this study contends that social networks operating in Site C, are not necessarily made weak by virtue of being those of people who reside in an area with high unemployment, they are made weak by the fact that certain job seekers such as Tumi and Vuyo are mainly in contact with other people who are also unemployed. The evidence here shows that the possibility exists that in spite of being residents of an area that has high unemployment, job seekers can and do act in social networks that have employed contacts who can impart job information that can lead to employment. Apart from arguing that receiving relevant job vacancy information is linked to the employment status of contacts, and the geographical dynamic of social networks, this study does not address the reason behind why some networks used by job seekers relay better information than others. An investigation into why some people in Site C have better networks that relay more meaningful information about vacancies while others have weaker networks would make for an interesting area of study for future research on social networks in job search.

The respondents use a variety of job search methods including travelling and networking. The choice of method is informed primarily by affordability and perceptions of and experiences with the effectiveness of the specific search method used. As argued in the previous chapter, many job seekers experience difficulty in accessing funds to travel to job centres in order to access information. In response to this, job seekers use networks as a means of gaining information about job opportunities. The social networks that job seekers are engaged in are instrumental in acting as a platform for exchanging information about job openings. This information comes from family, friends and neighbours who may or may not be employed, and may or may not reside in Site C or even other areas of Khayelitsha. Where contacts are employed, job seekers are able to get detailed job vacancy information. At times, these employed contacts are even able to provide a recommendation for the job seeker, which puts him/her in a better position to gain employment. Where contacts are unemployed as in Tumi and Vuyo's networks, meaningful information is hard to access.

Contacts who provide job information do not necessarily reside in Khayelitsha, although they might reside in areas that have similar socio-economic conditions. These contacts, residing outside of the study area, move in different circles and are thus able to gather information that the job seekers would otherwise not have access to. Even those contacts who live in Site C are sometimes in contact with people who work or live in other areas. Much of the vacancy information relayed by employed contacts is received from workplace networks. These networks originate in areas outside of Site C and provide information that has the potential to lead to employment. This further encourages the sharing of information that is not restricted by spatial concerns. In this way, using social networks as a job search mechanism can prove useful in gaining employment, particularly for those job seekers who cannot afford the cost of constantly travelling outside of Site C to gain information about employment opportunities. Admittedly, travelling at some point in the search process is inevitable. However search costs can be significantly reduced when a job seeker travels to follow up on specific detailed information obtained via networking, rather than travelling at first instance in order to access this very information.

By looking at the manner in which job information is accessed, the data collected has shown that employing a qualitative approach succeeds in investigating exactly how the mechanism considered here operates. This chapter argues that it is not necessarily true that the nature of these social networks is such that they are weak because they comprise of people in the same plight. These networks include employed contacts and in fact have a geographical spread that reaches beyond Site C. These networks are particularly effective when contacts are employed, when they can receive information from workplace-based networks and when network contacts can provide a recommendation for the job seeker. This means that social networks can and are used as a means of accessing job information. This use then mitigates the limited information that results from a spatial mismatch between residential areas and employment centres. Surely then the causal link made by quantitative studies on this topic needs to be revisited and perhaps adapted to factor in cases where such predictability does not apply without qualification, as in this case.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

A spatial mismatch exists between Site C, Khayelitsha and the areas where employment opportunities are centralised in the Cape Metropolitan Area. According to the SMH, where such a condition exists, job seekers experience high commuting costs, low wages and limited knowledge about job vacancies. These job seekers are unable to access this information from their social networks which are predominantly neighbourhood-based and thus characterised by contacts who are similarly unemployed. Beginning with an extensive literature review, this study sought to investigate the manner in which a spatial mismatch operates in Site C. The primary objective of this study was to navigate two spatial mismatch mechanisms, that high commuting costs lead to unemployment and/or low wages, and that social networks operating in low-income areas with high unemployment and poverty are ineffective in facilitating access to job vacancy information for the job seeker. In adopting a qualitative approach and using the life-history interviewing method, the study intended to gain access to rich, in-depth and descriptive information characterising how job seekers in Site C engage in job search. More importantly, this study sought to gain an understanding into the nature of the relationship between the two mechanisms under investigation and the processes by which job seekers in Site C look for work.

An interesting finding related to transportation is that those who are employed manage the cost of commuting to work. They see the cost of commuting measured in money and time as a necessary part of the job which cannot be avoided. Selecting between state-subsidised trains and buses or privately-run mini-bus taxis, workers make a cost-convenience calculation which allows them to travel to their areas of employment. Although reports of inefficiencies and high cost abound, workers build all these costs into their wage and show a willingness to manage such costs for the benefit of remaining employed. Unfortunately, the story is different for job seekers. Khayelitsha is largely underdeveloped and does not offer enough employment opportunities for the number of residents who are unemployed. As a result job seekers are compelled to look for work in employment areas located outside of Site C and Khayelitsha. This process necessarily involves travelling at some point in the job search process. The socio-economic status of these job seekers means that accessing funds

for this purpose is often challenging, at times completely constraining. As such, commuting costs have an adverse effect on job seekers' ability to engage in active search. Relatives and other contacts provide assistance where they can, but this is neither uniform nor easy to do given that unemployed job seekers have other pressing needs such as food, clothes and shelter.

The mobility constraints imposed by limited access to travelling funds compels job seekers to use alternative job search methods, such as networking, that are cheaper and readily available. These social networks have the capacity to mitigate this challenge by acting as an information-exchange platform for those who cannot afford to travel to look for work opportunities. The data shows that job seekers use their social networks for job search. While travelling at some point of the job search process is inevitable, using social networks to access detailed information before commuting to an area of employment saves the job seeker money in the long run. These social networks are diverse and where they are rich, provide the job seeker with information which facilitates employment. They comprise of contacts from within Site C, from other areas in Khayelitsha, from other residential areas in Cape Town with socio-economic circumstances mirroring those in Site C, and indeed from suburbs such as Kenilworth. Interestingly, job seekers have many employed contacts that are able to relay information received from the workplace. These contacts access information from their workplace networks and are instrumental in providing detailed information and at times even a recommendation, which places the job seeker in a better position for employment. Even more interesting, job seekers are able to gain work through employer social networks where a current or former employer provides the job seeker with information received from a contact seeking employment.

This study has gathered data on the manner in which the two spatial mismatch mechanisms involving commuting costs and social networks operate. It has successfully analysed the nature of the commuting challenge as well as the nature of the social networks in which job seekers in Site C operate. Travel limitations imposed by distance from work opportunities and experienced by job seekers emerged as a key finding, as seen in the SMH. However the finding that workers are able to manage the burdens of commuting to work in spite of the long distances is an area not fully considered by the SMH. Similarly, that networks have a geographic character that reaches far beyond Khayelitsha to include employed contacts and

even employers themselves, is also an area that needs to be factored into spatial mismatch theories. Interestingly, the SMH does not consider the potential role that employer networks can play in facilitating employment for the job seeker. This is an important finding which has implications for the SMH argument that the social networks used by job seekers in residential areas such as Site C are neighbourhood-based and thus weak in acting as spaces for information-exchange.

The findings here show that causal links between distance from employment centres and negative labour market outcomes such as unemployment, low wages and limited information about job opportunities cannot be put forward as an absolute argument that applies anywhere and everywhere. As shown by this study into the nature of the mechanisms, context and the possibility of alternative theories must be considered. The main contention here is that while the causal dynamics proposed by the SMH are not on the whole rejected, when the mechanism is made the subject of inquiry, the possibility exists that alternative explanations can be put forward, explanations which weaken the causal link and question generalisations made in its name. There is much room for future qualitative studies that will engage the SMH debate by posing similar questions about the nature of the mechanism, and the possibility that perhaps spatial mismatch scholars miss some important alternative factors.

APPENDIX

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The Spatial Mismatch Hypothesis and Social Networks - Interview Schedule

1. Residential Information (Past & Present)

- Where were you born?
- Is it a rural or urban (township/suburb) area?
- What kind of dwelling did you live in?
- Did you own it, rent it, occupy it illegally or share it?

If birth area is not current residential area...

- Where do you live currently?
- When did you move?
- Why did you move?
- Why did you choose to live here?
- What kind of housing structure is it?
- What kind of area is it?
- Did you live anywhere else before your current residence?
- If yes to above, when you arrived in Cape Town, what kind of dwelling did you live in?
- Who did you live with? (Relatives, friends, housemates)
- Were you assured of a place to stay before you arrived?
- How many times have you moved since your first arrival?

2. Household Information (History & Current)

- Who raised you? (Parents, grandparents, relatives)
- How many people did you live with in the house you were born?
- How many people worked?
- Was the income from them enough to support the household? If not, how did you make ends meet?
- Did anyone receive any social grants?
- How many people live with you currently? (Family, relatives, friends, housemates, strangers)

- How many of them are adults and how many are children?
- How many of the adults work?
- How are household expenses shared?
- Do you have children?

If yes to above then...

- How many?
- Do they live with you?
- Do they attend school? If yes, where?
- How far is the school from where you/they live?
- How do they get to school?
- How much does the transport cost you per month?
- Does this affect you getting to work? If yes, how?
- Do you or any other family members receive social grants?
- If yes to above, how do they assist you and the family?

3. Educational History

- Where did you attend school? (Area)
- What kind of school was it?
- Why did you attend this school? (Cost, distance, convenience, only option)
- Were there other schools that you would have rather attended? If yes, why?
- How far did you get in school? Why?
- Would you have liked to continue?
- If you had been able to continue, what would you have studied?
- If you had the chance, would you go back to school?

4. Job Search Strategies

- How do you look for jobs (Past and present)?
- Which strategy has proved most effective?
- Which strategy is the most affordable to you?

- On average, how much time do you spend in a day looking for work (Through networking, travelling, consulting adverts?)
- How much money do you spend a week looking for jobs?
- Do you travel to look for jobs? If so, what transport mode do you use and where do you get the funds?
- What constraints are you faced with when looking for work?

5. **Social Networks** (NB always ask where contacts live)

- Do you have relatives in the area, or in other areas of Cape Town?
- Are you on good terms with them?
- Do you see them regularly?
- Do you share information about job availability with them?
- If yes to above, has the information led to employment?
- Do you know your neighbours well?
- Are you on good terms with them?
- Would you say you live in a close-knit community?
- Do you share information about jobs with them?
- If yes to above, has the information led to employment?
- Who [else] do you socialise with?
- How often do you see these people?
- Are they mainly friends, relatives, acquaintances?
- What do you do in your spare time? (Church, parties, clubs)
- Do the people you are in contact with work?
- Would they or do they tell you about work availability?
- Have they informed you about work opportunities in the past?
- Where did they get this information?
- Is this information mainly helpful?
- Do you trust that they would continue to tell you in the future?

6. Employment (Past and Present)

- Can you remember the first job you ever had? What was it?
- Details? (What, where, when, duties, responsibilities)
- How did you hear about this job? Details.
- How much did you earn?
- What were your responsibilities? (E.g. supporting family)
- Did your remuneration allow you to meet these responsibilities?
- If not, how did you make ends meet?
- Can you describe all the other jobs that you've had after your first one in as much detail as possible? (Prompt for: location, type of work, source of information, employers, dates, places, duties, remuneration)
- How did you travel to work? (Prompt for: mode of transport, reason, cost, travel time, positive and negative experiences)
- If you think back, what have been the reasons behind you taking, losing or changing jobs? (Prompt for: transport costs, low remuneration, type of work, new job opportunity)
- Who would you say you hear more about job opportunities from? (Relatives, friends, employers, colleagues, newspapers, overhearing conversations, church, societies)
- Are you currently employed? If, yes, details as above.
- How did you hear about the job?
- Did you have an interview?
- What mode of transport do you use to get to work?
- How long is your journey?
- What does it cost you (proportion of salary)?
- Do you ever have any problems getting to work? Consequences?
- Can you foresee anything that would make you leave this job?
- Would you like to be employed closer to home? If yes, what impact would this have on you?

7. Unemployment History

- How often have you been unemployed in the past?
- What were the reasons for this?

- Did your place of residence (as compared with job locations) have anything to do with this?
- How did you survive during these times?
- Did you look for work during this time? If so, how?
- Were the people you know of any assistance to you? If so, how?
- On average, how long did it take you to get employed? Why? (Ask for each period of unemployment)
- If currently unemployed, how are you looking for work?
- How do you think you will find work?
- Do you have faith that you will find a job?
- What would the benefits of having a job be in your life?

8. Conclusion

- What do you think is the best way for companies to advertise work?
- Is this the easiest way for you to access information?
- What would you suggest employers do in order for job information to reach you?

Thank You

Length of Interview:

End Notes:

Interview 1

Dates: 3/8/11

2/10/11

25/2/12

Pseudonym: *Thando

Gender: Male

Age: 38 (Born 1973)

Place of birth: Queenstown, Eastern Cape (Urban, township)

Living in CT since: 1993

Level of education: Matric

Employment status: Unemployed

Residence

Thando has been living in Cape Town for 19 years. He left his hometown as a result of a limited possibility of finding work, and came to Cape Town in search of a job. He had completed his matric, and although he would have liked to study, his family could not afford to pay for a tertiary institution. On arrival, he was offered a place to stay by a male relative living in an informal settlement in Franschoek at the time. This relative had also come to Cape Town from Queenstown for the same reason. He has since moved several times and has lived in Langa and Khayelitsha. He moved from Franschoek because he felt that it was too far from the places that offered jobs. He now lives in Site C where he and his mother were offered a place to stay by other relatives also originally from Queenstown. Thando lives in a front-yard shack located on somebody else's property with five relatives, three of whom are adults. Only his mother works. The family is not being charged rent as yet, and Thando is not sure whether this will remain unchanged. He has two children but both live elsewhere in Khayelitsha with their respective mothers.

Money matters

The only person in the household who works is Thando's mother. She supports the whole family. She is assisted by the child support grants received by two of the children (not Thando's). Thando's children, who live elsewhere, both receive the child support grant, which assist in paying for their schooling. Thando says this is not enough however, as the transport costs for each child R250/month. He has to find other resources to assist with raising his children. Mostly this assistance comes in the form of money from his mother during periods in which he is unemployed, and from him when he has a job.

Education

Thando attended a previously disadvantaged co-ed school in Whittlesea and matriculated there. This school was chosen because it was close to where he lived, which made the transport costs low. This was a consideration because Thando lived with his grandparents and five other people in a house that belonged to his relatives. Only two people in the household worked and no one received a social grant. Although Thando does not think they were particularly poor, because according to him life was more affordable in those days, they had to be cautious of how they spent the little money that they did have. If he had had the choice, Thando would have continued his education after matriculating, but now feels that even if he were given the opportunity to go back to school, his age prohibits him from doing so. He also states that he does not feel that his education acts as a limitation when looking for work because he has other skills that he has acquired from some of the jobs that he has held.

Employment

Thando is currently unemployed. He has been unemployed for almost two years now. He says that he has no hope of finding work soon because according to him, jobs are scarce. This hopelessness is clear throughout the interview.

Job 1: The first job he had in Cape Town was at Bryco Metals, which he held between 1998 and 2002. This means that between 1993, when he arrived in CT, and 1998, when he started at Bryco, Thando was unemployed. He says that he is unsure of the reason behind this as he looked for work by asking around. He also travelled to places where he heard were looking

for people when he could afford to do so, which he admits was not often. He says that his failure to find work could have been because there were just no jobs available. At Bryco, Thando worked as a machine operator, a forklift driver and also handled material dispatch. These are skills he learnt on the job, which he feels he could also use in other jobs. Bryco was located in Montague Gardens. He used a taxi to get to work. Thando says that in order to get to work by 8am he had to wake up at 6am and leave the house by 6:45am. It took him about 15 minutes to walk to the taxi rank and wait in the queue for a taxi. The actual journey to work usually took about 40-50 minutes and the taxi dropped him off close to work. Apart from occasional traffic jam on the road, Thando says that using a taxi worked well for him. He would have liked to use a train because it was cheaper, but couldn't because there was no direct train route to Montague Gardens. While he could have used the train to get to the CBD and then connect to Montague Gardens by taxi, he says that this option did not make sense to him because it would have meant much more time travelling. According to Thando, the little money that he would have saved by doing this would not have justified the increased travel time. Other than the cost, he had no problem using a taxi as it got him to work on time, despite the long travel time.

He heard about the job through his mother who he was not yet living with at the time. They were both staying in Khayelitsha, but in different places. His mother worked as a domestic for the owner of Bryco, which is how she heard about the job. Thando went for one interview and was hired almost immediately. He believes that part of the reason he got the job without any hassle was because of the existing relationship between his mother and the owner of the company, as his mother had recommended him. Thando earned R950/week. According to him it was good money as it allowed him to meet his responsibilities at home by contributing to the household expenses and supporting his children, who already lived with their mothers at the time. He feels that the remuneration was sufficient for the time. The job at Bryco ended when the company was bought out and then other owners took over. He says that he would have liked to continue working there if the opportunity had presented itself.

Job 2: The second job Thando held was at The Department of Water Affairs in Paarl in 2004. It was a project in which he worked as a general operator, as a carpenter and a shutter hand constructing wooden shutters of making columns. This was a contract that he held for

“several months”. He heard about the job through a close relative of his who also currently lives in another area in Khayelitsha. This is one of the relatives he sees often and socialises with on a regular basis. He says this relative heard of the opportunity through a friend of his who had already got a job on the project. This relative of his subsequently got a job on the project shortly before Thando was employed. His relative’s friend had recommended his relative to the supervisor, who then, after being employed, recommended Thando. Thando says that he is unsure how his relative was able to make sure that he got the job because he did not enjoy any special relationship with the supervisor. However, he does say that after he joined, the supervisor used this type of recruitment on the two occasions that a position opened up, and that his colleagues would recommend someone for a post. He never got a chance to make any recommendations because each time he heard about a position, someone had already been accepted. Transport was not an issue at all as the Department provided this at no extra charge to him. Thando woke up at 5am during the time that he held this job and his transport picked him and some of his colleagues up at a nearby garage at 6am. He left the house just before 6am because the garage is three minutes away from his house. Thando cannot exactly remember how much he earned but says that it was less than the job at Bryco. Regardless, he says that he managed to make ends meet using his income. This job ended because the contract had come to an end.

Job 3: Thando started at this job about two months after the above job ended. It was also with the Department of Water Affairs in Paarl, but this time he worked as a housekeeper and gardener for one of the managers. He also did odd jobs where he was needed. He heard about this job from a colleague who did not stay in Khayelitsha while working at the above job as a general operator. He says he started enquiring right before his contract came to an end because he did not know what he would do if it were not renewed. He was referred to the person responsible for hiring and says that he was not even formally interviewed for the job. Thando believes that his reference from his previous job in the project put him in a good position for the job. Transport was provided in the same manner as above since he was still working in the same project. This helped because the pay was low. He says he earned about R500/week for this job, which according to him was not enough for him to meet his responsibilities. His mother assisted him where she could so that he could make ends meet. He says that the child support grant received by his children assisted at this time. This job

lasted for six months and again the contract ended. He remained unemployed for a few years after this job had ended.

Job 4: In 2008 Thando got another contract job as a street sweeper in Site C, Khayelitsha. This was an 18-month contract. He had no travelling costs as he lived in the area. He woke up at 7:30am, left the house 45 minutes later to be at work by 8:30am everyday. He heard about this job while he was out in a local shebeen (drinking spot). He says the people he was drinking with and talking to mentioned it. They were neither relatives nor friends of his, but people who he sometimes socialised with when out drinking. These acquaintances informed him that he would be able to get more information about the job in one of the government offices in the area. He says that obtaining information this way was rare as people rarely shared information with people they were not close with. Thando visited the offices and received the information he needed to apply for the job. He says this time he had no contact already in the job but he relied on his reference from his previous job as a cleaner. He got the job a month after applying after being called in for an interview at the local offices. He says that the pay was low, but does not state how much it was. Again he had to ask his mother for support in order to make ends meet. The mothers of his two children worked on and off so this, along with the grants, also assisted. Again, the job ended because his contract had ended. Thando has been unemployed since.

Thando has never stopped work voluntarily. He says that he values all the jobs that he has held and would take any job opportunity that presents itself. He believes that he is currently unemployed because there are no jobs, because if there were jobs, he would hear about them like he has in the past. He says that in between his jobs, he has done some very informal work such as going around the neighbourhood asking whether people have piece-jobs such as gardening. But he says even these jobs are scarce. His mother remains his primary means for him to support himself as she has been employed throughout as a domestic.

Job search

Thando's primary job search strategy is via word-of-mouth. Mostly he waits to hear about a job opportunity before taking any steps towards getting it, such as going to the place, getting more information and applying. He believes that this strategy has proved very effective in

the past. He says that he cannot afford to go up and down looking for work because this is expensive. He does not have money to travel to look for work because he does not even have money to buy food for himself. He says this is mainly why he sits and waits for information. Plus he says that sometimes you will travel to look for work and you will come back empty-handed, which is a waste of money.

Sometimes he will ask friends and relatives if they have heard of anything, and says that when they have heard, they tell him. According to him, he hears about most opportunities through these people who he sees and talks to often. Even when he does not ask, he believes that they would inform him when an opportunity arises, as they know he is always looking for work. Because of this, Thando does not spend much money looking for work, but claims that he spends about five hours a day on job search [presumably asking around]. The few times that he can afford to travel to search for jobs, he uses the train because it is cheaper [this is after he has heard of an opportunity]. When the train does not cover a certain route, he is forced to use taxis, which are more expensive. Thando says that he is not on good terms with his neighbours [by this he means his immediate neighbours on his street]. He believes that sometimes when they hear of jobs, they do not share the information with him. But in the past, Thando admits that he has also not shared any job information with his immediate neighbours. He says that he will not share information with people that will not do the same for him. Their community is not close at all. This is why he gets more information from, and shares information with his friends and relatives.

Thando says there are two main constraints to him finding work. One, there is no money to travel to go looking, two, there is no full information about a job because even when he hears about an opportunity, sometimes there is a lack of the information that could lead to him getting the job. And sometimes he has to travel to get the information, which is a problem when there is no money, which is most times. But added to this, he also thinks that there are just no jobs, and the jobs that are available are for "certain people" [he does not elaborate on whether this is based on skills, education or connections, but based on subsequent answers, it seems that he means connections].

Thando says that even when there is a construction project in the area, local people are not employed. Instead, workers are brought in from other areas. He sees this to imply that people tell their “own people” about job opportunities, which is how vacancies are filled.

Social networks

Thando has relatives in Khayelitsha, Franschoek and Kraaifontein. He is on good terms with them. He sees the ones who live in Khayelitsha about once a week or once in two weeks, but sees the ones who live further away about once a month. He does however talk to them more regularly on the phone. He says that they phone each other regarding job opportunities and family matters. In fact, one of his close relatives was the one who informed him about the government contract job in Paarl. His friends mostly live in and around Khayelitsha, some in other wards in Site C. It is these people that Thando mostly shares job information with. He trusts that they would inform him if an opportunity arose. He says that on a few occasions he has heard of opportunities that he has been unable to follow up on. The reasons behind this are that the areas were too far for him to travel [he could not afford to go look for more information as the job was in Kraaifontein] or that he did not know where to get more information about another job. He believes that these are also some of the reasons he has been unemployed in the past. He says that this happens sometimes and there is nothing he can do about it. Thando says that his friends and relatives mainly hear of opportunities at their places of work. He says that generally, people share information with those closest to them, and if you are a person who distances himself from people, then you will not hear of job openings. Unfortunately, he says, most of the people that he is in contact with are unemployed.

He admits that he does not socialise much, apart from when he is out with his friends who live in Khayelitsha in the local drinking spots. Perhaps this explains why he is mainly reliant on friends and family for information. He also says that sometimes he shares information with people he meets on the road to work [during periods of employment]. This has not led to any employment opportunities.

Conclusion

Thando believes that the best way for companies to advertise work is for them to put pamphlets in community centres or on clinic boards because these are the places that people frequent. This is how those that need it most will access information. This is the best way because sometimes one does not even have money to buy the newspaper. He is very sceptical about the chances of him finding work at the moment, and appears to have resigned himself to permanent unemployment. However, he does say that if he were to hear of an opening, he would try by all means to get that particular job.

University of Cape Town

Interview 2

Date: 3/8/11
4/10/11
Pseudonym: *Vuyokazi
Gender: Female
Age: 40
Place of birth: uMthatha, Eastern Cape (Urban, township)
Living in CT since: 1987
Level of education: Grade 10
Employment status: Employed

Residence

Vuyokazi moved to Cape Town after completing grade 10 in 1987 to look for work. When she arrived she lived in Khayelitsha with her parents, who had moved to Cape Town from uMthatha for the same reason. Back in uMthatha the family rented a backyard shack. She now lives in a stand-alone brick house in Site C Khayelitsha, the same house she has lived in since she arrived in the city. Her parents have since passed away. Before her parents moved to Cape Town, she lived with them and one other person in uMthatha. Only her father worked at the time. She says she was too young to remember whether he earned enough to support the whole family. At the time there were no social grants. Currently there are seven people in her household, and all are related.

Money Matters

There are three adults in the household, and two of them work, including her. It is only these two people who contribute to the household expenses. Vuyokazi explains that the income from these two members, herself included, is not enough to cover the expenses. She has

two children and also supports her deceased sister's child. They all live with her. One of them receives a child support grant. Two of the children study in Khayelitsha and one of them is not yet in school. The two that are in school use a taxi to get to school as their schools are too far for them to walk. Their transport costs R200/month for each of them. This affects how Vuyokazi gets to work because this money has to be taken from the household finances, which sometimes results in her struggling to put together money to travel to work.

Education

Vuyokazi attended a previously disadvantaged co-ed school in Qumbu, one of the rural areas in the Eastern Cape. This school was chosen because it was close to where she lived. She would have liked to attend other schools that she says were better schools, but they were expensive and the family could not afford them. According to her, she would have liked to continue with her education but had to leave school in grade 10 because there was no money. She expresses that she "would be far" now if she had had the opportunity to study further. Vuyokazi says that education could have opened doors for her. She would have studied nursing, and would go back to school if given the chance. She says she wants to make sure that her children study as far as possible so that they get more chances than she did, even though this is hard as money is scarce.

Employment

Vuyokazi is currently employed as a domestic.

Job 1: The first job that Vuyokazi ever held was as a childminder at a private house in Rosebank. She held the position between 2006 and 2008. She looked after the baby and also did some domestic work duties such as cleaning, washing and ironing. She earned R1500/month and used it to contribute to household expenses and pay for her children's schooling. However, this remuneration was not enough for her to meet all her responsibilities. She had no alternative means to supplement her income and there was nobody who could assist her financially so she forced to just manage on the salary she received. She heard about this job from a fellow congregant who also lived within close proximity to her in Site C. This fellow congregant subsequently became a friend. This woman

worked for another family in Rosebank and heard from her employers that there was a job opening in a house in the neighbourhood. The fellow congregant then informed Vuyokazi, and proceeded to recommend her to her employers, who then relayed the information to Vuyokazi's prospective employers. Vuyokazi was contacted by her future employer and called in for an interview. She got the job a week later. She travelled to work by train because it was the cheapest. She says that the train is generally reliable and she has only experienced problems with the train only a few times. She had to take two trains in the morning and two in the afternoon as well. Her travel time was an hour and 30 minutes including walking to and from the station, though she cannot say precisely how this was divided up between walking and riding in the train. She says she did not really have a problem with this, but what was difficult was that she had to get up at 4:30am each morning and leave the house at 06:00 in order to prepare for her children as well as make it to her job before the employers left for work.

Job 2: In 2009 Vuyokazi worked in a factory in Philippi for about six months. She heard about the job from her aunt, who she currently lives with. Her aunt was employed there and received information that more workers were required. She says that her aunt did not refer her, in fact she had to pretend that she did not know her aunt as family links frowned upon by the employer. Vuyokazi could not state that she had received the information of job openings from her aunt. She describes the job as being production line factory work, and when prompted for what she actually did, she just said factory work. She does not know how much exactly the salary was because she says they were paid in accordance with what they produced. She complains bitterly that the wages were very low and unpredictable. So low in fact that she left the job voluntarily because the wages did not make continuing worthwhile for her, especially because she says most of the money went towards covering her transport. She travelled by train and her journey was under 30 minutes, which by itself was not a problem. She also states that the work was very difficult and tiring, which also contributed to her decision to leave the job. After she left the job she and her children were supported by her aunt, who was still employed. At this time, there was just one regular income in the household. When asked if she was sure that she would be supported after choosing to leave her job, Vuyokazi says that relatives don't just abandon each other in times of need. She had supported her aunt when she had been unemployed and knew that the favour would be

returned. She also received some money from odd chars that she did, which she says she had been unable to do while employed at the factory. She also receives a grant for one of her children, which contributes towards meeting the child's needs.

Job 3: Vuyokazi adds that she has held numerous chars over the years. These have been odd jobs received based on referrals from previous employers and people who she had cleaned for. These have been around the Cape Town suburbs, but mainly in the Southern Suburbs in the Rosebank, Rondebosch, and Claremont areas. These jobs have entailed cleaning, washing and ironing. She says an example of this kind of work is that she would go in to a household once a week or fortnightly and get paid daily. She travelled by train and her travelling time was based on where she would be going for that day. She says generally, the travel costs were affordable as she would keep money to travel from her previous pay. It helped that she got paid daily as this allowed her to meet immediate household needs such as food. She says that she thinks she got the referrals because she did good work and that employers liked her. She also says that unfortunately permanent work is scarce these days because people only need cleaning ladies a few times a week.

Current Job: At the moment, Vuyokazi holds three chars in Kenilworth. She cleans three separate houses on three days a week. She earns R200/week from each of the households, which puts her weekly income at R600. She now uses taxis to get to work because she says they are faster and more convenient since she takes one taxi, instead of two trains to get to work. It takes her 30 minutes to get to work once she is on the taxi, but it takes her another 20mins to walk to the taxi stop and wait in the queue. She spends R22 on a return trip per day or R66 a week in total. This is about 10 per cent of her weekly salary. She says that she hardly ever experiences problems with getting to work, apart from traffic on the way to work. She says working closer to home would definitely be beneficial as it would mean less money and time spent on travelling, but says char work is scarce in and around Khayelitsha because people generally don't have extra money for work that they can do themselves.

She says the way she found the first job was that she had to stand in for her cousin (who is employed as a fulltime domestic) one day when she couldn't make it to work. Vuyokazi says she is close with her cousin, who lives elsewhere in Site B, Khayelitsha, and they see each other almost every week in church. She says her cousin's employer was impressed with her

work and proceeded to refer her to a friend who needed someone to come in once a week to do cleaning. She went for an interview and was told she had got the job immediately. Vuyokazi says through this referral, she was subsequently referred to two other households that needed her char services. She is uncertain of the relationship between the second and third referral, apart from the fact that they know each other. She says she does not think she would have these jobs if it were not for the referrals given by the first employer because, according to her, it is difficult to find work without contacts. She goes on to say that finding work is even more difficult when one does not have the money to look for work by travelling to where jobs are.

During the times when she was unemployed, Vuyokazi says that she could not find jobs. She did not choose not to work. When reminded about leaving her job at the factory, she says that she had no choice in that situation. She does not believe that her living in Khayelitsha has any bearing on her periods of unemployment. When reminded again of the Philippi job, she says that the main reason she left the job was that the pay did not match the difficulty and arduous nature of the work, and that much of the remuneration went into transport costs. She says that during times of unemployment would ask around about job openings, and travel as and when she had the financial means to. She does say that generally, once she hears of a job opportunity and makes contact with the prospective employer, she gets the job soon afterwards.

Vuyokazi is appreciative of the three chars that she does have, and believes that she will continue to have them in the future. She is also hopeful that her current employers will refer her should another job opportunity arise. She would like to fill the remaining days she has in her week (except Sunday as this is reserved for church). She says if this could happen, then she could have more money for the household and her children.

Job Search

Vuyokazi's primary job search method is searching the paper for adverts and asking people she is in contact with if they know of job opportunities. She says the papers are not really helpful because there aren't many adverts for chars, even though she continues to consult them when she can afford to buy one. According to her, she has never gained employment from an advert in the paper. Sometimes she also does not have the money to buy the paper.

Word-of-mouth has proved more effective for her. Plus, it is the cheapest. She says that she isn't sure how much time she spends looking for work a day, but says it's probably one day a week. Sometimes she travels in search of work because she says sometimes people who need cars advertise locally, which she does not elaborate on. This way, she can get more information about job opportunities. When she does this, she mostly uses a train because it is more affordable and allows her to save some money. The one thing she sees as a constraint during job search is money, because without it, one cannot travel to get a job.

Social Networks

Most of the people Vuyokazi is in contact with are her relatives who live in Site C, Philippi and Macassar. She is on good terms with all of them and sees them about twice a month. She says that she shares information about job openings with them, and they do the same. This information has led to employment in the past such as when she got information about the job in Philippi through her aunt, and when she had to stand in for her cousin, which led to more referrals. She knows her neighbours very well and is on good terms with them, although people generally keep to themselves in the area. She says that sometimes information is shared among the neighbours but cannot name an instance when it led to employment. Vuyokazi especially socialises with people in her church. She is very involved in the church and has some close relationships with some of her fellow congregants. Most of the congregants live in Khayelitsha and a few in Gugulethu and Philippi. She shares information with some of the congregants and some of this information has led to employment, such as when she got a job as a childminder in Rosebank. Vuyokazi says that the information that is shared on this platform mainly comes from those who are employed and find out of opportunities in their workplaces. At times, announcements are made during the church service, and job seekers are encouraged to seek further information from those who make such announcements. Vuyokazi has no doubt that this information sharing will continue in the future. She says that the church does its best to promote employment and is constantly looking for ways to find out about job openings, and share this information with the congregation.

Apart from the church and seeing her relatives, Vuyokazi does not socialise much. This is why she is mainly reliant on these sources for information about jobs.

Conclusion

Vuyokazi believes that the best way to advertise jobs is for employers to use media such as radios and newspapers. This way information can reach those who need it, even if they live in areas that are not where the jobs are. She strongly supports newspaper advertising, even though she herself admits that at times she cannot afford to buy the paper.

University of Cape Town

Interview 3

Dates: 3/8/11
17/10/11

Pseudonym: *Nobuntu

Gender: Female

Age: 29

Place of birth: Lady Frere, Eastern Cape (Rural)

Living in CT since: 2004

Level of education: Grade 11

Employment status: Employed

Residence

Nobuntu was born in rural Eastern Cape and has been living in Cape Town for about seven years. She left her home because there was no money for her to complete her education and came to the city in search of employment opportunities. Her family in the Eastern Cape owned a stand-alone brick house. She lived with eight other people in the house. Nobody in the household worked, and the family survived on two social grants. This was not enough for them to survive on, so the family would get groceries on credit and pay at month end. And the same would happen when the groceries ran out mid-month. When she arrived, having been assured of a place to stay prior to her arrival, she lived in an area of Khayelitsha called Taiwan. She lived with her mother and two brothers in a shack. She then moved to Site C to live in a stand-alone brick house when she got married. This is where she currently lives. There are currently 5 people living in the house including her 9-month old child. Two of these residents are adults (Nobuntu and her husband) and both work. Nobuntu has three children.

Money Matters

The household expenses are shared between Nobuntu and her husband. Two of the children receive the child support grant. She is hoping that the youngest one will also be receiving a child support grant from 2012. One of her children attends school in Mitchell's Plain and the other one attends an Early Childhood Development Centre (crèche) in Site C. The one who attends a school in Mitchell's Plain uses a daily transport to get there, which costs R300/month, and the one who attends crèche in the area walks to school, accompanied by Nobuntu or her husband. The transport costs do not affect Nobuntu's ability to get to work as she uses the child support grants to meet this obligation. She also uses this to contribute to the school fees in Mitchell's Plain.

Education

Nobuntu attended a previously disadvantaged co-ed local school in Lady Frere. She attended this school because it was within walking distance from her home and because there were no other schools she could have attended in the area. After she completed her grade 11, she was told that there was no money for her to further her studies since the whole family was surviving only on two social grants. She says that she would have gone on to study social work if she had had the opportunity, and would go back if she were to be given the option.

Employment

Nobuntu is currently employed. She got her first job in 2005, about a year after she arrived in Cape Town, and has worked since.

Job 1: Nobuntu's first job was at Barcelo's Restaurant in Constantia between 2005 and 2007. She worked in the kitchen as a griller. She heard of the job through a friend of hers who she had befriended when she first arrived in Cape Town. She also lived in Taiwan, a few houses away from where Nobuntu stayed with her family. This friend worked at Barcelo's and found out that one of the grillers had left the job. She then informed Nobuntu to travel to the restaurant and submit her CV as a person looking for work. This friend vouched for Nobuntu and she subsequently got the job a week later. She used the money to contribute towards buying groceries as she was still living in Taiwan with her mother, who also worked, and two brothers. She says that this money was not enough for her to live on and where she fell

short, her mother would assist her. She had already had her first child by then, but had left her in Lady Frere. As a result, she also needed to send some money there towards her upkeep. She used a bus to travel to work, and although it was more expensive than the train, it was cheaper than a taxi, plus it was more convenient when it came to the proximity of the drop-off stop to the workplace. A one-way trip on the bus cost about R10/R11. Nobuntu did not purchase a monthly ticket because she also worked the night shift and had to pay a transport fee of R15 for every drop-off. She says that even though she appreciated the work, it was tiring and inconvenient for her. The times were awkward and the night shifts were especially problematic. This was especially important given that Nobuntu had fallen pregnant. She then left this job in early 2007, gave birth and stayed home for about two months before starting at her next job.

Job 2: Nobuntu worked at a private house in Bellville doing cleaning and ironing. She got this job around May 2007 after she had already given birth. She says that she heard about this job one day when she was visiting a relative in Makhaya, another area in Khayelitsha. When she arrived at her cousin's place, her cousin was with a friend who told her about a job in Bellville after Nobuntu started communicating her complaints about her previous job at Barcelo's. She had never met this woman, but received the information based on the fact that there was a pre-existing relationship between her cousin and this woman. Her cousin was employed at the time. The other woman informed Nobuntu that she was currently working in Bellville but had got a cleaning job elsewhere, which was permanent and paid better. As a result, there would be an opening at her current employer. She said that she knew her employer was currently looking for someone and would inform her that she had a friend who was interested in the position. The employer accepted the recommendation and Nobuntu got the job in Bellville without even a formal interview. She did cleaning and ironing once a week at R200/day. Sometimes she would be called in for an extra day a week (also at R200) if this was needed, but she says this was not very often. She would also on occasion do grocery shopping for her employer. This means that she earned at least R800/month or more depending on the extra days she worked. Although she does not remember exactly how much she used to earn at Barcelo's, except for that they were paid per hour, she says that she earned more at Barcelo's than she did at the Bellville job.

She had to hire a nanny to look after her infant child while she was at work. She says that she got financial support to do this from the father of the child and her mother. The child was also receiving a grant, which went towards his upkeep. In 2008 she married the father of her second-born child and moved to Site C to live with him. In the same year, she also brought her eldest child to Cape Town from Lady Frère as she felt that she could now afford to take care of her. Nobuntu says that what she enjoyed most about this job was that she worked one day a week, and didn't have to work nights. This meant that she has more time for her children and her husband.

She remained in this job until 2011. However, in October 2010 she decided to take maternity leave as she was already heavily pregnant with her youngest child. At this time, the eldest child was attending school in Mitchell's Plain, and the second-born crèche in Site C. Although she would not be paid, her employer allowed her to leave with the guarantee that she could return to work within a few months when she was ready. The only condition was that she had to arrange a temporary replacement. She says that this was not at all difficult as she had a relative who lived just outside of Khayelitsha in Khwezi who was willing to step in for her. Her employer accepted recommendation for the temporary replacement. She says that she made this choice together with her husband, who would support her and the children while she was not working. She had also consulted her mother on this decision, and she understood and promised to help where she could. She says that during this time they managed to survive on her husband's salary and some financial assistance from her mother, although it was not as easy as when she was working. This was a period of about six months. In April 2011 she returned to work in Bellville and continued working there until she started working at her current job in July 2011.

Current Job: Nobuntu is currently employed as a domestic worker in a private house in Constantia. She does cleaning and ironing for her employer twice a week and gets paid R1600/month. Her husband, who works as a driver in Nobuntu's employer's company, facilitated this job. At the beginning of 2011 Nobuntu's husband's employer mentioned to him that they would need a domestic worker to come in a couple of days a week in the near future, although the exact date was not clear. Her husband then informed his employer that Nobuntu was searching for work, even though she was still on maternity leave from her job in Bellville. She then went for an interview and received no news about the job for several

months. Fortunately she still had the option of returning to her Bellville cleaning job at the time. In April 2011 she did just this, having received no news from her husband's employer. It was only in July 2011 that she received a call from the employer telling her that they would like to hire her. Although Nobuntu could have held both jobs, going in for one day in Bellville and two days in Constantia, she chose to quit her Bellville job the job. She says that this is because she was not yet ready to leave her newborn child for more than two days a week. She also says that this decision was made in consultation with her husband, who told her that they could afford for her to work twice a week instead of three times a week. They agreed that in the future, when the baby was older, she could look for more work.

Her husband vouched for her for the job and her employer accepted this because he had been a good and trusted employee of theirs for many years. Nobuntu also received a letter of reference from her previous employer in Bellville, which she says helped her get the job. Nobuntu travels to work by bus. The journey alone takes an hour, which she says is a long time to spend on the road each way. She then spends 10 minutes each way walking to and from the bus station. The advantage is that the bus drops her much closer than either a train or a taxi would. This, along with the fact that she does not like the train, is the main reason behind her choosing this mode of transportation. It costs her about R300/month for a monthly ticket, which can also be used on the bus for other travel purposes on the same route. The main problem regarding getting to work is the traffic in the mornings, but other than that if she leaves on time, she gets to work on time. She sees no reason why she would leave this job as she says she is very happy, and it helps her contribute to the household expenses. She also says that for now working for two days a week suits her and that she is currently not looking for more jobs because she also has her hands full with taking care of her children and the home.

When asked whether she would take maternity leave if she were to fall pregnant, she says she now has three children and could never afford to have another one. In fact on some months they struggle to make ends meet and are forced to depend on relatives (particularly her mother and her husband's brother) to loan them money. Nobuntu says that being employed closer to home would be beneficial because it would lower her transport costs and allow her more time to spend at home with her children in the mornings. However she has no hope of this and says that if there was work in the area, she would know about it.

Job Search

In the past Nobuntu has used employment agencies and internet sources to find work. She says that employment agencies only work sometimes, and that the worst thing about them is that they take a cut from the wages to pay for their services. Despite this, she has no examples of when she gained employment using an agency. She says that the internet is the most affordable because she can just go to an internet café in Khayelitsha or Wynberg when she is shopping for the household (not Site C) and pay to use the internet for about an hour. She also cannot state specific cases when she successfully got a job from using the internet. Nobuntu used to spend about six hours a day looking for work in this and other ways such as networking with the people she is in contact with or updating her CV and sending it out (this is during periods when she is actively searching for employment because at the moment she is not looking). When she did travel to look for work, she used a taxi because she says that she has never liked the train. There is no reason for this other than that she is not used to using it for transportation. She says that the one constraint she faces when travelling to look for work is that sometimes she is not familiar with the areas, and this can lead to her getting lost. In this regard, travelling money is not a problem for Nobuntu because she says that if she does not have it, then her husband usually helps her out.

Social Networks

Nobuntu has relatives who live in Taiwan and Makhaya (in Khayelitsha) and Khwezi, not far from Khayelitsha. She is on good terms with them and sees them about once a month. She sees her mother every day. She shares job information with her relatives, but as yet, no information she has received from them has led to employment, except for when her cousin's friend gave her information that led to her being employed in Bellville. She knows her neighbours well and is also on good terms with them. She says that she is quite close with the people that live close to her on either side of the street. She does however say that generally, the community is not close-knit and that people only socialise with those they consider to be close to them. For example, she only exchanges polite greetings with her other neighbours who live further away, and hardly ever has conversations with them. She does not share job information with these people. Nobuntu attends a society that was formed as a means of saving money through members making monthly financial

contributions (known as umgalelo in isiXhosa). Over time, this society has evolved into more than just a means to save money and she says that she has formed some close relationships with some of the members. They meet once a month, and she does share information with those who she now considers to be acquaintances or even friends.

Nobuntu attends church elsewhere in Khayelitsha every Sunday and the people she is contact with at church or outside of it mostly work. She doesn't share information with her fellow congregants. The people that she is in contact with though do share information about work opportunities. She says that these people usually get the information in situations such as talking to their contacts on the bus. She mainly receives the information via word of mouth. She says that sometimes this information is helpful but often not. She says that sometimes even when information is shared, details are lacking, which hinders follow-up. Despite this, she believes that these people will continue to share information with her.

Conclusion

Nobuntu sees the benefits of working as her being self-sufficient. In spite of this assertion however, it is clear that she does not earn enough money to be totally independent, and is assisted by her husband and her mother, by her own admission. She believes that the best way that companies can advertise work is through using the radio as a medium of communication. She says this is because most people listen to the radio, which makes it the easiest and probably cheapest way to access information (I assume she means community radio stations because the cost of advertising on commercial stations would be unaffordable to most employers that target low-wage, low-skilled work. Or maybe she has not thought of this and means all radio stations). She also says that the internet is also a good way because now people can just access it on their phones.

Interview 4

Dates: 3/8/11
18/10/11
19/10/11

Pseudonym: *Tumi

Gender: Female

Age: 37

Place of birth: Gugulethu, Cape Town (Urban, township)

Living in CT since: Born in CT, then moved to Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape, then back to CT in the mid-1980s.

Level of education: Grade 10

Employment status: Unemployed

Residence

Tumi was born in Gugulethu, Cape Town in the 1970s. She and her mother lived in a backyard shack. She is not sure whether they paid rent or not, as she was still very young at the time. Tumi says that when she was still very young, before even starting school, her mother sent her to live with her aunt (mother's sister) in Whittlesea in the Eastern Cape, where her mother had been born. She later discovered that this was because her mother could not afford to take care of her as she was unemployed and dependant on people's charity and odd jobs for survival. She spent about 5 years there and attended a local primary school. She walked to school as it was a short distance away. Tumi says that she was young at the time and cannot remember how many people lived in the household in Whittlesea, but says that she does know that she lived with a number of cousins. Her aunt worked, and her aunt's husband work out of town, and only returned a few times a year. She then returned to Cape Town in the mid-1980s because her mother got a job as a domestic worker

for a family in one of the suburbs of Cape Town, and could afford to send her to school and look after her. When she arrived, she went back to Gugulethu where her mother still stayed alone. A short while later they moved to Khayelitsha. This was sometime between 1985 and 1987, she cannot remember clearly. Initially, her family moved to Site B, where they shared a relatively large shack with relatives of theirs who had been forcibly relocated from Crossroads, Cape Town. Tumi and her mother moved to Site B first because they could not yet afford to live on their own, and her relatives had offered to put them up until they could. Her mother bought groceries for the household and took care of Tumi's school expenses. Tumi says that from what she later gathered as she grew older, she and her mother did not move willingly from Gugulethu (but she never knew the exact reason), and says that her mother always used to say that things were better when they lived in Gugulethu. In 1990 Tumi had her first child. This was while they were still living in Site B.

Tumi says that they stayed with their relatives for years and eventually moved to Site C in the mid-1990s when her mother could afford to build a stand-alone, one-room zinc house on a plot that she had managed "to organise" (Tumi does not know if this was bought or not). Tumi lived with her mother and her child when she moved to Site C, and says that her mother supported both of them. Because of this, she could not afford for Tumi to return to school. Currently, Tumi continues to live at the same house in Site C. She has since had another child and now lives with her two children as her mother passed away in 2009.

Money Matters

Her mother worked as a domestic and received enough income to support both Tumi and herself. Tumi was able to assist during her brief period of employment before her mother's death. Neither of them received a social grant. Since her mother's death, Tumi has had to make ends meet using the child support grant received by her younger child as the older one has become ineligible due to age. She does not work at the moment and is dependent on the grant as well as the benevolence of neighbours and sometimes her relatives in Site B. She says that sometimes she gets odd cleaning jobs (nothing permanent) and uses this money to support the household. Strangely, she is unable to name these odd jobs and give more detailed information about them. She simply says they are "here and there" when asked to elaborate. Her youngest child is in school in Khayelitsha and walks there and back.

This means that the family is able to save money on transport costs. Tumi says that this is the primary reason that she chose these schools for her children. She says that her children were fathered by different men, who are both not involved in the upbringing of the children. She does not receive any money from either and says that she gave up even trying. Her eldest child is also unemployed, and has never worked.

Education

Tumi attended school in Khayelitsha once she got back to Cape Town. She then left the school in Khayelitsha and attended Modderdam High School. She says that this was much more expensive for her mother because of the higher school fees and the transport costs, but says that she was a good student and her mother wanted her to have a good education. She fell pregnant in grade 10 and had to leave school after she had written her year-end examinations. She has since not returned to school. Tumi would have liked to continue studying if she had had the opportunity and says that she would have studied engineering because she was very good in science. She also says (hesitatingly) that she would return to school if she were given the chance.

Employment

Tumi is currently unemployed and displays a resignation towards ever finding a job. She says that she has done all she could to find employment that would allow her to provide for herself and her children but this has not helped much. She believes that there is just no work for “uneducated” people and because of this she fears she might remain unemployed for a long time. She does have faith in that her children will be able to find employment though. She says she will do her best to ensure that they receive their matriculation certificates, as this will ensure that they are seen as “people” (meaning that an education will buy them some standing/dignity). Her eldest has not yet completed grade 12 but is currently not in school. Tumi does not give a reason for this.

Job 1: Tumi says that the first job she ever had was between 2006 and 2008. This means that she was 32 with two children when she got her first job. When asked for clarification she confirmed that this was indeed the case. She worked as a domestic for a man who lived alone in Milnerton. She says that the job ended when he relocated to George. She went in

once a week and was paid R150/day or R600 a month. She travelled to work by train because it was much cheaper than using a bus or a taxi. She says she cannot remember well, but thinks a return trip cost her about R16/day, which she would keep from the previous week's wage. She did cleaning and ironing for her employer. She heard about the job from her mother, who was also working as a domestic. Tumi's mother's employer had told Tumi's mother that her brother needed a domestic to come in once a week. Tumi's mother then recommended her to her own employer, who then relayed the information to her brother. She says that this was not a long process at all. As soon as her mother had mentioned her name to her employer, she received a call. Her mother had been working for her own employer for "a very long time" and was a trusted employee. Her mother had guaranteed that Tumi could do the work well, and that she was reliable. She says that she thinks this is the actual reason she got the job because she had never had a job before, had no experience, and did not even have references to speak on her behalf. She went for a short interview and was informed that she'd got the job a week later. She says that she thinks that the interview was just a way for her employer to meet her, as she was not asked too many questions apart from having to give the employer some information about herself. Her employer told her that he was just trying her out on his sister's recommendation, and that he would keep her in the job depending on whether she performed well. She ended up staying in the job for two years and says that apart from a few teething problems, her employer never had any problems with her work. Tumi says she used the money she earned to buy groceries for the household, but the money was not enough for her to meet her needs. She had to use the child support grant to assist her in meeting her responsibilities. After this job ended, Tumi remained unemployed for almost a year. She believes that if her employer had not relocated, she would still have the job today. She also says that relocating with him was out of the question because the money was too little to justify this. Also, she says this would not make sense because she had children who were not old enough to live alone, since she could not burden her relatives in Site B, Khayelitsha with two children.

Job 2: In 2009 Tumi worked in Wynberg handing out flyers to passers-by on the street. She says she worked for a Nigerian doctor (although she describes a herbalist rather than a doctor) who had a consulting practice on Wynberg main road. Her job, along with many others, was to stand on the street handing out flyers to prospective clients. She says that a

person would be given hundreds of flyers and would go back for more once they'd handed all of them out. She worked from 08:00 in the morning to about 04:00 in the afternoon. She heard about the vacancy from her neighbour of hers who was employed at the same place. She says her neighbour told her to go to work with her one morning and ask for a job from her employer. She also loaned Tumi the taxi fare. Her neighbour introduced her to her employer as a reliable friend who was looking for a job. Tumi says that all that her employer asked her was to fill out a form that requested her personal details such as her name, residence and employment experience, as well as contact information. She did this and was told to start immediately. Her neighbour received a R50 incentive for bringing in a new employee. Tumi was told that she would also get paid if she brought someone reliable for a job.

Tumi was paid R30/day for a full day's work. She admits that for a 5-day week she earned R150, which essentially was the same as she earned cleaning in her previous job. The difference was that at her previous job she earned the same amount for just one day's work. She says that the worst thing was that she actually spent half of the money on transportation. She travelled by taxi because she says the train always made her late. A return trip would cost her about R15. Sometimes she would be forced to spend her travelling money on food items for the house and she would be left without money to go to work. She says a person cannot be expected to live on such a little amount, especially a person who has a family to support. She says that she stayed at the job for just under three weeks before she quit by simply not showing up for work. She reason she left is that the money was too little. She says that she does not know how the employer expected his employees to make a living on such low wages. Tumi says that she felt like she was being exploited and used by her employer.

Tumi quit this job without a plan as to how she would survive, apart from her dependence on the social grant received by her youngest child. She says that after she quit her job there wasn't much difference regarding available income because most of the money she had earned went towards travelling anyway. She says that there was no way she would have stayed at the job without the money being increased. It just didn't make sense to her. She says that she doesn't feel bad that she may have brought her neighbour into disrepute with her employer by quitting because there was just no way that her neighbour could have

expected her to stay in that job. In fact, her neighbour also left the job a few months after Tumi quit.

Tumi has not had a job since she left her Wynberg job. She says that she has been very unlucky for the past two years. She does not even get odd cleaning jobs. According to her, the social grants are not nearly enough for her family to survive on but she simply has to make do with what she has. Mostly she borrows money from her neighbours. Sometimes they give her food for her and her children. She says that they know that she does not work and do not expect her to pay the loans back immediately (or ever, it seems). Tumi says that while her mother was alive she had been working for a long time and had been making monthly contributions to a burial society in order for there to be money to bury her. According to her, this helped a great deal as she does not know how she would have managed to bury her mother otherwise. She also says that her mother left the family with a bit of money, although she does not say exactly how much. She says that this helped for a few months but after it ran out the family went back to relying on the goodwill of their neighbours. She used this money mainly for groceries and towards school expenses. Tumi admits that this money finished quickly because she also spent some of it drinking with friends. Their relatives are of no significant assistance to them financially. She says that they used to borrow her money, but now thinks they grew tired of always being asked for money. She also says that she is a drinker, and their relatives always think that she will use their money to drink, rather than to provide for the family. When asked if this could be true, she says that she used to drink a lot, but has since toned down and would never abuse the goodwill of those who help the family. (This was a really sad part of the interview as I could see that the respondent was on the verge of tears)

Job Search

Tumi says that the on the occasions when she has heard of job openings it has been through her neighbours. She is close to some of them, especially those who also do not work as they always visit each other during the day. She says that only once has the information she has received from neighbours led to employment. Sometimes it is just information that her neighbours have overheard on the bus or the train and even they do not have all the details. She also says that sometimes the problem with following up on this information is that she

does not have money to travel to the areas where the jobs may be. She says that some time ago an unemployed neighbour told her about a job prospect as a kitchen cleaner at a restaurant in Camps Bay. She was unable to get someone to borrow her money to travel to get further information about the job and thus missed a potential opportunity. She is not sure which job search strategy is most effective because all she does is listen out for opportunities. She says that she cannot even afford to buy the paper. The only paper she reads is the local community newspaper, and there are seldom job adverts in it. When there are, the jobs are always for people who have a matric or a diploma.

Despite the fact that she does not actively look for work, Tumi says that she spends about three hours a day looking for work (presumably this is the time she spends talking to her neighbours). This does not have a financial cost for her because she merely walks to her neighbours' houses or they come to her. Money is the main problem for her when it comes to looking for work. This is what prevents her from travelling to search for jobs. She says that she thinks her chances of employment would be better if she were able to follow up on the information she receives by going to the areas that supposedly have jobs. But this is just not possible and any money she receives goes towards meeting the household needs and her children's school needs.

Social Networks

Tumi has relatives that live in Site B, Khayelitsha. These are the relatives that she and her mother stayed with when they first arrived in Khayelitsha. She says that she is on good terms with them and sees them about 4-5 times a month. They mostly meet in church as they attend the same church every Sunday. They also occasionally visit her because she does not have the money to travel to go and see them. She does share job information with them, but unfortunately none of the information she has received in this way has led to employment. She knows her neighbours very well (those who live close to her) and gets along with them very well. In fact she says that she even considers some of them to be friends. She says that she spends many of her afternoons sitting and talking to her neighbours. It is during these times, that those who have information about jobs share it with the rest. She says that her community can be considered to be close because one can always approach a neighbour with whatever problem that one is having. But she says that she would only share her

problems with her immediate neighbours as she does not want her business to be the talk of the street. According to Tumi, only once has the information she has received from a neighbour led to a job (Job 2). When asked whether she can think of a reason why most information does not yield the desired result (i.e. employment), she says that a person cannot get a job just sitting in Khayelitsha. To get a job, a person must be in the streets looking and available to people looking for workers. So even if the information comes, a person must be able to go to wherever a job opportunity is available. She cannot do because she does not have the money to travel.

Tumi attends church every Sunday and has some fellow congregants who she considers to be friends. She also sees some of her relatives at church. She says that she does not see these friends of hers outside of church however, unless there is a funeral or a celebration of some sort. All of them live in and around Khayelitsha, and some even close to her in Site C. She says that a few of these people work, but most do not. She also shares job information with them, but nothing has come up so far. She says that when she started working in Wynberg, she told one of her church friends about the job, as this person was also looking for work. She says that this friend told her that she knew about that type of job but would not try for it as it was not worth it, because “foreigners” did not want to pay people (excuse this mildly Xenophobic comment). She says that in the future, she believes that these friends and her neighbours will continue to share information with her, and that if she were to get a job, and receive information about an opening, she would most certainly tell them too. She says that she wants to see herself and her friends live like other people, and the only way that this can happen is if they work and have money to look after themselves and their families.

Tumi says that in her spare time, she usually goes to the local drinking spots (shebeen) with her neighbours (friends). This is where she socialises with her friends, and some other people that she does not know. She says that she can afford to drink because whoever has money at that particular time, will provide alcohol for those who do not. Sometimes, when she has money (when she used to work, and from the money her mother left her) she buys beer for her friends, and they return the favour. Sometimes they are also lucky enough to have acquaintances that they do not see often buy them alcohol. In the past she used to use some of the social grant money to buy alcohol, but says that she stopped doing this a while

back. According to her, things relating to work are never discussed in that environment because people there just want to have fun and forget about their problems. She also says that she does not think people should talk about work there because nothing sensible can be spoken in a place where drinking takes place. If she is not at the shebeen, then sometimes they buy alcohol and drink at one another's homes. Tumi's network is mainly comprised of people that do not work. Mostly, these people are stuck in Khayelitsha and do not receive helpful information about jobs.

Conclusion

Tumi thinks that the best way that jobs can be advertised is through the community newspaper. This is because this paper is free and is delivered to people's houses. According to her, if this were the case, then people would have the necessary information about jobs. However, she also says that sometimes she just feels that there just are no jobs available, because if there were, surely the information would reach her somehow. She reiterates that her main problem is travelling money and says that if she had the money, she would take a train everyday and go to the suburbs to look for work. She says she has heard of some successes for people that have adopted this method, although nobody she knows has had the means to do this. She says that the government needs to know that there are people like her who are willing to work but have been unemployed for years. She thinks that the only thing that government can do is to create jobs in Khayelitsha because "most" people do not work in her area.

Note: I conducted three separate interviews with the respondent because the first time I arrived she was drinking with her neighbours. I felt I needed to go back because she had given me some interesting leads and thought a follow-up might be beneficial. The second and third times were much better than the first, and no drinking was taking place on either occasion. Unfortunately, Tumi had got the impression that there was something I could do to assist her, regardless of me having explained the purpose of the research with explicit warnings that I was a student and had no capacity to change her circumstances. Again I clarified this and she seemed to understand.

Interview 5

Dates: 22/8/11
17/10/11
25/2/12

Pseudonym: *Vuyo

Gender: Male

Age: 29 (Born 1982)

Place of birth: eNgcobo, Eastern Cape (Rural)

Living in CT since: 1995

Level of education: Matric

Employment status: Unemployed

Residence

Vuyo was born in eNgcobo in the Eastern Cape. He moved to Cape Town in 1995 after he had completed his primary schooling. He says that his family was very poor. Because of this, he was sent to Cape Town to live with his mother's sister, who was employed as a teacher in Gugulethu at the time, and could thus afford to look after him. He was assured of a place to stay before he arrived. In eNgcobo he lived on a plot that had three mud huts (rondavels) with his extended family comprising of his grandmother, his one uncle and two aunts (grandmother had 5 children), and all their children, who numbered eight excluding him. He says that his mother had left him while he was still young and that he did not even have a memory of her. He says that the family does not know whether she is still alive or not as she never came back or contacted the family after she had left eNgcobo to look for work in Johannesburg "a long time ago". Vuyo was raised primarily by his grandmother as his grandfather died while he was still young. He has known his father since he was a young boy, but this has always been from a distance. Vuyo never had a relationship with him. He says

that the family owned the house (homestead) as his deceased grandfather had built it even before he or his mother had been born. One of Vuyo's uncles worked in a shop in the nearby urban centre and used to bring food and money home when he could. Other than this, they depended on money sent by his aunt in Cape Town to survive. He says sometimes his aunt (the one he lived with in the Eastern Cape) would leave for weeks in search of work and would sometimes come back with some money for the household. He also says his grandmother received some money as well, but does not know where this came from. He does however suspect that it may have been an inheritance left by his grandfather, who had worked on a farm his entire life. He maintains that this was not enough to live on, and the large family never had enough to meet even its food and other needs.

When he arrived in Cape Town in 1995, he lived with his aunt, her husband and their two daughters in another area of Khayelitsha. They lived in a large shack, which he says accommodated all of them, the two sisters shared one bedroom and Vuyo slept on a mattress on the kitchen floor. They then all moved to Site C in 2000 when Vuyo was in his matric year. He says that the move was because they got a bigger and better house in Site C. This was, and still is, a brick structure with two bedrooms inside the house. There is a corrugated iron structure in the backyard. It is divided into two rooms, one for Vuyo, and another one for rental. Vuyo says that his uncle built this for him a few years after he completed his matric, so that he could have his privacy. A lady and her young child occupy the second backroom. The woman pays the family R600/month, including water (from an outside tap) and electricity (joined to the house by an informal wire connection).

Money Matters

Vuyo currently lives with his aunt, her husband and one of their children. He says that one of his cousins got married in 2009 and left to live with her husband and their child in George. His aunt and her husband both work. His aunt's husband was out of work for many years since Vuyo's arrival, but eventually got a job as a truck driver in 1999. As a result, he is often out of town and Vuyo is left with his aunt and his cousin in the house (without counting the tenants in the backroom). His aunt is a primary school teacher, still in Gugulethu, and his cousin attends high school at a school in Athlone. While his uncle was unemployed, Vuyo's aunt took care of the household expenses, but after he started working he could afford to

contribute to the running of the household. He says that is not exactly sure how the expenses are split but knows that his aunt earns more than his uncle and pays for more things around the house.

Vuyo is unemployed and depends on his aunt and uncle entirely. He says that they provide for him with regards to food, clothes and travelling money for the few times he goes out searching for work. His aunt also sends money back to eNgcobo to assist her siblings and their children (Vuyo's grandmother has since passed). Vuyo has a child who stays with the mother in Khulani Park, Khayelitsha. He says that the child is four years old and attends a crèche in the area that he lives. The child's mother walks him to and from school. She works as a receptionist and lives at home with her family. She chose this centre for their child because it was the most convenient financially and also because she could just drop him on her way to work, and pick him up afterwards. He says that she mostly supports their child, as he does not work. While he struggles to provide for his child, his aunt assists by buying his son food and clothes when she can. He also says that the child receives a social grant that helps with some of his other needs. Vuyo wishes that he could do more for his child, but says that this cannot happen while he is unemployed because he himself is a financial burden to his family.

Education

Vuyo attended a previously disadvantaged co-ed school in eNgcobo but left after completing his grade 7. Upon arriving in Cape Town, his aunt had already got him a place at a high school in Gugulethu where a friend of hers taught. He completed his matric there. He says that he liked the school but the only problem was that his transport costs were high. The only reason he had gone to this school was because his aunt had a connection there that ensured that Vuyo was accepted in spite of his late application. He says they often spoke of moving him to a school in Khayelitsha closer to where they stayed but this had never happened in the end. He travelled to school by taxi but cannot remember how much his trips cost. He does however insist that it was a strain on his aunt at the time. This was particularly challenging since his now married cousin attended school in Athlone, and then later his younger cousin did too. This meant even more transport costs for his aunt. After completing matric, Vuyo sat at home for a year because his aunt did not have money to send

him to a tertiary institution. He was able to return to school the following year to do a six-month computer course at a Further Education and Training (FET) college. He says he chose this course together with his aunt because they knew that everybody worked with computers and this would increase his chances of getting a job. He says that he actually wanted to an engineering diploma at a technikon but this was not financially possible. He completed this course but still struggled to find work for a couple of years.

Employment

Vuyo is currently unemployed and has been so for two years now. He says he sits at home and does nothing apart from watching the television and visiting friends. Some of these friends are also unemployed. But some of them are, mostly in part-time, non-permanent jobs. He has held jobs in the past.

Job 1: Vuyo got his very first job in 2004 when he was 22 years old. This was after he had completed his matric and computer qualification and had been sitting at home for over a year. He heard about this job through his high school teacher, who he says he maintained a good relationship with even after he had completed his matric. His teacher had a friend who was going to open a computer centre in Khayelitsha and he needed two computer assistants to run the centre. This was a good opportunity for Vuyo given that he had completed a computer course. He says he told his teacher he was interested. His teacher then recommended him to his friend, and gave him the contact details for his friend. He phoned his future employer and met him to give him his CV and matric and computer course certificates. Vuyo says that the computer centre opened two months after this meeting and he received a call a week before the opening informing him that he would be working at the centre. He says that he stayed in this job for about 18 months before the computer centre closed down due to low profits.

Vuyo earned R400/week working as a computer assistant. He and his co-worker worked six days a week from 09:00-17:00. His duties were opening up the shop, operating the computers, printer and scanner, assisting customers with their queries and operating the cash register. The job was in another area of Khayelitsha so Vuyo had to catch a local taxi to get to and from work. This cost him about R8/day or R40/week. The trip to work was 15 minutes long so Vuyo left the house at 08:20 to allow him a sometime to open the shop and

set up. He says that he gave his aunt R100 a week for groceries and used the rest to buy clothes, socialise and generally sustain himself. He says that the money was not great, but it allowed him to be able to help out at home and take care of himself.

Job 2: After Vuyo's job at the computer centre ended in 2006, he remained unemployed until 2008. During this time his aunt had to step in again to take financial care of him. He says that he had not saved any money from his first job because he had not earned enough to have extra money to put aside. In 2008 while Vuyo was visiting his friend, he received information about a job opportunity at a gym. This friend of his had a brother who worked as a personal trainer at the gym in Claremont. Vuyo's friend was employed elsewhere at the time, which is why he told Vuyo about the job instead of taking it up himself. This was a friend Vuyo had met in high school and had maintained ties with even after completing his studies. He lived in Gugulethu and saw Vuyo only occasionally. Vuyo contacted his friend's brother to get more information about the job. He received contact details of the person he could talk to at the gym and his friend's brother told him that he had put in a good word for him, and had assured the relevant person that he would be a good employee. Vuyo says that he later realised that his friend's brother was popular and trusted at work, and says that he thinks this is why he was able to successfully recommend him for the job. After making contact and forwarding his CV, he received a call a week later and was called in for an interview. He says that he was informed that he had got the job two weeks later and had to start the following Monday. The job was a reception job where his main duties were receiving patrons, answering phone and personal queries related to the gym and operating the computer filing system. According to him, his computer course and previous work experience helped him a great deal with executing his tasks.

Vuyo was a casual employee and was paid by the hour. He says that he often worked overtime because this increased his salary at the end of the month. He says that he needed this money because by this time he had had his child and needed to assist with raising him, especially since his child did not live with him. He worked eight-hour shifts and earned R20/hour. If he worked five shifts a week (and more hours when he got overtime), which he often did, he would earn R800/week or R3200/month (minimum). Because he sometimes worked late, he used different modes of transportation. When he worked morning-afternoon shifts he used the train because it was cheaper than a taxi or a bus. When he

worked afternoon-night, he would use a train to get to work, and a staff transport to get home. A monthly ticket for the train cost him about R150 and the staff transport charged R15 a trip. He says the train was affordable but the staff transport was very expensive. The actual trip to work took him 40 minutes because he had to change trains once, so he left home an hour and 10 minutes or so before his shift started as he had to walk to and from the train station. He tried to work as many day shifts as possible but the policy was that a certain number of his shifts were day, and half were night.

He used this money to contribute to groceries at home, support his child by paying for his food and clothing, and support himself. According to him, the money assisted him a lot with regards to meeting his needs. He does say that after he took care of his expenses, he was often left with little or nothing to save or for entertainment. After a year, Vuyo left the job voluntarily. He says that he got tired of working hard and not having enough money to do the things he wanted to do. After he quit his job his aunt and uncle supported him yet again. He says that his aunt was very upset with him for quitting his job and refused to give him any money. All she did was make sure that he had food to eat and food for his child. Vuyo says he now regrets having quit his job because he has been unable to get work since. He does not like having to depend on his family for support, and to support his child.

Job Search

Vuyo says that in the past he has searched for jobs by mainly talking to the people that he knows. During his periods of unemployed, his aunt used to give him money to buy the newspaper and to go to internet cafes to look for job adverts. He says that this never worked for him as much as he made sure that he used the money from his aunt for exactly what it was meant for. Once, he found an advertisement for a waitering job at a restaurant in Durbanville. He took down the information and made the relevant calls. He was called in for an interview and was given information about the job. When he heard that he would earn R10/hour (plus tips), and that he would be expected to work nights as the restaurant opened at 12:00 and closed at 02:00, he stopped considering it as an option. He says that they never called back to give him the outcome, but even if they had, he would not have accepted it because the money would not have been worth it. He explains that this is because the cost of travelling, in terms of both money and time, would not have made the remuneration

worthwhile. He would be earning little money, since tips are not guaranteed, and spending a lot of time on the road travelling to and from work.

He thinks that the best way to look for work is by talking to people because, according to him, people only give jobs to people they know. And if one does not have a friend or relative who can give them a reference, then finding a job is almost impossible. Vuyo says that in the past year looking for work has been difficult because of a lack of funds. He cannot even go on the internet because he cannot afford it. And he says that when his aunt buys the paper on Sundays, the only jobs that are advertised require university degrees and experience. Sometimes Vuyo hears of opportunities and gets travel money from his girlfriend (the mother of his child). He says that this has happened about four or five times since he quit his job at the gym but has not yielded any results. He does not spend any money a week looking for work because he does not have any. He does however visit some of his friends in the area and talks to them about job opportunities. He also says that his family and girlfriend are also listening out for jobs on his behalf. He spends about two hours a day talking to people asking about work. He says that the number one constraint when looking for work is access to information about jobs and money to travel when he does hear of certain opportunities.

Social Networks

Vuyo says that over and above the relatives that he lives within Site C, he has distant relatives that live in Du Noon and some closer relatives that live in Philippi. He sees the Philippi relatives about three times a month when he can afford to go and visit them or when they come to him. He says that he is closer to these relatives because they are closer to him in age. He seldom sees his other relatives because they live far and have never been close anyway. But he does say that his aunt is closer to them than he is. He shares job information with the ones who live in Philippi but says that this has never led to employment, or even the hope of employment. Vuyo says that the reason could be that only one of them is employed and the other two are unemployed. Sometimes they get piece jobs but mostly they've remained unemployed. His five relatives that live in Du Noon all work but because he is not close to them he never really talks to them about work. He is however confident that if his aunt received some information from them, she would share it with him.

Vuyo has many friends in the area and says about a third of them have “proper” jobs. A few of them completed post-matric certificates and he says that only two of his friends have diplomas, both from the Cape Peninsula University of Technology (CPUT). These two are both formally employed. He shares information with all his friends and once this has led to employment (Job 2). He says that he thinks that the reason behind a lack of positive results is that most of them are unemployed and when someone hears of an opportunity, they would rather keep it to themselves and try for the job first, before passing on the information. It is only when a place has advertised numerous jobs, which he says is rare, that they will share information. He sees one or some of his friends every day. They visit one another in the afternoons and he sees the one that are employed mainly during the weekends.

Vuyo plays soccer with a local (informal) club. He started playing when a few of his neighbours approached him thinking of forming a soccer club to keep fit and to keep them busy. He says that he enjoys this greatly as it gives him something to do twice a week, and three times a week when they have a match with another club. He gets along well with all of his teammates and says that he shares job information with about half the team, those who he considers his friends. Vuyo is also on good terms with his neighbours and says that he shares information with some of them. Again, this has not led to employment. He says he knows that all the people that he currently shares information with will continue to give him information when they do have it. Vuyo also goes to parties and visits some local drinking places but does not talk about his unemployment at these places. As a result, no information sharing takes place when he is out socialising.

Conclusion

Vuyo says that the one thing that has worked for him when looking for work is talking to people that are close to him who are employed. He says that these people are more willing to share information since they already have work. He does not blame those who are unemployed for not sharing information and says that sometimes when he hears of something he keeps it to himself to increase his chances of getting the job. He thinks that papers do not help because the jobs advertised there are for highly educated people. According to him, talking to people is the cheapest way to get information but is not

necessarily the easiest because it is not easy to talk about unemployment to everyone. He says that the government should have local offices where job seekers can go to access information about jobs freely. He also thinks that it would be useful for the government to have information centre for how people can go about starting their own businesses and also provide funding or information about where people can get funding for new business ventures. According to Vuyo, this would help solve the problem of unemployment.

University of Cape Town

Interview 6

Dates: 22/8/11
17/10/11
26/2/12

Pseudonym: *Nobantu

Gender: Female

Age: 45 (Born 1966)

Place of birth: Grahamstown

Living in CT since: 1993

Level of education: Matric

Employment status: Employed

Residence

Nobantu has been living in Cape Town since 1993. She was born in Grahamstown and lived in a township close to the urban area with her grandmother, her parents and her six siblings. Only her parents worked. Her father was a farm worker at a nearby farm and her mother did domestic work for a family in one of the suburbs in the city. She says that her parents were able to provide for her family. They also had a vegetable garden, which helped with their food needs. She says that she never felt that they were poor and all her siblings went to school and finished matric. She does not remember anyone earning a social grant at the time.

She says that her father had built a big house for the whole family and that space was never a problem. They owned the house that they lived in. Nobantu got married in the late 1980s but continued to live with her parents as her husband was working in Cape Town and only returned to Grahamstown a few times a year. She says that this was a good arrangement as

he sent money to her and her family, which assisted them in meeting the needs of the family. Nobuntu left Grahamstown in 1993 to move to Cape Town where her husband worked. She says they waited a long time before she moved because he did not have a stable place to stay. When he finally got a place to stay, she and her toddler daughter moved to live with him. She says that they were guaranteed a place to stay before they arrived as her husband was renting a back room from a relative of his in Langa at the time. The backroom was made of corrugated iron sheets and was just a small room that fit only a bed and their few belongings. Her husband's relatives (three adults and three children) lived inside the house. Nobantu says that the room was not big enough for them to cook for themselves so they ate inside the house and contributed to grocery costs. She also says that she helped with the cooking and cleaning. They lived there for six years until they had saved enough money to get a place in Site C, Khayelitsha in 1999. They now lives in standalone brick house with their three children and Nobantu's younger sister. This is a council house for which they pay rates.

Money Matters

Nobantu says that both she and her husband are permanently employed. As a result, they both contribute to the household expenses. She says that her husband earns more than she does and takes care of the bigger expenses such as rates, groceries and the car needs, while she looks after the children's school fees, clothing and other needs. All her children are studying. The youngest is in primary school and the second eldest is in high school, both in Khayelitsha. These two children catch local taxis (R200/month) to get to school. This cost is taken care of by the child support grants that they receive. Her eldest daughter is studying social work at the University of the Western Cape (UWC). Nobantu says that her eldest daughter passed her matric with an exemption and received a bursary that pays for half her tuition costs. She says that she and her husband both take care of the remainder of the fees and she takes care of transportation costs. She says they would never afford for her daughter to live in the varsity residence as they struggle even now to make sure that the tuition is paid. She says that the textbooks and other stationary needs are expensive and she and her husband struggle to provide these.

She says that they often manage to make ends meet but that on some months they struggle. She says that when this happens they borrow money from some local loan sharks and try and pay it back as soon as they can. This is not the best situation according to Nobantu, as they are forced to pay the money back with high interest. She also says that the only reason they do this is because they have no other option because relatives don't always have spare money lying around. She also says that she tries to avoid mixing family and financial issues because this ruins relationships as some people take advantage. They do not go to banks because she says that both she and her husband have been blacklisted due to failing to pay some accounts.

Education

Nobantu attended a previously disadvantaged school in Grahamstown. She completed her primary and high schooling in the area in which she lived, which meant that she did not have transport costs. She says that all her siblings also went to the same school, and that all of them have a matric certificate, with the exception of her one brother who dropped out in grade 9. She says that she had always dreamed of attending a "white school" in the town but knew that her parents could never afford this. She could not continue her education after matric as her parents could not afford it. She looked for work after completing her schooling but did not find anything. She says that if she had been able to continue with her education she would have done a teacher's course. Nobantu says that now it is too late to go back because she has a family to support, but wants to make sure that all her children go to tertiary.

Employment

Nobantu is currently employed as a cook at a restaurant in Cape Town city centre. She got this job in 2000 and this was the first job she has ever had. Between 1993 and 2000 she remained unemployed and dependent on her husband to support her and her children (she had her second child in 1996). She says that she got this job through sheer luck. One day she had travelled to the city centre, she usually travelled in search of work, to go around door-to-door to restaurants and shops looking for cleaning or any other work she could find. She says that one of the places she walked past had a sign up on the window advertising for a kitchen position. She says that she walked in and asked about the position even though she

had no experience working in a kitchen. She was told to return the next day when the manager was in with her CV and some references. She says that she went home, wrote out her CV and asked her eldest daughter to go and type it out at the internet café. The next day she returned to the restaurant and met the manager. She did not have references but gave her CV to the manager. She was asked some questions about herself such as where she lived, whether she had children. The manager told her that she would be contacted if she got the job. The manager called Nobantu a week later informing her that she'd got the job. She started work two weeks later. She has worked there since and says that she is happy in her job and does not find any reason why she would stop working there.

Nobantu said that she was not comfortable discussing how much she earned but said that it was a fair wage. She gets paid fortnightly and says that with her husband's salary, the family manages to make ends meet. Her younger children's transport costs are covered by their social grants and Nobantu covers the transport costs of her eldest daughter. She says that with what she earns she is able to contribute to the household expenses, take care of her children as well as her sister. She does however admit that this would not be the case if she did not have a husband supporting her and contributing even more to the family's needs.

Nobantu uses the bus to get to work because it is cheaper and more reliable than a taxi. She says that she hates the train and does not think that it is safe. Initially she worked shifts for years and used to have an evening transport pick her up when she worked the late shift at R12/trip. This transport was organised by other employees working in restaurants also located in the city centre and living in different areas of Khayelitsha. It was already running when she started working and she merely joined the transport as a commuter. She says that this is common practice for people who work late and that even call centre employees who work late shifts sometimes use the transport. She has since stopped working the night shift as this is shared by two other cooks who started working at the restaurant years after her. She says that she prefers it this way as it makes her transport cheaper, and it also gives her time to prepare supper for her family and spend time with them in the evenings. She says that it used to be difficult when she used to work at night, especially since her children were still very young then. An average trip to and from work takes about an hour each way and costs R12. Nobantu starts work at 07:00 so she leaves the house at 05:30. It takes her 15 minutes to get to work, wait in the queue at the bus station and get into a bus. The actual

trip is 45 minutes long and it takes her 15 minutes to walk from the bus station to the restaurant. She says that she is usually a few minutes early but this is good as it gives her some leeway in case something happens on the road. She says that in all the years that she has worked at the restaurant, she probably been late no more than 10 times. Nobantu says that she is a good employee and values her job. She says that there are so many people that are unemployed and she cannot afford to lose her job. This is why she does her best and makes sure that she does her job well.

Job Search

Nobantu has always preferred going to look for work herself. She believes that this method proved very useful in her life because it is how she found her job. She does however say that she also spoke to some relatives, friends and neighbours to ask about opportunities, though she kept this to a minimum. She says that she is a private person and prefers to talk only to people that she is very close with and she trusts. She has always been family-oriented and has very few friends who she shares information with. For her, travelling money was seldom an issue because her husband always managed to give her money to go looking for work at least once a week. During these times, she would leave her children with the relatives she lived with in Langa, or with her sister once she had moved to Site C. Her sister moved to Cape Town soon after she and her family moved to Site C. She came to look for work and when Nobantu got a job she provided her with money to search also. She says that her sister once got a job as to do cleaning and washing for a house in Greenpoint in this way. She kept the job for a year until her employers said that they no longer needed her.

When she used to look for work, she used to spend between R20-R50 a week depending on how many trips she made. When she travelled, she would spend most of the morning and afternoon walking around looking, leaving home at around 08:00 and returning at around 15:00. In the many years that Nobantu was unemployed, she says that she went through periods of searching and periods of being despondent and giving up. On average she says that she would search actively for three or four months, then stop for a month or two. During periods of active search she would travel to employment centres about twice or three times a week when she could afford it. She says that this was very costly, which is also why she would stop for some time and resume searching months later. She says that it was

worth it because if she had not done this, she might still be unemployed. She says that once when a position opened up at her place of employment she recommended her sister who was pregnant at the time. She says that her employer was very keen to meet her sister but when he found out that she was pregnant he said that she was unsuitable as the business would not afford losing her again when she had to take maternity leave. Nobantu says that she accepted this because she did not want to jeopardise her own position. She still listens out for opportunities for her sister, as she does not always have money to give her for her job searches.

Social Networks

Nobantu has relatives in Langa (the ones they used to live with), Hout Bay and White City, Khayelitsha. One of her sisters is a live-in domestic in Hout Bay and goes home to Grahamstown when she gets her annual leave. Two of her brothers live in White City, one of them has a wife and children but the other one does not. She says that she is on good terms with all of them and sees her siblings once in two weeks. She says that she is not really close with her husband's relatives in Langa, even though they're relationship is okay. Her husband sees them more often than she does. She shares job information with her siblings but unfortunately has never been able to ensure that they get employment. One of her brothers, the one that is married, is employed though and sometimes manages to get her other brother that lives with him some piece work when he can. She is on good terms with a few of her neighbours but says that generally everyone keeps to themselves in her street. She does not share job information even with the ones she is on good terms with and says that this is because she is a private person.

Nobantu is very religious and says that she never misses a church service unless she is at work. But she usually takes her one day off a week on a Sunday so that she can attend. She is a member of the woman's prayer group at church and they meet every Thursday early evening and Sunday after church. She says that she gets along well with most of the women in the group and they have discussion sessions on unemployment in their area and how this can be curbed. She says that they started an initiative in which unemployed members of the congregation put their names down on an unemployment list. At the same time, members of the congregation who are either offering employment, or have information about

opportunities put their names and details on another list. The lists are then compared and matches are made where this is possible. She says that this has led to a few people getting jobs but not many. She thinks that the reason behind this is that many members of the congregations are themselves unemployed, which makes the unemployment list much longer than the list with the job openings/information. Other than this, Nobantu keeps to herself and spends much of her time at home with her children and her husband.

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Conclusion

According to Nobantu, the best way to look for work is to go door-to-door. This way any information about jobs comes straight from the source. She says that this is much more reliable than hearing about jobs from people who sometimes do not have the full information that could lead to employment. She does however understand that there isn't always money for people to travel and in these cases, she supports talking to people to find jobs. She says that the initiative that her women's group started at her church has lots of potential and that they are now in the process of embarking on a strategy to get their employers to advertise vacancies in using this structure first, before spending money on advertising to the general public. She says that this way, their employers can ensure that they get church-going, reliable people working for them. She says that with time, she thinks that this initiative will be a good way to access information about jobs.

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Interview 7

Dates: 6/9/11
19/10/11
3/3/12

Pseudonym: *Lihle

Gender: Female

Age: 28 (Born 1983)

Place of birth: Gugulethu, Cape Town (Urban township)

Living in CT since: Never moved

Level of education: Matric

Employment status: Employed

Residence

Lihle was born in Gugulethu, Cape Town and has lived in the city her for whole life. She was born in a “small” house with one bedroom, a lounge area, kitchen and toilet. At the time, she lived with her mother, her aunts (two of her mother’s sisters), her aunt’s husband and three of her cousins. Her aunt and uncle were married and had one child, while her other unmarried aunt had two children. In total there were eight people who lived in the house. There was an informal structure in the backyard, in which one of her aunts and her two children slept. According to Lihle, her aunt and uncle never owned the house because they paid rent on it every month, and were always worried that the family would be evicted if they the family failed to pay rent. Lihle and her mother left Gugulethu to live in Khayelitsha with her mother’s boyfriend (not her father) in 1999 when she was in high school. When they arrived in Khayelitsha they lived in Site C in two-room informal structure made of wood and corrugated iron sheets. This dwelling had been built by her mother’s boyfriend, and was, according to him, a temporary solution until the city council “gave him his house”. Lihle says

that they did not pay rent. They received electricity by connecting cables to a nearby house that had a formal electrical connection. They paid these neighbours for the electricity. She says that the reason she moved from Gugulethu was because her mother told her that they had to. If she had had the choice to stay, she says that she would have. Currently, she lives in another area of Site C, in a brick house with two bedrooms with her five-year old daughter, her mother, her aunt and her aunt's two children. Her mother's boyfriend lives and works in Wellington, and comes back only during the weekend.

Money Matters

Lihle says that she has always lived with her mother but was also raised by her aunts and uncle because when her mother was not working, they paid for her schooling, food and bought her clothes. She says that she never knew her grandparents because they both died before she was born. Out of the eight people she lived with in Gugulethu, both her aunts and her uncle worked. Her uncle worked for the municipality as a refuse collector and her aunts were both domestic workers in suburbs in Cape Town. She says that even though they never went to bed without a meal, there was never enough money to take care of all the household needs. Her uncle constantly worried about whether they would be able to pay rent or take care of the children's needs. During this time, she was taken care of by her aunts and uncle as her mother did not work, and drank a lot. Lihle has never known her father and says that until today, she has never received a cent from him towards her upbringing. Her mother eventually got a job as a school cleaner in the mid-1990's and was able to take care of Lihle's needs and buy groceries for the family. Lihle says that her mother continued to drink and in this way wasted a lot of the money that they could have used for the whole family. She says that somehow, even though it was difficult, they managed to survive. Her mother lost her job in 2002, and Lihle suspects that it was because of her drinking.

At present, Lihle's mother's boyfriend works in Wellington. Lihle is employed, as is one of her cousins. Her mother has not had a stable job since she lost her cleaning job in 2002. Sometimes her mother gets odd cleaning jobs but these are not permanent. When she does have work, she usually uses the money to drink and rarely contributes towards household expenses. Sometimes her mother's boyfriend brings money home when he comes back and they use this to buy food, electricity and towards other household expenses. When he

doesn't Lihle has to provide for her family on her own, as she says that her cousin does not contribute any money towards the household expenses. She says that they do not pay any bond or rent on the house.

Lihle's child receives a child support grant. Lihle uses this money to contribute towards paying for her early crèche fees. She walks her daughter to school before she goes to work, and when this is not possible, she asks her aunt to. This is convenient and saves her money. She says that she tries to save money wherever she can because she earns a small salary and is also trying to save money because she is scared that one day they might be forced to move out of the house. (She brushed me off when I enquired further and clearly did not want to talk about this matter further)

Education

Lihle attended a previously disadvantaged co-ed school in Gugulethu until she matriculated. When she and her mother moved to Khayelitsha, they tried to get her into a high school closer to where they were staying but were unable to. As a result, she had to travel to Gugulethu and back every day. She says that this was an inconvenience for her because she had to wake up very early. It was also very expensive because she took a taxi everyday. She says that the train was not an option because it was far. At that time her mother was still working so she could afford to pay for Lihle's transportation costs, among other costs such as her school expenses, food and clothing needs. She says that taxis were reliable except for when they were on strike, which was not often, and when the traffic was heavy. Lihle matriculated in 2003 after having repeated a couple of grades. Because her mother was no longer working, she did not have any money to further her education. She says that she did not even think of asking her mother's boyfriend to pay for education as he was already doing so much for them. In the same breath, Lihle also says that she was never really interested in studying further and is neither her nor there about the fact that she didn't. She says that she now feels too old to go back to school and wouldn't even if the opportunity presented itself.

Employment

Lihle is currently employed as a waitress in a restaurant in Big Bay, Milnerton. She has mostly worked since she left matric, although she has had some periods of unemployment.

Job 1: Lihle got her first job in 2004, as a call centre agent for a company in Wynberg. She heard about this job through her former classmate, who had already been working at the call centre for a few months before she heard that her employer was looking for more workers. This friend of hers lived in Langa at that time and they saw each other fortnightly when visiting each other or going out to parties together. She says that this news came as a relief as she had been sitting at home between 2003 and 2004, unable to find a job. She says that this had been a very difficult time because her mother was also recently unemployed and her cousin (who now works) was also still unemployed at the time, even though she does not contribute much now that she is working. At this time, they depended on her mother's boyfriend to provide for them in every way. They often did not have enough to eat. Lihle's friend gave her the information regarding who she needed to call for the job. She says that they insisted that she had to call first because that's how they could tell whether she would be suitable for the job (voice assessment). She phoned in and was told to go to the offices for an interview the following week. She went to the interview with her CV on hand and was accepted on the spot. She started training the next day. She says that she had borrowed transport money for the interview and for the first week of work from her friend that told her about the position. She then borrowed money from her aunt who lived in Gugulethu for the second week. They were paid fortnightly so she repaid her loans when she received her first wages.

Lihle says that her duties were to select random numbers from a database that was provided by the management, call people to sell them products. She says that the job was "boring" but she needed the money so she stayed in it for almost two years. She quit the job when she was highly pregnant with her daughter because there was no maternity leave option. Her employer told her that if she stayed away from work for more than a week after the baby was born that she would not have a job. Lihle says that she informed her employer that she had a cousin who was looking for work, and that if they needed someone to replace her, she would be willing to do so. She then went through the same process of phoning in and being called in for an interview. This is she how her cousin started working. She has been working for the same company since. After giving birth in 2006 Lihle remained unemployed for over a year.

Lihle says that they were paid R10/hour and worked eight hours a day from Monday to Saturday. In total, if she did not miss any days of work, she earned just under R2000/month. While she worked at the call centre, she used the money she earned to buy groceries for the household, buy herself clothes and to support her mother. When she found out that she was pregnant, she started saving a little money a month so that she could look after her baby. She also says that the father of her child was unemployed and she knew that he would not have money to pay for the child's needs. She travelled to work using a bus. She says that it was cheaper than a taxi, and safer than a train. She bought a monthly ticket, which cost her about R170/month. Lihle says that she appreciated the money that she earned as it enabled her to live without having to beg anyone for money or food. She says that she always made sure that her and her mother's needs were taken care of.

Job 2: Lihle gave birth to her daughter in late 2006 and remained unemployed until early 2008. During this time she says that the child support grant enabled her to buy food for her child. Initially her savings also assisted her but these ran out soon after her child was born. She says that one day on her way home from Mowbray she saw her neighbour in the taxi she was travelling home in. They started talking and her neighbour told her that she'd heard that the cleaning company that her mother worked for was looking for workers. This was a person that Lihle saw often in the street and was on good terms with. She did not have the details but said that she'd get Lihle a number that she could call. She provided the number two days later and Lihle made the call. She says that the person she spoke to took down her details and promised to call her back. Lihle was called two months later and requested to go for an interview. She says that she went for the interview and was told that she would be called back. She was called again a week later and told that she would start work the following month. Lihle says that her neighbour's mother did not mention her name to anyone. She did not get a reference from her neighbour's mother but in fact got the job on her own from making the call herself.

This job was in Paarden Eiland. The company where she cleaned was a client of the company she worked for (cleaning was outsourced to Lihle's employer), also in the same area. Her duties were to clean the premises every day, along with one other lady that was employed by the same company. She worked weekdays and earned R3800/month, which she was enough for her to support herself, her child and her mother, as well as to contribute to the

household expenses. She used a taxi to travel to work because the route was “awkward” for other means of transportation. This is because she would have to take two trains from Khayelitsha and changeover at one of the linking stations. She says this would be an inconvenience for her and would take too much time. She started work every day at 07:00 and left work at 07:00. She left her house at 05:45 in the morning, walked to the taxi rank and was in a taxi by 06:15 and at work by 06:55. She spent about R130 on transport a week, which she says was very expensive but because she had no alternative, there was nothing she could do about it. Lihle says she hated the job and only remained in it to support her child. She also didn't like the fact that she worked mostly with old women and had no friends at work. Shortly after she started working at the company she started asking around for information about other job opportunities.

Job 3: Lihle says that she found out about this job in the newspaper several months after she'd started her cleaning job. She often read the paper at work (Job 2) while on her lunch break. A restaurant in Big Bay, Milnerton was looking for waitresses. The criteria were that applicants had to have experience and have their own reliable transport. Although Lihle had neither, she says that she made the call just to try her luck. She went in for an interview and found out that there was in fact a staff transport that was offered at a cost for those employees who had no transport organised by the manager but paid for by each person using it. She says that the manager liked her and hired her despite the fact that she did not have transport. She was trained without pay for three weeks and started working thereafter. She says that she was drawn to this job because she hated her previous job, and because she earned R3000 basic salary and got to take home all her tips. She says that she makes up to R5500/month. And although it fluctuates depending on her tips, it never goes below R4500. And this is after the staff transportation has been paid.

It takes her an hour and 30 minutes to get to work everyday and costs her R20 for a one-way trip by taxi. She says this is very expensive but she can afford it because she earns more than she did at all her other jobs. In the evenings Lihle uses the staff transport. It picks her and some other co-workers up when their shift is over and takes them home. Some of the other employees live in Delft and Gugulethu, and another one in Khayelitsha. She says that the only disadvantage about this transport is that she is always the last one to be dropped off because she lives the furthest from work. This means that she gets home in the early hours

of the morning. She pays R25/trip from work on the transport but does not complain about this expense. This means that if Lihle works a six-day week, she spends about R270 on transport/week or R1080/month. Although this is quite a substantial amount of money, Lihle says that she accepts this as part and parcel of working.

She hates that her work is so far and says that by the time she gets to work she's already tired. She wishes she worked closer to Khayelitsha but says that no restaurant would pay her that much in her area. When asked whether she would consider renting a shared apartment in Milnerton closer to work she says that she has never really thought about this option. She continues to say that in any event this would be a risk because she would not be able to pay the flat if she lost her job for some or other reason. Also, she says that this would have other costs like having to send her child to crèche in the area and that would be expensive. Her remuneration allows her to meet all her needs and to contribute to the household. She is happy that she does not need to ask for money from anyone and she can support her child by herself. She still supports her mother but says that she does not give her money. She buys her food and makes sure that she has clothes. Lihle loves her job because it's flexible, it pays well and it's fun. She cannot imagine leaving this job for anything apart from a job that is closer to home and pays more. She says that if this were the case, she would spend less money on transport and have more time to rest and spend with her child in the evenings.

Job Search

In the past Lihle has mainly relied on word-of-mouth to hear about job opportunities. She says that it always helps talking to people because you never know what you get out of it. She says that it has definitely worked for her. She also says that it is not advisable to use only this method because sometimes people have no information about work, mainly because they themselves are not employed. She believes that she is a go-getter and can use any method to find work, because, according to her, even if someone does tell you about a job opportunity, it is up to you to make sure that you get that job. She believes that this happened with her first and second job. The most affordable strategy is definitely finding out from people, but this can also be expensive because sometimes one needs to travel to the area where the job is being offered. And when there is no money for this, a person can miss an opportunity. She says that she has always consulted newspaper, whenever she could and

this is what led to her current job. She says that she would definitely use this method again if she wanted to change jobs. When she looked for work in the past she spent about three hours a day asking around, consulting newspapers and even looking online at the local internet café. She does admit that the last method was always too expensive for her to afford though, so she did not go to the internet café as often as she wanted to. She says in total she would spend about R20 a day about two or three times a week at most. When she did travel she would use a taxi because taxis go everywhere and sometimes buses and trains do not cover some routes.

Social Networks

Lihle has relatives in Gugulethu and Site C. She is on good terms with all of them and speaks to them about once in two weeks on average. The relatives that she lives with, she speaks to everyday. She says that she does share job information with them and once, it led to her cousin getting employment (call centre case). She knows her neighbours as she has lived on that street for years now, but she says that she cannot say that she is close with them. According to her, her mother is closer to them because she spends her days socialising with them. Lihle says she is always at work, and when she isn't, she is with her child or out with her friends. Apart from a couple of neighbours that she has become friends with, she does not share job information with the rest of them.

Lihle says that she likes to go out with her friends and sometimes they go to parties in Khayelitsha, as well as in the city centre. She says that these are the people that she is closest with and shares everything with. She would share information with them instantly if she heard of an opening either at her place of work or anywhere else. She says that some of her friends are unemployed and desperately need work, but jobs are hard to come by, and this is why she would not leave her job. She sees her friends about once a week or once in two weeks if she has a very busy work week. When they are not socialising at parties and clubs, she says that they often visit one another and spend their days together just talking and relaxing. She says that she does not do much else. She does not go to church, and does not have a reason for this apart from "just being lazy". She has confidence in the fact that she and her friends will continue to share job information.

Conclusion

Lihle believes that placing newspaper adverts for job openings is the best way to inform people. She says that nowadays, most people can read and do have access to newspapers, even those who cannot afford to buy them can get to read them from friends or relatives. She says that online advertisements aren't that helpful because many people are not computer literate so they would never find out about these jobs. Finally, she also thinks that people must continue to talk to their friends and family because most times, someone has heard of "something, somewhere".

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Interview 8

Dates: 6/9/11
20/10/11
5/3/11

Pseudonym: *Madoda

Gender: Male

Age: 35 (born 1976)

Place of birth: Port Elizabeth, Eastern Cape (Urban, township)

Living in CT since: 2003

Level of education: Grade 12

Employment status: Employed

Residence

Madoda was born in Port Elizabeth in Motherwell in 1976. He lived in a four-roomed house (two bedrooms) with his parents and three siblings. His parents both worked and they owned the house that they lived in. They continue to live in it with two of his siblings to date. Currently Madoda lives in Site C, Khayelitsha. He left PE for Cape Town eight years ago in order to find employment. According to him, he would have liked to go to Johannesburg because he had heard that getting a job would be easier there than in Cape Town. Unfortunately, he was unable to go there because he didn't have any relatives or friends living there at the time who could offer him a place to stay. His older sister had moved to Cape Town years before him and told him that she was willing provide him with a place to stay until he found work and a place of his own. So when he arrived in Cape Town in 2003, he lived with his sister and her family in Delft. He says that the house was small and there were too many people in the house, which is why he stayed with her only for a month, before moving to live with his friend from PE in a shack in an area of Gugulethu called

Barcelona (informal settlement). Madoda lived in Gugulethu for two years and moved to Site C six months after he started work as a security guard in 2005. He currently lives in a small one-roomed house made of brick with his girlfriend and their child.

Money Matters

Madoda was raised by his parents, who both worked while he was growing up. His mother worked as a cleaner in a hospital while his father worked at a post office. He says that there was never enough money to meet the household needs but somehow his parents managed to put him and his siblings through school. Unfortunately none of them went to tertiary as this was too expensive for his parents to afford. Whenever the household was short of money, his mother always borrowed from relatives or her society. Nobody received a social grant at the time. When he moved to Cape Town he initially lived with his sister. Her husband had put her through nursing school and she works as a nurse at Groote Schuur. He says that since he did not work, his sister and her husband took care of the household expenses. She also gave him money to look for work. After he moved out to share a place with his friend she continued to give him money to search for work and to buy food, when she could afford to do so. He says that she supported his move as there was no other option given that the house became overcrowded in a way that they had not previously considered. He often did not contribute anything while living with his friend except for buying food when he could. He says that during the time he lived there he would sometimes get odd jobs fixing electronic goods, since this was a skill that he had had from when he was a young boy. He would use this money to buy food and look for work. Now that he lives with his girlfriend and his child, and is employed as a security guard, he can afford to provide for his family. He takes care of all the household expenses since he is the only one that works. His three-year old son receives a social grant which goes towards buying him nappies and other essentials. He says that sometimes it is hard on him being the only one working because the expenses can be high, between electricity, groceries, rent, and his girlfriend's personal needs, he sometimes struggles to make ends meet. He also says that he cannot focus on himself and can't even afford to buy himself a car. He also thinks that it will be even more difficult when his child starts school and that he hopes by then his girlfriend will have found a job.

Education

Madoda attended a local previously disadvantaged, co-ed school in Motherwell. All of his siblings attended this school as well. This was because their parents could not afford to take them to a school that was further (transport costs) and more expensive. He also says that in those days, his school was a good school that even offered sports and other after-school activities. Since he was a child Madoda wanted to become a doctor, but when he was mature enough to understand that his parents could not afford this, he gave this dream up. Instead, after completing matric he began looking for any job that he could do to take care of himself and contribute to household expenses in back home in Port Elizabeth. He was not successful in getting job apart from odd electronic repair work from his neighbours. Madoda says that he has no hope that there could ever be an opportunity for him to go back to school, and that even if there would be, he would not be able to take it because he now has responsibilities such as his girlfriend, his child and his parents.

Employment

Madoda is employed as a security guard. He has had this job since 2005 and says that he feels lucky because there are so many people who remain unemployed even though they have been living in Cape Town much longer than he has.

Job 1: This is the first and only formal job that Madoda has ever held in his life. Apart from this he has done odd jobs fixing electronic goods. He got this job through information that he received from his sister's husband. His sister's husband was at work when he heard that the security company that worked for them was looking for a new employee. He made the necessary calls requesting more information, speaking to the relevant person at the company and informing him that he had a brother-in-law who was reliable and looking for work. He then approached Madoda with this information. Madoda says that after receiving the details from his brother-in-law, he decided not to call, but rather to go directly to the business premises of the security company. He received the transport money from his sister. When he arrived, he was shown to the person his brother-in-law had spoken to who then proceeded to ask him a little about himself. After this, he was told to return the next day to speak to the relevant person in the human resources (HR) section. He returned the next day and was interviewed by the HR manager. He says that the interview went well, but he wasn't

confident because they had a problem with the fact that he did not have any experience. He received a call just under a month later informing him that he had got the job, but would be trained without pay for a month. He accepted this and spoke to his sister to give him a loan for the month that he would not be paid and the month after that as he would only be paid at month end. She did this, and he paid her back three months after he started actual work.

Madoda works in Pinelands. His duties as a security guard are basically to control access into the building where he works, to keep a log book of people's comings and goings, to liaise with other security guards regarding safety matters and to report to management weekly about security issues. He is paid a monthly salary of R5700 (without overtime), which he says is not a bad salary, especially compared to what some people that he knows earn, but is not enough to meet his needs. He says that when he manages to get some overtime shifts he can earn up to R6600. Madoda insists that he is not a person who likes to owe other people anything and that when he struggles to make ends meet, he would rather borrow money from a local loan shark than ask someone that he knows, including his sister.

He uses the train to get to work every day because he says that it is the cheapest. A monthly ticket costs him about R300. His only problem with the train is that Mutual station in Pinelands is very far from his workplace which means that he has to walk a long distance to get to work in the morning, and to get to the station in the afternoon after work. This walk takes him about 25-30 minutes each way. However, he says that this is something that he has had to get used to. He starts work at 07:30 every day. He wakes up at 05:15, leaves the house at 06:00, walks to the train station and gets there by 06:20. He is usually in Pinelands by 07:00 and at work five minutes early. He says that he has no trouble getting to work, apart from when there is a problem with the trains e.g. a strike or when electric power cables have been cut.

Madoda says that he appreciates his job and does his best to make sure that he does not lose it. He says that the only thing that would make him leave his job is if he got another one that pays better. He appreciates that unlike other security guards at other companies, his job does not require him to work nights, but he also says that he would be willing to do this for more money. He would also be interested in working closer to Khayelitsha as this would mean less money spent on transport for him, but he says that this is not likely because there

are no jobs in the area. Madoda has never considered finding a place to live closer to work or anywhere outside the township areas of Cape Town because he believes that he could never afford the rent and associated costs of living in these areas. He says that there is no way that living closer to work could be cheaper than living in Khayelitsha as he would still need to travel to get to work because there are no affordable areas close to Pinelands. He adds to this by saying that the most taxing element of the commute to work is time and not actually money because he can afford to pay the cost of a monthly train ticket. And that commuting time is not enough of a disadvantage to justify moving closer to work at higher living costs.

Job Search

In the past Madoda used to do a lot of travelling to look for work. He says that this was made possible by the financial assistance his sister gave him, as well as the money that he would receive doing odd jobs in his neighbourhood. He believes that this was the best way to look for work as one never knows how lucky one can get just by travelling to areas of employment and just asking around. Eventually he got his job through information he received from this brother-in-law, but he says that he does not see all the money he spent travelling as a waste. This had to be done as there were no jobs in Gugulethu (where he lived at the time). He believes that eventually it would have paid off, and that if it had not been for his brother-in-law, he would have got a job in this way. He also consulted newspapers when he was looking for work but says that he never found them useful, and stopped buying them after a while. Madoda says that he would also talk to people that he knew and ask around to see if anyone had information about a job. He knew that his sister and her husband were always listening out for him and he waited to hear from them. He says that people in his area were not very useful as they themselves were mostly unemployed. He never once received “proper” information about work from them as even when there was information about companies looking for workers, there was seldom any helpful detail. One of the problems he encountered while in search of work was that his money would run out. During these times, he was forced to sit at home doing nothing apart from waiting to hear of something or for his sister to give him more money.

Social Networks

Madoda does not have many people in his network. By his own admission, he prefers to be with his family rather than out socialising and spending money that he does not have. He says that there are many temptations when one spends too much time in the street, and mostly they are related to spending money. He says that he cannot afford to be one of those people that sit in shebeens (drinking houses) spending money that is meant for their families. According to him, that is the best way to bring about stress and problems in one's life.

He has his sister and her family in Delft, who he sees at least once in two or three weeks. He says that she likes to invite him and his family over for Sunday lunch at least once a month. They talk openly about work and job possibilities, especially for his girlfriend because she is currently looking for work. As yet, nothing has come up but he is sure that they will share any information that they may receive. He also has some distant relatives who live in Langa. These are people from his father's side of the family who moved to Cape Town from eDutywa in the Eastern Cape. He has met them several times, mostly when he was younger in PE but is not at all close to them. In fact he does not even speak to them on the phone.

The few times that Madoda does decide to go out, he usually goes to a place in Gugulethu called Mzoli where they braai meat and have drinks. He says that his friends like this place and he sometimes joins them. On these occasions he and his friends seldom speak about work related things as mostly they are drinking and having fun. Whenever one of them has information, they will call or visit one another instead. Most of his friends live either in Khayelitsha or in Gugulethu. He has also made some friends at work but mostly they do not speak about job information.

The only other people that he says he talks to are people that he has met on the train over the years. Although he insists that they are not friends of his, they have formed relationships close enough to talk about their jobs and their lives in general. He says that occasionally there will be some information-sharing about job opportunities but none of this has ever been interesting and beneficial enough for him to consider leaving his current job. One thing he does do however, is to listen out for some of his unemployed friends who live in Gugulethu, and says that if he does receive worthwhile information, he would surely share it

with these friends. He is also sure that these travel mates will continue to share job information with him in the future.

Conclusion

Madoda believes that companies do not do their best when it comes to advertising vacancies. He thinks that one of the ways that they can improve upon this is to bring the information to the people by handing out flyers in townships and putting up posters in train, bus or taxi stations where most people pass through. He justifies this by saying that unemployed people do not have the money to travel to look for work. Most of the money that they do get from relatives and other people is used to buy food and other necessities. In this way, he says that companies can inform more people about jobs and this would mean that they have a wider pool to choose employees from. According to him, this would have been the easiest and most affordable job search strategy for him as well.

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